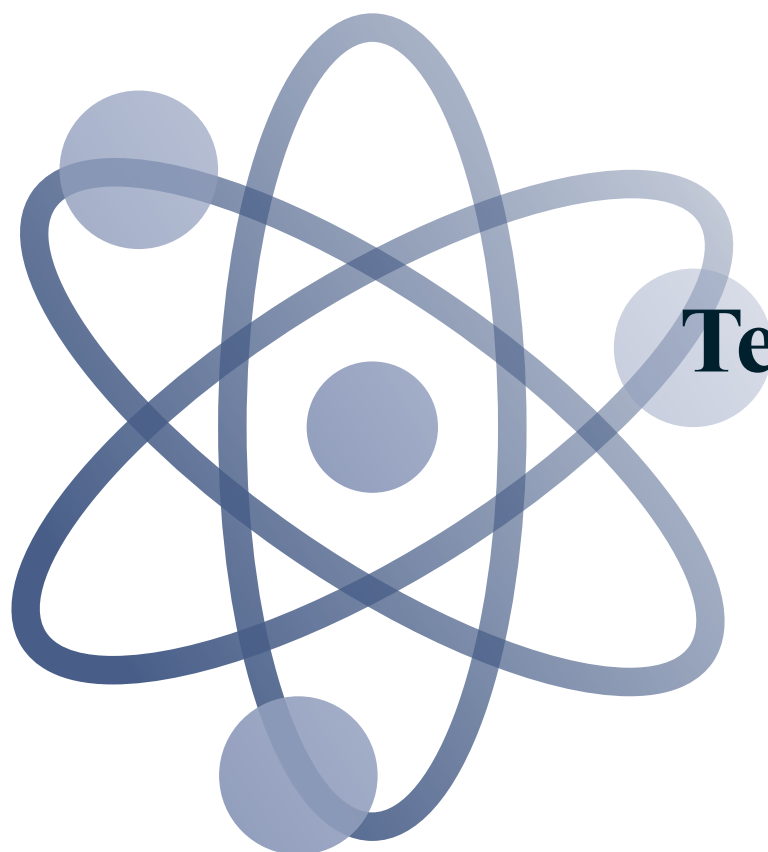




# Special Issue

# CISS



**Special Issue  
on  
Tenth Anniversary**





# CISS

**A Decade of  
Strategic Studies**







# Mission Statement

**CISS was established in October 2010 and embarked upon a challenging task, that of promoting a better understanding of international strategic issues pertaining to our region, both in Pakistan and abroad. CISS serves as a private, independent and non-partisan think-tank based in Islamabad.**

**We feel that there is a need now, more than ever before, for objective and impartial analyses and assessments of international issues from a Pakistani perspective. It is the endeavor of CISS to bring an independent perspective in its studies and analyses and make the difference.**



# Contents

<b>Executive Director's Message</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Messages from Prominent Personalities</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Advisory Board</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Key Research Themes</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Summary of a Decade</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Strategic Assessment (2010-2020)</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Biannual Journal: CISS Insight</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Books: CISS Security Series</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>CISS Special Issues</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Publications by CISS Team (International)</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>CISS Conferences/Seminars</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>CISS Round-tables</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>CISS Webinars</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>ToTs / Capacity Building Workshops</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>International Institutional Collaboration</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>CISS Going Global</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>CISS Team Members</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>Events</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>CISS Insight: A Journal of Strategic Studies</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Researchers' Activities Abroad</b>	<b>50</b>





# *Executive Director's Message*



We have completed ten long years of our work at the Center for International Strategic Studies, which was established way back in October 2010. It has been a journey of fulfillment, and satisfaction, and in the ultimate measure, of happiness and joy.

In 2010, there were just a few think tanks in Islamabad and this area was a somewhat drab world with a few government-run and government-financed think tanks in operation.

I conceived of CISS as a private independent and autonomous research forum or think tank to carry out focused research and analysis of major regional and international issues. Over the years a number of other private think tanks have been established. It is thus a much more varied and diverse scene today. Our story is one of successful progression from a modest beginning with just two researchers to our current team of four Senior Research Fellows and nine Researchers. Over these years we have carried out activities of quality and value in the entire range of our work as described in the pages that follow. We have also established international partnerships with prestigious think tanks abroad.

The Center for International Strategic Studies has, over the years, evolved its own persona, its unique identity and its place in the world of strategic studies. Having conceived the concept of this entity, I feel proud of having engineered its establishment. This achievement would not have been possible without our dedicated and talented team of researchers and supporting staff. I would like to give them the credit for their contribution to our work.

This special issue is a tabulated analysis of all our activities over this entire period. It also contains a review of the strategic environment, both global and regional, in the last decade, and assesses its impact on strategic stability in South Asia.

I wish the Center a greater future than its glorious past. May it continue to serve Pakistan in the years to come. Ameen.





**Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi**  
*Foreign Minister of Pakistan*



FOREIGN MINISTER

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Islamabad, Pakistan

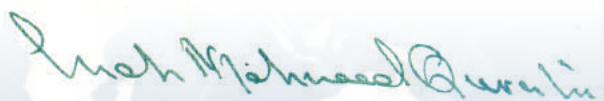
10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Establishment of  
Centre for International Strategic Studies

**Message by Foreign Minister  
Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi**

I am greatly pleased to felicitate the Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS) on the tenth anniversary of its establishment. Having personally participated in CISS programmes and activities, I can attest to the high quality of informed discussions generated through this forum.

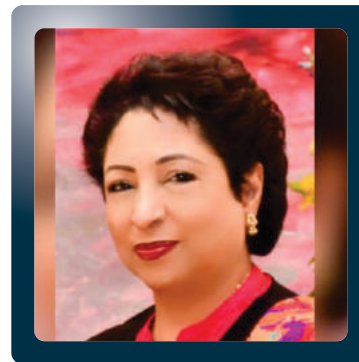
In the decade of its operation, CISS has admirably fulfilled its mandate of channeling independent inputs and contributions to the national discourse. I have no doubt that going forward, it will further strengthen its role as a credible think tank geared towards research on areas and subjects of relevance to Pakistan.

I wish CISS every success in its future endeavours.

  
(Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi)

It is a pleasure to congratulate the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) on the tenth anniversary of its establishment. CISS has done remarkable path-breaking work in the decade of its existence. I have participated in CISS conferences and have always found their discussions and deliberations of high quality.

I wish the organization success in its future endeavours and look forward to its contributions to the national discourse on major strategic issues and concerns.

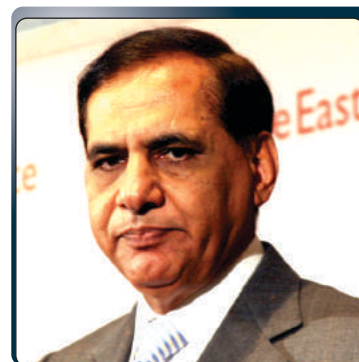


**Dr. Maleeha Lodhi**

*Former Permanent Representative of  
Pakistan to the United Nations*

On the auspicious occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of its raising, I wish to extend my profound felicitations to Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi and his team in the CISS. Indeed you can be rightly proud of your achievements over the last decade.

The establishment of a quality institution, that undertakes in-depth research and extensive studies, in complex strategic security disciplines, in such a short time, is commendable. Through dedicated hard work and professional commitment, reinforced by able guidance, CISS has acquired a prominent position amongst the Think Tanks in Pakistan. The high quality of its research work, publications, seminars and other discourses are widely respected in the strategic community, academia and amongst senior decision makers in government. CISS has also acquired significant associations and networking internationally, enhancing its stature as a credible forum.



**Gen. Ehsan Ul Haq, NI (M)**

*Former Chairman Joint  
Chiefs of Staff Committee*

I wish CISS Godspeed and success in all its future endeavors.

I would like to congratulate CISS on the founding of its tenth anniversary. CISS under the dynamic leadership of Amb. Sarwar Naqvi, has served the cause of promoting policy dialogue and discourse on key challenges facing Pakistan objectively and forthrightly. CISS is one of the few Pakistan think tanks that stand out in cultivating a culture of open discussion and debate through its wide array of activities. My heartiest felicitations to CISS and its dedicated team of researchers for a decade-long commitment to achieving professional excellence.



**Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain,**

*Professor of Public Policy at  
National University of Science and  
Technology, Islamabad*



It gives me immense pleasure to see the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) successfully completing ten years of dedicated professional work in the field of strategic studies. In a relatively short time of a decade the CISS has not only filled a vacuum in this area of study within Pakistan but it has also established its credentials internationally through a closely coordinated partnership with the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) London. CISS has also made its presence felt by participating in activities at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna.



**Lt. Gen. (R) Khalid Ahmad Kidwai**  
*Former DG, SPD & Advisor, NCA*

The study of strategic and geo-political developments at the regional and global levels particularly their impact and effects on the South Asian landscape is an ever evolving phenomenon. With rapid changes in alignments by countries adjusting to global and regional power shifts, scholars find it challenging to keep pace with events even as they attempt to project the future direction of geopolitics and its effects on the changing environments. In this context it is important for institutes that deal with the subject of strategic studies to be ever alert and keep with the times, perhaps even ahead of the times, in order to provide intellectual platforms for debate and discussion to scholars of the subject. The CISS has played that role with efficiency, focused professionalism and intellectual stimulation earning a respected name for the institute nationally and internationally.

South Asia remains important in international geopolitical calculus for a variety of reasons foremost amongst them being the evolving US-China competition with fallout effects on India and Pakistan, and the presence of fairly large arsenals of nuclear weapons with India and Pakistan in an environment of unresolved conflicts and a no-war-no-peace situation. Added to the mix is the emergence since 2014 of an India which has seemingly embarked on a self-destructive course trashing in the process some of its own constitutional provisions including its secular ethos which had acted as the glue holding India together despite diversities. This has been replaced by the fascist and extremist religious Hindutva ideology which poison has spread to most segments of the Indian society and national institutions such as the parliament, judiciary, the military, bureaucracy and others. Similarly, the revocation of Articles 370 and 35-A of the Indian Constitution with respect to solemn covenants with the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK) has already resulted in open conflict with China and substantial losses on the Line of Actual Control in the Ladakh area, as well as irreversible alienation of the Kashmiris. The consequent rush for further acquisition of modern armaments in a desperate bid to play catch up for years of neglect has serious implications for strategic stability in South Asia. The eccentricities of BJP's Hindutva policies clearly generate strategic effects for Pakistan and its national security. It is critical for Pakistani scholars to remain focused on the study of emerging aggressive behaviour by India as it endangers peace in the neighbourhood like never before.

I am certain that the CISS will continue to focus on some of the foregoing issues and become a beacon for national strategic discourse. I would like to place on record the untiring efforts of the founding Executive Director CISS Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi who, as the team leader of CISS, must get full credit for making CISS a prestigious name on the list of national and international think tanks.

I wish the CISS well in the future as it flourishes further in its efforts to promote and stimulate intellectual and strategic thought.

CISS has constructive contributions in the field of strategic studies, specifically in Pakistan. It has made the alternate narrative and strategic insight visible and audible for national and international audiences. The highly qualified and academically excellent team of this esteemed institution is redefining the research culture of Pakistan through their research contributions. However, CISS may also focus on contemporary research issues such as Artificial Intelligence, Hybrid Warfare, Non-Traditional Security Paradigms and Women, Peace and Security in order to fill the existing research gap on these issues. Pakistani perspective needs to find its academic space at international level and such space can be acquired through improving the research skills and methods of our researchers in order to meet international requirements. Their state of art seminars and conferences not only raise new questions but identify research gaps as well. It generates academic debates and encourages diversified viewpoints. Being the leading institute, CISS graciously launched my book, “Shaking Hands with Clenched Fists: The Grand Trunk Road to Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India,” in 2018. Such a supporting and encouraging policy reflects upon their commitment to the field of strategic studies and the academia in Pakistan. I have no doubt that the CISS takes the lead in the field of strategic studies in Pakistan.

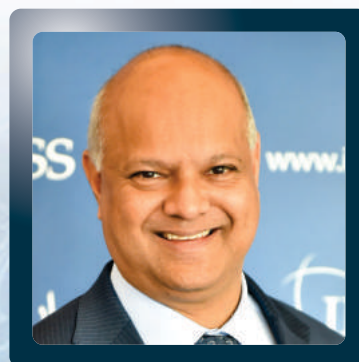
I would like to wish them all the very best for their future endeavors.



**Dr. Asma Shakir Khawaja**  
*Head of the Department of  
 Strategic Studies, NDU, Islamabad*

Congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS). The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London, is privileged to have had a strong partnership with the CISS for nearly all of these ten years. This has taken place on a unique series of near-annual conferences on the themes of defence, nuclear doctrine and deterrence, and stability in South Asia. These CISS-IISS conferences have been held in Islamabad, with the seventh, and most recent, having taken place earlier this year in London. These conferences not only ensured intellectual challenge and focused discussion on regional and global security issues, but, most importantly, provided a comprehensive and improved understanding of Pakistan's nuclear and defence policies and practice to an international expert group from the IISS. The CISS remains the single think tank in South Asia that the IISS has had such a long-established and continuous relationship. The credit for this lies with the CISS, for establishing such an influential forum for policy-relevant discussions on regional and global security issues, and Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, for his very impressive leadership of one of Pakistan's finest think tanks.

I warmly wish the CISS another hugely successful decade ahead of it.



**Rahul Roy-Chaudhury**  
*Senior Fellow for South Asia at  
 IISS, London.*

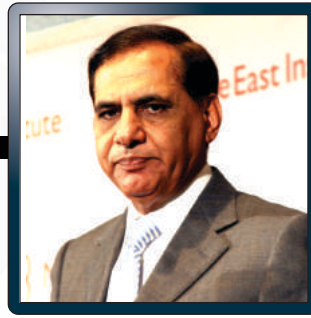




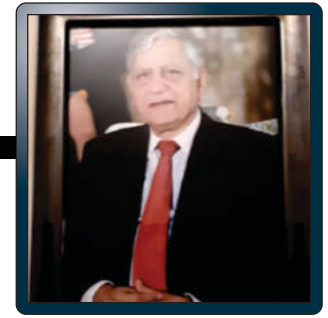
# Advisory Board



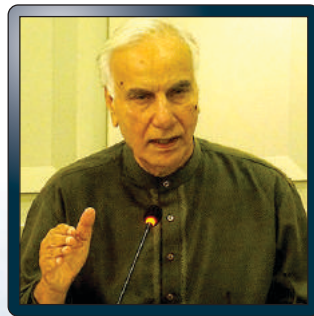
**Liaqat Ali Baig**  
*CEO Kestral Trading*



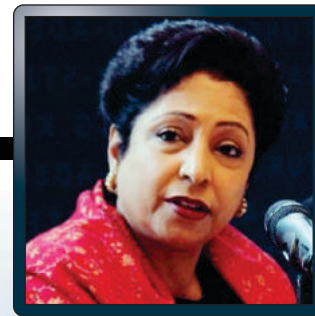
**Gen (R) Ehsan ul Haq**  
*Former Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee*



**Mr. Abdullah Yusuf**  
*Former Chairman Central Board of Revenue and Secretary to the Government of Pakistan*



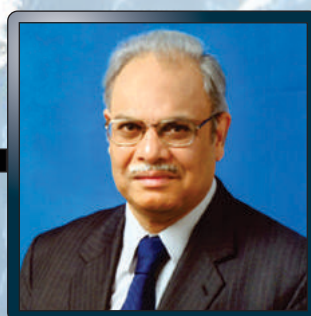
**Mr. Tasneem Norani**  
*Former Interior Secretary*



**Dr. Maleeha Lodhi**  
*Former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations*



**Lt. Gen. (R) Khalid Ahmad Kidwai**  
*Former DG, SPD & Advisor, NCA*



**Mr. Riaz Mohammad Khan**  
*Former Foreign Secretary, Government of Pakistan*



**Brig. Zahirul Haider Kazmi**  
*DG ACDA, SPD, Ex-Officio Member CISS*





**Arms Control and Disarmament Issues**  
**Nuclear Non-Proliferation Issues**

**Nuclear Safety and Security**

**Crisis  
Stability**

**South  
Asian  
Stability**

**Deterrence Stability**

**WMD Issues**

**Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy**

**Nuclear Knowledge Management**

**Export Control of WMDs**





Summary of A Decade

16  
Conferences/Seminars

24  
Articles  
Internationally  
Published

Monograph

1

98  
Insight Articles

3  
Hosted  
International  
Fellows

7  
Book  
Launch  
Ceremonies

Books  
4

International  
Visits  
71

66  
Roundtables

International Collaboration/MoUs  
with International Think Tanks

3

Training of  
Trainers/Workshops  
11

Webinars  
5

Special  
Issues  
2





# **Global Strategic Environment 2010-2020: Nuclear Order & South Asian Strategic Stability**

## **Introduction**

The Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) has undertaken a review of the strategic environment, both global and regional, of the last decade to highlight the context of its strategic studies. The global strategic environment in the past decade has moved from a broader consensus of strategic objectives and direction to that of an increased uncertainty mainly due to three factors: the decline in US power; the rise of China and the resurgence of Russia. This was reflected in a renewed competition in which the US is trying to retain its influence by propping up counterweights to China's rise and China is reaching out the world through its economic integration and regional connectivity.

A closer analysis of the broad strategic environment in 2010 and 2020, brings forth the fact that the nuclear order has transitioned from an era of relative stability to that of a challenging era for arms control and nonproliferation. This study makes an attempt to dissect the various trends of the two different nuclear orders in 2010 and 2020 and seeks to analyze the impact of these on the South Asian strategic stability. It concludes that in the last decade South Asian strategic stability has remained in flux with global strategic environment affecting it directly.

In 2020, the global nuclear order has increased strategic stability challenges for the South Asian region with this ugly stability likely to stay on for the foreseeable future.

The study is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the global and regional strategic environment in 2010 and its impact on strategic stability in South Asia, while the second part looks at the global and regional strategic environment a decade on (2020) and how it shapes the strategic stability outlook for South Asia.

## **Global Strategic Environment in 2010: Towards a World Free of Nuclear Weapons?**

The decade began in the wake of a global financial crisis emanating from the 2008-09 economic recession, the ongoing US-led war against terrorism, in Iraq and Afghanistan and a noble initiative for reducing nuclear dangers in the world. The Middle East was in the process of being thrown into a social revolution, a rather tumultuous one, popularly dubbed as the Arab Spring. Afghanistan was trying to grapple with a resurgence in violence in the US governments' yo-yo battle with the Taliban and occasionally the warlords. There were some visible signs of a shift from unipolar order to that of multipolarity and a global emphasis on arms control and disarmament approaches; i.e. reducing the nuclear dangers globally, reducing the salience of nuclear weapons in security policies, thwarting terrorism and extremism, containing proliferation of WMDs, and addressing nuclear security concerns sui generis.

The famous Prague speech by US President Barak Obama in April 2009<sup>1</sup> in Prague laid the foundation for the new nuclear order in the world based on the noble initiative of achieving a

<sup>1</sup>“Remarks by President Barak Obama”, The White House, 5 April 2009, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-barack-obama-prague-delivered>.

world free of nuclear weapons. However, Obama clearly outlined that the goal would not be achieved in his lifetime and that the US would retain a safe and secure arsenal to deter adversaries and assure allies until such time. The next section outlines the trends in nuclear nonproliferation arms control and disarmament in 2010 before a discussion of its implications for South Asian strategic stability.

### **Contours of Global Nuclear Order: A Decade Ago**

The nuclear order in 2010 was shaped by the direction set forth by US President Barak Obama in his famous Prague speech, on April 5, 2009.<sup>2</sup> While outlining his ambitious cause of achieving a world free of nuclear weapons, Obama claimed that existence of thousands of nuclear weapons was a dangerous legacy of the Cold War and that the US would seek to achieve the world security by reducing the salience of nuclear weapons in US national security strategy and calling upon others to do the same. The main steps he outlined included; signing of the new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) treaty with Russia; ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) through US Congress; seeking a treaty on Fissile Material Cut-Off (FMCT); strengthening the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) through a robust inspections regime and a new framework for civil nuclear cooperation.<sup>3</sup> He also announced the start of an international effort to secure vulnerable nuclear material around the world that later translated into the Nuclear Security Summits initiative. Moreover, he underscored that the US would retain a safe and secure arsenal to deter potential adversaries like Iran and North Korea and assure allies about the reliability of US security commitments until such time.<sup>4</sup>

The Prague agenda manifested itself in the coming years in various arms control and disarmament developments that gave way to shaping a new nuclear order. Significant features of this new order are:

### **Nuclear Strategy, Nonproliferation and Arms Control**

***US and Russian Nuclear Strategy*** – The US Nuclear Posture Review that came out in 2010, was in line with the Prague agenda. It underscored US commitments towards preventing nuclear proliferation and terrorism; reducing the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. national security strategy while maintaining strategic deterrence and stability at reduced nuclear force level.<sup>5</sup> It also emphasized strengthening of regional deterrence while reassuring U.S. allies and partners through sustaining a safe, secure, and effective nuclear arsenal.

The NPR focused on efforts to thwart the theft of sensitive nuclear material by Al Qaeda and their extremist allies; lead the international effort to strengthen the global nuclear non-proliferation regime and to prevent possible threats of nuclear terrorism. It committed a reduction of US nuclear force levels and negotiations to lead to strategic stability with both China and Russia; a commitment that partly reflected later in the signing of the NEW START treaty between US and Russia in 2010. According to the NPR, “Over time, we will also engage with other nuclear weapons States, including China, on ways to expand the nuclear reduction

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “Nuclear Posture Review Report”, April 2010, United States Department of Defence, <file:///Volumes/Local%20Disk%202/CISS-Insight2020/StrategicEnvironment/777468.pdf>.



process in the future.”<sup>6</sup>

In a bid to reassure allies about extended nuclear deterrence the NPR made clear that the US would retain the capability of forward deployment of its nuclear weapons, and would continue to maintain long range strike capabilities. A manifestation of which was later seen in the missile defence deployments in Europe and East Asia.

On the other hand, the Russian Military Doctrine, released in the same year, stated that “nuclear weapons will remain an important factor to prevent an emergence of nuclear and conventional armed conflicts.” Earlier the Russian National Security Strategy, drafted in May 2009, clarified Russia's nuclear weapons employment policy. It stipulated that the employment of nuclear weapons would depend on enemy's intentions and would not rule out the possibility of a preventive nuclear strike against the aggressor in situations critical for national security.<sup>8</sup>

## **Nonproliferation and Arms Control**

***The New START Treaty*** – The United States and Russian Federation signed the new START agreement on April 8, 2010. The treaty limited deployed ICBMs and deployed SLBMs; and heavy bombers to 700 and total deployed warheads to 1,550. It also limited the combined deployed and non-deployed ICBM launchers, SLBM launchers, and heavy bombers to 800.<sup>9</sup> The preambular part of the treaty made a linkage between strategic offensive and defensive armaments, which was interpreted differently by the US Senate and Russian Duma. US interpretation was that the treaty does not constrain testing, development or deployment of current or planned U.S. missile defense programs or current or planned United States long-range conventional strike capabilities. However, the Russian Duma was of the view, that if the US deploys missile defense in Russian vicinity it will walk out of the treaty. This has remained subject of controversy for the last decade<sup>10</sup> as the US had made an agreement earlier in 2007 with Poland to deploy missile defence. However, with President Obama coming to office he made clear during the Prague speech that as long as the threat from Iran persists, US will go forward with a missile defense system that is cost-effective and proven. He kept trying at the same time to insulate New START process from its possible future deployment. The treaty is set to expire in 2021, if not extended.

***Nuclear Security Summit Process*** – In his Prague speech, President Obama outlined an ambitious plan to secure all vulnerable nuclear material in four years and to realize that goal he convened the first Nuclear Security Summit of some 47 states in Washington DC alongside three international organizations April 12-13, 2010.<sup>11</sup> The participants undertook pledges in

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.12.

<sup>7</sup> “The Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation”, Russian Presidential Website, 5 February 2010, [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia\\_military\\_doctrine.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/2010russia_military_doctrine.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Yury E. Fedorov, “Russia's Nuclear Policy”, National Institute for Defense Studies Twelfth Symposium “Major Powers' Nuclear Policies and International Order commitments included working towards securing all vulnerable nuclear materials worldwide and within their borders and improving nuclear security. in the 21st Century,” November 18, 2009, p.56.

<sup>9</sup> “New Start Treaty, US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/new-start/>.

<sup>10</sup> U.S.-Russia Strategic Framework Declaration, 6 April 2008, The White House, <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2008/04/20080406-4.html>.

<sup>11</sup> “National Statement of the United States”, Nuclear Security Summit, 13 April 2010. The White House, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/nuclear-security-summit-national-statement-united-states>



the summit documented in Washington Work Plan and Washington Communique. The commitments included working towards securing all vulnerable nuclear materials worldwide and within their borders and improving nuclear security.

Major pledges made during the summit included US and Russian declaration of disposition of a combined 68 metric tons of weapons-grade plutonium under the 2000 Plutonium Management and Disposition Agreement to fulfil their commitments under Article VI of the NPT alongside announcements by several states to downgrade the nuclear fuel in their research and medical reactors to that of Low Enriched Uranium (LeU).<sup>12</sup>

**NPT RevCon 2010** – The 2010 NPT Review Conference concluded in May 2010 and was able to arrive at a consensus final document based on a 64 point forward looking action plan for nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation and the promotion of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.<sup>13</sup> Among the main areas subject to contention was the negotiation of a Middle East Weapons of Mass Destruction Free Zone (MEWMDFZ) and nuclear weapon states commitment towards nuclear disarmament. On the MEWMDFZ, the work plan included the convening of a Conference in 2012 to be attended by all states in the region. However, the plan never materialized and was one of the major reasons of failure of NPT RevCon in 2015.<sup>14</sup>

**Multilateral Export Control Regimes** – In June 2010 the public statement released after the twentieth Plenary meeting of Nuclear Suppliers Group expressed concern about the proliferation implication of the nuclear tests announced by Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the implications of Iran's nuclear program, underlining the need for peaceful resolution of the issue. The plenary considered Indian bid for prospective membership as the final statement took note of “actions as well as voluntary commitments made by India to adhere to the NSG guidelines.”<sup>15</sup> India had already been granted a waiver for nuclear technology trade in 2008, and the issue of its membership was up for debate in strategic policy making community and nonproliferation circles mainly talking about the criteria based versus country specific approach.

**FM(C)T and CTBT** – The renewed impetus for concluding a treaty on fissile materials for nuclear weapons came after the Prague speech and a program of work was accepted in Conference on Disarmament in 2009.<sup>16</sup> However, later in 2010, Pakistan raised its concerns on the issue of existing stocks of fissile material to be included in a prospective treaty banning

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<sup>12</sup>“Nuclear Security Summits at a Glance”, Arms Control Association, <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/NuclearSecuritySummit>.

<sup>13</sup>“2010 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons”, Final Document, NPT/CONF.2010/50 (Vol. I), 2010, New York, [https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/2010\\_fd\\_part\\_i.pdf](https://www.nonproliferation.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/2010_fd_part_i.pdf).

<sup>14</sup>“Middle East WMD Free Zone Conference Likely to be Postponed”, 13 November 2012, Arms Control Law, <https://armscontrollaw.com/2012/11/13/middle-east-wmd-free-zone-conference-likely-to-be-postponed/>

<sup>15</sup>“Public Statement: Nuclear Suppliers Group Meeting”, Christchurch, 21-25 June 2010 [https://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/images/Files/Documents-page/Public\\_Statements/2010-06-NSG\\_Public\\_Statement\\_Final.pdf](https://www.nuclearsuppliersgroup.org/images/Files/Documents-page/Public_Statements/2010-06-NSG_Public_Statement_Final.pdf).

<sup>16</sup>“CD adopts a programme of work”, Reaching Critical Will, 29 May 2009, <https://www.reachingcriticalwill.org/disarmament-fora/others/cd/2009/reports/759-cd-adopts-a-programme-of-work>.



fissile material for nuclear weapons.<sup>17</sup> Other states like Russia, China and NAM countries demanded simultaneous progress on other agenda items like Prohibition of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS) and Nuclear Disarmament (ND). On the issue of ratification of CTBT, despite US President Barak Obama's promise to pursue its ratification in US Senate, it has not materialized to date.

### **South Asian Strategic Environment 2010: Impact on Nuclear Stability**

As a subset of the global nuclear order the South Asian strategic environment was influenced by the global developments. The Prague speech by US President Obama generated an impetus to discuss questions like conditions for achieving a world free of nuclear weapons or multilateral approaches to nuclear disarmament. However, just a decade into nuclearization, India and Pakistan were in the process of developing their strategic capabilities (moving towards triad development). The global renaissance for nuclear energy had raised hopes for nuclear trade for energy purposes,<sup>18</sup> but the global politics kept on trumping the broader goals of strategic stability and nonproliferation.

Pakistan had to face a lot of challenges owing to its internal security because of the ongoing US war in Afghanistan and its backlash on the security situation within Pakistan. Pakistan's nuclear weapons (NWs) were kept under constant scrutiny in the international electronic and print media raising fears about the weapons being in unsafe hands.<sup>19</sup> The statements by US officials about Pakistan's NWs being in unsafe hands was a political tool used by the US to keep up pressure on Pakistan, to ensure its cooperation on Afghanistan, where the US led NATO forces were facing excessive casualties. In the summer of 2010, US President Obama ordered a major surge of forces, to address the deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan, and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) increased its drone strikes within Pakistan's then tribal areas.<sup>20</sup>

Some major issues in the field of arms control and nuclear nonproliferation regime and deterrence stability in South Asia are discussed below.

### **Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime (NPR) and Arms Control**

In 2010, South Asia was going through a transition where the United States was pursuing a policy objective to counter a rising China. It decided to promote India to have access to global nuclear market. For this purpose, the US pressured the cartel in 2008 to give an exemption for nuclear technology trade for India although it didn't fulfill the criteria for it. This paved the way for the flow of advanced dual-use nuclear technology to India's nuclear program, which had eight nuclear reactors and a fast breeder program kept outside of IAEA safeguards. To further bolster this cooperation, US President Obama in his November 2010 visit to India made a

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<sup>17</sup> Eric Auner, "Pakistan Raises New Issues at Stalled CD", *Arms Control Today*, March 2010, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2010-03/pakistan-raises-new-issues-stalled-cd>.

<sup>18</sup> Ali Sarwar Naqvi, "The Emerging New Nuclear Order and Pakistan", *Criterion Quarterly*, 18 January 2012, <https://criterion-quarterly.com/the-emerging-new-nuclear-order-and-pakistan/>.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed account see Feroz Hasan Khan, "Nuclear Security in Pakistan: Separating Myth From Reality", *Arms Control Today*, July 2009, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2009-07/features/nuclear-security-pakistan-separating-myth-reality>.

<sup>20</sup> Scott Shane, "C.I.A. to Expand Use of Drones in Pakistan", 3 December 2009, *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/04/world/asia/04drones.html>.



commitment to “support India's full membership in the four multilateral export control regimes (Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Australia Group, and Wassenaar Arrangement) in a phased manner, and to consult with regime members to encourage the evolution of regime membership criteria, consistent with maintaining the core principles of these regimes.”<sup>21</sup> Both sides also decided to take mutual steps to expand U.S. - India cooperation in civil space, defense, and other high-technology sectors.<sup>22</sup> This move greatly affected the strategic balance in the subcontinent.

As regards the progress towards reducing nuclear dangers, India and Pakistan both participated in the US Nuclear Security Summit process. The Pakistani Prime Minister, in his speech, urged “all relevant forums to give Pakistan access to nuclear technology for peaceful uses, in a non-discriminatory manner, to meet its growing demand for energy,”<sup>23</sup> at the same time offering the provision of nuclear fuel cycle services under IAEA safeguards, and participation in any non-discriminatory nuclear fuel cycle assurance mechanism.<sup>24</sup> Indian PM Singh announced in his statement the setting up a “Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership” in India; with four Schools dealing with Advanced Nuclear Energy System Studies, Nuclear Security, Radiation Safety, and the application of Radioisotopes and Radiation Technology in the areas of healthcare, agriculture and food.”<sup>25</sup> India also used the opportunity to project its nuclear energy needs and claim its putative ‘good nonproliferation record and adherence to multilateral export control regimes’<sup>26</sup> guidelines to advance its membership in export control cartels.

Although the Prague agenda emphasized the early conclusion of a treaty on fissile materials, the US approach of bringing India into the nonproliferation regime through the back door was diametrically opposed to its broader stated goal. The Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation agreement opened doors for India to expand its nuclear weapons program. The reactors kept outside of safeguards in its separation plan allowed India to exponentially increase its fissile material production. At the same time, with the commissioning of India's nuclear submarine Arihant in 2009,<sup>27</sup> concerns about the future of nuclear fuel for naval propulsion also started rising within Pakistan. Pakistan took a principled stance in Conference on Disarmament (CD) on treaty on fissile materials clarifying that any treaty that would not account for the existing stocks would perpetuate the existing asymmetries and wouldn't be acceptable to Pakistan.<sup>28</sup> In its joint statement with the US in 2010, India hypocritically deplored the lack of progress on FMCT in CD, even though a year earlier when a program of work (PoW) was adopted in the

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<sup>21</sup> “Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Singh of India”, The White House, November 08, 2010, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2010/11/08/joint-statement-president-obama-and-prime-minister-singh-india>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> “Pakistan seeks equal access to civil nuclear technology”, *Dawn*, 12 April 2010, <https://www.dawn.com/news/915086>.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> “Statement by the Prime Minister of India: Dr. Manmohan Singh at the Nuclear Security Summit”, April 13, 2010, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, <https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/561>.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Crail and Eben Lindsey, “India launches first nuclear submarine”, *Arms Control Today*, September 2009, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2009-09/india-launches-first-nuclear-submarine>.

<sup>28</sup> “Statement by Ambassador Zamir Akram”, Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the UN Geneva, at the First Committee Thematic Debate on Nuclear Weapons –New York, 14 October 2010, Pakistan's Mission to the UN, [https://pakun.org/statements/First\\_Committee/2010/10142010-01.php](https://pakun.org/statements/First_Committee/2010/10142010-01.php).



CD, Indian ambassador Hamid Ali Rao had made explicitly clear that India “*will not accept obligations not in keeping with or prejudicial to our national security interests or which hinder our strategic programme, our R&D as well as three-stage nuclear programme.* [emphasis added]”<sup>29</sup>

Within the debate on CTBT, an Indian scientist from DRDO in late 2009 claimed that India's test of the thermonuclear device in 1998 was a 'fizzle'.<sup>30</sup> This sparked a renewed debate on nuclear testing which was viewed with concern within the nonproliferation circles. India and the United States both had a different understanding of the US Atomic Energy Act which stipulated that “the United States shall have the right to require the return of any nuclear materials and equipment”<sup>31</sup> if India detonate[d] a nuclear explosive device. Irrespective of the debate, both India and Pakistan continued their unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.

## Deterrence Stability

The state of deterrence stability in South Asia is generally tenuous at any given time owing to the historical factors and the festering disputes. In the immediate background of the Mumbai terror attacks within India some banned outfits in Pakistan were blamed. In 2010, Indian and Pakistani foreign ministers met twice, however there was no breakthrough in terms of improving bilateral relations.

The Wikileaks (diplomatic cables scandal) in 2010 made interesting revelations about India's Cold Start doctrine<sup>32</sup> (CSD) that it had earlier been consistently denying. After the 2001-02 standoff India had come up with a new doctrine which aimed at giving it the ability of rapidly seizing parts of Pakistan while remaining under the nuclear threshold. The doctrine was later war-gamed by India in several exercises and it validated Indian interest in limited war fighting.<sup>33</sup> It stipulated that while targeting the “shallow objectives” within Pakistan through rapid thrusts by the Integrated Battle Groups (IBGs) India will be able to achieve its ends while remaining below the nuclear threshold.

The doctrine was dangerous as it had the potential to escalate a supposed limited conflict into a nuclear entanglement. Pakistan's nuclear red lines weren't clearly defined and hence any perceived attack below the nuclear threshold could possibly trigger a wider conflict. Indian propagation of fighting of limited war under the nuclear umbrella created a major challenge for strategic stability in South Asia.

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<sup>29</sup> Paul Meyer, Breakthrough and Breakdown at the Conference on Disarmament: Assessing the Prospects for an FM(C)T, Arms Control Today, September 2009, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2009-09/breakthrough-breakdown-conference-disarmament-assessing-prospects-fmct>.

<sup>30</sup> “Statement by India in the CD plenary after the adoption of decision of Programme of Work contained in CD/1863”, 29 May 2009, [https://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/1028\\_Statement-by-H-E-Mr-Hamid-Ali-Rao-Ambassador-Extraordinary-and-Plenipotentiary.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Uploads/PublicationDocs/1028_Statement-by-H-E-Mr-Hamid-Ali-Rao-Ambassador-Extraordinary-and-Plenipotentiary.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> “U.S. Atomic Energy Act, Section 123. Cooperation With Other Nations”, [https://www.oecd-neo.org/law/nlbfr/documents/087\\_090\\_USAtomicEnergyAct.pdf](https://www.oecd-neo.org/law/nlbfr/documents/087_090_USAtomicEnergyAct.pdf).

<sup>32</sup> “WikiLeaks: US on Indian Army's Cold Start Doctrine”, *NDTV*, 02 December 2010, <https://www.ndtv.com/wikileaks/wikileaks-us-on-indian-armys-cold-start-doctrine-440802>.

<sup>33</sup> “Indian Military's Cold Start Doctrine: Capabilities, Limitations and Possible Response from Pakistan”, *SASSI Research Paper* 32, March 2011, pp.14-19, <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/151240/RP-32-Masood-Indian-Militarys-Cold-Start-Doctrine-Mar-2011.pdf>.



While the global nuclear order was propagating ideal approaches of reducing nuclear dangers, India was in the process of commissioning its first nuclear submarine (SSBN) INS Arihant in 2009. With the nuclearization of the Indian Ocean (IO), India had taken the nuclear competition to a new height. India's advanced naval capability coupled with its assured second strike capability accentuated Pakistan's security dilemma by increasing the threat of Indian naval coercion and blockade of SLOCs (Sea Lines of Communication) as a pressure tactic, also potentially increasing the economic cost of trade in crisis situations prior to actual war. Furthermore, in the Indo-Pakistan dyad, an assured second strike platform with just one country destabilized the deterrence equation and generated fears for possible preemption.<sup>34</sup>

## **Global Strategic Environment in 2020: A Nuclear Order under Stress**

The global strategic environment in 2020 has been under stress, due to increasing competition between great powers like US, Russia and China. The fallout of this strategic competition is faced by the world at large in terms of reducing the salience of multilateral and bilateral arms control arrangements, unbridled arms race in strategic offensive and defensive armaments, increased reliance on nuclear weapons in state's national security and a revival of strategic competition through strategic partnerships and counter partnerships. These strategic cooperation frameworks have the ability to undermine the global strategic stability by worsening the security dilemma in regional security complexes and undermine stable mutual nuclear deterrence.

Further complicating the global strategic picture are events that include: political divisiveness within the Middle Eastern region, lingering escalation of crisis and conflict in South Asia owing to festering disputes between China, India and Pakistan and increasing hostility in East Asia and Asia-Pacific owing to US belligerence towards China: the persistent North Korean challenge: a slow process of US forces withdrawal from Afghanistan and efforts for achieving sustainable peace. Most importantly, the world was going through the worst global health crisis when a virus, named Novel Corona Virus or COVID-19 spread across continents badly affecting the global economy and bringing the global oil prices in the negative for the first time ever, owing to slackening global demand.

Within the nuclear realm, the global nuclear order witnessed a deterioration in the arms control framework and the nonproliferation regime under the Trump administration in the US, with unraveling of multilateral approaches to diplomacy to that of withdrawal from arms control agreements, sidestepping of dialogue and making arms control and disarmament a hostage to policies that promote arms racing and nuclear competition.

## **Nuclear Strategy, Nonproliferation, Arms Control and Disarmament:**

***Strategic Competition and Instability*** – To understand the global nuclear order in its current state, it is important to keep in mind that in the post 1990 world, the US came out as a unipolar hegemon of the world. This reality has witnessed a shift over the last decades especially with the steady rise of China and resurgence of Russia. The US in its effort to retain its global dominance has been forging strategic partnerships across the globe as well as designating China and Russia openly as its strategic competitors.

<sup>34</sup> Saima Aman Sial, "To Use or Not to Use: India's Fractured NFU", *South Asian Voices*, March 20, 2017, <https://southasianvoices.org/sav-dc-nukefest2017-potential-indian-nuclear-first-use/>.



To understand fully, the damage done to the global nuclear order in 2020, it is important to take a step back and see how it has been progressively brought to this point of almost no return, with just the last agreement of bilateral nuclear arms control between US and Russia standing i.e. the New START (due to expire in 2021);<sup>35</sup> that too with an uncertain future. In 2017, the US National Security Strategy, called out China and Russia as attempting to erode the American security and prosperity by shaping a world “antithetical to U.S. values and interests.”<sup>36</sup> For maintaining good order at sea, the strategy considered that India could play the role of a net security provider<sup>37</sup> in the Indian Ocean region.

The US Nuclear Posture Review that came out later in 2018 was a divisive document that for the first time, labelled Russia and China as strategic competitors,<sup>38</sup> setting the foundation for an intense strategic competition in the so called Indo-Pacific region. In a reversal of the policy manifest in the 2010 NPR, it stated that the nuclear deterrence would be effective against nuclear as well as nonnuclear threats alike. While referring to tailor-made strategies, it proposed maintenance of a strategic triad and the development of low yield nuclear weapons to maintain flexible response options<sup>39</sup> citing the Russian escalate to deescalate doctrine, development of nonstrategic nuclear weapons as well as use of emerging technologies to possibly attack US nuclear infrastructure. In 2017, Russian President Vladimir Putin mentioned that the share of new nuclear weapons in Russia's nuclear triad would be 90 percent by 2021.<sup>40</sup>

***Declining Impetus for Arms Control*** – The Intermediate Range Nuclear forces in Europe (INF) Treaty had been cited by both the US and Russia for some years as having been violated with the development of new kind of missiles. In 2018, the US accused Russia of violating the treaty with development of a Ground Launched Cruise missile SSC-8 Screwdriver and later in February 2019, the US notified Russia that it was suspending its obligations under the treaty because of what it called, 'Russia's material breach'.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, US also announced that it would withdraw from INF treaty within six months, as stipulated in the Article XV of the treaty. Subsequently, Russia announced the suspension of its obligations under the treaty on March 4, 2019. Finally, the US withdrew from the treaty in August 2019, resulting in the treaty's termination.<sup>42</sup> In November 2020, US also announced its withdrawal from the Open Sky Treaty, a move that would exacerbate the already growing tensions between NATO and Russia and intensify the great powers' arms race.

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<sup>35</sup> “Russia urges U.S. to extend nuclear pact due to expire in 2021”, 27 November, 2019, *Reuters Staff*, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-usa-missiles-idUSKBN1Y123W>

<sup>36</sup> “National Security Strategy of the United States of America”, (Washington, DC: The White House, 2017), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> “Nuclear Posture Review 2018”, US Department of Defence, February 2018, <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Feb/02/2001872886/-1/-1/1/2018-NUCLEAR-POSTURE-REVIEW-FINAL-REPORT.PDF>.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Maggie Tennis, “U.S.-Russian Arms Control At Risk: An Assessment and Path Forward”, Policy White Papers, Arms Control Association, January 2018, <https://www.armscontrol.org/policy-white-papers/2018-01/us-russian-arms-control-risk-assessment-path-forward>

<sup>41</sup> “Executive Summary of the 2020 Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments (Compliance Report)”, Bureau of Arms Control, Verification and Compliance, US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/2020-adherence-to-and-compliance-with-arms-control-nonproliferation-and-disarmament-agreements-and-commitments-compliance-report/>.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.



**Nuclear Testing Norm** - By May 2020, there were reports that Washington is considering a resumption in nuclear testing based on allegations that Russia and China may be considering low yield nuclear tests, based on a Washington Post story;<sup>43</sup> while also clarifying that the assertion could not be substantiated through publicly available evidence and both states had denied the claims too. The matter was in discussion amongst the top US national security agencies' officials.<sup>44</sup> The future of the treaty now hangs in the air. The assertion could possibly embolden states that have been seeking an opportunity to verify their new warhead designs and build hydrogen bombs.

Another contentious issue that has jeopardized the global nuclear stability is the development of strategic defensive armaments. Russia has been registering its strong reservations against US deployment of missile defence near its border, which it considers is meant to neutralize its nuclear deterrence vis-à-vis the US. The abrogation of ABM treaty in 2002 and later the US plan of deployment of BMDs as well as Prompt Global Strike system (long range hypersonic cruise missile development) has unsettled Russia.<sup>45</sup> As for China, it has also registered its disapproval of US deployment of BMDs in South Korea which it considers would undermine its strategic posture. China also voices its concerns<sup>46</sup> over the US strategic partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region to counter balance Beijing, as well US development of prompt strike capabilities as well as increasing military presence of the United States in the Chinese neighborhood.

In May 2019, the US claimed that Russia had conducted an ASAT test and called Kremlin out on its alleged duplicity in promoting cessation of an arms race in outer space while it was itself pursuing military capabilities for outer space.<sup>47</sup> Later, in December 2019, US itself announced the establishment of US Space Command that is mandated to provide freedom of operation for the US 'in, from, and to' space, alongside provision of prompt and sustained space operations. The US Space force described its mission as, enabling joint lethality and effectiveness and providing independent options.<sup>48</sup> The development would lead to scuttling progress over Prohibition of an Arms Race in Outer Space, an agenda that is on the Conference on Disarmament agenda since several decades now, while opening a new domain for arms competition in the coming years.

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<sup>43</sup> John Hudson and Paul Sonne, "Trump administration discussed conducting first U.S. nuclear test in decades", *Washington Post*, 22 May 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-administration-discussed-conducting-first-us-nuclear-test-in-decades/2020/05/22/a805c904-9c5b-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-administration-discussed-conducting-first-us-nuclear-test-in-decades/2020/05/22/a805c904-9c5b-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1_story.html).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Alexey Arbatov and Sergey Oznobishchev, eds., "Russia, Arms Control, Disarmament and Russia: International Security, Moscow", IMEMO 2020, Translation, <https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Russia%20Arms%20Control%202020%20%28%D1%81%20%D0%BE%D0%B1%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B6%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B8%CC%86%29%20-%202001%20-%2022.10.20.pdf>.

<sup>46</sup> Cuiping Zhu, "The Strategic Game in Indo-Pacific Region and Its Impact on China's Security," in Annual Report on the Development of the Indian Ocean Region, 2018, <https://www.springer.com/gp/book/9789811376924>.

<sup>47</sup> Kingston Reif and Shannon Bugos, "Russia Tests ASAT Weapon, U.S. Says", *Arms Control Today*, September 2020, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2020-09/news/russia-tests-asat-weapon-us-says>.

<sup>48</sup> "Text of Space Policy Directive-4: Establishment of the United States Space Force", The White House, Presidential Memoranda, *Congressional Research Service*, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/text-space-policy-directive-4-establishment-united-states-space-force/>.



**Nuclear Disarmament Agenda** – In the area of nuclear disarmament, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Use of Nuclear weapons (TPNW), popularly known as the nuclear ban treaty, received its 50<sup>th</sup> instrument of ratification in October 2020.<sup>49</sup> It means that the treaty would now enter into force on 22 January 2021 according to the stipulations of article 15 of the treaty.<sup>50</sup> It was originally proposed in a United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) conference in 2017 under the broad mandate of banning nuclear weapons looking at the humanitarian consequence of use of nuclear weapons. However, since the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) as well as the states that enjoy US security umbrella boycotted the treaty, it carries little weight in terms of implementing the nuclear disarmament agenda globally.<sup>51</sup>

**Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT)** – Finally, the NPT Review Conference (RevCon) 2020 that was to be convened in May<sup>52</sup> stayed in limbo owing to the global health crisis post Corona virus pandemic. The 2019 NPT Preparatory Committee ended its session May 10, 2019 after two weeks of debate without reaching a consensus on the recommendations for the Treaty's 10th Review Conference. The RevCon had meagre chances of success because of lack of fulfillment of article VI commitments from NWSs (manifested in unraveling of arms control agreements and growing nuclear modernization program), concerns on failure of Iran's JCPOA deal and failure to convene the MEWMDFZ conference.<sup>53</sup>

### **Trends in South Asian Strategic Environment and implications for Strategic Stability**

For South Asia, the strategic environment in 2020 has been overshadowed by the global health crisis affecting the struggling regional economies. However, the human security situation did not give any respite in terms of the traditional conflict in South Asia, with India clamping down on poor Kashmiris in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK). The continued oppression of Kashmiris and the rising extremism in India manifested in the Hindutva ideology continued unabated. The seeds for the current instability were sown in early 2019 Balakot-Rajouri crisis.<sup>54</sup> Later, on August 5, 2019, India changed the political status of Kashmir to that of a Union territory; altering the legal right of Kashmiris to exclusively own land in Kashmir. This change has had and is still having far-reaching consequences in terms of changing the demography of Kashmir, which is a Muslim majority region and therefore claimed by Pakistan.

On the Afghan front, Pakistan had finally been successful in initiating an agreement between the United States and the Taliban officially (titled the Agreement for Bringing Peace to

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<sup>49</sup> Treaty on the prohibition of nuclear weapons”, Office of Disarmament Affairs, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/disarmament/wmd/nuclear/tpnw/>.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Saima Aman Sial and Christine Leah, “Nuclear Ban Treaty: A Pakistani Perspective”, *The Express Tribune*, 13 April 2017, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1381947/nuclear-ban-treaty-pakistani-perspective>.

<sup>52</sup> “2020 NPT Review Conference (POSTPONED)”, Geneva Disarmament Platform, <https://www.disarmament.ch/events/2020-npt-revcon/#:~:text=UPDATE%2027%20March%3A%20In%20light,no%20later%20than%20April%202021>.

<sup>53</sup> Saima Aman Sial, “Growing challenges for the global nuclear order”, *The Express Tribune*, 22 April 2018, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1691878/growing-challenges-global-nuclear-order>.

<sup>54</sup> For a detailed analysis see, “Balakot Strikes: Escalation Pathways and Crisis Management Takeaways”, *Pakistan Politico*, 21 December 2019, <http://pakistanpolitico.com/balakot-strikes-escalation-pathways-and-crisis-management-takeaways/>.



Afghanistan) in late February 2020;<sup>55</sup> although the US forces withdrawal remained dubious; as it depends on the Intra-Afghan dialogue.

Since May 2020, India and China have been locked in skirmishes and an intense face-off along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), an aftermath of India's illegal constitutional action in J&K last year.<sup>56</sup> These have translated into Indian signaling towards China by reinforcing its defence partnership with US, conducting joint naval exercises as well as testing numerous military and nuclear capable missile systems.

### **South Asia and the Nuclear (Dis)order in 2020**

Following the re-election of Narendra Modi as Prime Minister in 2019, relations between India and Pakistan remained strained in 2020, owing to crisis instability induced by the Kashmir crisis alongside India's rising extremism manifested in Hindutva ideology.

Anti-Pakistan rhetoric has been central to the BJP and is a manifestation of the rising right-wing politics in India where BJP's affiliation with extremist factions of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is bringing back Hindu identity as a central theme in the Indian politics. The ideology of Hindutva has been a major factor in undermining efforts at peace-making with Pakistan. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi kept spreading a false sense of nationalism amongst the domestic audience through his election campaign in 2019, resorting to war hysteria. The strategy served well to divert attention from failures in the deliverance of the promises made in Modi's first term; bringing him back in power for yet another five-year term.<sup>57</sup>

Pakistan's timely retort to India in 2019 in Rajouri established the fact that although Pakistan did not wish to escalate the crisis yet it would not let India's provocations go unanswered.<sup>58</sup> The response established, what was later termed as Pakistan's policy of 'Quid-pro-Quo plus'.<sup>59</sup> A policy that establishes the fact that Pakistan's response to any Indian provocation in the conventional domain would be beyond the proportion and at a time and place of its choosing.

The crisis affirmed that Full Spectrum deterrence (FSD) strategy had successfully reinforced deterrence and put “cold water on Cold Start.” After almost two decades of war-gaming the CSD, India did not dare implement the doctrine across the international border during the crisis, which clearly implied that Nasr had been successful in achieving credible deterrence against the threat of Indian limited land incursions.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> “Agreement for Bringing Peace to Afghanistan between the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan which is not recognized by the United States as a state and is known as the Taliban and the United States of America”, 29 February 2020, <https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Agreement-For-Bringing-Peace-to-Afghanistan-02.29.20.pdf>.

<sup>56</sup> Anbarasan Ethirajan and Vikas Pandey, “China-India border: Why tensions are rising between the neighbours”, BBC News, 29 May 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52852509>.

<sup>57</sup> Ali Sarwar Naqvi and Saima Aman Sial, “Worrisome Nuclear Signaling: Recent Trends”, *Strategic Foresight for Asia*, 13 June 2019, <https://strafasia.com/worrisome-nuclear-signaling-recent-trends/>.

<sup>58</sup> For a detailed analysis see Saima Aman Sial (ed.), *Pulwama-Balakot and Operation Swift Retort*, CISS Special Issue, (Islamabad: CISS, 2020), available at <https://ciss.org.pk/PDFs/Special-Issue-f.pdf>.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Saima Aman Sial, “Lessons Learnt from the Balakot-Rajouri Strikes: The View from Islamabad”, *South Asian Voices*, 7 March, 2020, <https://southasianvoices.org/lessons-learnt-from-the-balakot-strikes-the-view-from-islamabad/>.



Going forward, this new template of finding space below the adversaries' perceived threshold can go terribly wrong, owing to the short flight times coupled with dual-use platforms and fuzzy red lines on nuclear use in the South Asian context. Moreover, the increasing asymmetries in conventional and strategic forces between both sides in India favor can create serious challenges for deterrence stability.

Post Balakot-Rajouri skirmish, India kept on spreading an anti-Pakistan narrative world-wide blaming Pakistan to be a so-called state sponsor of terrorism. However, in a bold expose, in November 2020, Pakistan's Foreign Minister and DG ISPR presented irrefutable evidence of India's involvement in perpetrating terrorism within Pakistan, including the use of Afghan soil to destabilize Pakistan, providing financial and material support to various terrorist organizations, including UN designated terrorist outfits; Jammāt-ul-Ahrar (JUA), Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) and Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and attempt to sabotage China's economic cooperation through CPEC in Pakistan.<sup>61</sup> Later Pakistan also submitted a dossier to the UN Secretary General to apprise the UNSC members of Indian sponsorship of terrorism in Pakistan.<sup>62</sup> This dossier is now under examination of a UN Security Council Committee.

Another challenge to stability emerged from actions that India took on August 5, 2019 by abrogating article 370 of the Indian constitution and revoking the special status of J&K as a disputed territory.<sup>63</sup> The action has deprived Kashmiris of their exclusive rights on the land in J&K and has paved the way for demographic changes to the detriment of J&K people. This December marks seventeen continuous months of India occupation in J&K under illegitimate curfew.<sup>64</sup> Ever since August 5, Pakistan has pursued actively its diplomatic offensive in apprising the world about the Indian human rights violations in J&K, raising it in multilateral forums such as UNSC and OIC. The latest OIC summit in November 2020<sup>65</sup> took note of the illegal Indian actions in J&K in this regard. For the foreseeable future though there doesn't appear to be a breakthrough on the issue, especially because the world is embroiled in the global health emergency of COVID-19, despite the expectation by international human rights group and some states from India; to abide by international human rights convention and UNSC resolutions on future of the Kashmir dispute.

With the US pivoting to Asia strategically, over the past two decades, it has steadily enhanced and deepened its cooperation with India, supporting its rise by forging a strong defence, security and strategic partnership. US relies on India as a rising power that can counter China's rise; is a burgeoning economy and a market for defence and technology. The Indo-US Strategic Partnership of 2005 laid out a roadmap for the two countries in the areas of nuclear cooperation, defence, trade promotion, high-end technology and space. US consider India as central to its

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<sup>61</sup> "Pakistan presents 'irrefutable evidence' of Indian terrorism", *The News International*, 14 November 2020, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/latest/743769-pakistan-presents-irrefutable-evidence-of-indian-terrorism>.

<sup>62</sup> Khalid Mehmood, "Pakistan hands dossier on Indian terrorism to UN chief", *The Express Tribune*, 25 November 2020, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2273441/pakistan-hands-dossier-on-indian-terrorism-to-un-chief>.

<sup>63</sup> Saima Aman Sial, "Kashmir Dispute: The Albatross Around India's Neck", *Strategic Foresight for Asia*, 15 August 2019, <https://strafasia.com/kashmir-dispute-the-albatross-around-indias-neck/>.

<sup>64</sup> "One year of India's clampdown in occupied Kashmir — here's everything you need to know", *Dawn Special Feature*, 13 August 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1514652>.

<sup>65</sup> Iftikhar A. Khan, "OIC asks India to rescind illegal acts in occupied Kashmir", *Dawn*, 29 November 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1592994>.



Asia-pivot strategy, where it seeks India to assume the role of a net security provider in the Indian ocean region. To realize this aspiration US has made India a key member of the Quadrilateral Alliance.<sup>66</sup>

In the year 2020, the Indo-US partnership reached new levels with the conclusion of the last of the four foundational agreements between US and India, i.e. Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-Spatial Cooperation (BECA).<sup>67</sup> The deal, announced during the bi-annual “two plus two” meeting in New Delhi, will give Indian military access to data that are considered vital for the firing of missiles, armed drones and other targets with precision. The agreement would enhance India's strategic offence and defensive capability. US and India have already signed three foundational agreements; General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), Logistics Exchange and Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), and the Communications, Compatibility and Security Arrangement (COMCASA), alongside initiating a 2+2 Ministerial Dialogue between their Defense and Foreign Affairs counterparts.<sup>68</sup>

During the latest India-China border face-off, India has been signaling to China to ward off through its strengthening defence cooperation with the US and missile tests of strategic platforms. In a duration of less than two months (between September and November 2020) India's Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) tested seven separate strategic and tactical weapon systems.<sup>69</sup> These included the Hypersonic Technology Demonstrator Vehicle (HSTDV) on September 8, the extended range variant of the BrahMos supersonic cruise missile on September 30, an anti-tank guided missile on September 23 and on October 1, a lighter version of the nuclear-capable canister launched hypersonic surface-to-surface tactical missile Shaurya on October 3, the 'SMART' torpedo on October 5, an anti-radiation missile on October 9 and two successive tests of Quick Reaction Surface to Air Missile air defence system in late November.

This is apart from India's advanced weapons buying spree. Only with the United States, India has purchased high-tech conventional military hardware worth 21 billion dollars. India is also amongst the largest weapons importer according to the SIPRI estimates. In November 2020, India participated in the first of the Quad, (US, Japan, Australia, India) naval exercises in the Bay of Bengal to flex their military muscle against China. In late October, India Air Chief made a bizarre statement claiming that India was ready for fighting a two-front war with Pakistan and China. Such statements are made to justify India's massive military modernization program but they also exacerbate regional tensions in an already fragile security environment.

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<sup>66</sup> “National Security Strategy of the United States of America”, (Washington, DC: The White House, 2017), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf>.

<sup>67</sup> “India, US sign military data pact; China slams Pompeo's visit”, *Dawn*, 28 October 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1587349/india-us-sign-military-data-pact-china-slams-pompeos-visit>.

<sup>68</sup> For details of the partnership watch CISS Webinar on “Two Decades of India-US Strategic Partnership: Impact on Strategic Stability in South Asia”, Center for International Strategic Studies, 27 November 2020, <https://ciiss.org.pk/ciss-webinar-on-two-decades-of-india-us-strategic-partnership-impact-on-strategic-stability-in-south-asia/>.

<sup>69</sup> Shishir Gupta, “India test-fires 10 missiles in 35 days. It is not a coincidence”, *Hindustan Times*, 29 October 2020, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/india-races-to-upgrade-its-armoury-fires-a-missile-every-4-days/story-UB5RQaMY4zVITIYbNFR8EL.html>

<sup>70</sup> “Ready For Two-front War With China, Pakistan: Big Statement By IAF Chief RKS Bhadauria”, *India Today*, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RxpghiiIp1E>.



The US-India strategic partnership has been growing steadily for two decades now. Beginning with the India-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement, signed in 2003, it paved the way for the exceptional Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) waiver to India in 2008 for import of dual-use nuclear technology without any corresponding nonproliferation obligations. In 2012, India and the US joined a Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) for defence collaboration.<sup>71</sup> The US has also designated India as a “Major Defense Partner,” that puts India at par with the closet US defense allies and partners and has granted India the Tier-1 status for Strategic Trade Authorization.<sup>72</sup>

The US strategic partnership with India, although claimed to be aimed at countering China exacerbates Pakistan's security dilemma by creating challenges for strategic stability. Given the trajectory of India's arms procurement as well as strategic modernization in land, air, sea and space; Pakistan has to take measures to restore the regional strategic balance without essentially going for a tit-for-tat approach. The foundational agreements between India and the US pose a huge challenge to Pakistan, which would need addressing.

In the backdrop of global disinterest in arms control (AC), South Asia again portrays a dismal picture in this regard, where India dismisses any discussion on arms control in a bilateral framework. On the multilateral AC issues, India is growing at a faster rate than Pakistan, given its eight reactors outside of safeguards and access to dual-use nuclear technology. On CTBT, with the US intending to resuming nuclear testing, India might want to take the opportunity to conduct the hydrogen test, which it claimed fizzled out in the 1998 nuclear tests.<sup>73</sup> Such a scenario could possibly create pressure from within Pakistan's scientific community to validate its low-yield weapons design through conducting a hot test.

### **Implications for Strategic and Deterrence Stability**

Broadly the global nuclear disorder has created new pressures for maintenance of strategic stability in South Asia while burdening Pakistan with the responsibility of balancing the asymmetric acquisition, development and advancement of Indian conventional and strategic capabilities. With an unraveling of the global framework of arms control, vertical proliferation of weapons and technology and rapid strategic arms development, South Asian region reflects the asymmetric development of conventional and strategic weapons and technologies that add to the burden of strategic imbalance.

India's continued testing of cruise missiles from sea, land and other technology demonstration tests are well suited for a counterforce role. Due to their ranges, the Brahmos and Nirbhay cruise missiles would provide India with a strategic standoff capability on land as well as at sea.<sup>74</sup> These aided with capabilities like the P-8I maritime patrol reconnaissance aircrafts and experience gained from the anti-submarine warfare exercises with allies, indicate the Indian Ocean as the new area of strategic dominance, with the potential of challenging Pakistan's nuclear deterrence.

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<sup>71</sup> For details see CISS webinar on, “Two Decades of India-US Strategic Partnership: Impact on Strategic Stability in South Asia”.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> “Scientist raises doubt about success of Indian N-test”, *Dawn*, 28 August 2009, <https://www.dawn.com/news/849091>

<sup>74</sup> Saima Aman Sial, “Nirbhay Undermines Deterrence Stability in South Asia”, *Center for International Strategic Studies*, 10 November 2017, <https://ciiss.org.pk/nirbhay-undermines-deterrence-stability-in-south-asia/>



In recent years analysts have pointed to a possible shift in India's nuclear doctrine from massive retaliation to that of a splendid first strike/preemptive counterforce strategy. The combination of ballistic missile defense, nuclear submarines, as well as cruise missile capability could enhance India's confidence in undertaking a splendid first strike against Pakistan.<sup>75</sup> And India's massive inductions as well as development of a wide range of strategic offensive and defensive armaments in the later years strengthens that perception.

For Pakistan's part, to maintain the credibility of its deterrence posture, it has started exploring options for developing a credible second strike capability at sea. In January 2017, Pakistan tested Babur-III cruise missile, with a range of 450 km, providing Pakistan - which thus far relied only on land/air-based nuclear capabilities - a credible second strike capability.<sup>76</sup> Babur-3 can therefore be considered as the first step in moving towards developing a nuclear triad by Pakistan. Babur III test was followed by the testing of Ababeel, a MIRVed missile, which would ensure the survivability of Pakistan's ballistic missiles against Indian BMD. Both Babur III as well as Ababeel are indicative of Pakistan's efforts to maintain the strategic deterrence equation with India.

Overall, an assessment of the deterrence situation between India and Pakistan posits a scenario where advancements in technology are creating challenges for deterrence stability in South Asia. Even more alarming is the biased international approach in assessing the impact of these technological advancements for strategic stability. India's development of weapon systems like BMDs, nuclear submarines, counterforce capabilities, high tech defence cooperation, and long range missiles are being aided and abetted by global powers without taking into cognizance their negative potential for South Asian deterrence environment. It is incumbent upon Pakistani policy makers as well as intelligentsia to highlight the deterrence stability challenges posed by these destabilizing technological developments in India while continuing to explore suitable response options short of indulging in an arms race with India.

For the foreseeable future, the challenges to the nuclear order as well as strategic stability would most likely portend an 'ugly stability' in South Asia.

### **What to Expect in Future?**

A decade on, since the Prague speech in 2009, which passionately propagated the case for a world free of nuclear weapons, nuclear weapons continue to exist and grow in numbers. Rather, it would be more pertinent to say that the nuclear order seems to be fracturing from this global strategic competition. Rival states are reverting back to an ugly stability maintained through modernization and accelerated development of strategic weapons and advanced technologies in a bid to find the strategic offset against their adversaries. The chances of the New Start Treaty's extension are still up in the air, and conventional and nuclear forces modernization, tactical nuclear weapons, ballistic missile defense system and long range bombers, are not even a part of any arms control discussion. Although, the change in US administration in January 2021, might lead to some positive trends for arms control, however it is difficult to foresee its contours at this stage.

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<sup>75</sup> Saima Aman Sial, "To Use or Not to Use: India's Fractured NFU", *South Asian Voices*, March 20, 2017, <https://southasianvoices.org/sav-dc-nukefest2017-potential-indian-nuclear-first-use/>

<sup>76</sup> Saima Aman Sial, "Rationalising Pakistan's Quest for a Sea-based Deterrent Force," *Pakistan Politico*, 18 October 2018, <http://pakistanpolitico.com/rationalizing-pakistans-quest-for-a-sea-based-deterrent-force/>.



At the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of NPT, the treaty faces serious compliance challenges, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) remains yet to be enforced, the proposed Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) is in limbo and nuclear cartels are gaining significance within the contemporary nuclear politics. Moreover, no serious effort towards strengthening the nuclear nonproliferation regime is taking place.

For South Asia, a decade on, India and Pakistan are in the process of consolidating the strategic triad of their nuclear forces. The integration of emerging technologies in the strategic systems is some time away and is likely to affect the nuclear balance. In the last decade, Pakistan has developed a functional command and control system; nuclear export control and regulatory regime. India on the other hand, has augmented its nuclear capability through sea-based nuclear platforms and diversified nuclear delivery systems.

Going forward, the sea-based leg of the nuclear triad would pose challenges for South Asian stability owing to limited access to technology, economic crunch, co-mingling of platforms, asymmetry in offensive capabilities' acquisitions, increasing drive towards autonomy, sea-control strategies and provocative offensive doctrines. The speed, accuracy and Intelligence, Surveillance, Reconnaissance (ISR) technologies augmented through Artificial Intelligence (AI), canisterization of missiles by India would pose challenges for credibility of deterrence, whereas the early warning, electronic and cyber means would be the new Janus-faced nuclear stability tools.

The last decade has seen recurrent crises, raising strategic anxieties while accentuating mutual mistrust in South Asia. Going forward, with the rising extremism in India, the hope for strategic rapprochement between India and Pakistan remains an elusive mirage on the horizon.

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*This article is contributed by Ms Saima Aman Sial, Senior Research Officer and Associate Editor in Center for International Strategic Studies Islamabad.*





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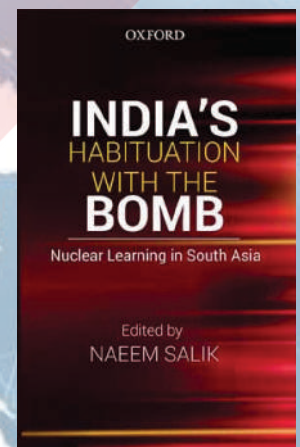
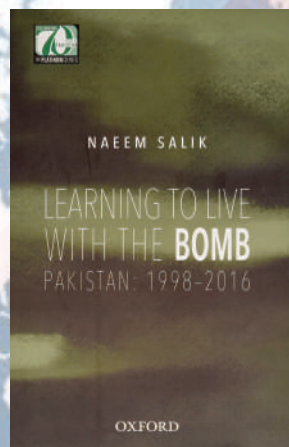
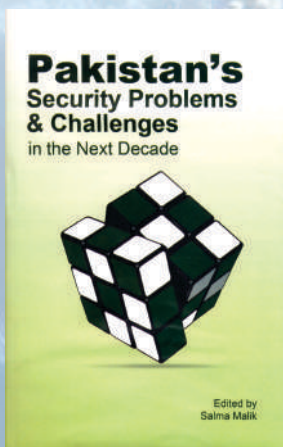
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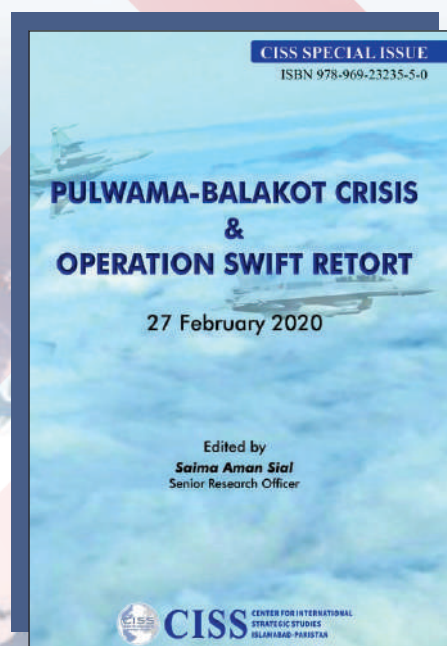
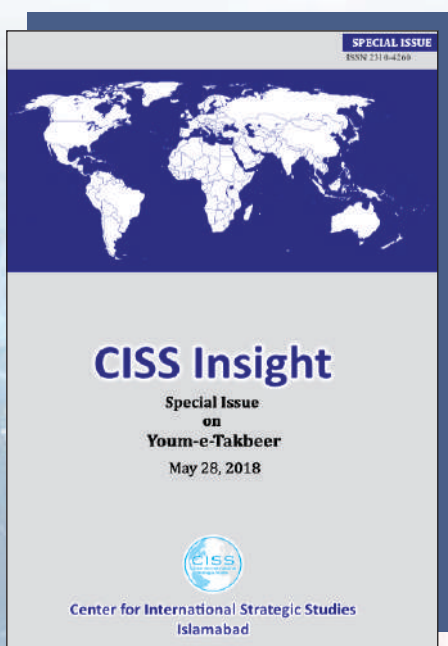


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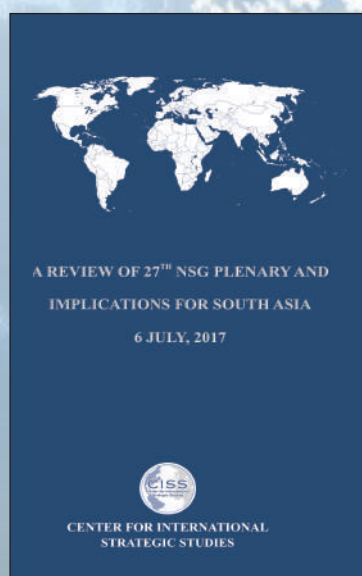


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*In past ten years, CISS has generated vigorous debate, and discussion, on international strategic issues at national level and in collaboration with renowned international think tanks and scholars.*







CISS has organized numerous national and international conferences and seminars since its establishment in 2010. CISS co-organized an international seminar on “Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and Pakistan” with Mr. Yukiya Amano, former Director General International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in Attendance. CISS has also organized, twice, the IDEAS Conference in Karachi, in collaboration with Defence Export Promotion Organization (DEPO).

## Themes

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- ★ Pakistan's Foreign Policy Challenges
- ★ International Nuclear Order
- ★ South Asia's Nuclear Security

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- ★ US-Pakistan Relations
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- ★ Dynamics of Nuclear South Asia
- ★ India's Strategic Capabilities
- ★ India-US Strategic Partnership

## CISS Webinars





## ToTs/Capacity Building Workshops

Since 2013, CISS has conducted seven workshops with IISS (London) on “South Asian Strategic Stability”. A number of eminent national and international speakers participated in these workshops. In 2019, CISS has also held its first Train the Trainers (ToT) workshop from 29th August, 2019 to 1st September, 2019 at Nathiagali. The workshop was titled as “Introduction to Pakistan's Nuclear Policy: Training the Trainers”. A two day workshop was jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad and Center for International Trade and Security (CITS), University of Georgia at Bangkok (Thailand) on 16 -17 December, 2015. The Workshop was titled “CISS – CITS Joint Workshop on High Value – Added Trade Development in Pakistan Chemical Industry”.





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*Since 2010, CISS has worked with a number of international partners/think tanks, and signed Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) with three international institutes to have collaborations in research, conducting events together and fellows exchange program. These institutes include International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) based in London, Atlantic Council based in Washington D. C., and Institute of Political and International Studies based in Tehran.*





# CISS Going Global





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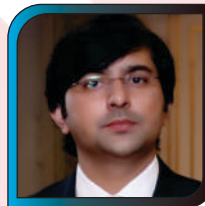
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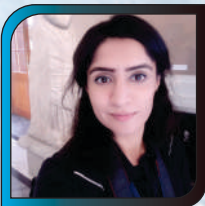
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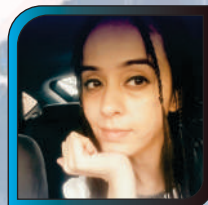
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## 2013

**March:** IISS-CISS Joint Workshop titled, 'Defence, Deterrence & Nuclear Weapons'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with International Institute for Strategic Studies

**March:** One day conference on Pakistan and Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**March:** A Roundtable on Nuclear Learning with Experts; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** CISS International Conference on Contours of Emerging International Nuclear Order: Challenges and Options; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies

**June:** Discussion on Nuclear Non-Proliferation issues with a British Expert, Mr. Andrew Cuff; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** Current Thinking in Washington and Discussion on Pakistan-US relations with Ambassador James Larocco, Director Near East and South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA), NDU Washington; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** Discussion with Dr. Richard Bonney on Dealing with Al-Qaeda post 2014; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** In House Discussion with Russian Expert on Pakistan – Russia Relations; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A delegation from an Iranian Think Tank Noor Institute of Future Studies visited the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** In House Discussion with NESA Delegation with Ambassador James Lorocco, Director NESA; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**October:** CISS-CEIP Joint Workshop on Deterrence Stability in South Asia; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace- (CEIP)

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**November:** Discussion with French Scholar on Internal Violence in Pakistan with Focus on Karachi; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Discussion with Canadian High Commissioner to Pakistan on Importance of Trade and Economic Cooperation for Security; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Roundtable with US Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, Rose Gottemoeller; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** Joint Workshop on Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia; organized by Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

## **2014**

**February:** A Seminar on “Nuclear Power Plants in Karachi: Benefits, Safety and Security”; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** CISS-KAS one-day International Conference on Prospects of Trilateral Cooperation between Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran; organized jointly by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS)

**April:** Roundtable on Post-2014 Prospects for a Stabilized Afghanistan; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**May:** Roundtable Discussion with Mr. Mark Fitzpatrick and Dr. Oliver Meier on Security and Nuclear Issues; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

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**June:** Roundtable with British Ambassador to Pakistan, H.E Ambassador Philip Barton, on 'Overall Assessment of the European Union from a British Perspective; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** Joint CISS – ACUS Launch of the Atlantic Council Report, “India and Pakistan: The Opportunity Cost of Conflict”; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with the Atlantic Council, South Asia Center, Washington D.C.

**September:** A Seminar on Security in Cyber space: Implications and Challenges; organized by the Center for International

## Strategic Studies (CISS)

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**October:** CISS – KAS Joint Seminar on Role of Media in Pakistan; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with German Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

**November:** Roundtable with Stimson Center, Washington D.C.; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia – 3<sup>rd</sup> CISS-IISS Annual Workshop; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

**December:** CISS-KAS Joint Workshop on Regional Connectivity in South Asia; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with the German Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

**December:** CISS-DEPO IDEAS Seminar on Matching Research and Production to the challenges of a Dynamic Security Environment; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and held under the aegis of the Defence Export Promotion Organization (DEPO)



## **2015**

**March:** Seminar on Future Security Outlook of South Asia: Trends and Challenges; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with the German Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

**May:** CISS Seminar on Pakistan and CERN: Collaboration in Advance Scientific Research; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**May:** Roundtable with Mr. Christopher Clary on Future of Nuclear Weapons in South Asia; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** CISS In House Roundtable with Andrey Shabalin; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** Roundtable with Argentinian Ambassador on the Issue of Malvinas Islands; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**October:** CISS-IISS Fourth Workshop on Defence, Deterrence & Stability in South Asia; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

**November:** Roundtable with Dr. Peter Lavoy and Ms. Laurel Miller on Pak-Afghanistan Relations and the Reconciliation Process; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Roundtable with Spanish Ambassador to Pakistan on Global Security Outlook; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Roundtable with Swiss Defence

Attaché on Regional Security in South Asia; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** CISS-DEPO Seminar on 'Public Private Partnership in Defence, Production and Export: Challenges and Way Forward'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with the Defence Export Promotion Organization (DEPO)

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**June:** Round-Table on Conventional and Nuclear Force Modernization and its Regional Implications; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** Round-Table with Experts on Pakistan and the Nuclear Suppliers Group; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** Round-Table on Nuclear Environment in South Asia: Outlook from Washington organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

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**August:** Round-Table on Maritime Doctrine of Pakistan; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** International Conference on Assessing South Asia's Nuclear Security; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and Atlantic Council, Washington

**October:** Round-Table on Forthcoming Special Plenary Session of the Nuclear Suppliers Group; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Round-Table with Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) Delegation; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** CISS-IISS Workshop on Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia; Jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

## **2017**

**January:** A Roundtable on CISS Media Briefing on Nuclear Issues; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**February:** A Roundtable on Science and Diplomacy with Mr. Kamran Akhter; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**March:** CISS Book Launch Titled 'Learning to Live with the Bomb, Pakistan – 1198-2016'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** A Roundtable on 'Nuclear Ban Treaty: Debating the Missing Link'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** A Roundtable on 'Pakistan's Relations with China and Russia: Opportunities and Prospects'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** A Roundtable on 'A Review of 27<sup>th</sup> NSG Plenary: Outcome and Implications'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on Trump Administration's Prospective Policy Towards Pakistan with Dr. Moeed Yusuf; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on 'Counter-value to Counterforce: Change in India's Nuclear Doctrine'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on 'Pakistan's Nasr: A French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**October:** Conference on Nuclear Order: Stability, Trends and Challenges; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** A Roundtable on 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Imperatives and Opportunities in the Next Decade'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)



**November:** A Roundtable on the Iranian Perspective on Iran-Pakistan Relations and Regional Security; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** A Roundtable on 'National Security Decision-Making in a Comparative Context: China, India and Pakistan'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** Workshop on Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

## **2018**

**February:** A Roundtable on 'Brokering Peace in Nuclear Environments: US Crisis Management in South Asia' by Dr. Moeed Yusuf; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**March:** A one-day Seminar on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and Pakistan; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs (PIIA)

**March:** Book Launch Ceremony of 'Nuclear Pakistan: Seeking Security and Stability'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** A Roundtable with Swiss Delegation; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**May:** A seminar on Chemical Weapons Convention Implementation Challenges; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**May:** A Roundtable on Overview of the Developments at the NPT Prep-com, Non-

proliferation and Disarmament Issues; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** A Roundtable on Changing Nuclear Dynamics in South Asia with Dr. Christopher Clary; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** A Roundtable on Pakistan's Perspective on Regional & International Issues with H.E Arnout Pauwels; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** A one-day National Conference on 'Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on the Pakistan-China Relations with the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on Non-proliferation Issues and Peace Initiatives of Kazakhstan with the Ambassador of Kazakhstan; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A one-day Seminar on Biological Weapons Convention Implementation Challenges; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A Roundtable with the Tunisian Ambassador; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A Roundtable with the Tunisian Ambassador; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A Roundtable with Mr. Adrian Levy; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** A Roundtable on Pakistan-India Relations with Dr. Suba Chandran; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**October:** A Roundtable Discussion on Overview and Current Developments in Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament Issues; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Book launch of 'The Blind Eye: US Non-proliferation Policy Towards Pakistan from Ford to Clinton', authored by Dr. Rabia Akhtar; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Book launch of 'Shaking Hands with Clenched Fists: The Grand Trunk Road to Confidence Building Measures between Pakistan and India', authored by Dr. Asma Khawaja, organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** A Roundtable on the Strategic Connectivity of the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC); organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** A Roundtable with the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS) Delegation; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** A Roundtable on the Global Security Issues Relating to Arms Control and Disarmament with Mr. Yusuke Shindo; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

## **2019**

**February:** A Roundtable on Review of Current Issues in Pakistan's Foreign Policy; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**February:** A Roundtable on Global Security Issues Relating to Arms Control and Disarmament; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**February:** A Roundtable on Climate Change and its implications for Pakistan's Security; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** A Roundtable on the 'Afghan Peace Talks: Assessment of Perils and Prospects'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**April:** A one-day National Conference on 'Strategic Stability in South Asia: Emerging Challenges'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**July:** A Roundtable on the Current Challenged in Arms Control; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** First Outreach Workshop titled "Introduction to Pakistan's Nuclear Policy: Training the Trainers" at Nathiagali; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** A Roundtable on 'Kalat's Accession with Pakistan: Separating Facts from Fiction'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)



**August:** A Roundtable on 'Policy Shifts in India NFU: Road to Nuclear Brinkmanship'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**September:** Book launch ceremony of 'India's Habituation with the Bomb' edited by Dr. Naeem Salik; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**October:** A Roundtable on 'Pakistan's Perspective on Kashmir Crisis'; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** A Roundtable with Atlantic Council Washington DC Office Representative; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**December:** A one-day Seminar on 'India's Strategic Posture and Implications for Stability in South Asia'; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and University of Sargodha (UOS)

## **2020**

**February:** Seventh CISS-IISS Workshop on South Asian Strategic Stability: Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control; jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)

**February:** Roundtable on Washington's Perspective on South Asian Security with Laurel Miller; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**February:** Roundtable on Pulwama-Balakot Crisis & Operation Swift Retort; organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**June:** Webinar on Pakistani and Indian Nuclear Programs: Myths and Realities; organized by the Center for International

Strategic Studies (CISS)

**August:** Webinar on 'India-China Face-off: Territorial or Strategic?', organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

**November:** Webinar on 'Two Decades of India-US Partnership: Impact on Strategic Stability in South Asia' organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS)

1. *CISS Insight Bimonthly News and Views*  
February-March 2013  
Volume 1, No 1(2013)

**Articles**

- a. Time to Revisit Nuclear Deal by Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi
- b. Situation in Afghanistan: Pakistan's Security Concerns and Likely Scenarios by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- c. FMCT Negotiations : The Impasse May Last by Ms. Huma Rehman
- d. India Doctrinal Orientation: Causing Instability in the Region by Ms. Farzana Siddique

2. *CISS Insight Bimonthly News and Views*  
April-May 2013  
Volume 1, No 2(2013)

**Articles**

- a. Pakistan and the International Nuclear Order by Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi
- b. Strategic Restraint in South Asia by Amb. Tariq Osman Hyder
- c. NFU: Impact on Proliferation and Nuclear Stability by Ms. Farzana Siddique
- d. Evolution of Thinking on FMCT by Ms. Huma Rehman
- e. UN Arms Trade Treaty: An Analysis by Dr. Afsah Qazi

3. *CISS Insight Bimonthly News and Views*  
June-July 2013  
Volume 1, No 3(2013)

**Articles**

- a. International Nuclear Order: New Framework for Cooperation by Ms. Farzana Siddique
- b. The NSG Guidelines: Evolution and Challenges by Dr. Afsah Qazi
- c. Nuclear Command and Control Systems: Pakistan and India by Ms. Huma Rehman

- d. South Asia and Chinese Foreign Policy by Muhammad Faisal
- e. China's Strategic Outlook: Challenges, Force Postures and the Future of Security in Pacific by Mr. Majid Mahmood

4. *CISS Insight Bimonthly News and Views*  
August-September 2013  
Volume 1, No 4(2013)

**Articles**

- a. Emerging Nuclear Powers and International Non-Proliferation Regime by Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal
- b. Dynamics of South Asian Strategic Stability and Prospects for Regional Stability by Ms. Farzana Siddique
- c. Security Implications of Indian Space Program by Ms. Khushboo Ahmad
- d. Compellence in Policy: A Case Study of 2001/02 Twin Peak Crisis by Muhammad Faisal
- e. Post 9/11 Scenario and its Impact on the Security Parameters of South Asia by Dr. Salma Malik

5. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
March 2014  
Volume 2, No 1(2014)

**Articles**

- a. Full Spectrum Deterrence: Pakistan's Strategic Compulsion by Farzana Siddique
- b. Strategic Compulsions and Failure of CBMs in South Asia by Muhammad Faisal
- c. India's Naval Development and Interests of other Powers in the Indian Ocean Region by Khusrow Akkas Abbasi
- d. US Presence in Afghanistan Post-2014: Assessment and Implications for Pakistan's Defense Policy by Majid Mahmood
- e. What Negotiations with Taliban Mean? By Syed Muhammad Ali



- f. CISS Analysis: Bilateral Security Agreement( BSA): Regional Context and Implications by CISS Team
- 6. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
June, 2014  
September, 2014  
Volume 2, No 2 & 3(2014)

#### Articles

- a. Pakistan Japan Relations and Prospects for Peace and Development in South Asia by Salma Malik
- b. US Rebalancing Strategy in Asia Pacific Region by Khusrow AkkasAbbasi
- c. Emerging Regional Security Architecture in the Middle East- Post Arab Spring Period by Muhammad Faisal
- d. Ukraine Crisis and its impact on Regional Security Environment by Frazana Siddique
- e. CISS Analysis : Mark Fitzpatrick, Overcoming Pakistan's Nuclear Dangers (International Institute for Strategic Studies Adelphi Paper, IISS)  
Nuclear Security Summit Process and Pakistan  
CISS Team
- 7. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
October, 2014  
December, 2014  
Volume II, No 4 (2014)

#### Articles

- a. Centers of Excellence- Institutional Approach to Promotion of Nuclear Security Culture by Brig. (Retd.) Naeem Salik
- b. The Evolution of Indian Nuclear Thought by Ali Ahsan
- c. Strategic Stability and Cyber Warfare: Challenges and Implications by Majid Mehmood
- d. Article 370: Abrogation and its Implications by Muhammad Faisal

- e. Rise of ISIS and Security Implications for Middle East by Sajid Aziz
- f. CISS Analysis  
India's Global Balancing Act in the Context of Recent Developments
- 8. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
March 2015  
June 2015  
Volume III, No 1, 2

#### Articles

- a. Cruise Missiles and Military Doctrines in South Asia by Ms. Kulsoom Belal
- b. Chinese Force Modernization and its Implications on the Region by Mr. Khusrow AkkasAbbasi
- c. Peoples Republic of China by Ms. Maria Malik Awan
- d. Npt Review Conference 2015 In Perspective by Dr. Naeem Salik
- e. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: The Geo?Strategic Dimension and Challenges by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- f. Yemen Conundrum by Mr. Sajid Aziz
- 9. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
September 2015  
Volume III, No. 3

#### Articles

- a. Regional Stability and the Asian Nuclear Triplex by Ms. Hajira Asaf Khan
- b. Perspective on China's Foreign Policy Making by Mr. Khusrow AkkasAbbasi
- c. SCO and India-Pakistan Conflict by Ms. Huma Rehman, Muhammad Faisal
- d. PKK-Turkey War: Implications for Middle East and Turkey by Mr. Sajid Aziz

10. *CISS Insight Quarterly News and Views*  
December, 2015  
Volume III, No. 4

**Articles**

- a. Change or Continuity: India's Foreign Policy Under Modi by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- b. Pakistan and Central Asia: Understanding the Nature of the Evolving Relationship by Mr. Sajid Aziz
- c. Illicit Trade in Nuclear Black Market and Present-Day Challenges by Ms. Hajira Asaf Khan

11. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
March, 2016  
Volume IV, No. 1

**Articles**

- a. Pakistan's Strategic Nuclear Policy and Implications for Deterrence Stability by Ms. Farzana Siddique, Muhammad Faisal
- b. IAEA Additional Protocol: Prospects and Challenges for Pakistan by Mr. Majid Mahmood, Ms. Hajira Asaf Khan
- c. Nuclear Suppliers Group and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone: A Case for Pakistan by Mr. Khusrow Akkas Abbasi, Mr. Sajid Aziz

12. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
June, 2016  
Volume IV, No. 2

**Articles**

- a. War Termination under Nuclear Overhang: A Case Study of India - Pakistan Conflicts by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- b. Peace Prospects in Afghanistan by Mr. Sajid Aziz
- c. Pakistan-US Relations: Impediments and the Way Forward by Muhammad Faisal

- d. The Course of Turkey-Russia Relations in the Regional Perspective by Ms. Maryam Zubair

13. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
September, 2016  
Volume IV, No. 3

**Articles**

- a. Deterrence in Indo-Pak Context by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- b. Iran Nuclear Deal: Assessing its Future Trajectory by Ms. Sitara Noor
- c. Iran-Pakistan Relations by Mr. Sajid Aziz

14. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
December, 2016  
Volume IV, No. 4

**Articles**

- a. Cold Start: The Cat is Out of the Bag by Dr. Naeem Salik
- b. Global Strategic Forecast 2017 by Dr. Afsah Qazi, Saima Aman Sial
- c. Emerging Security Dynamics in Syria: Role of Foreign Powers by Mr. Sajid Aziz

15. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
March, 2017  
Volume V, No. 1

**Articles**

- a. Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS): Security, Moral and Humanitarian Implications by Mr. Sajid Aziz
- b. Implications of Sea Based Deterrence for Pakistan by Mr. Majid Mahmood
- c. Russia's Defence Policy by Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia



16. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
June, 2017  
Volume V, No. 2

**Articles**

- a. Nuclear South Asia: How it is different from Cold War by Ms. Maryam Zubair
- b. Growing Nuclearization of the Indian Ocean and its Implications For South Asian Stability by Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia
- c. The Changing Contours of Maritime Security in The South China Sea by Mr. Muhammad Waqar Anwar
- d. Astana Agreement and the Battle for Eastern Syria by Mr. Sajid Aziz

17. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
September, 2017  
Volume V, No. 3

**Articles**

- a. Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean: The Region-Centric Multilateral Approach by Mr. Sohail Ahmad Azmie
- b. Post-ISIS Middle East: What is next for the Region? By Mr. Sajid Aziz
- c. South Asian Arms Control in Perspective of US-Soviet Experience by Saima Aman Sial, Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia

18. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
December, 2017  
Volume V, No. 4

**Articles**

- a. Strategic Assessment 2017 by Saima Aman Sial, Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia
- b. The Future of Indo-China Military Rivalry by Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, Ms. Maryam Zubair
- c. Counterterrorism in Cyberspace: Case Study of Pakistan by Ms. Afeera Firdous

- d. Maritime Awareness In Pakistan Mr. Sohail Ahmad Azmie

19. *CISS Insight Quarterly Journal*  
March, 2018  
Volume VI, No. 1

**Articles**

- a. Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Challenges and Opportunities by Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia
- b. The US-India Strategic Partnership: Pakistan's Foreign Policy Response by Riaz A. Khokhar
- c. China's Afghanistan Policy: Implications for Pakistan by Mr. Samran Ali
- d. Formulation of Pakistan's Cyber Security Policy: Comparative Approaches by Ms. Afeera Firdous

20. *CISS Insight Journal of Strategic Studies*  
Winter, 2018  
Volume VI, No. 2

**Articles**

- a. Pak-Russia Relations: Exploring the New Avenues by Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia
- b. Pakistan and India's Membership in SCO: Implications for Bilateral Cooperation by Riaz A. Khokhar
- c. US Nuclear Posture Reviews: A Comparative Analysis by Mr. Samran Ali
- d. Small Modular Reactors (SMRs) - A Future Nuclear Power Option by Dr. Syed Javaid Khurshid
- e. Terrorist Threat on Internet: Current Global Response by Ms. Afeera Firdous

21. *CISS Insight*  
*Journal of Strategic Studies*  
Summer, 2019  
Volume VII, No. 1

#### Articles

- a. The Pulwama-Balakot Crisis: A Strategic Assessment by Dr. Mansoor Ahmed, Ms. Maimuna Ashraf
- b. Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and Installations in Pakistan: A Regulatory Perspective by Ms. Noreen Iftakhar, Mr. Muhammad Khaliq
- c. Nuclear Decision Making Process: A Case Study of the United States by Syed Sadam Hussain Shah
- d. Space Cooperation as a Diplomatic Tool: Prospects for Pakistan by Ms. Afeera Firdous
- e. Strategic Connectivity of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) under Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) by Ms. Lavinia Moiceanu

22. *CISS Insight*  
*Journal of Strategic Studies*  
Winter, 2019  
Volume VII, No. 2

#### Articles

- a. The Perils of AI for Nuclear Deterrence by Syed Sadam Hussain Shah
- b. Understanding the Strategic and Military Rationale of Evolving India-Israel Relations by Mr. Sajid Aziz
- c. S-400 Deployment in South Asia and the US' Regional Interests by Mr. Sameer Ali Khan
- d. Trends in India's Nuclear Force Modernization: Regional and Global Implications by Ms. Tanzeela Khalil
- e. India in its Neighborhood: Hegemonic Behavior? By Mr. Samran Ali

23. *CISS Insight*  
*Journal of Strategic Studies*  
Summer, 2020  
Volume VIII, No. 1

#### Articles

- a. Great Power Competition and Global Strategic Stability by Mr. Zeeshan Hayat, Ms. Tanzeela Khalil
- b. Hypersonic Weapons and Strategic Stability: How Grave is The Challenge? By Mr. Samran Ali
- c. India's Foreign Arms Acquisition: Choices and Motivation of Suppliers and the Recipient by Riaz A. Khokhar
- d. Cyber Warfare and Global Power Politics by Ms. Afeera Firdous
- e. Genesis and Contours of Pakistan's Regulatory Regime for Safety of Nuclear Power Plants in Comparison with International Standards by Mr. Muhammad Rizwan

### CISS SPECIAL ISSUES

1. *CISS Insight Special Issue*  
*Youm-e-Takbeer*  
May 28, 2018

#### Articles

- a. Strategic Environment Pre-May 1998 by Maryam Zubair
- b. Exploring Pakistan's Decision-making Process for the Nuclear Tests: Those Seventeen Days by Saima Aman Sial and Muhammad Sarmad Zia
- c. India And Pakistan's Nuclear Tests And International Reactions by Huma Rehman and Afeera Firdous
- d. Pakistan's Nuclear Tests: Assured No Fallouts by Dr. Syed Javaid Khurshid



2. *CISS Insight Special Issue*  
*Pulwama-Balakot Crisis & Operation*  
*Swift Retort*  
*February- 27, 2020*

**Articles**

- a. Changing Dynamics of Air Warfare in South Asia and Future Challenges for PAF by Air Cdre Kaiser Tufail (Retd)
- b. The Balakot Crisis and Conventional Deterrence by Ali Zia Jaffery
- c. India's Land Warfare Doctrine - Post Pulwama: An Appraisal by Afeera Firdous
- d. Pulwama Attack and the Indian Dilemma by Zawar H. Abidi
- e. Nuclear Signaling during the Pulwama - Balakot Crisis 2019 by Dr. Naeem Salik
- f. Balakot to Swift Retort: Putting 'New Normals' to Test by Dr. Mansoor Ahmed & Maimuna Ashraf
- g. Balakot Strikes and Operation Swift Retort: Lessons for Crisis Management by Saima Aman Sial
- h. US and China's Crisis Management in South Asia by Riaz Khokhar
- i. Indian Media's Sensationalism during the Pulwama - Balakot Crisis by Samran Ali

Senior Research Fellow CISS, Dr. Naeem Salik, attended a three-day table top exercise titled "Strategic Stability and Conflict management." The exercise was organized by Center on Contemporary Conflict at the U.S. Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) and the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia in February 2015.

Dr. Naeem Salik attended the biannual Carnegie Nuclear Policy Conference in Washington DC in March 2015.

Dr. Naeem Salik attended the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) meeting of experts in end of April 2015, in Washington DC.

Dr. Naeem Salik attended two Ottawa Dialogues, one in April 2016, and the other in October 2016.

Dr. Naeem Salik was a participant in the US-Pakistan Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, established by Stanford University. The Event was organized in Vienna, Austria, in December 2015.

Huma Rehman, CISS Research Officer, participated in Summer Intensive Course on Nuclear Safeguards Policy held in Monterey, California on 1-5 June, 2015.

Mr. Faisal Mohammad attended the 'Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference, 2015' by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, March, 2015.

Mr. Faisal Mohammad attended '2015 NPT Review Conference', and first week of general debate at United Nations Headquarters, New York, May, 2015.

Mr. Faisal Mohammad completed the Capstone Workshop on "Nonproliferation Analysis, Safety and Security" by Cooperative Monitoring Center at Sandia National Labs, Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 2015.

Mr. Majid Mahmood attended policy workshop on Perspectives on the Evolving Nuclear Order, in June 2015, in Oslo, Norway. The policy workshop was jointly organized by Carnegie Endowment of the International Peace and the Norwegian Institute of International Relations (NUPI). Mr. Mahmood presented his views on two most pressing challenges to the existing global nuclear order as seen as from the vantage point of Pakistan, the main priority for your country as far as the global nuclear order is concerned and actions should your country take to address these priorities?

Mr. Majid Mahmood and Senior Research Fellow CISS Dr Naeem Salik attended a two-day workshop. It was jointly organized by Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad and Center for International Trade and Security (CITS), University of Georgia in Bangkok Thailand on 16 -17 December, 2015. The Workshop was titled CISS – CITS Joint Workshop on High Value – Added Trade Development in Pakistan Chemical Industry. The Workshop assembled participants from Pakistan and Thailand chemical industry, government regulators and presenters from Center for International Trade and Security (CITS) and Sandia National Laboratories.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) Global Dialogue, San Francisco, USA, in January 2016.

Dr. Salik attended a meeting of non-governmental experts on the sidelines of NSS-2016, Washington, DC. in March 2016.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, in Bangkok in April 2016.



Dr. Naeem Salik attended Stanford, Nuclear Working Group Meeting, in Bangkok in November 2016.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) Global Dialogue, San Francisco, USA in November 2016.

Ms. Huma Rehman presented a paper at IAEA International Conference on Nuclear Security, held on 5-9 December 2016 in Vienna, Austria.

Ms. Huma Rehman attended the Symposium "Science and Diplomacy for Peace and Security" from January 25 to February 4, 2016 in Vienna, Austria.

Ms. Saima Aman participated in NEREC Summer Fellows Program at Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology, Seoul, during July-August, 2016.

Mr. Majid Mahmood participated in a war gaming exercise titled Conflict Management and War Termination in South Asia: A Tabletop Exercise organized by Center on Contemporary Conflict (CCC), Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and sponsored by the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) in Bangkok, from May 3 to 5, 2016.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi participated in the International Conference on Nuclear Policy in Washington D.C, USA, hosted by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in March, 2017.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi held a dinner meeting with new Pakistani Ambassador, Mr. Aizaz Chaudry, in Washington DC, 2017

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi attended the Pakistan National Day Reception at Pakistan Embassy, Washington DC, 2017.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi attended Pakistan National Day Reception at Pakistan Consulate hosted by Consul General, Raja Ali Ejaz, 2017.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi had a meeting with Amb. Maleeha Lodhi in New York.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference in Washington DC, USA, in March 2017.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, in Bangkok, in May 2017.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, in Bangkok, in October 2017.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Atlantic Council Conference in Washington DC, USA, November 2017.

Ms. Huma Rehman participated in international Carnegie Nuclear Conference, in Washington DC, March 2017.

Ms. Huma Rehman presented a paper and poster at International Nuclear Material Management (INMM) 58th Meeting at Indian Wells-California-US, July 2017.

Ms. Huma Rehman presented a paper at IAEA International Conference on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and Nuclear Facilities, November 2017.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial was South Asian Fellow at The Henry L. Stimson Center Washington DC for spring, 2017.

Ms. Huma Rehman participated in international workshop on Complex Deterrence, Sri Lanka, January 2018.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated in RCSS - Stimson Center workshop on Distance Management in South Asia, in Colombo, February 2018.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, Bangkok, March 2018.

Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi attend the Moscow Conference on International Security (MCIS) and had discussions with Think-Tanks in Moscow in April 2018.

Ms. Huma Rehman participated in international workshop on Complex Deterrence, Bangkok, Thailand, May 2018.

Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi participated at the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue 2018 17th Asia Security Summit, June 2018.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated in Nuclear History Boot Camp, Allumiere, Italy, June 2018.

Ms. Huma Rehman presented a paper on Assessing Non-proliferation and Disarmament Challenges and South Asian Regional Security Complex, 59th Meeting of INMM Baltimore, Maryland USA, July 2018.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, Bangkok, August 2018.

Dr. Naeem Salik, participated in Pak-US NWG Meeting, Stanford University, USA, August 2018.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in SIPRI-CICIR, Conference on AI & Machine Learning, September 2018.

Syed Saddam Hussain Shah presented a paper entitled 'Indian Strategic Thought in International Relations Congress', organized by the Department of International Relations at Karadeniz Teknik University in Trabzon, Turkey, November 2018.

Ms. Huma Rehman presented a Paper at International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on 'Radioactive Material Security: The Way Forward for Prevention and Detection', in Vienna, Austria, December 2018.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, Bangkok, December 2018.

Dr. Mansoor Ahmed participated as a Speaker in the 57th ISODARCO Course on "The Past And Future of Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament" in Andalo, Italy, January 2019.

Ms. Maimuna Ashraf participated in the 57th ISODARCO Course on "The Past and Future of Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament" in Andalo, Italy, January 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated as a speaker in a workshop on 'Mapping the impact of Machine Learning and Autonomy on Strategic Stability and Nuclear Risk' organized by SIPRI in Colombo, Sri Lanka, February 2019.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated as a speaker in a workshop on 'Mapping the impact of Machine Learning and Autonomy on Strategic Stability and Nuclear Risk' organized by SIPRI in Colombo, Sri Lanka, February 2019.



Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated as a panelist at Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference on Nuclear Crises in South Asia, Washington D.C, March 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik along with Ms. Saima Aman Sial and Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia participated in a round-table on Review of Strategic Stability in South Asia: A Discussion with Pakistani Scholars at the South Asia Center, Atlantic Council, in Washington D.C, March 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik addressed a group of post graduate students at School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, March 2019.

Ms. Afeera Firdous participated in 58th ISODARCO Course on Global Security & Regional Disorder: Evolving Challenges, Elusive Solutions? in North Cyprus, in April 2019.

Syed Sadam Hussain Shah presented a paper entitled Artificial Intelligence and Nuclear Weapons at Shanghai University, China, April 2019.

Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi attended the 8th Moscow Conference on International Security (MCIS) and had discussions on matters of mutual interests with Think-Tanks in Moscow, Russia, in April 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, meeting in Bangkok, April 2019.

Ms. Huma Rehman participated in a workshop on 'AI and Remotely Operated Systems: Benefits and Challenges to Nuclear Security', organized by Women in Nuclear Security (WINS) in Vienna, Austria, April 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated as a panelist in the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center workshop on "Assessing the Nuclear Future of South Asia and its Implications for the United States" in Istanbul, Turkey, May 2019.

Dr. Mansoor Ahmed participated as a panelist in the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center workshop on "Assessing the Nuclear Future of South Asia and its Implications for the United States" in Istanbul, Turkey, May 2019.

Ms. Maimuna Ashraf participated as a Speaker in the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center workshop on "Assessing the Nuclear Future of South Asia and its Implications for the United States" in Istanbul, Turkey, May 2019.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated as a speaker in SIPRI's Trans-regional Workshop: 'Mapping the Impact of Machine Learning and Autonomy on Strategic Stability and Nuclear Risk' at the Carnegie Corporation in New York in May, 2019.

Mr. Riaz Khokhar participated in a workshop on 'Escalation Dynamics and Consequence Management in the subcontinent' involving table top exercises at the Stimson Center, Washington D.C, June 2019.

Mr. Riaz Khokhar presented his research work on 'US-Pakistan Relations: Challenges and Prospects of the Pivot from AFPAK to Indo-Pacific' at a seminar organized by East-West Center in Washington D.C., June 2019.

Ms. Afeera Firdous participated in 7th Science and Technology Conference organized by Comprehensive Nuclear-test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) in Vienna, Austria, in June 2019.

Dr. Naeem Salik and Dr. Mansoor Ahmed participated in the Track-II Ottawa Dialogue, Bangkok, Thailand, 26-27 July, 2019.

Dr. Syed Javaid Khurshid visited The Dr. Abdus Salam International Centre of Theoretical Physics (ICTP) and had several meetings with the President of Friends of ICTP and Third World Academy of Sciences (TWAS) in Trieste, Italy, August, 2019.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated as a speaker in the New Shape Forum on Weapons Governance, organized by Global Challenges Foundation and Geneva Disarmament Platform in Geneva, October 2019.

Ms. Maimuna Ashraf was selected for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Scholarship for the Training program on Disarmament and Non-proliferation of WMD, coorganized by the T.M.C. Asser Institute and the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (OPCW). She participated in this training programme in The Hague, the Netherlands, from the 30th of September to the 4th of October, 2019.

Ms. Saima Aman Sial participated as a speaker in the Nuclear Security and Nonproliferation workshop, conducted by CRDF Global in Putrajaya, Malaysia in November 2019.

Ms. Maimuna Ashraf was a speaker in the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Next Generation Workshop held in Brussels on 12 December 2019. She was a panelist in the session on Non-Proliferation and Arms Control in Asia. The EUNPD Next Generation Workshop was organized by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), on behalf of the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Consortium.

Dr. Naeem Salik participated in Ottawa Dialogue, held in Muscat, December 2019.

Dr. Mansoor Ahmed and Ms. Maimuna Ashraf participated in the Eighth European Union Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Conference (EUNPDC) 2019 held in Brussels from 13-14 December, 2019. The two-day.

International conference was organized by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), on behalf of the EU Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Consortium.

Ms. Afeera Firdous presented a paper on Knowledge Economy and ICT: Promoting Technological Connectivity under CPEC in The Third Conference on CICA Nongovernmental Forum organized by Institute of Chinese Borderland Studies and Chinese Institute of Foreign Affairs, China, December 2019.

Ms. Huma Rehman participated in 59th ISODARCO Course on Emerging Technologies, Evolving Nuclear Postures, and Deteriorating Norms: Is the Global Nuclear Order Eroding? in Andalo (Italy), in January 2020.

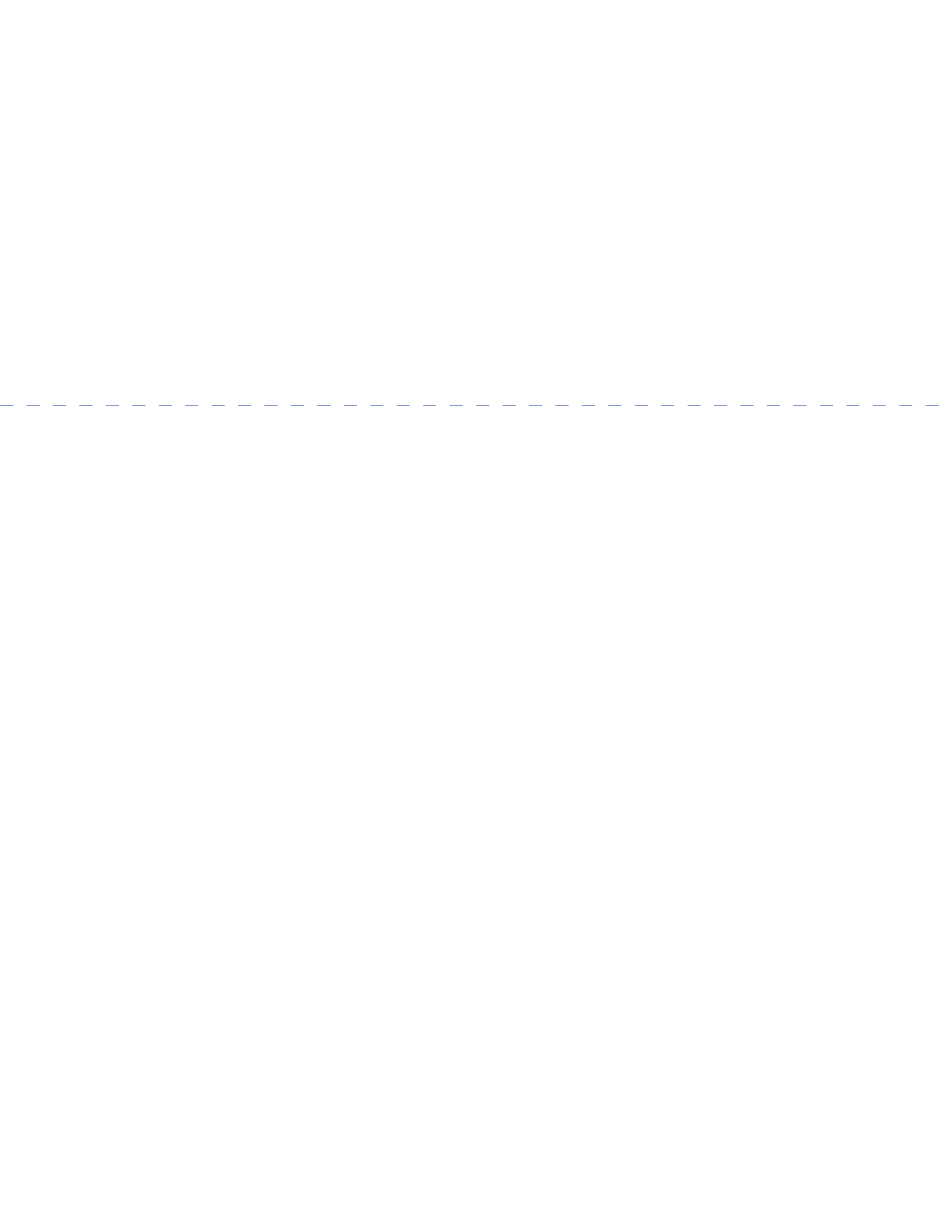
Ms. Afeera Firdous participated in 59th ISODARCO Course on Emerging Technologies, Evolving Nuclear Postures, and Deteriorating Norms: Is the Global Nuclear Order Eroding? in Andalo (Italy), in January 2020.

Ms. Samran Ali participated in 59th ISODARCO Course on Emerging Technologies, Evolving Nuclear Postures, and Deteriorating Norms: Is the Global Nuclear Order Eroding? in Andalo (Italy), in January 2020.

CISS team, led by Amb. Ali Sarwar Naqvi, co-organized the 7th CISS-IISS Workshop on South Asian Strategic Stability: Deterrence, Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in London on February 6, 2020.













**Center for International Strategic Studies**  
**suite No. 506, 5th Floor, Evacuee Trust Complex**  
**Agha Khan Road, Sector F-5/1, Islamabad.**  
**Ph: +92-51-8315410-423**

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