



**CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIC STUDIES**

# **ANNUAL REPORT**

# **2017**

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**CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL  
STRATEGIC STUDIES**



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## EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

2017 has been another exciting year for CISS. The Center conducted a wide range of activities; round-table discussions, one major international conference and a workshop, and produced publications as in the past. During the year, we continued our partnership and foreign outreach with the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London (IISS) as well as with the German think tank Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (KAS). It also embarked upon a fellowship program with the Atlantic Council (AC), in Washington DC, USA. As before, we also organized events with our local affiliate organizations. Besides, our researchers participated in and contributed to a number of forums abroad and the Executive Director attended a number of international events and meetings abroad.

In March, CISS launched a book titled “Learning to Live with the Bomb, Pakistan 1998-2016”, authored by Dr. Naeem Salik, Senior Research Fellow, CISS. CISS is currently involved in three additional book projects, which are hoped to be launched in 2018.

This year, CISS hosted two Visiting Research Fellows. Dr. Christine Leah was CISS fellow from March to August 2017. During this period, she authored two papers. Both of these have been published in the form of CISS monographs. CISS also held two round-tables with Dr. Leah; on “Nuclear Ban Treaty: Debating the Missing Link” in April and “Pakistan’s Nasr: A French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons” in August 2017.

CISS also hosted Mr. Tyler Jost, a PhD candidate from Harvard University, in November-December 2017. In the four weeks while he was here, Mr. Jost was facilitated by the Center in conducting his research for his PhD thesis - National Security Decision-Making in a Comparative Context: China, India, Pakistan and Taiwan – by setting up about 20 interviews with academicians and practitioners from the Pakistani strategic arms control community. CISS also held a round-table with him in December on the subject of Mr. Jost’s research.

CISS held two round-tables with Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (KAS): the first, on “Pakistan’s Relations with China and Russia: Opportunities and Prospects” in April and another in November on “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Imperatives and Opportunities in the Next Decade”. CISS has held several round-tables and conferences in partnership with KAS in the past.

In addition, CISS conducted a lecture series on important contemporary strategic issues and Pakistan’s role in regional affairs for students of The Millennium University Campus (TMUC) of Roots Education System. The two-week series of lectures were arranged in July, 2017. It was followed by a certificate distribution ceremony among the students.

As part of the MoU between CISS and Washington-based think tank, the Atlantic Council, signed last year, CISS completed the internal process of selecting candidates for the Atlantic Council Fellowship in July 2017. Four candidates were shortlisted for two rounds of fellowships during 2018.

In July, CISS organized an international round-table on “A Review of 27th NSG Plenary: Outcome and Implications”. Keynote speaker on the occasion was General Ehsan-ul-Haq, former Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC) of Pakistan. The objective of the round-table was to analyze the important developments in regards to NSG and the way forward for Pakistan’s prospects of NSG membership in the framework of developments in the South Asian strategic scene.

In August, two noteworthy round-tables were held. The first was with Dr. Moeed Yusuf titled “Trump Administration’s Prospective Policy towards Pakistan”. Dr. Yusuf, who is an associate vice president of the Asia Center at the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington D.C, gave an overview of US-Pakistan relations and discussed how the Trump administration’s South Asia policy review would impact the existing situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The second round-table was held in the same month and titled “From Counter Value to Counter Force: Change in India’s Nuclear Doctrine”. Speakers included Dr. Christopher Clary and Dr. Mansoor Ahmed and Dr. Naeem Salik was the discussant. The aim of the round-table was to assess the recent debate about the shift in India’s narrative regarding its nuclear posturing and its implications for Pakistan as well as the regional strategic stability.

In October 2017, CISS held an International Conference titled “Nuclear Order: Stability, Trends and Challenges”. The keynote speaker for the occasion was Ms. Tehmina Janjua, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, and the Chief Guest was Ambassador Inam-ul-Haq. The purpose of the conference was to make an assessment of the existing and emerging trends in the international nuclear order as well as its relevance to the South Asian situation.

CISS also hosted a round-table with an Iranian Scholar, Dr. Saadullah Zarei, hailing from a Tehran-based think tank, *Andish-e-Sazaan-e-Noor*. The topic for the round-table was “The Iranian Perspective on Iran-Pakistan Relations and Regional Security.”

In December 2017, CISS held its annual joint CISS-IISS workshop on “Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia”. Former DG Strategic Plans Division and Adviser National Command Authority (NCA), Lt. General Khalid Kidwai was the keynote speaker at this event. The purpose of the workshop was to update and assess the current situation pertaining to South Asian strategic stability. This workshop was the sixth in the series following the ones held in four preceding years.

The research activities of CISS are getting better day by day. Our quarterly publication, “CISS Insight” continues to provide in-depth analyses of strategic issues confronting Pakistan and the region. Moreover, CISS also brings out an online Articles Brief. Six years in a row, CISS has made well researched contributions to national and international discourse on security, strategy and regional issues.

Finally, during the year, the Executive Director and other members of CISS research team participated in international conferences and fellowship programs abroad. Notably the CISS Executive Director attended the International Conference on Nuclear Policy in Washington DC, USA, hosted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Dr. Naeem Salik, Senior Research Fellow CISS and Ms. Huma Rehman, Senior Research Fellow, also attended the conference.

I am proud to share the achievements of the year 2017, which is the result of the team work here at CISS. Our dedicated team of researchers continued to work hard, ably supported by the administrative staff, to achieve higher standards. The results of our efforts at CISS are the result of motivation to produce purposeful and meaningful research output. We hope to set a trend of research based analysis helpful for both academia and policy-making. CISS looks forward to 2018 with continued focus on strategic issues within Pakistan and abroad with foreign partners as well as local think tanks and academia.

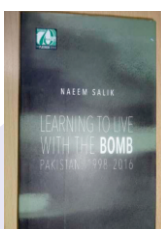
*Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi*  
*Executive Director, CISS*

# BOOK LAUNCH



# CISS Book Launch Titled Learning to Live with the Bomb, Pakistan – 1998-2016

## 30 March, 2017



The Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) organized the book launch titled “Learning to Live with the Bomb, Pakistan – 1998-2016” by Dr. Naeem Salik, Senior Research Fellow with CISS on March 30, 2017 in Islamabad Club. The Book launch was well attended by local and foreign experts of nuclear policy and South Asian security, academics, policy makers and journalists.

# CONFERENCE





# Nuclear Order: Stability, Trends and Challenges

## October 5, 2017



Conference on '**Nuclear Order: Stability, Trends and Challenges**' organized by Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS), on October 5, 2017 at Serena Hotel-Islamabad. The keynote address was delivered by Ms. Tehmina Janjua, the Foreign Secretary Government of Pakistan. The Chief Guest on the occasion was Ambassador Inam-ul-Haque, former Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

Eminent speakers and session chairs from different research think tanks and prestigious universities spoke on a large spectrum of issues pertaining to the Global Nuclear Order. They included Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director CISS, Dr. Naeem Salik, Ambassador (Retd) Tariq Osman Hyder, Dr. Zafar Iqbal Cheema, President and Executive Director Strategic Vision Institute (SVI); Dr. Zafar Jaspal from Qaid-i-Azam University, Mr. Khalid Banuri, Mr. Kamran Akhtar, Dr. Rabia Akhtar from University of Lahore and Dr. Maria Sultan, Director General South Asian Strategic Stability Institute SASSI. The conference was well-attended by foreign diplomats, members of academia, policy-makers, journalists and students.

# ROUND-TABLES



## CISS Media Briefing on Nuclear Issues

### January 23, 2017

A round table briefing to select media personnel was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) at its premises on January 23, 2017. The objective of the briefing was to give a broad overview of Pakistan's perspective on the nuclear issues and creating a better technical understanding of the journalist community on these issues. The meeting was chaired by Executive Director CISS Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi and the briefing was given by CISS Senior Research Fellow Mr. Syed Mohammad Ali.

In his introductory remarks Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi highlighted the strong need for interaction between academia, think tanks and the journalist community so that a better understanding on complex technical and strategic issues can be brought out.



## Science and Diplomacy with Mr. Kamran Akhter

### February 27, 2017



A roundtable discussion was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) titled “**Science and Diplomacy**” on February 27, 2017 in the CISS Conference Room. The guest speaker at the occasion was Mr. Kamran Akhtar, Director General Disarmament at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with Executive Director CISS Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi in the chair. Other participants present at the roundtable included Dr. Naeem Salik, members from academia and students from universities and journalists. The purpose of the roundtable was to draw out the significance of technology and international relations and its utility as a bridge between states.

## Nuclear Ban Treaty: Debating the Missing Link

### April 13, 2017



A round table discussion was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad titled "**Nuclear Ban Treaty: Debating the missing Link**" on April 13th 2017 at the Centers' conference room in Islamabad. The objective of the event was to analyze recent developments regarding the prospects of a global nuclear weapons ban treaty which was being discussed in the United Nations (UN) and international conferences at the time.



# Pakistan's Relations with China and Russia: Opportunities and Prospects April 27, 2017



A round table discussion was jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) titled **“Relations with China and Russia: Opportunities and Prospects”** on April 27th 2017 at Serena Hotel Islamabad. The objective of the event was to discuss the ongoing geopolitical power play between major powers China, Russia and US and analyzing Pakistan's response and policy options.



## A Review of 27th NSG Plenary: Outcome and Implications July 6, 2017



Center for International Strategic Studies organized a round table titled **Review of 27th NSG Plenary: Outcome and Implications** on July 06, 2017 in the Islamabad Club. The purpose of the event was to analyze the outcome of the recent official plenary of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), which was held in late June 2017, and also to take stock of recent developments on nuclear front in South Asia.

Former Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee General (rtd) Ehsan ul Haq was the chief guest and the keynote speaker at the event.

# Trump Administration's Prospective Policy Towards Pakistan with Dr. Moeed Yusuf August 3, 2017



Center for International Strategic Studies Islamabad organized a round table discussion titled **“Trump Administration's Prospective Policy Towards Pakistan”** on August 03, 2017 in its premises. The purpose of the event was to assess the ongoing debate in the United States policy-making circles and think tanks in Washington before formalizing the US policy on South Asia and how the likely policy may impact US-Pakistan relations.

# Counter Value to Counter Force: Change in India's Nuclear Doctrine

## August 17, 2017



Center for International Strategic Studies Islamabad organized a round-table discussion titled **“From Counter Value to Counter Force: Change in India's Nuclear Doctrine”** on August 18, 2017 on its premises. The event was chaired by Executive Director CISS Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi and the speakers for the event were Dr. Christopher Clary and Dr. Mansoor Ahmed while Dr. Naeem Salik was the discussant.

The purpose was to assess the recent debate about the implications that India may be shifting from its No First Use doctrine and the implications of its stance for Pakistan as well as the regional strategic stability if India changes from No. First Use to First Use.



# Pakistan's Nasr: A French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons August 23, 2017



Centre for International Strategic Studies organized a round-table titled **Pakistan's Nasr: A French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons** on the 23rd of August, 2017. The speaker on the occasion was Dr. Christine M. Leah, who is also the author of a paper by the same title. In her presentation, Dr. Leah said that the Pakistani acquisition of short range, low yield nuclear weapons had led it to be singled out as a state that needs to “normalize” its nuclear program, but that the French concept of nuclear weapons during the Cold War was similar to Pakistan's perspective on short range nuclear weapons.

# Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Imperatives and Opportunities in the Next Decade

November 7, 2017



The Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) conducted a round-table on the subject “**Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Imperatives and Opportunities**” in collaboration with Konrad Adenaur Stiftung (*KAS*) on the 7th of November, 2017 at Nazara Lounge, Serena Hotel. The speakers on the occasion were Mr. Inam-ul-Haq, a Pakistani career diplomat who also served as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in 2002 and Foreign Secretary in 2000; Mr. Khusro Bakhtiar, currently Chairman Foreign Affairs Committee, National Assembly; and Mr. Salman Bashir, Pakistani diplomat who served as the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and as the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India.

# The Iranian Perspective on Iran-Pakistan Relations and Regional Security

## November 8, 2017



The Center for International Strategic Studies organized a round-table discussion on Wednesday, the 8th of November, 2017 titled **“The Iranian Perspective on Iran-Pakistan Relations and Regional Security”** at Serena Hotel, Islamabad. The speaker for the occasion was Dr. Saadullah Zarei, an Iranian scholar from Tehran-based think tank, Andisheh-Sazan-e-Noor Institute for Strategic Studies. The round-table was chaired by Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, Chairman Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI) and former Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran with a welcome and opening address by Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director CISS.



## National Security Decision-Making in a Comparative Context: China, India and Pakistan December 12, 2017



CISS conducted a round-table with Mr. Tyler Jost on **National Security Decision-Making in a Comparative Context: China, India and Pakistan**, which is the subject of his research thesis. Mr. Jost is a PhD scholar in the Department of Government at Harvard University and visiting fellow at the Center for International Strategic Studies.

# WORKSHOP



# Defence, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia

## December 6, 2017



The annual CISS-IISS Workshop on Defense, Deterrence and Stability was held on December 6, 2017 at Nazara Lounge at Serena Hotel. The keynote speaker for the workshop was Lt. General (R) Khalid Kidwai. The Chairs included Amb. Najmuddin Sheikh, Dr. Zafar Iqbal Cheema and Mr. Khalid Banuri. Each of the three sessions in the workshop had two IISS and two Pakistani speakers for each session, including Professor Jack Gill, Professor Rasul Baksh Rais, Mr. Rahul Roy-Chaudhary, Amb. Khalid Mahmood, Mr. Mark Fitzpatrick, Mr. Syed Muhammad Ali, Dr. Matthew Harries, Admiral (R) Mukhtar Khan, Mr. Desmond Bowen, Dr. Naeem Salik, Brigadier Ben Barry (Retd.) and Brig. Zahir Kazmi. The Workshop was preceded by a welcome address by Executive Director CISS, Ambassador Sarwar Naqvi, and Mr. Desmond Bowen, IISS Team Leader and IISS Consulting Member, followed by the keynote address.

# ABROAD ACTIVITIES



## CISS TEAM MEMBERS ACTIVITIES ABROAD

### **Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi Executive Director CISS**

- In March, ED CISS Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi participated in the International Conference on Nuclear Policy in Washington DC, USA, hosted by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- The ED CISS held a dinner meeting with new Pakistan Ambassador Mr. Aizaz Chaudhary in Washington DC.
- The ED CISS attended the Pakistan National Day Reception at Pakistan Embassy, Washington DC.
- The ED CISS also attended Pakistan National Day Reception at Pakistan Consulate hosted by Consul General Raja Ali Ejaz.
- Ambassador Naqvi had a dinner meeting with Amb. Maleeha Lodhi in New York.

### **Dr. Naeem Salik, Senior Research Fellow, CISS**

- Participated in Carnegie International Nuclear Policy Conference, Washington D.C. USA in March 2017.
- Participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, in Bangkok in May 2017.
- Participated in Ottawa Dialogue, Nuclear Working Group, in Bangkok in October 2017.
- Participated in Atlantic Council Conference, Washington D.C. USA in November 2017.

### **Ms. Huma Rehman, Senior Research Fellow, CISS**

- Participated in International Carnegie Nuclear Conference, in Washington D.C, 18-22 March, 2017
- Presented a Paper and Poster at International Nuclear Material Management (INMM) 58th Meeting at Indian Wells-California-US, 16-20 July, 2017.
- Presented a paper at IAEA International Conference on Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and Nuclear Facilities, 13-17 November 2017.

### **Ms. Saima Aman Sial, Senior Research Fellow, CISS**

- South Asian Voices Fellow at The Henry L. Stimson Center Washington D.C for Spring; January-July 2017.



## CISS OUTREACH IN 2017

- **CISS Lecture Series:** A Lecture Series on *Introduction to Strategic issues and Foreign Relations of Pakistan* was conducted by the Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS) for students of The Millennium University Campus (TMUC), Roots Education System. The two-week series started on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July and culminated on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, 2017. It was followed by a certificate distribution ceremony among the course attendees.

The series included lectures by Brig. Naeem Salik, Dr. Javed Khurshid, Ms. Saima Aman Sial, Mr. Muhammad Sarmad Zia and Mr. Majid Mehmood. These lectures covered a range of topics, pertaining to Pakistan's security challenges, its role in the global war on terror, its foreign policy imperatives, nuclear program and relations with its neighbors and major powers of the world.

- ED CISS Ambassador Naqvi delivered a lecture on “UN Organization” at Beaconhouse Model UN Festival in July.

- CISS took on one Distinguished Visiting Fellow and hosted two Visiting Research Fellows this year: Dr. Syed Javaid Khurshid, who formerly worked at Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission in various senior capacities; Dr. Christine Leah, a former Postdoctoral Fellow and lecturer at Yale University; and Mr. Tyler Jost, a PhD candidate from Harvard University.

a) Dr. Khurshid partook in various activities during his tenure at CISS. These include: Delivering lectures and presentations at various platforms, ranging from universities and international forums of IAEA and the UN on a wide range of topics, including nuclear power, climate change, export controls of technology, and other science and technology and research-related subjects. He also published various articles in the journal magazine, Global Affairs, on similar themes.

a) Dr. Leah worked on two advocacy papers and several opinion articles during her 5-month fellowship at the Center. She also appeared as a reviewer at CISS launch of the book “Learning to Live with the Bomb - Pakistan 1998-2016” in March, and as speaker on two round-tables in April and August 2017. Her papers include “Pakistan's *Nasr*: A

French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons” which was published as a CISS monograph in November 2017, and “Arms Control, Arms Transfers and Strategic Stability in South Asia”, which will be published in the upcoming CISS Insight Journal.

a) Mr. Tyler Jost of Harvard University visited CISS for the purpose of conducting his own research for his PhD thesis. CISS arranged meetings with various academicians and policy practitioners in Islamabad and Lahore for personal interviews with Mr. Jost.

- CISS Researchers attended many round-tables, conferences, seminars and workshops hosted by local think-tanks. Participation by CISS experts ensured their input on a variety of forums where people engaged in discussions regarding policy matters. These events usually include researchers and policy experts from a wide range of academic and professional institutions.



## CISS PUBLICATIONS 2017

- Naeem Salik, “Learning to Live with the Bomb, Pakistan – 1998-2016”, Oxford University Press.
- CISS Quarterly Journal “CISS Insight” four issues were published containing research articles and book reviews.
- Two CISS Article Brief volumes containing articles, analyses and op-eds by CISS team published in various newspapers throughout 2017.
- Newspaper articles by CISS researchers on issues of South Asian Security, Middle East politics and Nuclear Issues throughout 2017 in various English newspapers.
  1. Saima A. Sial, "Nirbhay Undermines Deterrence Stability in South Asia," South Asian Voices, November 10, 2017, <https://southasianvoices.org/hot-takes-indias-cruise-missile-nirbhay/>.
  2. Maryam Zubair, "Trump and the Nuclear Taboo," Daily Times, October 5, 2017, <https://dailytimes.com.pk/113936/trump-and-the-nuclear-taboo/>.
  3. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, “Growing nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean Region,” The Express Tribune, September 09, 2017, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1501355/growing-nuclearisation-indian-ocean-region/>.
  4. Maryam Zubair and Muhammad Sarmad Zia, “India's Joint Doctrine and its Grand Strategy,” The Express Tribune, August 17, 2017, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1483185/indias-joint-doctrine-grand-strategy/>.
  5. Maryam Zubair, “Washington's North Korea Problem,” Foreign Policy News, July 25, 2017, <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/07/25/washingtons-north-korea-problem/>.
  6. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, “Cyber Attacks and the Middle East,” Foreign Policy News, July 10, 2017, <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/07/10/cyber-attacks-middle-east/>.
  7. Amna Ashraf Khan, “A Rift in the Gulf,” The Nation, June 19, 2017, <https://nation.com.pk/19-Jun-2017/a-rift-in-the-gulf>.

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11. Muhammad Waqar Anwar, "The Changing Maritime Security Dynamics in the SCS," Foreign Policy News, June 02, 2017, <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/06/02/changing-maritime-security-dynamics-scs/>
12. Muhammad Sarmad Zia and Saima Aman Sial, "Youm-e-Takbeer: Staying the Course," The Express Tribune, June 01, 2017, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1424085/youm-e-takbeer-staying-course/>
13. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, "India's New Maneuvers and Their Impact on Pak-India Relations," The Nation, May 31, 2017, <http://nation.com.pk/31-May-2017/india-s-new-maneuvers>
14. Ali Sarwar Naqvi, "Remembering the Nuclear Tests," The News, May 30, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/207470-Remembering-the-nuclear-tests>
15. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, "The Far-Right and Europe's Future," Foreign Policy News, May 19, 2017, <http://foreignpolicynews.org/2017/05/19/far-right-europes-future/>
16. Saima Aman Sial, "Non-Proliferation Politics," The News, April 13, 2017, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/198269-Non-proliferation-politics>
17. Christine M. Leah and Saima Aman Sial "Nuclear Ban Treaty: a Pakistani Perspective," The Express Tribune, April 13, 2017, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1381947/nuclear-ban-treaty-pakistani-perspective/>
18. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, "Russian Military Delegation's Visit to Waziristan," The Nation, April 14, 2017, <http://nation.com.pk/14-Apr-2017/russian-visit-to-waziristan>

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<http://ciss.org.pk/thinking-strategically-about-a-nuclear-ban/>
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23. Muhammad Sarmad Zia, "Pak-Russia Defence Relations," The Nation, March 27, 2017, <http://nation.com.pk/27-Mar-2017/pak-russia-defense-relations>
24. Maryam Zubair, "The Baseless Allegations of Pakistan-North Korea Nuclear Links Shroud the Weakness of the Non-Proliferation Regime," The Nation, March 12, 2017.  
<http://nation.com.pk/12-Mar-2017/the-baseless-allegations-of-pakistan-north-korea-nuclear-links-shroud-the-weakness-of-the-non-proliferation-regime>
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- **Monograph Series**

1. "Pakistan's Nasr: a French Perspective on Short-Range Nuclear Weapons", by CISS Fellow Dr. Christine M. Leah.









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