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Report – Inauguration Ceremony
of
“Arms Control and Disarmament Centre”
at
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Introduction to ACDC - Mr. Malik Qasim Mustafa, Director ACDC

The international security environment is changing rapidly. Arms races at international and regional levels are picking pace. Major powers are increasing their military spending to modernising their conventional capabilities; developing and deploying lethal technologies; increasing their reliance on nuclear weapons; and are shifting away from their doctrines and postures. Instead of honouring their commitment to nuclear disarmament, they are withdrawing from major arms control and disarmament treaties and agreements. This is putting tremendous pressure not only on the existing international arms control and disarmament norms, but also on countries like Pakistan. However, being a responsible nuclear state, Pakistan supports international arms control and disarmament instruments consistent with its national interest and is committed to promoting regional peace and strategic stability.

With a vision to contribute focused research and quality policy input through in-depth analysis and dialogue on issues of arms control, disarmament, nuclear safety and security, nuclear deterrence, emerging technologies, and challenges to peace and strategic stability, we have decided to establish this dedicated Arms Control & Disarmament Centre (ACDC) at the Institute, from within the existing human and financial resources.

The Centre is established to perform the following important functions:

- It would monitor regional and international developments pertaining to strategic stability, disarmament, non-proliferation, arms control and related domains.
- It would organise dialogues in the form of in-house meetings, roundtable discussions, national and international seminars, conferences and workshops, and book launches on themes of relevance to Pakistan.
- The Centre would disseminate information through research projects, special reports, magazines, newsletters, info-graphs, electronic flyers, and electronic and social media tools.

- It would provide quality policy inputs to the government and relevant official departments to promote and strengthen Pakistan's narrative on nuclear issues and arms control and disarmament.
- And last but not least, the Centre would maintain a database and contact with relevant official organisations, similar national and international think tanks, institutions and centres.

Introductory Remarks - Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Director General ISSI

Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry extended a warm welcome to all distinguished guests. He apprised the audience of what ISSI has been doing in 2019 and is planning on doing in 2020. The Institute, he said, has three streams of work. One is the research which is our primary field of activity and we have been producing peer reviewed quarterly journal that has been published since 1977. Then we produce topical Issue Briefs almost on a weekly basis which focus on current affairs and issues of global concern. The institute has an in-house team of 24 researchers, where we focus on a lot of quality work, brainstorming sessions to refine ideas and research methodology, with zero tolerance for plagiarism. Therefore, the research work produced here is meeting all HEC criteria and a year-long effort will hopefully result in the up-gradation of our journal category at HEC. Moreover, our research articles are internationally indexed with leading journals and data bases so that our narrative and research findings are available for a wider global audience.

The second stream of activity involves dialogue and holding different forms of interactive events. In the past 10 months, we have organised 62 of these events. It is not the quantity that we aspire, but the synergy between what we research on and the dialogue that generates over those issues and areas of concern that matters. Also, now we are doing events in a manner that they become building blocks, for example we did a series on energy issues from Pakistan's perspective, one from a practitioner and another from climate change perspective. The purpose remains to create synergy and explore various dimensions to core issues, so that whatever recommendations come forward are of value to the relevant stakeholders and government.

The third stream of our activity is to provide policy input on topics that are agitating the government and key stakeholders. In this regard, we also hold a series of Tuesday Dialogues under Chatham house rules which involve key stakeholders, these inputs are then weaved into Confidential Briefs. The Institute maintains a close liaison with MOFA, not only as they are our patrons, but also we seek their guidance and support in selecting topics which demand critical, dedicated research that could feed into an evidence-based policy formation process. In this regard, the Institute is privileged to be on the advisory council being formed by the Foreign Minister.

The vision behind creating these Centres is to produce high quality dedicated research work which is relevant to our policy makers, but also, is read internationally. Hence, the focus is quality and linkages with databases, and you will be pleased to know that we have already been linked with scores of indexing agencies which in addition control tons of databases. The methodology to achieving these objectives is to utilise our existing resource and to achieve more with less input. We are making a conscious effort to optimally use our existing resource in these Centres.

The significance of nuclear deterrence for Pakistan has increased manifold, thereby giving us the moment for starting with ACDC on priority basis with regards to our overall vision for the Institute. The investments we have made on nuclear control and safety, export control regime and other initiatives merits international standards. Therefore, we believe that there is a need to inform international audience and stakeholders about Pakistan's efforts and its robust nuclear security and safety mechanism, as there are many detractors who wish to tarnish our credentials and image especially as a responsible nuclear state. Moreover, in present times when we have a belligerent government in our eastern neighbourhood which is keen on carrying out military adventures and escalate crises in the region. Therefore, in the given circumstances, the responsibility and utility of ACDC is well-timed. The ACDC team has already been introduced by Malik Qasim as its Director, Ms. Amna Rafique has expertise in emerging technologies and Ms. Ghazala Jalil is our senior researcher with tons of publications are additional research support which form the core team.

In future, we intend to open a Centre for India Study, Centre for Middle East and Africa, Centre for American Studies and others. However, we wish to do it in a linear manner, consolidating one step and Centre at a time. In this regard, we would need your support, guidance from our partners and well wishers, particularly from ACDA and ACDAS. We intend to make an advisory board comprising the strategic community, most of whom are present here. The objective for the Centre remains to work for a positive image of Pakistan, highlight its efforts, and research on various dimensions of strategic stability.

Keynote Address - Mr. Sohail Mahmood, Foreign Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad

I would like to thank the Institute of Strategic Studies for inviting me to the launch of the Arms Control & Disarmament Centre (ACDC). For informed and effective decision-making anywhere, a healthy link between policy practitioners and the academia is indispensable. Government machineries that benefit from rigorous academic input have richer choices for policy-formulation. I, therefore, express my deep appreciation to Ambassador Aizaz, Director General, Institute of Strategic Studies for this timely initiative.

The international security environment is in a state of flux, with profound and far-reaching changes underway. Strategic stability is being negatively affected at the global and regional levels. The long-standing and painfully negotiated arms control and non-proliferation agreements are unravelling. There is an ongoing erosion of multilateralism and growing polarisation in the field of international security and disarmament. The concept of strategic stability is being challenged by newer notions like 'strategic competition' and 'strategic dominance'. It is important for our researchers to assess the full import of these developments and their potential impact, especially with regard to the security situation in South Asia.

Strategic stability in South Asia is being undermined due to significant developments in our neighbourhood. These include the massive build-up of nuclear and conventional forces by India, acquisition and introduction of new destabilising capabilities, and nuclearisation of the Indian Ocean. War-fighting capabilities have been demonstrated in Outer Space, thus threatening its sustainability. Anti-ballistic missiles have been introduced. There has been a constant increase in the readiness, sophistication and diversification of all types of delivery systems and platforms.

The threshold of conflict has been lowered as a result of aggressive postures which seek to create space for war in a nuclearised context. The flawed notion of establishment of a 'new normal' and fantasies of 'punishing Pakistan' while remaining below the threshold of a nuclear conflict demonstrate irresponsible and reckless behaviour by a state which seeks to divert attention from its illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir and repression of the Kashmiri people.

The world saw a demonstration of this belligerent military posture earlier this year, when in the wake of the Pulwama incident in occupied Kashmir, there was an attempt to resort to aggression against Pakistan on a completely false pretence. While responding effectively in self-defence, Pakistan exhibited restraint and responsibility. However, it is not always possible to predict the trajectory of escalation in similar situations and Pakistan cannot be expected to one-sidedly pick up the burden for maintaining peace all the times.

The BJP government's illegal and unilateral actions of 5 August 2019 to change the internationally recognized disputed status of occupied Jammu and Kashmir and alter its demographic structure - in flagrant violation of the Security Council resolutions, UN Charter and bilateral agreements - have engendered further volatility in South Asia. The irresponsible statements made by senior members of the BJP government, including on nuclear issues and threats of dismemberment, leave little doubt about the reckless mind-set at work. They also illustrate the serious perils for peace that stem from the intersection of an extremist ideology and hegemonic ambitions.

The topmost priority of the government is socio-economic development and improving the lives of the people of Pakistan. This necessitates a conducive regional environment. Pakistan, therefore, desires peace and strategic stability in the region. Our desire for peace should not, however, be mistaken as a weakness. Let there be no doubt about Pakistan's will and capability to defend itself against any kind of aggression.

Pakistan remains open to consideration of measures for crisis management, risk reduction, transparency and confidence-building. Peace and stability in South Asia cannot be achieved without resolving the core issue of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with relevant UN Security Council resolutions; without agreeing on reciprocal measures for nuclear and missile restraint; and without instituting a balance between conventional forces. Our proposal for a Strategic

Restraint Regime in South Asia, based on these three inter-locking elements, remains on the table.

At the global level, Pakistan continues to actively support and contribute towards non-proliferation instruments and arrangements. For medium and small-sized countries, the best guarantee for peace and stability and against any arbitrary actions by bigger powers, remains a strong non-discriminatory rule-based global order. It is, therefore, in our interest to strengthen the non-proliferation regime. However, for the credibility of this regime it is essential to ensure even-handed approaches in terms of application of rules and access to dual-use technologies for peaceful uses. Discrimination and deviations from established non-proliferation standards, based on political and commercial considerations, should be done away with. We are witness to the negative impact of the 2008 India-specific NSG exemption for the non-proliferation regime, as well as its repercussions for regional stability.

The objectives of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation cannot be achieved in a vacuum. There is a need for reviewing and strengthening the UN mechanisms for the resolution of disputes, prevention of conflict, and collective security. The current paralysis of the UN disarmament machinery can only be addressed by creating the necessary conditions which ensure equal and undiminished security for all states. This is yet another aspect which demands further attention by the research community.

It is my hope that the Arms Control and Disarmament Centre, as well as other think-tanks working in this area, will generate focused research and quality policy inputs through objective analyses on the pressing issues and the new challenges being faced by the international community in the area of arms control and disarmament. In particular, it is imperative for us to fully grasp the rapid developments in the areas of Artificial Intelligence, lethal autonomous weapon systems, cyber technologies, weaponisation of space and their impact on modern warfare and deterrence stability. In this regard, we also have to focus on the need for evolving global normative instruments to regulate the use of new technologies as this is an essential part of disarmament and arms control diplomacy.

We also need to study how some of the military applications of emerging technologies might lead to restrictions on transfers of such technologies for genuine peaceful applications.

Moreover, the global prevalence of some of the technologies would also entail a review of the existing export control regimes and the need for making them more inclusive. It will also require us to give a thought to new approaches towards risk reduction, transparency and confidence-building measures among states.

Finally, I would invite you to also analyse broader socio-political dimensions of the arms control and disarmament issues which include the role of leadership; its strategic vision for peace, development and security; national outlook and supremacist tendencies in a society; as well as the conduct of media in crisis situations. The motivation driving states to acquire military capabilities serve as a useful guide for the future trajectories of their arms control policies, doctrines and force postures.

I thank Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry again for this initiative and hope that ACDC would make a valuable contribution to the policy discourse on vitally important issues of arms control and disarmament.

Mr. Mohammad Kamran, Director General Arms Control and Disarmament, MOFA

Pakistan finds itself in a region where security dynamics are constantly changing, which makes research on strategic security issues and arms control very significant for the foreign office. At times, we as practitioners fall short on fresh ideas and research based on academic rigour. This is where the establishment of ACDC is a much welcomed development. For a medium-sized country like Pakistan, a strong rule based non-proliferation regime and a global order constitutes regional and global stability and security. Therefore, it is in the interest of Pakistan to strengthen global non-proliferation regime and be a contributor to it, as it ensures that behaviour of powerful states is put under some restraint, which then cannot take arbitrary actions against smaller states. However, for the global non-proliferation regime to be really effective and credible, it has to be non-discriminatory, and respect right to security for all states. Unfortunately, this has not been the case, as powerful states, when against their interest, walk out of treaties. This violates the UN Convention on Arms Control and Disarmament that ensures equal opportunities and right to security for all.

Hence, this is the framework within which we have to operate while striking a balance between security needs of Pakistan and at the same time strengthening global non-proliferation regime. ACDC has to view issues like dual use technologies and emerging technologies, where a normative framework is still evolving, and that is research community has to look at the rules of behaviour of states. These research inputs will help us in global discussions and in evolution of global framework for such new technologies, while at the same time safeguarding Pakistan's interest and security. The developing countries do not want to take the burden of non-proliferation in a discriminatory manner.

Finally, talking about the impact of perceptions, issues related to doctrines and forced postures, Pakistan has a very viable and justified approach towards arms control and disarmament issues given our security constraints. Still, Pakistan can sometimes eschew some of the rhetoric and clearly manifest Pakistan's intentions.

Brig. Zahir Kazmi, Director General, Arms Control and Disarmament Center, Strategic Plans Division (SPD)

The Institute of Strategic Studies has taken a wonderful initiative in the form of formation of ACDC, which is reminiscent of Ambassador Aizaz's role as Sherpa of NSS, envoy in US and leading the foreign office. I am sure that as first Director of ACDC, Malik Qasim Mustafa is the most suitable person to lead the Centre. One can count several institutions that have come up since 2007 dealing with arms control affairs and have produced valuable work.

ACDC shall be unique in the sense that its title brings sharp focus on to arms control at an important juncture and during very interesting times. At the systematic level, arms control is in a freeze. Arms control is an important component of strategic stability but major powers are currently seeking stability through arms competition rather than restraint.

Among other factors, this dangerous trend is a product of new technology tiers like hypersonic vehicles, autonomous systems and cyberspace. Since these technologies haven't yet reached their plateau, all nuclear powers are holding their arms control cards to their chest and shall only play from a position of competitive streak advantage – this is laden with great risk.

Therefore, ACDC shall have to come up with out-of-the-box and practical ideas on arms control – that’s a big challenge and the Centre has the potential to meet it.

Arms control can’t happen in vacuum and seldom unilaterally – it’s usually done in mutual benefit amongst rational state actors. If there is one region that needs it most, it’s South Asia. There is a need to:

- Resume dialogue
- Pacta Sunt servanda i.e. the existing treaties must be kept, unlike killing age old treaties
- Pursue dispute resolution and engage in all measures to manage crises and prevent their escalation.
- Instead of embracing military technology that search for strait, introduce policies that allow development of only those weapons systems that stabilise deterrence – laws are an example, technology creep is straining stabilisation.

I sincerely pray that ACDC meets our great expectations by producing tremendous research and holding worthy dialogue. Else it can easily drift into becoming another talk shop.

Mr. Khalil-ur-Rehman Hashmi, Pakistan's Ambassador Permanent Representative Designate to UN, Geneva

I shall be talking about what is working and what is not working in arms control and disarmament domain. I would congratulate Ambassador Aizaz for taking this useful step towards establishing ACDC. I used the word useful, as practitioners working abroad on diplomatic missions we are there representing Pakistan's narrative and finding focused research sometimes becomes very essential. In this regard, ACDC will play a vital role and produce quality research, eventually becoming a centre of excellence for quality inputs to the policymaking process.

Since I shall be going to Geneva which is considered to be a major negotiating forum on arms control and disarmament, therefore, briefly touching upon some broad traditional issues, i.e. nuclear disarmament, weaponisation of outer space, negative security assurances and fossil material debate. For many decades there has been many discussions on these issues, but not

many negotiations have taken place. As Kamran said and rightly so, some of the treaties CD was eventually able to negotiate and agree upon, for instance the Chemical Convention on CTBT and others. There isn't much happening, but I think that from a centre's point of view and even as a consumer and Pakistan's representative in Geneva, we would certainly benefit from research and inputs from emerging technologies and subjects like cyberspace security, and lethal autonomous weapons which is particularly housed in Geneva. Since Geneva is also a hub on emerging issues concerning biological weapons conventions, therefore emerging issues like synthetic biological should be researched upon.

I would like to put forward a few recommendations since when you conduct research the spectrum is very wide, ranging from traditional and conventional side to strategic, nuclear and biological aspect, and on the other hand one has to regulate and shape a normative framework on emerging technologies.

Another interesting area would be the mechanics of disarmament, and what I mean by it is the constituents of the disarmament machinery. There is a big debate out there how to revitalise this big machinery on disarmament where we have our own perspective which is that this machinery is essentially a tool and it cannot be revitalised without addressing the wider context. So the CD itself also does not operate in a vacuum so it is driven by policies and the impact of those policies.

This would bring me to the final point, which is to look into the linkages between disarmament and development, which seems to be lost and is very important in our regional context. Once again, I congratulate Ambassador Aizaz and his team, while looking forward to some vital input from this newly welcomed addition of ACDC to ISSI.

PICTURES OF THE EVENT





