TWO DAY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON

# THREATS TO SECURITY
# IN THE 21st CENTURY

## FINDING A GLOBAL WAY FORWARD

# # S E C C O N U O L 1 8

MAY 5-6, 2018

# AGENDA & ABSTRACTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF LAHORE

School of Integrated
Social Sciences

**Two-Day International Conference on
Threats to Security in the 21st Century:
Finding a Global Way Forward**

May 5-6, 2018

Organized by the School of Integrated Social Sciences,
University of Lahore, Pakistan

**TWO-DAY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THREATS TO SECURITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY: FINDING A GLOBAL WAY FORWARD**

**May 5-6, 2018**

**May 5Th, 2018 Venue:**
Grand Ball Room-A Nishat Hotel, Johar Town, Lahore

**Opening Ceremony:** 10:00Am-12:00 Pm

**Registration Opens:** 8:00Am-9:45Am

| 10:00-1010 | Recitation from the Holy Quran |
|---|---|
| 10:10-10:20 | Opening Remarks by Dr. Rabia Akhtar, Conference Chair |
| 10:20-10:30 | Welcome Note by Mr. Awais Raoof, Chairman BoG, University of Lahore |
| 10:30-11:30 | Address by the Chief Guest |
| 11:30-12:00 | Souvenir Distribution, Group Photo |
| 12:00-12:30 | Hi-tea |

**FIRST PLENARY SESSION**
**NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVES: OPPORTUNITIES & CHALLENGES**

**VENUE:** GRAND BALL ROOM-A
**NISHAT HOTEL, JOHAR TOWN, LAHORE**

| 12:30-1:30pm | Ejaz Haider in Conversation with Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, Former FM |
|---|---|
| 1:30-1:45 | Najmuddin A. Shaikh, Former FS *"Pakistan's Foreign Policy Challenges in the 21st Century"* |
| 1:45-2:00 | Dr. Tariq Rauf, Consultant CTBTO, Vienna *"Current Status of the Multilateral Nuclear Disarmament and Arms Control Regimes"* |
| 2:00-2:15 | Khalid Banuri, Former DG ACDA, SPD *"Rise of Ultra-Nationalism: Imagining the Risk"* |
| 2:15-2:30 | Prof. Saeed Shafqat, FCU *"China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Building National Consensus, Curbing Terrorism and Managing Regional Rivalries"* |
| 2:30-2:45 | Dr. Farrukh Saleem, Consultant Economist *"Economy: The Neglected Dimension of National Security"* |
| 2:45-3:15 | Discussion and Q&A |

**LUNCHTIME KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

*India-Pakistan: Seeking Security through Truth, Reconciliation and Peace*

3:15-4:15pm
Mani Shankar Aiyer, Former Indian Consul-General to Karachi (1978-1982), Former Cabinet Minister (2004-2009)

**SECOND PLENARY SESSION**
*SECURITY CHALLNEGES IN THE 21th CENTURY:*
*REGIONAL AND GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES*


**VENUE: GRAND BALL ROOM-A**

| | |
|---|---|
| 4:15-4:30 | Tong Zhao, Carnegie Tsinghua Center, Beijing *"A Grand Bargain versus an Incremental Approach toward Resolving the North Korean Nuclear Crisis"* |
| 4:30-4:45 | Rahimullah Yusafzai, Journalist *"Contemporary Security Challenges in Afghanistan"* |
| 4:45-5:00 | Shashank Joshi, Royal United Services Institute, London *"European Security in Flux"* |
| 5:00-5:15 | Dr. Rohaida Nordin, The National University of Malaysia *"Refugees and Threat to Security within the South East Asian Region: Revisiting the Non-Interference Policy"* |
| 5:15-5:30 | Dr. Muhammad Ali, Kaduna State Vigilance Service, Nigeria *"Contemporary Security Challenges in Africa: A Regional Perspective"* |
| 5:30-6:00 | Discussion and Q&A |

**MAY 5th DINNER VENUE:  THE POET, GREATER IQBAL PARK, MINAR-E-PAKISTAN**

**7:30pm-9:30pm**
**Keynote Address by Kimberly Dozier, Executive Editor, The Cipher Brief**

***Disinformation Makes for a Divided Washington and an Unstable World***

**INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THREATS TO SECURITY IN THE  21st CENTURY: FINDING A GLOBAL WAY FORWARD**


**DAY 2:  MAY 6TH, 2018**
**VENUE:** UNIVERSITY OF LAHORE, DEFENSE ROAD, LAHORE


**PLENARY  SESSION**
*CONTEMPORARY SECURITY PERSPECTIVES*

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:30-10:00am | Ejaz Haider in Conversation with Dr. Moeed Yusuf, Associate VP Asia Center, USIP |
| 10:00-10:20 | Dr. Najma Najam, Virtual University *"Threats to Security in the 21st Century: The Brain Matters!"* |
| 10:20-10:40 | Dr. Christopher Bluth, University of Bradford *"Persistent Conflict between the Nuclear Weapons States: Comparing South Asia and the Korean Peninsula"* |
| 10:40-11:00 | Dr. Adil Sultan, King's College London *"Nuclear Weapons and Security"* |
| 11:00-11:20 | Amb. Gamini, Keerawella, Regional Center for Security Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka *"Unpacking Regional Security in South Asia in the 21st Century: A Sri Lankan View"* |
| 1120:-11:40 | Zahir Kazmi, SPD *"Prospects of Arms Control in the Subcontinent"* |
| 11:40-12:00 | Hi-Tea |


**VENUE: UNIVERSITY OF LAHORE, DEFENSE ROAD, LAHORE**

**13 Concurrent Sessions: 70 Paper Presentations**

| | |
|---|---|
| 12:30-2:30 | Pre-Lunch Sessions |
| 2:30-3:30 | Lunch |
| 3:30-5:30 | Post-Lunch Sessions |

## CONFERENCE CLOSING DINNER

GRAND BALL ROOM-A
NISHAT HOTEL, JOHAR TOWN, LAHORE

| 7:00-7:10pm | Recitation from the Holy Quran |
|---|---|
| 7:10-7:20pm | Note of Thanks by Dr. Rabia Akhtar, Conference Chair |
| 7:20-7:30pm | Closing Remarks by Prof. Dr. Kamran Mujahid, Rector, University of Lahore |
| 7:30-8:30pm | Address by the Chief Guest |
| 8:30-9:30pm | Dinner |

## PLENARY ABSTRACTS

**Two-Day International Conference on
Threats to Security in the 21st Century:
Finding A Global Way Forward**

**May 5-6, 2018**

## Threats to Security in the 21st Century: The Brain matters!
Prof. Dr. Najma Najam

Threats to human security at the dawn of 21st century are daunting (Christie 2008), multidisciplinary and complex, but these have a human dimension. This starts with the master mind – the brain, which is trained and triggered with programs which change brain leading to the devastation seen and experienced. Psychologist, neuroscientist, and social neuroscientists have attempted to understand and explain this. Zimbardo's Psychology of evil (labeling, which divides), Ishak Fried's Syndrome E, changes in the brain and subsequent changes in behaviours and dehumanization of others, Berthoz's critical periods for indoctrination etc. What intrigues academicians in the field of social neurosciences is the nature of killing by people who seemed otherwise intact, invokes a new idea- where and why does it all begin. The psychological explanations coming through after studies of conflicts across the globe (intellectual, psychological probing and analysis of the incongruence of behaviours repeated across countries/wars/conflicts), defy a simplistic explanation by any one discipline. This has to be understood through sociology and psychological and more recently neuroscinetific disciplines – why extreme atrocities committed by ordinary people. The security threats cannot be understood nor dealt with unless we build bridges between sciences and social sciences to understand the triggers.

## China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Building National Consensus, Curbing Terrorism and Managing Regional Rivalries
Saeed Shafqat

This paper has four broad objectives; first it will argue that harmonizing provincial interests and building national consensus is imperative for Pakistan to fully capitalize on the development opportunities offered through the CPEC. Second, it posits that terrorism and security threats could restrain the optimum development potential of CPEC and articulates the need to strengthen security and curb terrorism in order to create an enabling investment climate, not only for incoming Chinese investment but to attract other regional economic activity

to Pakistan. Third, it analyses how historical and politico-cultural dynamics of Indo-Pakistan relations could impede progress on CPEC. It argues that diffusing tensions between the two and engaging with each other will not only generate greater economic exchange between the two countries, but is important in particular for Pakistan to retain its geo-strategic significance vis-à-vis China. Finally, it propounds that CPEC is changing the dynamics of regional strategic environment and could intensify regional state rivalries and make Balochistan's Makran Coast a hotspot of geo-strategic contestation.

## A Grand Bargain versus an Incremental Approach toward Resolving the North Korean Nuclear Crisis
Dr. Tong Zhao

There has been important diplomatic progress since the beginning of 2018 towards de-escalation of tensions over North Korea's nuclear program. However, countries in the Northeast Asia region still have major disagreements about their general strategies to resolve the crisis. One key disagreement is over the choice between seeking a grand bargain with North Korea and resolving the issue through an incremental process. Such different strategies significantly undermine the efficacy of international cooperation to deal with North Korea. Since the first North Korean nuclear crisis in the early 1990s, Pyongyang and its international interlocutors have struck grand bargains over its nuclear program—in particular, the 1994 Agreed Framework and the September 19, 2005 joint statement of the Six Party Talks. The failure of these comprehensive agreements is instructive for the negotiations with North Korea in the future. This presentation offers a comparative analysis of these different strategies and seeks to shed light on their potential as well as their limits for moving current diplomatic engagement with North Korea forward.

## Disinformation makes for a Divided Washington and an Unstable World
Kimberly Dozier

Washington, D.C., relies on a free press to outpoint injustice, wrongdoing and

most of all, lies to the American people so they can more accurately choose the right candidate. The combative relationship between the current U.S. president with the press, and his ability to dismiss when the media calls him out on getting facts wrong is dividing government and the American people. The president's treatment of his senior national security team -- doubting them publicly and dissing and dismissing them by Tweet -- is also making top national security professionals leery of stepping up to fill some of the top U.S. jobs, meaning many posts remain empty and allies have fewer U.S. officials to talk to. And the gulf between what U.S. allies know to be true and what they hear out of the Oval Office is also undermining U.S. power and influence overseas. This cacophony means disinformation campaigns by Russia and other actors have found fertile ground. This talk will explore how accurate information is key to a thriving democracy -- and world stability.

**Prospects of arms control in the Subcontinent**
Brig. Zahir Kazmi

There is an unmistakable arms competition between two littoral states of the Indian Ocean, which can be traced back to irreversible nuclearization of the Subcontinent in 1974. Earlier, both India and Pakistan have considered nuclear weapons as a factor of stability amongst them. This notion of stability is coming under stress owing to the regional arms buildup and the changing global alliance structures. To ameliorate the stress on deterrence and strategic stability in the Subcontinent, there is a need for building on the existing arms control arrangements between India and Pakistan. This paper shall trace the reasons for arms competition in the Subcontinent, examine the existing arms control arrangements and the prospects of building on these.

**Nuclear Weapons and Security**
Dr. Adil Sultan

States decide to acquire nuclear weapons based on their 'securtization' priorities with a main purpose of deterring nuclear as well as conventional threats, besides enhancing national prestige and influence. Nuclear weapons are not a

panacea to address every security challenge, but if managed well, these could help strengthen other elements of national power. Pakistan embarked upon its nuclear weapons pursuit after it suffered a humiliating defeat in 1971 that led to its dismemberment. India's nuclear test of 1974 further strengthened its resolve and by early 1980s Pakistan managed to acquire the capability to build nuclear weapons. In 1998, once India decided to carry out second round of its nuclear tests, Pakistan also responded by conducting a series of tests and declaring itself a nuclear weapon state. The nuclearization of South Asia helped restore strategic stability in the region as both sides remain deterred from engaging in a major war despite experiencing several military crises in the post 1998 period. The growing military asymmetry as a result of India's significant increase in defense spending and Pakistan's difficulty in maintaining conventional parity; introduction of new technologies and war fighting doctrines by India; and the changing geo-strategic environment - could have serious implications for strategic stability in the region, thus forcing Pakistan to take corrective measures and ensure credibility of its nuclear deterrence, without engaging in a never ending and destabilizing arms race in the region.

**Persistent Conflict between the Nuclear Weapons States: Comparing South Asia and the Korean Peninsula**
Dr. Christoph Bluth

It has been a long-standing axiom in IR that nuclear powers do not go to war with each other. The situation in South Asia seems to defy that principle. This has been explained on the basis of the "stability/instability" paradox but this concept does not correspond well to the empirical facts and does not provide deep insights into the nature of the conflict. By conceptualising the situation in South Asia as a protracted conflict, new insights into the nature of the protracted cycle of engagement and conflict and the role of nuclear weapons in suppressing a natural evolution of the conflict will be developed. The closest analogue to the situation in South Asia is the conflict on the Korean peninsula and the paper will compare and contrast those two cases. The paper shows that using conflict transformation theory provides an analytically coherent explanation of the conflicts in South Asia and the Korean peninsula that fits the empirical evidence more closely than

alternative approaches. Conflict transformation theory predicts that the conflict will persist unless the general parameters are changed by a major exogenous shock. The paper will discuss what that could mean in the cases of South Asia and the Korean peninsula.

**Rise of Ultra-Nationalism: Imagining the Risks**
Khalid Banuri

The contemporary world's challenges are much different than the earlier times. Nevertheless, some new trends suggest that risks, such as ultra- nationalism, that were considered things of the past may be re-emerging. Leaders are expected to pilot their nations to success, or they may be failing in their duty. However, when and if this trend acquires aggressive postures, it inter alia, tends to affect the nation's psyche. This contemporary phenomenon of ultra- nationalism seems to be affecting state actors around the world, albeit for different reasons. The world today seems to be full of leaders with ultra-nationalist dispositions – Donald Trump's intent to 'make America great again' is a case in point. Several in Europe may whip up this sentiment due to their concerns about terrorism or anti-immigration etc, whereas in other parts of the world closer to home, political actors such as Narendra Modi or Sheikh Hasina tend to portray a similar tendency. The largely globalised world often involves interdependencies with other nations, whereas an ultra-nationalist approach would tend to take a more self-serving style, thereby initiating unnecessary conflict. These actors tend to maximize their ultra-nationalist tendencies at the cost of other states. Such conflictual positions could lead to trade wars like the one currently erupting between the US and China; or the diplomatic tiff between Russian Federation and US - Europe. However, in the less developed world, the conflict could be more primitive – leading to classic conventional wars, or domestic ultra-nationalistic, fervor- based unrest. In South Asia, Pakistan has already dealt with the problem of extremism and after much toil and sacrifice, is showing signs of overcoming it, though the problem continues to simmer. In neighbouring India, the rise in Hindutva, the confrontational Indian politics, the tendency to use the Pakistan card to win domestic elections - all point in the direction of escalation of tensions. This issue, combined with an intentional endeavour to whip up religious extremism in India, is a problem for India to deal with, but as its neighbor and as a state that has faced somewhat similar situation, though of unintended consequences, Pakistan, as indeed the entire region, would also be affected by the spillover. The key thus is to face this issue upfront at various levels, ranging from the local to the global, by recognizing this threat and thereafter to negotiate amicable solutions at various levels to deal with it. In this backdrop, this talk will endeavour to look at this trend to suggest some efforts to tackle it.

**European Security in Flux**
Shashank Joshi

In the last few years alone, the European security order has been transformed. There is greater uncertainty over the United States' commitment to NATO, the European Union's largest military spender is leaving the bloc, and the West's relationship with Russia continues to deteriorate. Terrorist attacks on OECD nations reached a sixteen-year high in 2016, and the return of foreign fighters from Syria and Iraq will exacerbate this threat. Meanwhile, the advance of right-wing populist parties in all parts of Europe is making it harder to fashion a consensus on foreign and security policy issues. This talk examines how European countries are changing their approach to security: re-prioritising conventional war with peer adversaries, building new capabilities within the European Union, and balancing regional challenges (in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and North Africa) with global ones (in the Indian Ocean and Asia-Pacific).

**Refugees and Treat to Security within the South East Asian Region: Revisiting the Non-Interference Policy**
Dr. Rohaida Nordin

According to the Bangkok Declaration, one of the objectives for ASEAN's establishment is to promote regional peace and stability through abiding respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among States within the region and adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter. Additionally, the ASEAN Charter provides for legal status and institutional framework for ASEAN. The aims of the Charter are to create a peaceful, prosperous and

developed region achieved through implementation of current ASEAN program and plan of action. However, there are obstacles in achieving these aims. The obstacles rooted to tension between the need to integrate among ASEAN members and the reluctance to yield to national sovereignty as stipulated in the Charter. Fundamentally, ASEAN members are practicing a non-interference policy among each other. Despite being members of ASEAN most of the time they are handling their own internal matters without interference from other ASEAN members. As ASEAN Charter takes place, it facilitates states to be more lenient towards other state in terms of boundary, resources and human rights violations, as example. Within this backdrop, this article discusses the present situation of refugees in relation to human rights violations with emphasis on the response of international and regional human rights bodies (particularly ASEAN) towards these violations of human rights. This article also highlights the various stands taken by various regional systems regarding the terms for protection and enforcement of human rights and human security. Additionally, this article delves into the negative effects of the non-interference policy of ASEAN and offers several proposals for managing the abovementioned issues.

**Unpacking South Asian Regional Security in the 21st Century: A view from Sri Lanka**
Prof. Gamini Keerawella

South Asia, a home to a fifth of humanity, is one of the least integrated regions in the world. The intra-regional trade in South Asia accounts for only 5% of its total trade, reflecting a low degree of regional bonding. Two main states in South Asia were born into an environment marked by mutual antagonism and locked into a multiple-levels conflict as to the dispute over territory, balance of power, threat perceptions, mutual accusation of interference in each other's domestic affairs and rival foreign policy approaches. The relationship between India and its other neighbors constantly fluctuates in an environment of mutual fear and suspicion. In this context what is meant by regional security and regionalism in South Asia? The presentation is structured into two parts. It will raise some fundamental questions pertaining to the phenomena of 'South Asian region' and 'regional security' in the first part. The polysemy of the term 'South Asia' and processes

of its multi-layered construction will be unpacked. What is really the reference point of regional security? Is it the region or the states or the people described as South Asians? The 'regional security' and the 'regional security complex' are not the same; the first is a reference point and the latter is an analytical tool. The regionalism is a process propelled by multi-faceted regional bonding. From this analytical point of departure, the second part will unpack the issues and processes of South Asian regional security and insecurity in the 21st

<u>**CONCURRENT SESSIONS**
**ABSTRACTS**</u>

**Two-Day International Conference on Threats to Security in the 21st Century: Finding A Global Way Forward**

**May 5-6, 2018**

**May 6, 2018 - Venue: University of Lahore, Defense Road Campus**
**Thirteen Concurrent Sessions - Conference Sub-themes**

- Sub-Theme 01:
  **Panel 1:** Human Security
- Sub-Theme 02:
  **Panel 2:** Security & Policy
- Sub-Theme 03:
  **Panel 3:** Threats to Security
- Sub-Theme 04:
  **Panel 4:** Environmental Security
- Sub-Theme 05:
  **Panel 5:** Regional Security-A
- Sub-Theme 06:
  **Panel 6:** Regional Security-B
- Sub-Theme 07:
  **Panel 7:** Middle East Security Perspectives
- Sub-Theme 08:
  **Panel 8:** Cyber Security
- Sub-Theme 09:
  **Panel 9:** Maritime Security-A
- Sub-Theme 10:
  **Panel 10:** Maritime Security-B
- Sub-Theme 11:
  **Panel 11:** Nuclear Weapons and Security-A
- Sub-Theme 12:
  **Panel 12:** Nuclear Weapons and Security-B
- Sub-Theme 13:
  **Panel 13:** Nuclear Weapons and Security-C

**Sub-theme 01 - PANEL 1**

**<u>HUMAN SECURITY</u>**

1. Terrorism: A Human Security Challenge in Pakistan
**Dr. Shabana Fayyaz**

2. A State's Narrative of Human Security: The Impact of Conflicting Socio-Development Dynamics In Pakistan
**Sabina Babar**

3.Education Sector of Pakistan: Next Victim of Terrorism and Extremism
**Ayaz Ahmed Khan**

4. Role of Law Enforcement Agencies in Establishing Human Security in Pakistan: A Case of Balochistan Levies
**Maryam Ahmed**

5. Human Security in Pakistan: New Threats, Old Realities
**Sania Munir & Tehmina Aslam**

6. Human Security: A conceptual framework to map vulnerabilities of Pakistan
**Mamoona Batool**

# 1. Terrorism: A Human Security Challenge in Pakistan

**Dr. Shabana Fayyaz**

*Defence & Strategic Studies Department*

*Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*

*shabanafayyaz@gamil.com*

**Abstract**

Human security encapsulates the security of people especially their welfare, safety, and well-being rather than that of state as the referent of security. The paper will dwell on the theoretical underpinnings of the conception of human security and its linkage to the wider Terrorism debate in part one of the study. The second part will underscore the trajectory of relationships between human insecurities, vulnerabilities, and terrorist elements that have resulted in the volatile situation across the country. Third part of the paper, focuses on the effects of terrorism on the quality of human life – whether economic, social, political, cultural, and physical – following the War on Terror in Pakistan. The final part of the paper addresses the following inter-related queries: Is Islamabad sensitive to the "human security" virtues while crafting counter-terrorism strategy? How far the physical losses of the internally displaced people because of the military led operations been met? Is there a tendency to forge a state and society partnership to address the human grievances of the War on Terror in Pakistan? What can be done to address the gaps in the state counter terror policy and mainstream human security as the referent of security in the strategic discourse? In a nutshell, the paper attempts to situate human security as one of the key derivatives of state's security policy. And Terrorism as a threat to the very basis of "human viability" in all spheres!

# 2. A State's Narrative of Human Security: The Impact of Conflicting Socio-Development Dynamics in Pakistan

**Sabina Babar**

*MPhil IR QAU, Islamabad*

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**Abstract**

The human security paradigm is clearly left with major lacunas from the mainstream security discourse of Pakistan. The inattention today is evidently visible in the range of social problems that the state is facing. The overarching debate that is addressed in this paper is that even after the clear needs for the construction of human security narrative on social grounds; Pakistan is still focusing on the development aspect as a resolution to social issues. Pakistan has not been able to evolve a respective security strategy according to the needs of current time. The theoretical bases of constructivism further helped in exploring the state centric realistic perception as the only referent object for the security. The implementation of traditional narrative of human security is the basic setback for resolution of social problems. Principle of human security and its narrative in contemporary dynamics needs to be molded with the state response more focused on the ground realities of society and their negative impact on development.

# 3. Education Sector of Pakistan: Next Victim of Terrorism and Extremism

**Ayaz Ahmed Khan**

*PhD (International Relations) , University of Karachi*

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**Abstract**

Pakistan is facing grave and diverse security challenges and a complex threat. The root causes of violent extremism are multifaceted, complex and are derived from structural, as well as micro-level conditions. Similarly, some drivers are proximate in time and space, and operate at the individual level to spread radicalization. Others still are intermediate and long-term, and can create macro-level conditions and forces required for generating and sustaining violent extremism. Extremism is a mindset where only a single truth is considered to be valid. It is the antithesis of liberalism. Education is the carrier of liberal values, it is the natural enemy of extremism because it enriches and broadens the mind, enables one to entertain a thought without necessarily accepting it, and creates willingness to live in a society that is democratic, pluralistic, and diverse. But unfortunately, our education system is historically person specific and could not evolve to serve the purpose. Our most precious asset is our youth and we must

pay our full attention and focus to save it from extremism. Educational institutes are the backbone of societal development and it would be the worst-case scenario if these might have polluted with extremist ideologies. We want our universities and colleges to be integrated communities where all staff and students are safe and where free and open debate can take place. This paper proposes that in order to eradicate the menace of extremism and terrorism from the education sector, security managers will have to devise an effective monitoring mechanism of religious seminaries targeting colleges and universities. There is dire need to promote ideological security on the part of youngsters to deal with the emerging situation. Pakistan also needs to fight extremism and terrorism on military, political as well as social front. Otherwise, the enemy can ruin our youth with its toxic ideology of terror and tyranny.

## 4. Role of Law Enforcement Agencies in establishing Human Security in Pakistan: A Case of Balochistan Levies

**Maryam Ahmed**

*Lecturer, Virtual University of Pakistan*

*mariamahmed@vu.edu.pk*

**Abstract**
Effective institutional role is vital for ensuring human security in a country. Pakistan is facing a serious challenge of human security due to ineffective institutions. Balochistan, a province of Pakistan, is an evident example. Different law enforcement institutions including Levies are playing their role but there is a long way to go. Levies is a provincial paramilitary force of Balochistan. It has a significant position in maintaining law and order of the province along with police force since British Rule but it was not developed and strengthened as an institution over the period of time. Levies was merged in Balochistan Police during the regime of General Pervez Musharraf but again restored as a separate force in 2010. Therefore, it is imperative to find out the reasons of not developing Levies as an institution despite its key position in the security paradigm of Balochistan. This research study will focus on finding out these reasons through qualitative research methodology. The primary data will be collected through interviews of well-informed people of this area and data will be analyzed

through content analysis. The identified reasons will help to chalk out practical recommendations for the government of Balochistan for developing Levies as an effective institution for ensuring personal and community security of the people of province which is indispensable for political stability and human development of Balochistan.

## 5. Human Security in Pakistan: New Threats, Old Realities

**Sania Munir & Tehmina Aslam**

*Lecturers University of Lahore*

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**Abstract**
Human security refers to security from an array of threats to communities and individuals as subjects of state. This research paper explores several facets of human security in Pakistan highlighting the challenges related to the improving conditions for human development in Pakistan. We analyze several factors in understanding the issue by elucidating the concept of human security, relationship between human security and different problems of society in the form of extremism, power politics, terrorism, unemployment, intolerance and warrior culture in different regions of Pakistan. This research paper uses quantitative and qualitative methodology to suggest that in order for reformation and transformation of state and society in Pakistan there is an urgent need to amend state policies, re-examine current national discourses and develop a transparent system of governance which works for uplifting and bettering the basic living conditions of the masses.

## 6. Human Security: A conceptual framework to map vulnerabilities of Pakistan

**Mamoona Batool**

*Lecturer, Superior Law College, Superior University Lahore*

*mamoona514@gmail.com*

**Abstract**
Security concept has been transformed from external or internal threats to

vulnerabilities faced by individuals and community. It has become more people specific than a traditional state centric concept of security. This paper analyses the human security prospective in domestic context of Pakistan and defines a scheme to examine the vulnerabilities, defined under UNDP charter, faced by different regions i.e. Punjab, Sindh, KPK, Balochistan, AJK, Gilgat & Baltistan and FATA. In first part, a framework for human security scaling and mapping has been proposed. In second part, a set of indicators is defined for Health security (one of seven components defined by UNDP) measurement and based on these indicators the respective health security mapping is conducted to identify low, medium and high security threats in these regions. The identification of risk intensity in specified regions is essential to highlight the severity which then leads to the provision of remedial solutions for these insecurities. This study is a first step to develop an integrated Human security measurement system for diverse regions of Pakistan. And the health security analysis provides all the stake holders (legislators, public administration, health professionals, think tanks and general readers) an overview of area related health risks to be used to campaign, devise and implement the required action plans.

**Sub-theme 02 - PANEL 2**

**<u>SECURITY & POLICY</u>**

## 1. Pakistan's Foreign Policy-Security Nexus: A Dialogical and Processual Conception

**Maria Bastos**

*Assistant Professor, UMT Lahore*
*PhD Candidate at the DPIR, University of Westminster, UK*
*maria.bastos@umt.edu.pk*

**Abstract**

Pakistan foreign policy has for most of the country's existence been associated with security. This relationship shaped foreign policy, its key players, and, arguably, the country's own identity. The association between foreign policy and security has been narrated by resourcing to a diversity of factors, mostly centered around material ones, and it has mostly been attributed to the ill partition of the subcontinent. Centering the nexus foreign policy-security around material factors resulted on the construction of a mainstream discourse where ideational factors are frequently absent or insufficiently narrated. Consequently, any discourse that pertains to explain Pakistan foreign policy and its relationship with security cannot fully capture the importance and meaning of these two constructs. However, as the paper argues, if a dialogical and processual conception of politics is followed, the nexus foreign policy-security may be envisaged as a co-construction not exclusively by material factors, but rather by a permanent interchange of factors of diverse nature. This alternative understanding allows to appreciate how foreign policy and security are co-constructed, but also permits to appreciate how their relation generates a permanent flow of meaning. While the paper aims to contribute to the broader discussion on foreign policy-security relations in Pakistan, it also targets the possibility to adopt a more inclusive and critical conception of politics, which potentially can lead to a new approach to the seldom incomplete discourse that links foreign policy and security in Pakistan.

## 2. Conceptual Disconnect in Defining Terrorism: A Case of U.S. Counter-Terrorism Policy Delusion

**Tayyaba Jaffery**

*MPhil Scholar, Kinnaird College for Women*

**Arifa I. Kiyani**

*Associate Professor, Kinnaird College for Women*

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**Abstract**

State security in the twenty-first century has been made vulnerable by a variety of internal as well as external issues; terrorism being the chief one contemporarily. Despite being an inexorable reality, it still remains theoretically impoverished, inadequately researched and ill-defined by the academia at large thereby making it difficult for the researchers to arrive at a unanimous conclusion. Besides this, the opinions of the intelligence community are in stark contrast to those of the academic writers thereby leading to an ever-increasing disconnect between the two points of the same spectrum. This gap eventually leads to disastrous policy-making by the states facing this menace; the fallacy of the US counter-terrorism policy being the case in point. Therefore, by using qualitative sources this paper aims to analyse the divide between academic research and the knowledge of intelligence community with regards to terrorism. It then provides a conclusive analysis to consolidate the established opinion. Lastly, it emphasizes on the need to conduct extensive research on the issue of terrorism, and urges to draft a widely accepted definition of the term.

## 3. Emerging Anti-Globalization Waves in the West: Impacts on International Security Pattern

**Muhammad Ilyas**

*Higher Education Commission's Indigenous Scholar, M.Phil. International Relations*

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**Abstract**

The West is adversely hit by anti-Globalization waves marked by Brexit, election of Donald Trump, popularity of far-rightest political parties in Europe, adaptation of protectionist and unilateral policies and local-self contentism. The dynamics of international security are changing due to macro-transformations taking place like change in balance of trade, increasing migrations, automation of productions and services and Social media boom. The main objective of this paper is to analyse the causes of anti-Globalization waves, the process of securitization involved and its impacts on international security pattern while using the conceptual framework of Copenhagen School of Security Studies. The main findings of this study is that Western anti-globalization waves are threatening international cooperation because many people consider these macro-transformations detrimental to their local culture, economy and sovereignty. Therefore, fearing the rise of the new actors and the desire to secure popular support, political elite gradually securitizes these changes by taking protectionist measures and invalidating multilateral agreements, culminating in the reduction of the role of International institutions and International law in world affairs.

## 4. Terrorism as a Threat to Globalization in perspective of security in Post 9/11 Era

**Salma Naz**

*Chairperson/Coordinator Behavioral Science/History & Pakistan Studies Faculty of Humanities Minhaj University, Lahore*

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**Abstract**

In the post-Cold War period the world was approaching towards realizing the concept of global village. Whereas the efforts were made by politicians, scholars as well as opinion makers to highlight harmony in economic ambitions and to lessen the religious, ethnic and cultural diversities. Globalization of world was the result of political, economic and cultural homogenization of people of the world. But after the terrorists attack on America in September, 2001 the discussion of global politics and international relations has been changed. Geopolitics and security have become the central point of discussion instead of globalization and humanitarian issues. Terrorists pose a threat to globalization. Modern means of

communication, information and transportation that were the driving force of globalization now are being used by terrorists to plan their attacks and global terrorism has become a big challenge to globalization itself. Because of feelings of insecurity, states specially American and European governments are forced to think to limit trans-borders movements. The aim of this research is to analyze the impact of terrorism on globalization in the post 9/11 era. This research is qualitative in nature, analytical model is used for data analysis and secondary sources are used. The conclusion summarizes the findings of research. This research also presents some recommendations through which challenges which are posed by terrorism for globalization can be addressed.

## 5. The Making of the Muslim Alterity in the West

**Ghulam Ali Murtaza**

*MA International Politics, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)*

*University of London*

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**Abstract**

The last few years have seen the ascension of anti-immigrant parties and groups to the heart of social and political configuration in western countries. This far-right populist surge in the west has coincided and been facilitated by the presence of a growing number of refugees and immigrants, displaced and uprooted by conflicts and wars in the Middle East, within the borders of these countries. Against this backdrop, therefore, issues and themes pertaining to immigration especially Muslim immigrants /refugees and centered on the image of Muslims as threatening "other" have come to dominate the western public discourse. This disquisition, through an engagement with the literature on securitization theory and Michel Foucault's work unveils the dynamics and processes at work in the construction of Muslim immigrants/refugees as a security threat in the west. The exploration into the working of these securitization processes at both theoretical and empirical levels enable me to posit three propositions which have bearing on important political and intellectual concerns of our times. First, this study, argues that preeminent approaches to understand and explain the rise of Islamophobia with their emphasis on cultural and ideological factors as the driving force underlying the construction of Muslim alterity fails to take into account other non-cultural and non-ideological forms of knowledge, technologies and power relations that are far more crucial to the making of Muslim "other" in the west. Second, this study demonstrates the pitfalls of seeing and regulating social domains through the prism of security. And lastly, the unfolding of the process of securitization of immigrants/refugees in the west over the years reveals that liberal democracies have always carried within them illiberal elements and tendencies; long before the surge of far right groups in the west, liberal democracies were treating their minorities through an exclusivist logic of security.

## 6. Unlocking Horns: Navigating Pakistan's Geo-Political and Geo-Economics Security Imperatives

**Dr. Farhan Hanif Siddiqi**

*Associate Professor, School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam*

*University, Islamabad*

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**Abstract**

The paper seeks to address tensions in Pakistan's geopolitical and geo-economic imperatives in a rapidly changing regional context as the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) takes shape. While geopolitics pushes Pakistan's foreign policy in the direction of conflict and instability with India and Afghanistan, the geo-economic imperative seeks to pull it in the opposite direction of engagement with neighbours. In this context, the paper seeks to argue that positioning itself as a beneficiary in its economic engagement with China, also requires that Pakistan's definition of security is geared decisively towards the 'gains from trade' perspective. While geopolitical conflict will continue to manifest itself in a power-realist world, the economic thrust will impact Pakistan's security dynamics and relations with its neighbours in more sustained ways in the future. Navigating successfully between the twin dynamics of geopolitical hostility and geo-economic connectivity will perhaps be Pakistan's pivotal security challenge in the future.

**Sub-theme 03 - PANEL 3**

**THREATS TO SECURITY**

**ROOM 2 - PANEL 3: THREATS TO SECURITY**
**CHAIR: DR. MUHAMMAD ISLAM**

**12:30PM-2:00PM**

1. Non-Traditional Security Threats and Regionalism: An Analysis of Multilateral Security Framework in East Asia
**Ali Jibran**

2. Strategizing the Counter-Radicalisation Agenda In Britain And Pakistan: The Challenge Of Effective Engagement With Target Communities
**Sohaib Ali**

3. National, Regional or International Security Perspectives on Threats to Peace and Security
**Dr. Sheeba Saeed**

4. Women, Peace and Security: A Perspective from Pakistan
**Dr. Asma Shakir Khawaja**

# 1. Non-Traditional Security Threats and Regionalism: An Analysis of Multilateral Security Framework in East Asia

**Ali Jibran**

*PhD Scholar, Department of Politics and IR*

*International Islamic University Islamabad (IIUI)*

## Abstract

Since the end of the Cold War, East Asia has been hit severely by non-traditional security threats that are transnational in scope and non-military in nature. Non-traditional security threats can be considered as cross-border resource depletion and environmental degradation, terrorism, natural disasters, food shortages, infectious diseases, drug trafficking, people smuggling and other transnational crimes. The main objective of this study is to explore multi-lateral framework in East Asia to deal with non-traditional security threats in four areas: infectious diseases, natural disasters, transnational crime and terrorism, poverty and human security. Transnational nature of these challenges in era of globalization and regionalism, requires multilateral response. The main finding of this study is that East Asia has become one of the highly integrated regions in the world and to deal with the aforementioned four non-traditional security threats, a variety of multi-lateral frameworks exists in East Asia: Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), ASEAN+3 (APT), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). English School will be applied as theoretical framework in this study. This study will be divided in four sections. The first section will deal with the problem of infectious diseases, the second with natural disasters, the third with emergence of transnational crimes and terrorism and the last with poverty and human insecurity in East Asia. The focus will be on relevance of the four non-traditional security threats to transnational security and on multilateral framework to deal with these problems.

# 2. Strategizing the counter-radicalization agenda in Britain and Pakistan: The challenge of effective engagement with target communities

**Sohaib Ali**

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## Abstract

Employing social constructivist analytics and interpretive content analysis, this study attempts to explore and analyse certain challenging issues arising from Britain's counter-radicalisation agenda 'Prevent', and Pakistan's approach to countering violent extremism. The South Asian Muslim diaspora in Britain and religious non-state actors in Pakistan harbour similar concerns and can therefore elicit more or less analogous responses from state authorities that can be useful for adducing best practices. Official policy documents and reviews, relevant empirical studies, and data acquired (in Britain) through semi-structured qualitative interviews, are used to study how the framing of policy objectives and their pursuit through engaging key sectors and institutions of target communities, and employment of underdeveloped criteria for identifying suspects as violent or non-violent extremists–can result in alienation and resentment among target communities and engender counterproductive social segregation. It is argued that, both in Muslim minority and majority contexts, a means-based approach should be taken to address vulnerabilities of target communities instead of a values-based approach, a mono-cultural/ideological focus on particular sections of target communities should be avoided, and recommends that governments should develop permanent linkages to solicit opinion from representatives of target communities on how initiatives aimed at preventing radicalisation should be designed and delivered for improved outcomes. Establishing sustainable and effective engagement with target communities would also require enhanced organization and political participation at the end of those communities–both for reducing their vulnerabilities, and for having a greater say in how policy issues affecting them are resolved.

# 3. Safe cities: debating the concept of biopower as an expression of security through biometric data?

**Dr Sheba Saeed**

*Assistant Professor of Media and Communications*
*Department of Social Sciences & Liberal Arts*
*Institute of Business and Administration, Karachi*
*shebasaeed@iba.edu.pk*

**Abstract**

"The gathering of information to control people they rule is fundamental to any ruling power... to digitize a country with such a large population of the illegitimate and 'illegible'— people who are for the most part slum dwellers, hawkers, adivasis without land records—will criminalize them, turning them from illegitimate to illegal. The idea is to pull off a digital version of the Enclosure of the Commons and put huge powers into the hands of an increasingly hardening police state." (Roy, 2012, p8-9).Around the globe there is an emphasis on increasing security through means of biometric data,be that New York, London, Delhi, or Islamabad. Very much a part of the urban fabric but also largely excluded, this paper will illuminate case studies of three marginalized sections of society in the context of Pakistan, these will include the transgender community, the begging demographic and the Afghan refugees. The paper will explore the methods of including but debatably also excluding and controlling these communities through sophisticated technological advances. I will use the concept of 'governmentality' and Foucauldian biopower to analyse whether the struggle of these communities is being assisted or being further repressed? Analyses of the use of biometric measures will be problematized to engage in a debate comparing this to the panoptic idea of camera surveillance and the notion of Big Brother watching you.

# 4. Women, Peace and Security: A Perspective from Pakistan

**Dr. Asma Shakir Khawaja**

*Faculty, Peace and Conflict Studies*
*National Defence University, Islamabad*

**Abstract**

*No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. (Muhammad Ali Jinnah)*

Men and women perceive peace from divergent dimensions. The meaning of peace for women ranges from absence of domestic violence, structural violence, rape, sexual abuse, mental, physical torture to shelter, food, education, economic empowerment, access to healthcare, tranquility, accessibility and availability. For them violence is not only caused by war but by their husbands, neighbors, family members and cultures as well. Therefore women adopt a broad definition where peace "includes not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice, equality and the entire range of human rights and fundamental freedoms within society." In contrast, men have a greater tendency to associate peace with the absence of formal conflict. This makes inclusion of women and their perspective in security policy making even more relative and important. analysis of data from most countries in the world during the period 1977–1996 showed that the higher the proportion of women in parliament, the lower the likelihood that the state carried out human rights abuses such as political imprisonments, torture, killings, and disappearances. Involvement of women in peace process and conflict resolution leads to progress towards understanding conflicts complexities from divergent dimensions. Research has proven that countries that have active political involvement from women are more socially stable and use less military violence. These are few reasons why UN Security Council adopted resolution 1325. It addresses the issue of women participation, inclusion and audibility in peace and security policy making. Pakistan also needs to pay attention to the implementation of this resolution, especially when it ranks at the lowest in Gender Equality World Index. There are

few Pakistani women working on the issues related to peace and conflict studies but their impact is very little. There is no noticeable presence of women at strategic or decision making level when it comes to making policies and taking decisions regarding issues related of peace and conflict. Women are not part of any negotiations or agreements for peaceful conflict resolution. Rather their issues are neglected in any such agreement. This proposed study will looks into this issue of implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Pakistan from academic perspective supported by statistical data.

**Sub-theme 04 - PANEL 4**

**<u>ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY</u>**

**ROOM 2 - PANEL 4: ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY**
**CHAIR: DR. ISHTIAQ AHMED**

**3:00PM-4:30PM**

# 1. Securitization of Water: Revisiting Regional Security in South Asia

**Zainab Ahmed**

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**Abstract**
South Asia is one of the largest growing regions inhabiting about one quarter of the global population with immense geo-strategic significance. The regional security in South Asia is determined by myriad traditional and nontraditional threats. In post-World War II scenario, regions have assumed distinctive and structural position in international security. Water has emerged to be a significant tool of conflict and cooperation in this complex regional security paradigm. Trans-boundary water disputes in South Asia are linked to deep rooted territorial conflicts defining the fundamental securitization pattern of the region. Sharing of Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra river basins by various states of the region ushers securitization of water amid a region marred by several conflicts. Water is considered to be an integral part of territories, cultures, politics and societies. The fundamental human resource has become an important weapon of the balance of power system. Instead of riparian status and rights, water is shared and divided according to the power status of upper and lower riparian states. This study is aimed at unbridling the complex relationship of water and regional security in heavily militarized and nuclearized South Asia. The researcher endeavors to address a few questions which are; 1) How is water securitized in South Asia? 2) Why is water an essential component of regional security in South Asia? 3) How can water become a source of regional cooperation transforming regional security complex in South Asia? The study will be qualitative, based on literature review and semi-structured interviews of three to five experts.

# 2. Climate Change: A Non-traditional Security Threat

**Ayesha Yaqub**

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**Abstract**

*"The era of consumption without consequences is over"*
Ban-ki Moon (Former United Nations Secretary General)

The onslaught of nationalist trends in international relations between nation-states and President Trump's exclusion from the Paris Climate Treaty (2015), coming as a denial in the face of expansive destruction caused by the 2017 consecutive hurricanes, the mention of security with respect to climate has become of ever-increasing importance. The study presents climate as an important non-traditional security concern, at the national, regional and international levels that poses danger to the world's map as we see it today. There is a need to balance economic development through emerging global trade routes; and environmental resource conservation in global discourse to give awareness regarding the detrimental effects of ignoring climate security as a non-traditional security threat i.e. directly proportional to human security world-wide. According to a WHO report (2017), "Between 2030-2050, climate change is expected to cause 250,000 additional deaths per year" due to "Malaria, Malnutrition, Diarrhea and heat stress". Pakistan is on number seven of the 'Long Term climate-change index: the 10 countries most affected from 1996-2015' (Dawn, 2017). While contributing less than 1% to global climate change, it is in the list of 10 worst hit states where Gilgit Baltistan is considered a 'ticking time bomb' (The News, 2017). Hence, in order to build a green future away from climate related hazards, leaders of the world must forego the 'pollution now and solution later' practice and commit to global efforts for climate change and produce tangible results in real-time.

# 3. Nontraditional Security Diplomacy on Environmental Degradation

**Dr. Imran Ali Sandano & Humaira Hakro**

*Assistant Professor at University of Sindh*
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**Abstract**

In the changing global security environment, the security agenda of the states, regional and international organizations have been broadened dramatically. Long ago, security policies and practices of states were mostly limited to evaluating and countering the threats of survival, mainly posed by direct engagement with other states. Currently, in spite of the fact that inter-state security prevails significantly, especially in different hot spots of the world, but widespread and growing series of nontraditional security (NTS) threats are still worrying common people, scholars and policymakers. NTS threats have opened new fronts to tackle; they are increasingly occupying the resources and time of national and international security experts. The challenges like environmental degradation, energy crisis, terrorism, extremism and separatism, drug trafficking, economic crisis, maritime piracy, pandemic diseases, money laundering, transnational crimes and nuclear proliferation are irregular, and difficult to tackle. The seriousness of the problem indicates that the NTS scholarship can act as a diplomatic channel to develop and strengthen the cooperation in the areas of NTS issues so as to improve bilateral and multilateral relations and political stability between the conflicting and non-conflicting nations. The scholarship of traditional security shifts to NTS (that is, from conflict to cooperation) and this approach is opening wider doors for NTS diplomacy, utilizing enhanced agenda from military to other NTS threats. NTS diplomacy is a completely new concept which is contradictory to traditional diplomacy. NTS threats have a strong base to challenge traditional security and establish good diplomatic relations between conflicting and non-conflicting states. For practicing this hypothesis, study has selected one key NTS threat "environment degradation".

## 4. Increasing Trend of Developing Housing Societies against the Principle of Sustainable Development: A Greatest Threat to the Environmental Security in the 21st Century

**Sundus Rauf & Asad Aslam**

*Lecturers, Environmental Law & Commercial Law*

*College of Law, UOL*

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**Abstract**
Recently, besides over population, the most important internal issue of Pakistan is rapid urbanization. The rural population is moving towards the big cities for various reasons including health, education, employment and other facilities. To provide housing facility to this influx, the trend of developing housing societies is also increasing. This factor is badly affecting the agriculture of Pakistan as the land acquired for this purpose surrounding the most favorite and developed cities is rich in soil and fertility. The importance of this land is not only to fulfill our food requirement by producing crops, vegetables and fruits of various kinds but also involves contributing in the export of Pakistan. The present study will highlight the issue of wasting our fertile land for the purpose of housing requirement. According to Agenda 21 every country is required to utilize its natural resources keeping in view the principle of sustainable development. It is being intended through this work that the way we are using our agricultural land to meet our need of just accommodation is not a sustainable way to progress. It may ultimately lead us not only to adverse environment but also to the scarcity of food and drinkable water. The study will be based on the reference to the treatise and conferences on sustainable development, the laws of Pakistan regarding it, policies relating to the acquisition of land for development and the present practice of the land developers.

## 5. Climate Change: The Next Biggest Threat to Pakistan's Security

**Zahra Afzal Malik**

*Independent Researcher*

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**Abstract**
Security threats have transcended the conventional bounds as Climate change has brought about inevitable surprises, raising the intensity of natural hazards, transforming primitive threats to inevitable endangerment of environment beyond human control. Severity of these risks is owed to a rise in temperature. The advent of 21st century brought about significant changes in lives of human beings, yet the development came at the cost of environmental degradation. Pakistan has been shrouded with visible growth in technological development, while the annual mean temperature over the last 50 years has risen by 0.5°C, annual precipitation has shown variations, and sea level has risen approximately 10 centimeters over the last century. A thorough human contribution has raised temperature such as deforestation, release of $CO_2$ in the atmosphere and other heat-trapping greenhouse gasses and employment of other negligent practices. This has gradually impacted agricultural crop yield, irrigation water faces increased evaporation, warmer and hotter air would decrease the efficacy of power generation, melting of glaciers, decline in hydropower generation, adversely affecting coastal infrastructure and livelihoods, and increased storm surges are a few to name. A rise in heat waves raises the need for air-conditioning impacting the lives of socially vulnerable sectors of the country. Thus climate change is an imperative call for security situation in Pakistan, where the country can no longer afford negligence. While the most credible response to these threats is an investment in sustainable development projects and policy makers to raise the green slogan and to give substance to the 'Green Vision' by raising community awareness.

## 6. Energy Securitization and (Re-)thinking Peace in South Asia (India-Pakistan): A Constructivist Perspective

**Muhammad Manzoor Elahi**

*Lecturer Department of Political Science*

*GC University Lahore*

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**Abstract**

The proposed research within its purview intends to study the 'securitization of energy as a distinct sector' in the broader context of securitization theory. It (re-)conceptualizes peace in South Asia by constructing an empirical connection between energy securitization and geopolitical context. In addition, the project is an endeavor to deconstruct the traditional approaches of energy security based upon (neo-) realist paradigms of global politics and analyse the patterns of energy securitization of South Asia in constructivist perspective which attempts to find out cost-effective, sustainable and pragmatic peripheral energy options for energy stricken -India via Pakistan. The research seeks to (re-) construct a region-centric paradigm of energy securitization which must be synchronized with the

regional milieu in compare to, dominantly, positivist tradition of energy security discourse in the realm of international relations. This research seeks to ask the following questions: Why 'energy as a distinct sector' should be linked in the broad area of securitization? How existential energy threats to referent objects (India and Pakistan) are bringing about (de-)politicized and extra-ordinary measures to deal with it? What are the plausible geopolitical options for securitizing actor (India) in its peripheral orbit? How does Pakistan's geographical positionality endow with accessible and cost-effective energy linkage to India?

**Sub-theme 05 - PANEL 5**

**REGIONAL SECURITY-A**

## 1. Strategic triangle in the Indo-Pacific region: Instituting Competition, Cooperation and Containment

**Muhammad Sharreh Qazi**

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**Abstract**
The Indo-Pacific region has attained a flashpoint status as Chinese expansionism has disturbed strategic equilibrium according to the international community and has challenged American hegemony according to American strategists. Power play dictates that such measures inadvertently lead to accumulation of conventional and strategic stockpiles and can cause severe tensions and a conflicting situation consequently developing aggression. India, capitalizing on the strategic leverage offered in pursuance to containment of China has disturbed deterrence equilibrium in South Asia through and extended naval presence and possible enhancement of nuclear naval platforms. This, primarily, serves to counter China and its designs for Indian Ocean but somehow disturbs the regional stability of South Asia. The strategic impetus behind such designs indicates that where competition is necessary, respecting thresholds of response of the adversary are an involuntary response in pursuance of such schemes. This paper identifies and appreciates the strategic distribution of Indo-Pacific geostrategic implications and probability of activating predominant flashpoints instituted through expanded military presence by China, the US and India. The paper will also focus on asserting key vicissitudes to status quo and how strategic order might be disturbed beyond rational control. This implies that the region might be a spiral for escalation control and nuclear brinkmanship can produce irrepressible results considering the magnitude of operating contenders. The focus would be to analyze and interpret Indo-Pacific region as the beginning of a contemporary neo-Cold War between a triangulated show of force.

## 2. Pakistan–China-Russia Triangle: Implication on Regional Security

**Kishwer Munir**

*Lecturer, University of Lahore*

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**Abstract**

The global strategic environment would continue to be multifaceted in coming years. The transfiguration in the global strategic chessboard placates the dynamical forces and terrors the status quo. These changes require the cognizance of perceptible developments at the regional and international level. This project specifically focuses on potential development that takes place among the regional actors i.e. Russia, China and Pakistan during the recent past. This project attempts to answer the following question: How the regional and international actors view this emerging axis? Pakistan, China and Russia's trilateral dialogue on the security situation in Afghanistan represents serious challenges to the interest of India in Afghanistan. At the same time understanding the nature and range of Chinese, Pakistani and Russian cooperation is significant to crafting Indo-US strategy towards Afghanistan. This Paper analyzes the multi-layered cooperation among Pakistan-China and Russia on terrorism, economy and security issues. In what follows, after a comprehensive analysis, focus will be on areas: to investigate whether Pakistan-Russia relations depend on the nature of relation between US-India. And to examine how far Pakistan is using CPEC as a bargaining chip with Russia? The researcher use the game theory to explain different dynamics, patterns behind the formation of the superpower triangle.

## 3. Threats and Challenges to Changing Security Environment of South Asia: Implications for Pakistan

**Kashif Hussain**

*Research Associate at Strategic Studies*

*Institute Islamabad (SSII)*

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**Abstract**

The US' Afghanistan invasion followed by its growing strategic cooperation with India has greatly affected contemporary South Asian regional security issues. On one hand, the threat of terrorism has intensified and escalated while on the other hand the region is experiencing an unprecedented challenge of arms race phenomenon. Initially, there assumed to be limited number of terrorist groups in the form of Al-Qaeda in the region but now the numbers are in tens at least. The violent groups like Daesh have not only become a matter of concern for the region but the threat is expanded to Russia and China. Meanwhile, the growing Indo-US strategic cooperation has augmented Sino-Pak nexus. This action-reaction has caused to intensify arms race in the region. Incidentally, Russia, for the first time, has extended security collaboration with Pakistan amid their converging interests in Afghanistan. It appears that Russia is parting its ways with India due to New-Delhi's closeness with the US and its eagerness to join the Sino-Pak camp. The evolving strategic partnerships and growing alliances indicate expanding regional security issues. Under the circumstances, the paper would gauge the degree at which terrorism is intensifying and escalating in order to outline plans to counter it. Various trends and traditions giving rise to arms race as result of evolving strategic partnerships and affects of increase of the phenomenon on already fragile regional security would also be uncovered in the paper. Pakistan's deteriorating security situation and unique geographic location within the emerging new Great Game in the region bears immense implications for the country, which would also be discussed in the paper.

# 4. Finding a Balance: Pakistan's Changing Foreign Relations

**Rupert Stone**

*Journalist*

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**Abstract**

This paper argues that Pakistan's alliance system has been evolving in significant and underappreciated ways to meet the demands of a rapidly changing geopolitical environment driven, primarily, by the rise of Asia. Its alliance with the US, which strengthened after 9/11, is currently in decline. American security assistance to Pakistan has decreased considerably since 2011, and this year US President Donald Trump froze military aid entirely. At the same time, China has increased its support to Pakistan dramatically, surpassing the US as an arms supplier while also investing tens of billions of dollars in the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), a vast array of infrastructure projects. In recent years, Pakistan has also cultivated stronger economic ties with Jordan, Tunisia and the UAE, while deepening defence cooperation with old allies Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Eager to satisfy its energy needs, it signed a gas deal with Qatar in 2016 and has even boosted trade with Iran, freed from the shackles of economic sanctions thanks to the 2015 nuclear deal. While once a firm Saudi ally, Pakistan is now balancing its ties to Riyadh with new links to Tehran. Rather than taking sides in the Saudi-Iran regional conflict, Pakistan has adopted a neutral posture in Yemen and Syria. Since 2014, it has even formed stronger trade and defence ties to former Cold War adversary Russia. However, it will be argued that Pakistan is not abandoning the US-led power bloc, but instead trying to strike a new balance between 'east' and 'west'.

# 5. Indo-Israel Nexus: Evaluation of Its Implications for Pakistan

**Aminah Gilani**

*Lecturer, Department of Political Science*

*Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore*

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**Abstract**

Nuclear Pakistan is perceived as a major strategic threat by both India and Israel. For India it is a traditional regional rival, where Kashmir issue is the basic bone of contention between the two regional nuclear powers. Before Pakistan had become nuclear state, nature of relationship between India and Israel was implicit and covert, as soon as Pakistan emerged as the first Muslim state militarily strong enough to stand on its feet, the political dynamics in Indo-Israel equation shifted. It is clearly observed that over the period of time the nature of Indo-Israeli relationship has thrived and blossomed in emergence of more favorable global political environment. India and Israel share trade, economic and military ties worth billions of dollars and the numbers only seem increasing as the partnership keep strengthening over the pretext of west-led 'war against terror". The research is qualitative in nature, whereas content analysis with application of game theory as theoretical framework has been developed into arguments evaluating the relationship between India and Israel and its outcomes into political and security challenges for Pakistan. The data has been collected using secondary sources including wide range of journals and books available online and in physical libraries. The shift in world politics, and emergence of Islamist terrorism as foremost challenge steering the international relations has paved way for Indo-Israeli objectives to achieve a greater platform to become reality. They have wide range of objectives in the region. A strong influence and presence of both in political rows of Washington is a major strength for them and a threat for Pakistan's future as they influence US state policy towards Pakistan.

**ROOM 3 - PANEL 6: REGIONAL SECURITY-B**
**MAY 6TH, 2018**
**CHAIR: DR. SHOAIB PERVEZ**

**3:00PM-4:300PM**

1. Securitizing One Belt One Road Initiative: Instituting China-Afghanistan
Cooperative Arrangements
**Dr. Iram Khalid**

2. India's South Asia Policy
**Dr. Rizwan Zeb**

3. (In)Security in South Asia: Pakistan's Fears & Anxieties about an Increasing
Indian Role in Afghanistan
**Dr. Mariam Kamal**

4. Nepal's Energy Security: Present and Future Perspective in Regional
Development
**Shilata Pokharel**

5. Is CPEC really a Game Changer for Pakistan?
**Dr. Aqdas Afzal**

6.China's Perspective on Regional Security: A Case of South and West Asia
**Dr. Ghulam Ali**

**Sub-theme 06 - PANEL 6**

**REGIONAL SECURITY-B**

# 1. Securitizing One Belt One Road Initiative: Instituting China – Afghanistan Cooperative Arrangements

**Prof. Dr. Iram Khalid**

*Professor*

*Department of Political Science*

*University of Punjab*

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**Abstract**

Chinese economic initiatives span over a wide area of geographical avenues that require China to institute control mechanisms to ensure preservation of the sanctity of its financial investments. With current geostrategic realignments in process and China rapidly receiving caution on its designs to achieve global economic connectivity, there are specific regions that pose great difficulty as well as great potential for China to address. Contemporary Chinese strategy of incorporating multiple states into separate yet interconnected economic plans, is currently ceased due to an impending security hiatus emerging in South Asia. The growing concerns of aggravation in security meltdown in Afghanistan amid a possible reduction in international security apparatus can greatly effect One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR). Afghanistan is currently center of focus for international community as it offers a diverse investment opportunity while simultaneously requiring investors to finance its security infrastructure. Realizing that Chinese investments in Afghanistan have not yet been realized and that Afghan situation might deteriorate with decrease in security assistance, China's western fragment for OBOR Initiative would require China to pursue a more complex rapprochement with Afghanistan, incorporating securitization as a primal focal point. Afghanistan requires comprehensive assistance to its domestic security system without upsetting international diplomatic connectivity. Chinese investments in Afghanistan are links to its overall trade initiatives and security of investment becomes top priority; a factor on which Chinese-Afghan cooperation needs to be comprehensibly deliberated. China-Afghanistan security arrangements are imperative before any actual investment is commenced or project undertaken.

# 2. India's South Asia Policy

**Dr. Rizwan Zeb**

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**Abstract**

India is an emerging global power. A lot has been written about how it views its position and role globally. What is missing is how India views its role, position in and relevance of South Asia to its rise. India occupies a pivotal position in South Asia. Arguably there is no South Asia without India. Unfortunately, India is missing from South Asia in the sense that every South Asian country, including Bangladesh, in whose creation and independence it played a significant role has a complicated relationship with India. This paper addresses the question how New Delhi views its South Asian neighbors and what role South Asia would play in India's emergence as a global player arguing that till the time India works out a clearly spelled South Asia policy, China will continue to make inroads into South Asia, especially Pakistan. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the free trade agreement with Maldives, Sri Lanka's Hambantota port, and Nepal's pro-China parties are clear examples. China's increasing Influence in South Asia will also be an impediment to India's rise. From this broad spectrum, the paper will narrow down to India-Pakistan relations and would attempt to understand New Delhi's Pakistan policy arguing that India has no Pakistan policy per se and that normalization of relations and reaching an understanding with Pakistan is paramount for the emergence of India as a global power. One thing that must be kept in mind is that India's rise to global power status is linked with its relations and standing among its South Asian neighbors.

## 3. (In)Security in South Asia: Pakistan's Fears & Anxieties about an Increasing Indian Role in Afghanistan

**Dr. Mariam Kamal**

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**Abstract**

Peace and (in)security in South Asia is linked with the constructive role of India and Pakistan by resolving their bilateral issues. In this scenario, Afghanistan has become a source of insecurity between the traditional archrivals. This paper assesses the state of (in)security in South Asia due to an increasing Indian role and experiences of fears and anxieties for Pakistan. The paper starts by defining the concept of (in)security in the South Asian perspective with a proposition of how the concept of security is utilized to maintain control by India and Pakistan in the war-torn Afghanistan. The work takes into account the specified issues emerged from the paradoxical relationship and the power structure maintained by the global powers in Afghanistan, which is constantly in the process of producing and reproducing precise practices of soft power by introducing economic, infrastructural, and cultural developments that are believed to strengthen a specific Indian apparatus vis-à-vis Pakistan. The paper endeavors to find out legitimate source for providing a secure environment in the South Asian region by discussing all aspects of life meddled in a security domain, which are an outcome of the India-Pakistan rivalry and sustained role in Afghanistan. The paper would examine that the concept of security and insecurity increasingly pervades public discourse on the role of India in Afghanistan. Some of the key questions addressed in this work are, how is (in)security manifested and experienced in South Asia in the context of Afghan-India-Pak relations. What are the underlying power structures in Afghanistan that determine what sort of images of security are produced and how do we overcome the effects of experiencing (in)security in South Asia due to the strained relations between Afghanistan-India and Pakistan.

## 4. Nepal's Energy Security: Present and Future Perspective in Regional Development

**Shilata Pokharel**

*Ph.D Scholar, International Relations*

*Department of Political Science*

*University of the Punjab, Lahore*

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**Abstract**

Energy security is one of the important issues that Nepal's foreign policy and diplomacy should pay attention to. Nepal is richly endowed with renewable energy resources, comprising hydropower, solar, wind, biogas, and various forms of biomass energy. It has a huge hydropower potential, but much of the 83,000 MW of hydro energy is still untapped. However, as a natural resource-rich country, Nepal has not yet managed and utilized its potential resources because of lacks of political stability, advanced technology and capable human resources. The Nepal government has not yet treated energy as a strategic commodity. Its importance in foreign policy can help Nepal play the most effective diplomacy at the regional and international levels. This paper aims to reflect the aspects of foreign policy in terms of energy security issues that Nepal is currently dealing with in regional development. As such, this paper's goals are: 1) to offer a brief overview of regional development and energy security ; 2) to present a brief overview of the energy scenarios of Nepal; 3) to show that Nepal has immense potentiality in renewable energy which are yet to be explored and can contribute in regional sustainable energy security. Alternative energy sources have to be explored to solve the present energy crisis in Nepal. No doubt, hydropower is and will be the backbone to supply Nepal's overall energy demand but relying only on hydropower may not be a wise decision in the long run.

# 5. Is CPEC really a Game Changer for Pakistan?

**Dr. Aqdas Afzal**

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**Abstract**

According to calculations made by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), various China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects will add about USD 55 billion to the economy over the next one decade or so (IMF 2017). If these investments actualize, they could help close Pakistan's power deficit and significantly improve energy costs and the fuel mix. Alongside, these investments will provide a boost to Pakistan's gross domestic product (GDP). For this reason, CPEC has been rightly termed a "game changer" for Pakistan's economy. However, CPEC projects come with various pitfalls that policymakers in Pakistan must watch out for. First, CPEC projects will result in massive capital outflows in the form of loan repayments, repatriation of profits and fuel imports—most energy projects will run on imported coal. These massive outflows—expected to rise to USD 3.4-USD 4.5 billion by 2024/25—could lead to some serious macroeconomic challenges if the requisite volume of exports is not increased during the same time. Second, and perhaps more alarmingly, the social costs of Pakistan's increasing reliance on "dirty fuels" like coal will manifest themselves through reductions in overall productivity due to poor health as well as through over-burdened public health care systems. At the same time, deteriorating air quality from coal combustion will pose serious challenges with respect to preventing social unrest, especially as smog has become a "fifth season" in many Pakistani cities.

# 6. China's Perspective on Regional Security: A Case of South and West Asia

**Dr. Ghulam Ali**

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*School of Marxism*

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**Abstract**

This paper reflects upon China's approach to regional security structure with focus on South and West Asia – two key peripheral regions with direct impact on BRI. The paper relies on China's White Papers, official statements and wide variety of secondary sources. It argues that China's regional security strategy stems from its continued focus on internal development which requires peaceful borders, a careful protection of its interests which are growing globally, and the desire to play a role in commensurate with its rising status. Apart from the nature of goals, Beijing operates from within the existing international system and attempts to shape it to its own preferences. China avoids all kinds of conflicts (its own with India; regional as between India and Pakistan; Pakistan and Afghanistan and international as Iran's nuclear program) and pushes for a cooperative security structure. It thus welcomed both friends and foes in China-led security and financial institutes such as SCO and AIIB. This will help in shattering some of the fears of regional states and prevent the influence of outside powers. At the same time, China deepens its ties with existing partners e.g. Pakistan and other allies; develops a cooperative mechanism of working relationship with rivals such as India and adopts a proactive approach on previously neglected areas such as the Indian Ocean, Afghanistan and Iran. This policy invokes both cooperation and competition. Beijing thus far has managed its regional strategy skillfully.

**Sub-theme 07 - PANEL 7**

**MIDDLE EAST SECURITY PERSPECTIVES**

**ROOM 4 - PANEL 7: MIDDLE EAST SECURITY PERSPECTIVES**
**CHAIR: DR. NAZIR HUSSAIN**
**12:30PM-2:00PM**

1. Pakistan's Security Concerns in Syria: A Source of Jihadists, Resistance and Neutrality
**Paul Antonopoulos**

2. Contemporary Regional Security Issues: Threats and Challenges in the Middle East
**Asma Siddiqi**

3. Politics of Bi-Polarity between Iran and Saudi Arab: Study of Security Dilemma and hegemony in the Middle East
**Sadia Rafique**

4. Emerging Threats to Global Security: A Case Study of Syria
**Minahil Ilyas**

5. Role of Social Networking Services in Integration of Refugees of the Syrian Civil War in Austria
**Dr. Mehwish Raza**

# 1. Pakistan's Security Concerns in Syria: A Source of Jihadists, Resistance and Neutrality

**Paul Antonopoulos**

*Research Fellow at the Center for Syncretic Studies Australia*

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**Abstract**

As threats and challenges to security have become transnational and multiplied, Pakistan, despite its official policy of neutrality towards the Syrian war, has a vested interest in monitoring the movements of the hundreds of Salafi and Shi'ite militants who have gone to the country to wage a jihad. The hybrid threat cuts across borders and the potential return of these militants after gaining combat experience in Syria could unleash a wave of inter-Islamic sectarian violence across Pakistan. Although such sectarian violence has always existed in Pakistan, as the Shi'ite-Sunni division widens across the region in conjunction with the hostilities between Saudi Arabia and Iran, Pakistan's neutral position towards the Syrian war is one to avoid such violence to breakout into open conflict and become unmanageable. This primary security concern has guided Pakistan's Syria policy; however, the proposed paper will analyse the security threat Pakistan faces with the return of these militants, and detail why Pakistan has opted for a neutral position on the Syria war. The proposed paper argues that to avoid a deadly sectarian conflict in Pakistan, it has had to carefully navigate and accommodate to its Sunni and Shi'ite communities in its Syria policy. The paper will also explore why Pakistanis have gone to Syria to fight.

# 2. Contemporary Regional Security Issues: Threats and Challenges in the Middle East

**Asma Siddiqi**

*PhD (IR) Scholar*

*Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore*

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**Abstract**

The main aim of this research is to highlight the tensions between KSA and Iran which they have been experiencing for decades and their impact on peace, harmony, security and stability in the Middle East. Middle Eastern Region has geo-economic, geo-graphical and geo-political prominence due to its energy resources and its presence in the mid of Afro-Eurasia, so it is hard for Great Powers to neglect and remain hostile with the regional powers to secure their interests in the region and vice versa. This paper provides a brief explanation about the history, origin and significance of this long standing hostility and differences between Iran and Saudis particularly due to religious factors (ethnic divide), Iranian nuclear program, oil pricing, support of terrorist organizations and also Iran's rigidities with regional Sunni states which created local, regional and political instabilities in ME. It is significant to investigate and analyse that a twisted situation has been created after the historical Nuclear Deal between Iran and P5+1. As, this deal was welcomed by most of the world but the US main allies, Saudi Arabia and Israel expressed their concerns on it. The Syrian crisis is also resulting in a "New Great Game" between regional and great powers. So, the major intention of this research is to highlight the prominence of the diplomatic solution of KSA-Iran antipathy and an anticipation to resolve all the contentious issues between them through diplomacy particularly the Syrian and Yemen crisis which is resulting in brutal killing of innocent people and to suggest some possible solutions for it, as it is very crucial for the global energy security, environmental security, regional security and peace building process, stability, harmony, development and prosperity of the region and people as well.

# 3. Politics of Bi-Polarity between Iran and Saudi Arab: Study of Security Dilemma and hegemony in the Middle East

**Sadia Rafique**

*Assistant Professor*

*Political Science Department, G C University Lahore*

**Uzair Bin Fazal**

*Student MA Political Science, G C University Lahore*

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**Abstract**

In the previous decade, Saudi-Iranian relations heightened, while it is additionally

evident that Saudi Arab and Iran have truly been, and keep on being, matches in Middle East, since they share certain security interests, which are inconsistent in numerous zones over the Middle East. The two states have fundamentally different political identities and ideologies. This article goes for featuring the relationship in light of security with a unique accentuation given to the quickened rivalry between the two neighbors after the two improvements, the US choice to pull back from Iraq and the Arab spring. The main inquiries of the article are as per the following; what are the major factors that drive Iran and Saudi Arab to lead the area? How the two gatherings approach the present condition of the Middle East? What sort of energy bases they have? What sort of systems have been embraced by the two nations? What is the idea of their relations with USA? How peripheral and outside on-screen characters influence Saudi Iran rivalry? Analyzing the Saudi-Iranian case the article shows that one of the most important factors that motivate states to seek hegemony is the perceived security need that are thought to be fulfilled mainly through enhancement of power capabilities.

# 4. Emerging Threats to Global Security: A Case Study of Syria

**Minahil Ilyas**

*PhD Scholar International Relations at University of the Punjab*
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**Abstract**
The Syrian war has transformed itself from a demand for higher autonomy to a localised civil sectarian conflict to emerge itself as a complex security threat and a humanitarian crisis of global proportions. The conflict has characterized itself as evolving into a playground for various international and regional state actors as well as non-state actors often supported by foreign players to project their vested interests in the region. The fact that the official Syrian government does not exercise popular support across Syria and has relegated itself to a proxy role which has created a vacuum at the centre and an absence of a strong and neutral voice for Syria in conflict resolution. This complex stakeholder ecosystem, emerging interests, involvement of volatile non-state actors and above all the lack of a representative Syria government has posed serious challenges to finding a sustained solution to the Syrian crisis. The emerging nature of the conflict has

now boiled over to post tangible traditional hard threats to regional states as well as global non-traditional threats around propagation of fundamental ideology and global terrorism. These unique characteristics, coupled with the realities of a uni-polar world have rendered traditional cold war models for conflict resolution obsolete and irrelevant in the Syrian context. Thus the Syrian conflict needs to be prismed through Regional Security Complex Theory that is more relevant to address this complex ecosystem.

## 5. Role of Social Networking Services in Integration of Refugees of the Syrian Civil War in Austria

**Dr. Mehwish Raza**

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*University of Lahore*
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**Abstract**
With over 103,052 refugees living in Austria and more arriving each year, their integration in the Austrian society has gained much attention in recent years. Amid the intense endeavors by Austrian government to host asylum seekers, Social Networking Services (SNS) has gained strength for social and cultural integration of refugees. This qualitative study with thirty-two refugees of the Syrian Civil War is set-up in Carinthia, Austria. This study assesses the role of SNS for social and cultural integration of Syrian refugees in the host community. The results unfold perception of refugees towards the concept of integration in the host country and establish the significance of SNS particularly to: (a) adapt cultural competences; (b) acquire German as a second language; and (c) access local labor markets. Lastly, the study outlines factors that influence refugees' perceptions towards social and cultural integration in Austria.

**Sub-Theme 8 – PANEL 8**

**<u>CYBER SECURITY</u>**

**ROOM 4 - PANEL 8: CYBER SECURITY**
**CHAIR: DR. ZULFIQAR KHAN**
**3:00PM-4:30PM**

1. Terrorism in Cyberspace and Human Security
**TALAL RAZA**

2. Threats to Global Security in the 21st Century
**MEERA NADEEM**

3. Cybersecurity and Pakistan's Statecraft
**WAQAS IQBAL**

4. Cyber Terrorism: The Future Warfare in Pakistan
**Dr. SAQIB WARAICH**

5. Information and Communication Technology Infrastructures and Cyber
Security Policy
**ARAFAT MIR**

# 1. Terrorism in Cyberspace and Human Security

**Talal Raza**

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*Media Matters For Democracy*

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**Abstract**

Just like the counter terrorism experts are grappling with the new phenomenon of terrorism in cyberspace, the human security literature hasn't developed into the direction of the threats emanating from cyberspace. This is owing to the dearth of overall understanding at the academic and policy levels about the interdependent nature of digital and physical worlds that has redefined the nature of threats that the world faces in digital and physical world. In other words, terrorism committed in cyberspace has direct implications to activities that the people undertake in the physical world. The implications may not be physically harmful but could have severe effect on the psychological wellbeing and economic security of the people. The paper will redefine the Human Security Framework in the light of emerging threat of terrorism in cyberspace. It will assess what are the implications for human security with the rising phenomenon of terrorism in cyberspace.

# 2. Threats to Global Security in the 21st Century

**Meera Nadeem**

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**Abstract**

Terrorism in the age of new media and information technology, where conventional threats to global security meet the contemporary. (Threats to global security in the 21st Century) In an age of connectivity and increasingly porous national borders, threats to global security transcend limitations imposed by geography and conventional application of force. The realm of new media provides a space for violent non-state actors to employ non-traditional tools for narrative building, propaganda and recruitment to their ranks unrestricted by geography or operational capabilities. This imposes new security challenges to the world, with an increased impact on existing human, resource and national insecurities. At the moment, the global response to this very imminent threat has been both inefficient, ineffective, and uncoordinated - with a significant gap in capabilities between countries that are leaders in information technology and those that bear the brunt of terrorist violence. This paper will examine the use of new media tools by modern violent extremist groups to build their narrative and develop self-sustaining "online" networks that allow them to increasingly impact the global information environment, and maintain adaptive terrorist networks. The paper will also review existing mechanisms being employed to counter these extremist ideologies within cyber terrorism, and identify the gaps that exist between the two, proposing possible policy measures and robust cross-disciplinary implementation strategies as a sustainable way forward towards ensuring global security and peace in the 21st Century.

# 3. Cybersecurity and Pakistan's Statecraft

**Waqas Iqbal**

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**Abstract**

Information technology in its cyber conception has overwhelming impact on the international relations. The straitjacket of conventional theoretical framework is questioned at many a level. In the most rudimentary form, it transcends the concept of state. The cybersecurity of state has to be by its very nature internationalist in orientation and yet it has to conform to realist ideas in the sense that it has to follow national interests. Likewise, the cybersecurity is all pervasive. It is not bound by any domain or defined province; its omnipresence in every facet of life from economics to education to health to transportation makes it a liberal concept, but its regulation in state jurisdictions make it realist in handling. My paper will try to examine the applicability of different theoretical frameworks of the conventional international relations to cybersecurity. I will

elucidate how cybersecurity should be made part of statecraft for a country like Pakistan, which has paramount security interests. Besides, I will explore the concept of cybersecurity vis-à-vis jurisdiction, enforcement, culpability, liability and internationalism. The paper will be conceptual and will try to focus on the latest themes that interest Pakistan's security.

## 4. Cyber Terrorism: The Future Warfare in Pakistan

**Dr. Saqib Waraich**

*Assistant Professor*

*Department of Political Science*

*Government College University Lahore*

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**Abstract**

Cyber terrorism has emerged as a serious security threat for global politics and states and has been making its critical place in security circles. Cyber terrorism is much safer, low cost and easily operate-able from any part of the globe which make it more lethal and destructive. The paper highlights the history of cyber terrorism and major operations conducted by states against other states and non-state actors. Cyber terrorists have far more advantages than the conventional terrorist as they can be highly effective since there is no need of physical presence. Usually the cyber attack can be launched from a very far off place from the incident site with decreased risk levels for terrorist organizations. Usually, these persons cannot be identified as they use large number of IPs and computers and hence it becomes more difficult to recognize them. In most cases it is not even possible to trace them. This whole situation is making cyber terrorism a favorite tool of terrorist organizations and even for states. Cyber terrorism has become significant for national security apparatus by the day. The world we are living in is a "Digital World" – the world increasingly dependent on technology and communication sources. Security equipment, weaponry systems, nuclear assets and modern warfare technologies were being digitalized. Although the internet and digital technology has made the world, organizations and even states more efficient, on the other hand, it has made them completely dependent on it.

## 5. Information and Communication Technology Infrastructures and Cyber Security Policy

**Arafat Mir**

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**Abstract**

The anarchical nature of the cyber domain coupled with the exponential growth of computing power and communication functionality have led to the threat of cyberterrorism becoming a phenomenon that cannot be ignored by policy makers and security experts. In an era where dependence on technology has increased and borders have become blurred, the prerequisite for something to be at risk of cyber invasion is reliance on a computer network. A cyberterrorist attack cannot be countered through physical force due to the unknown source of attack, while the target destination and the point of origin can be thousands of miles apart. A largescale cyber attack, could potentially result in the theft of sensitive government information, economic instability through breaches of financial institutions or the targeting of critical infrastructure like nuclear power plants or water treatment stations. A breach of said systems can have dire consequences not only for political and economic security, but also for public health and safety. The current guidance on implementing cyberspace defense is based on a single model of nations with mature Information and Communication Technology (ICT) infrastructures and a wide usage of the Internet. This means that the available guidance does not directly address the challenges encountered by nations with emerging ICT infrastructures that have limited usage of internet, and are thus more prone to cyberterrorism. This paper will propose measures for ICT emerging countries regarding the changes that need to be implemented in cyber security policy, legal frameworks and law enforcement agencies.

**Sub-theme 09 - PANEL 9**

**MARITIME SECURITY-A**

**ROOM 5 - PANEL 9: MARITIME SECURITY-A**
**MAY 6TH, 2018**
**CHAIR:DR. PERVEZ IQBAL CHEEMA**

**12:30PM-2:00PM**

1. Nuclearization of the Indian Ocean
**Amb. Tariq Osman Hyder**

2. Maritime Security Framework
**Rear Admiral Pervaiz Asghar**

3. Progressing Maritime Security Framework in the Indian Ocean: Challenges for Pakistan
**Mohammad Azam Khan**

4. South Asian Undersea Nuclear Deterrence: Emerging Capabilities and Implication for Crisis Stability
**Saima Aman Sial**

5. Nuclear Deterrence at Sea: Challenges and Prospects for Pakistan
**Anum Khan**

# 1. Nuclearization of the Indian Ocean- The Stability Factor

**Ambassador Osman Hyder**

# 2. The Maritime Security Framework, Major Powers Interests and Non-Traditional Challenges in the Indian Ocean

**Rear Admiral Pervaiz Asghar, Retd**

# 3. Contest For Islands and Ports in the Indian Ocean

**Commander Muhammad Azam Khan, Retd**

**Panel Abstract**

In his 2011 groundbreaking work, 'Monsoon', the acclaimed geopolitical analyst Robert Kaplan contends that the dynamic area of Indian Ocean will be crucial to American power in the twenty-first century. "It is here that the fight for democracy, energy independence and religious freedom will be lost or won, and it is here that American foreign policy must concentrate if the United States is to remain relevant in the ever-changing world", notes the author. But the United States' dependency on Middle East oil, a major strategic interest, has since dramatically evaporated. With the discovery of shale, the US now produces more oil than top exporter Saudi Arabia. It is also likely to rob Russia of top spot by the end of the ongoing year. Yet all this has not altered Washington's strategic allure for the region. For Pakistan and India, the two key nuclear littorals in Indian Ocean, ME remain vital for shipment of energy goods, particularly LNG and POL. Following Obama's Asia pivot policy of 2012, the United States under Trump administration now appears to be positioning a new framework for the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The term "Indo-Pacific" is strongly reflected in the US National Security Strategy of December 2017. It also finds extensive reference in Indian Maritime Security Strategy of 2015 as well as all major maritime policy papers of Australia. The emphasis is on the contiguous and strategic nature of Indian Ocean from Persian Gulf to Malacca and its adjoining eastern maritime space, the South China Sea embracing, 'two of the world's three largest oceans; four of the world's seven largest economies, and the world's five most populous countries'. Washington's latest construct includes what are called 'maritime democracies': the United States, India, Australia and Japan. Drawing all-inclusive advantage of nuclear and defence partnership with the United States, New Delhi is fervently expanding its nuclear, technological and conventional capabilities in the maritime military domain. Operationalisation of Arihant, the first locally produced SSBN, the successful test firing of submarine launched K- series of nuclear tipped ballistic missiles, the joint aircraft carrier operations with USN and a projected fleet of 200 ships by 2027 are to name only a few. Besides, number of planned Arihant class SSBNs, India's first homegrown carrier is also expected to be ready by 2020. A first of its kind custom built, P8I Poseidon anti-submarine reconnaissance aircraft equipped with cutting edge sensors and weapons now flies between South China Sea and Malacca to Persian Gulf duly monitoring maritime traffic. A logistics agreement, LEMOA allows wide-ranging use of Indian ports by the US navy on reciprocal basis. As a result, operational flexibility of the two navies stand widely augmented. China's expanding economic footprint in Indian Ocean with upcoming port of Gwadar will allow Beijing access to markets in Africa and Middle East. PLAN is also said to be gradually shaping as a two ocean navy. But this has opened new fronts in the region. Political rush and vying for key Islands and ports in the Indian Ocean is now more conspicuous than ever before. In this game of what India terms, "strategic encirclement", Sri-Lanka, Seychelles, Maldives, Djibouti, Mauritius, Chahabahar, Hambatota, Andaman-Nicobar, Myanmar, Duqm, Jiwani, over and above Gwadar are all now in full international spotlight. Saudi Arabia, Iran, UAE, Muscat and others are being courted in parallel for defence, commercial, energy and other essential advantages. The competing strategic interests primarily aim at securing and (or) allowing monitoring of opposing sea lines whilst diluting adversarial influence. A host of non-traditional challenges including marine pollution, overexploitation of marine resources, threat of tsunami, maritime terrorism and fragile states dotting its shores also cut across the geo-politics in Indian Ocean. India has launched an aggressive international campaign against sea basing of nuclear weapons by Pakistan predicated on inherent risks involved and possibility of miscalculation. In the absence of a persuasive sea dimension, Pakistan's posture of FSD remains less than perfect if not credible. The existing collaborative forums in the shape of IONS, IMC, WPNS have not yielded desired results in view of political strife, nuclear and conventional naval force build-up and maritime boundary issues. Placed at an ideal maritime geographical neighbourhood of Strait of Hormuz, Pakistan; its port of Gwadar and a small

yet robust Pakistan navy are at the center of the developing storm in the Indian Ocean. The mounting friction; the strategic instability amidst divergence and convergence of interests is fuelling the spectre of conflict.

# 4. South Asian Undersea Nuclear Deterrence: Emerging Capabilities and Implication for Crisis Stability

**Saima Aman Sial**

*Senior Research Fellow*

*Center for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad.*

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**Abstract**
With the introduction of nuclear platforms in the Indian Ocean sub-surface by both India and Pakistan, the chances of close encounters cannot be ruled out. This is especially true because of significant increase in the number of subsurface nuclear platforms. One of the most pronounced strategic anxieties of the Pakistan Navy would be the Indian capability to counter Pakistan's under-sea platforms through aggressive ASW maneuvers. Another related complicating factor would be the commingling issue. As Iskander Rehman points out, during a crisis, the Indian naval commanders may target Pakistan's submarines considering them to be conventionally armed. However, Pakistan may consider the attack against its strategic asset as intentionally crippling Pakistan's sea based second-strike capability and hence the situation very like would lead to a crisis. Other serious issues associated with under-sea nuclear platforms are command and control of the submarines. This is troublesome, given the fact that both sides are currently evolving capabilities for secure communication with undersea deterrent forces and are building communication infrastructure which are vulnerable to counter-force targeting. The inability to put communications infrastructure airborne would enhance crisis instability with vulnerability of counter-force targeting of the communication infrastructure during potential crisis. Other issues would include the debate about doctrines - both conventional and strategic - and how they incorporate the new capabilities or how the new capabilities affect the doctrinal evolution. Indian acquisition of aircraft carriers, nuclear submarines, ASW, and ISR capabilities as well as Pakistan's pursuit of a functional sea-based deterrent to achieve strategic depth would lead to an increasingly tense environment in the Indian Ocean and enhanced chances of miscommunication and unnecessary escalation cannot be ruled out. This would also complicate the Indian Navy's posturing in the IOR, which predicates Indo-US partnership in the Indo Pacific. In the absence of any incidents at sea controlling mechanism among regional navies, minor naval incidents will have the propensity of spiralling out of control. Owing to geographical contiguity of Pakistan and India and latter's aspirations to expand its reach to Strait of Hormuz, there is a likelihood of frequent interactions of naval platforms. Difficulty in ascertaining intentions and capabilities of maritime aircraft or a ship operating at close range will heighten chances of escalation, . Owing to the opacity about naval operations in the wake of crisis, the adversary's manoeuvres for tracking SSBNs might be perceived as offensive operations. This would place submarine commanders in a 'use-it or lose-it dilemma' and increase their propensity for unauthorized use. To address this emerging scenario of strategic mistrust and anxieties in the IOR, there is a need to take recourse to some sort of agreement on force structures and deployments to prevent any possible escalation and especially inadvertence. This study therefore undertakes to assess these naval developments in light of India and Pakistan's nuclear doctrines and maritime strategy; the implications of the introduction of ballistic/nuclear cruise missiles and the increased emphasis on ISR and ASW capabilities and their impact on regional/crisis stability; and then analyze the implications this development would have for the regions stability and chances of unintended escalation.

# 5. Nuclear Deterrence at Sea: Challenges and Prospects for Pakistan

**Anum Khan**

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**Abstract**
The present research aims to explore one of the most significant dilemmas in

this postmodern era that is deterrence at sea and the challenges it has brought in the present age on new nuclear weapon states to complete their nuclear triad. Nuclear triad hints at strategic dependence on three specific strategic delivery platforms to complement deterrence. In South Asia, India's maritime strategy makes reference to Cold War as the rationale for acquisition of nuclear triad. The recent developments in Indian maritime nuclear capability are consequential and worrisome for Pakistan as the Indian Ocean comprises of major Choke points and also the Sea Lines of Communication. There are significant repercussions of India considering Indian Ocean as its backyard. It is thus, imperative to address the security issues between India and Pakistan which will be reverberated due to emerging maritime nuclear capabilities in South Asia and explore options for Pakistan. The research will highlight historical context of nuclear deterrence at sea and examine if it is applicable in the case of India and Pakistan where India is moving towards modernizing maritime nuclear capability. Also, the emerging technological developments in maritime domain which can evolve naval nuclear strategies in the South Asian region. Subsequently, the research will propose the new initiatives vis-à-vis naval arms control and Confidence Building Measures in the maritime domain which can be proposed between India and Pakistan.

**Sub-theme 10 - PANEL 10**

**MARITIME SECURITY-B**

# 1. Maritime Security of Pakistan: Challenges and Opportunities

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**Abstract**

This paper explores challenges and opportunities related to maritime security of Pakistan. Field study has been employed for this research. Lack of strategic maritime vision and land-lock thinking of leadership, policy makers, research analysts, business community and general public is main cause of underdeveloped and overlooked maritime sector of Pakistan. Pakistan is 74th largest out of 142 littoral states in world with 1001 km long coastline. It has 290,000 sq. km of Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) which can be considered as fifth province of Pakistan but unfortunately, word "Maritime" is missing in the document of Vision 2025. There is not a single party which has incorporated maritime security in its manifesto. First maritime policy has not been approved and implemented till date which has been written and presented in 2002. Piracy, illegal poaching and fishing and marine pollution in EEZ are major problems faced by Pakistan. Pakistan Navy has very limited role to play that is regarding security but they are involved in Karachi port trust, Karachi shipyard port authority, Gwadar Development Authority and development of infrastructure in coastal areas of Sind and Balochistan. Maritime Security Agency and Coastal Guards are playing effective role but they lack most sophisticated weapon system and infrastructure to control terrorism. Pakistan needs to develop more economic zones like other states of Indian Ocean. Private sector should be encouraged to contribute in maritime economy by buying new ships for fishing and transportation. Provision of basic necessities, pure drinking water and electricity should be primary objective of government for development of coastal areas which can work as engine of growth in Pakistan. Modern concept of multimodal destinations should be established in ports in order to meet future requirements. Pakistan Navy has raised Task Force-88(TF-88) for providing security to China Pakistan Economic Corridor and its related infrastructure and personals. Co-ordination among all interested parties is highly required in current and projected scenario. Establishment of Maritime Authority is highly recommended for resolving maritime challenge.

## 2. Maritime Politics of South Asia and Pakistan

**Attiq-ur-Rehman**

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**Abstract**

The contesting maritime claims and conflicted sea-lanes along with unyielding clashes over key water paths, main straits, major canals and important ports always remind significance of Mahanian political model in international politics. A systematic examination of Mahan's intellect and its application on contemporary world politics leads the debate toward China's emerging role in the world affairs. The South Asian version of maritime politics under One Belt-One Road (OBOR) initiative has resulted in China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). A decent pattern of economic diplomacy of Beijing attracted Islamabad toward Chinese sponsored model of regional integration through regional connectivity by massive development of ports and coastal areas of Pakistan. The CPEC emphasized the construction of deep-water Gwadar port which will serve Chinese commercial interests in future parallel to upholding Pakistan's economic growth. The critical circles of international community view Beijing's mega plan of CPEC as a strategic gambit laced with serious consequences for entire region. Chinese strategic interest in Indian Ocean are inherited in Gwadar. The construction of Gwadar port will strengthen China's position against swelling naval capabilities of India. Therefore, the signing of CPEC under Belt – Road Initiative is going to mainly alter traditional wisdom of Pakistan's national security. The Indian concerns over growing Sino – Pak economic cooperation under CPEC are difficult to ignore. The traumatic historical accounts of Indo-Pak rivalry must be considered seriously by Islamabad and Beijing mutually. In this way, the central theme of this paper will revolve around emerging maritime politics of South Asian and its relevance to Pakistan. No doubt, Islamabad is effectively emphasizing the defence of its oceanic borders by empowering its naval capabilities. But still the leading architecture of national security from Islamabad need to seriously address the maritime challenges attached to CPEC.

## 3. Security Implications of the South China Sea: A Strategic Evaluation

**Maryam Khan**

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**Abstract**

The South China Sea is arguably one of the world's most dangerous regions, with conflicting diplomatic, legal, and security claims by major and mid-level powers. Attributed to its far-reaching geostrategic situation, the South China Sea has already gained a potential "flashpoint" for armed conflict in the volatile region. A long-lasting dispute with multiple actors and different claims involved, make the situation in the South China Sea very complicated. The situation is heightened by the legitimate concerns of states and ongoing geopolitical negotiations between the United States and China.  In this regard, both China and the U.S. are prone to exert themselves to the utmost to safeguard their interests and to enhance their influence. Particularly, in the wake of the South China Sea Arbitration and in the context of U.S. defence treaties with the Philippines and Japan, it is pertinent to analyse the forthcoming security implications with respect to the changing geopolitical scenario. The proposed evaluation seeks to unfold the entire discourse from a security perspective to examine the actual threat and to propose a way forward toward regional peace and call for the reduction of the tension in the region.

## 4. Indian Pursuit of Blue Water Navy: Its Geo-Strategic Implications

**Waqar un Nisa**

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**Abstract**

India has started envisioning to develop a blue water navy. Indian maritime

doctrine and strategy have developed quite rapidly in the recent decade. It has transformed from freedom to use the seas to securing the seas. Rebalancing in Asia and India's strategic location has provided it with the benefit of being key ally of United States. The convergence of interest of the two states brought them together into the establishment of a maritime partnership providing an opportunity to Indian navy to develop the capabilities of carrying out blue water missions and the latter has started developing its capabilities. Such ambitious strategies and militarization in the Indo-Pacific region will lead to the instability in the region. The study explores the implications of such development in the region. Contrary to the assumption that such development will create balance of power in the region, the study seeks to explore to the possibilities of conflict and confrontation and the probability of maritime cold war in the region. Sustainability of peace at sea only depends on the discouragement of an arms race in maritime domain and encouragement of engagement and collaboration. The study will be exploratory as well as analytical, depending on both primary and secondary resources.

## Sub-theme 11 - PANEL 11

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SECURITY-A

## MAY 6TH, 2018
## ROOM 6 - PANEL 11: NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SECURITY-A
## CHAIR: KHALID BANURI

## 12:30PM-2:00PM

1. Evolving Technologies in South Asia and Regional Stability Challenges
**Dr. Rizwana Abbasi**

2. Nuclear Suppliers Group, Prospects and Problems for India and Pakistan
**Shaneela Tariq**

3. The Return of Great Power competition? The historical roots of the Trump Administration's Nuclear Posture Review
**Dr. Giordana Pulcini**

4. South Asian Nuclear Dynamics: Critical Appraisal of Realist Perspective
**Yasir Hussain**

## 1. Evolving Technologies in South Asia and Regional Stability Challenges

**Dr. Rizwana Abbasi**

*Department of IR, NDU*

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**Abstract**

Indo-U.S. relations have undergone a significant conversion, with resulting modernization of military forces and armament. Both India and U.S. have intensified their defence and security cooperation in form of Indo-U.S. nuclear deal. They promote shared military education and training programs. U.S. has increased its defense sales to India under Defence Trade Treaty Initiative (DTTI). The two states have initiated co-development and co-production and sharing of platforms on maritime security, sensitive technologies, over flights, navigation and surveillance systems etc. India and Pakistan are historical rivals. Pakistan faces existential threat from India. India's unchecked, capability based defence planning increases Pakistan's insecurity and destabilizes regional settings in South Asia. Consequently, Pakistan in efforts to stabilize deterrence, continues to modernize its defence capabilities/platforms. China supports Pakistan in its conflict with India while the U.S. relations with Pakistan is getting fraught in the wake of growing Indo-U.S. strategic and political alliance. In the backdrop of these developments, this paper raises a set of questions: What are the determining factors that intensify military and technological competition in the region? How evolving technologies are deepening security dilemma between India and Pakistan? How chain reaction of these states in absence of constructive dialogue/CBMs complicates the regional peace in South Asia? How can deterrence be stabilized and peace preserved in the present complex environment?

## 2. Nuclear Suppliers Group, Prospects and Problems for India and Pakistan

**Shahneela Tariq**

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**Abstract**

Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) was founded in 1974 as a response to Indian nuclear test with the aim to check the control the nuclear exports and technology and to ensure the use of nuclear technology only for peaceful purposes. However, India received a special exemption from the US and became the first non-NSG state to have nuclear trade with NSG member state without signing NPT. India claims to have all credentials to join the NSG and is bidding for the NSG membership. India and Pakistan being traditional rival states and nuclear powers, pose a great threat to international security as there is no strategic cooperation between both. This research paper aims to present a comparative analysis of the prospects and problems for India and Pakistan's membership case in the Nuclear Suppliers Group in the light of waiver negotiations and US-India nuclear deal. Furthermore, there is a dire need to know the true meaning and implications of the 'Suppliers Group', as a platform for global nuclear trade since major powers have keen interest in empowering developing nations to acquire civilian nuclear technology and materials which can have implications for horizontal nuclear proliferation.

## 3. The Return of Great Power competition? The historical roots of the Trump Administration's Nuclear Posture Review

**Dr. Giordana Pulcini**

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**Abstract**

On February 2nd, 2018, the Trump Administration released its Nuclear Posture Review (NPR). The document claims a much-anticipated, and discussed, departure from the previous NPR, citing the "rapid deterioration of the threat environment" since 2010 as the main reason behind a readjustment of US nuclear policy. The new NPR undeniably rearrange the ranking of a number of US priorities, de-emphasizing for instance the central role assigned to non-proliferation by the previous administrations. Yet, several key-elements of Trump Administration's posture set a firm continuity with past approaches. Exploring the historical roots of the current understanding of nuclear superiority, this paper will highlight the long-standing features of US nuclear policy, and their impact on the 2018 NPR. It will demonstrate how the document reiterates the central pillars of US nuclear posture since the 1970s: "flexibility", "versatility", "tailored approach", as well as the ability, should deterrence fail, to control escalation, and "end any conflict at the lowest level of damage possible and on the best achievable term". It will asses how these concepts are adapted to the current security environment, and how they are expected to shape US responses to the main nuclear threats, identified with Russia's belief in limited nuclear first use, and Chinese growing capabilities. Against this background, it will briefly discuss the proposed modernization of the US arsenal, centered on a low-yield option for SLBM warheads, the deployment of SLCM, and the enhancement of the forward-based nuclear bombers in Europe.

## 4. South Asian Nuclear Dynamics: Critical Appraisal of Realist Perspective

**Yasir Hussain**

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**Abstract**

Ever since India and Pakistan demonstrated nuclear weapon capability in a tit for tat fashion, both academics and policy makers have used realist framework to understand nuclear dynamics. Despite being deficient in epistemic enquiry, realist framework has dominated the development of nuclear discourse in South Asia. The region has often been seen as one of world's most volatile regions

with arch rivals India and Pakistan entangled in a costly nuclear arms race. The aim of this study is to offer a critical appraisal of discourse that has been traditionally led by realist school of thought on South Asia's nuclear dynamics. The recommendations offered by realist school of thought seem to be falling short in addressing epistemic deficiencies within the literature. A critical analysis of the discourse is pertinent to question the epistemological basis of realism and its utility in addressing the complexity of issue. In addition to that, realist interpretations have encouraged Pakistan and India to indulge in a massive arms race. Under the notion of maintaining balance of power, both countries are competing for strategic parity. Besides that, theoretical premises of neoliberals and constructivists have rarely been given space in the South Asian nuclear discourse. That's why nuclear dynamics have confined to the theoretical understanding of realist paradigm. The motives that have served as central engine in Indo-Pak nuclear weapon quest are relatively less exposed by realists. This paper shall be structured in three segments. First, South Asian nuclear dynamics will be assessed in historical context. The second part of the paper will offer criticism on the discourse that has been overwhelmingly dominated by realist paradigm. Third part of the paper will focus on alternative approaches and theories which can help us in developing a greater understanding of the South Asian nuclear dynamics. This paper will also enquire into dominant theoretical account on South Asian nuclear dynamics and its efficacy

**Sub-theme 12 - PANEL 12**

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SECURITY-B

# 1. Redressing Stability-Instability Paradox in South Asia: A Case for Enhancing Conventional Deterrence

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**Abstract**

Academics working on South Asian security have often times drawn parallels between Indo-Pak nuclear rivalry and that between erstwhile USSR and USA during the Cold War. One of the Cold War theories that scholars have tried to analyze in the South Asian context is the Stability-Instability Paradox. The theory was proposed by Glenn Snyder in his book entitled "Deterrence and Defense". The destructive capacity of the absolute weapon leads to stability at the highest end of the conflict spectrum but this perceived insurance of escalation management and control leads to instability at lower ends of the spectrum. In other words, stability at the highest end provides a cushion for states to engage in limited conflicts well below the N- threshold. Scholars have tried to analyze the Kargil Conflict through this theoretical framework. However, their studies primarily focus on the applicability of the theory. Regardless of theoretical underpinnings and nuances, both countries resort to the use of force at lower ends of the spectrum as evidenced by constant ceasefire violations. There is anything but stability at the tactical and theater levels, both lying in the sub-strategic domain. Hence, this study will look into how strengthening conventional deterrence will reduce instability at lower ends of the conflict spectrum and redress the paradox. The study will attempt to answer the following questions. Will a strong conventional deterrence drive complement strategic deterrence in South Asia? Will the Instability side of Glenn Snyder's theory become more stable by bolstering conventional deterrence or will the confidence in conventional capabilities make both, India and Pakistan more brazen to undertake offensive operations at the sub-strategic levels?

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## 2. Nuclear Security Architecture Post NSS: Outlook and Challenges

**Nida Shahid**

*International Research Analyst, Arms Control and Disarmament Affairs*

*Directorate, Strategic Plans Division, Rawalpindi*

*MPhil Graduate (Department of Defence and Strategic Studies) Quaid-e-Azam*

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**Abstract**

The global nuclear security architecture today consists of many organizations and components; the most important among them being the now ceased Nuclear Security Summit (NSS) Process. Before the NSS the nuclear security architecture was still in place but the focus on this issue gained traction following the Prague Speech by President Obama in 2009. There exist two schools of thoughts on nuclear security leading to two different conclusions. The first conclusion is that it is unnecessarily alarmist and exaggerates the importance of the incidents, for none of them has actually led to anything consequential. The alternative conclusion is that significant risks are inherent in this sphere. Authorities have to be vigilant and succeed in preventing theft and attacks every single time. Although the NSS process has brought an unprecedented level of attention to nuclear material security and helped solidify international consensus around strengthening its structures yet there still remain gaps. This study aims to ascertain whether the nuclear security threats have been exaggerated or otherwise, while assessing the current status of the global nuclear security architecture following the end of the NSS process. The current challenges and way forward will also be assessed.

## 3. Nuclear Weapons and Security in the 21st Century

**Rahat Iqbal**

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**Abstract**

It's been almost three decades that cold war is over but the quest for nuclear technological advancement still prevails in different domains. Undoubtedly, nuclear technology was the major factor of pacification between the superpowers during the cold war era but it has got severe implications in the 21st century. The revolution of technology in 21st century has also opened new threat avenues towards Nuclear Weapons and security. The concept of conventional warfare transformed into unconventional and asymmetric warfare; presently it is even drifting towards hybrid warfare. This transformation has though reduced risks of conventional war but has given birth to proxy wars against adversaries with nuclear capability. The proliferation of nuclear weapons can be physical and virtual, witting or unwitting and also includes traditional threats of accidents and incidents while transferring/ transporting, unauthorized use and illegal transfer of technology. The present era is marked with cyber and internet and same have emerged as a new threat to security of nuclear weapons in terms of cyber attacks. The recent invention of MOAB followed by its trial in Afghanistan by USA may also pose a serious threat to nuclear security in the foreseeable future. Hence, threats to nuclear weapons and security are always evolving but they can always be responded well by adopting dynamic preventive measures and upgrading the command and control mechanisms. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) should play a lead role in provision of technical support in terms of advancements in nuclear security, Non-violation of norms of Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) and enhancement of confidence building measures among conflicting states.

# 4. Strategic Stability and Deterrence in the Second Nuclear Age

**Amina Afzal**

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**Abstract**

Even as the concept of strategic stability features prominently in contemporary debates about nuclear policy, it is not a well-comprehended phenomenon. Owing to the lack of a single, universally accepted definition of stability, there remain significant gaps in understanding about how individual states view and define stability. Although the term strategic stability is used widely across the world, countries remain largely unable to define the concept let alone identify ways to achieve or strengthen it. The use of the term strategic stability became popular during the Cold War, particularly after the advent of nuclear weapons. Since then it has been variously defined. Although in recent times, strategic stability has being described in the context of relations between states that help maintain regional or global security, its main definition, however, derives from the existence of nuclear weapons. Strategic Stability has thus been defined as the absence of an incentive to launch a major preemptive nuclear attack or build up nuclear forces or preventing the escalation of a conflict. Deterrence therefore contributes to the broader concept of strategic stability. Although the role of nuclear weapons in ensuring stability and the de-escalation of crises during the Cold War is well established, deterrence at best remains complicated. This paper will be an effort to explain strategic stability especially in the context of its relationship with nuclear deterrence. During the Cold War, the rivalry between the US and Soviet Union was characterised by a survivable nuclear force representing a 'credible' deterrent which in turn helped maintain the inherent 'uncertainty' in strategic stability. This chapter will  examine the limits and challenges associated with the application of deterrence theory to strategic stability.

**Sub-theme 13 - PANEL 13**

## <u>NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SECURITY-C</u>

## 1. Nuclearization: A Threat to Human Security in South Asia

**Dr. Fauzia Ghani**

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**Abstract**
This research paper provides a widespread appraisal of the Nuclearization and how it becomes a threat to human security in South Asia. Acquisition of nuclear weapons by a state may cause threat to other states and its own people. Sadly, human mistake or blunder could lead to a humanitarian calamity. Human security line extends the possibility of security analysis and policy from territorial security to the security of people. Nuclearization was first emphasized and appeared during cold war when two superpowers installed nuclear weapons to counter each other. On the other hand, security has become frontline concept in 21st century. Traditionally, physical security was at the heart of social life but in 21st century, various other dimensions of security appeared on socio-political life of the states. Among them, human security is most important as it is a part of human development. Human security has several dimensions i.e. economic, political, and personal, environment, food and community. This research paper aims to analyse the impacts of nuclearization on human security of the South Asian region. This paper endeavors to search the dynamics of human security. The main question of the paper is to see how nuclearization threatens the people of South Asia with their lives physically and psychologically. And how does nuclearization between India and Pakistan prove unhelpful in managing human conditions of the uneven states. Also, through qualitative and descriptive analysis, it has been inferred that the acquisition and proliferation of nuclear weapons damaging the lives of the people of South Asia specially, India and Pakistan and it may cause further instability in the region. Further, it maintains that there is considerable human resources in South Asia that can be a source of not only for the forte of their respective states but can secure themselves from any kind of human insecurity.

## 2. Nuclear Weapons: A Golden Era For Civil-Military Relations?

**Mohammad Omar Afzal**

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**Abstract**
Does the acquisition of nuclear weapons reshape the distribution of power between the civil and military sectors? The possession of nuclear weapons necessitates the emergence of nuclear command and control and organization of nuclear assets. This creates the need to have specialized bodies to manage affairs pertaining to nuclear assets including doctrine, strategy and operations. On one hand, this offers an opportunity to the government to assert civilian supremacy over their military counterparts by taking the leadership role in these nuclear institutions. On the other hand, the military has a fresh opening to exert its authority over the civilian leadership. My study develops the theory that each side may view increased control over nuclear institutions as not only critically significant in bringing life and direction to the state's nuclear program but as a prospect for reinforcing its relative influence over leadership in state policies concerning internal security, external defense, and military policy as well. I propose a model and a modified algorithm to capture the impact of the introduction of nuclear weapons on civil-military relations. To operationalize my dependent variable, I focus on distinguishing civilian-directed defense ministries from military-dominated ones (a proxy for the civil-military balance), and on categorizing different types of military personnel decision-making processes (specifically, whether decisions are approved by civilian parliament/presidency).

## 3. Assessing the Risks of Nuclear/Radiological Terrorism in South Asia

**Sitara Noor - Consultant**

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**Abstract**
Nuclear terrorism is regarded as one of the major security challenges in the post 9/11 security environment. The fact that no nuclear/radiological terrorist attack has taken place till date is not because of the absence of will or shortage of means to carry out such an attack. However, despite a looming danger of nuclear terrorism, there is relatively less focus on dealing with a situation potentially arising after such an act. The proposed study aims to analyze the threat of nuclear/radiological terrorism in South Asia and its potential impact on fragile strategic balance between India and Pakistan. It will assess the efficacy of existing nuclear confidence building measures and propose a cooperative mechanism to avoid a potential crisis situation arising from a nuclear /radiological terrorist act in South Asia.

## 4. Disarmament & Non-Proliferation of Chemical Weapons in a Changing World

**Maryam Baba**

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**Abstract**
The development and spread of capability & technology of weapons of mass destruction remain to be a key threat to international peace & security. The year 2017 marked the 20th anniversary of the Chemical Weapon Convention, a global ban on the complete prohibition on development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons. With a near universal membership of 192 state parties, the implementing body of chemical weapons convention, the Organization for Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) was awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize in 2013. However, twenty years to the adoption of CWC, the danger posed by chemical weapons still lingers and new challenges continue to emerge. The challenges of continued effective arms control has to carefully balance without hampering the working & developments of the civilian chemical industry & research activities for peaceful purposes. Its verification regime set as a standard for the most effective model for arms control and proliferation faces its biggest challenges in the dual test of continued use of chemical weapons in Syria, despite it being a state pat to the convention and rapid pace of research and development in chemical industry leading to development of new types of weapons and

chemicals that are not strictly within the control of the convention under the definition of chemical weapons and its General Purpose Criteria. Dynamics of international politics interwoven with continued conflict in Syria has prevented UN-OPCW fact finding mission and CWC verification regime to stop and investigate the extent of use of chemical weapons on civilians. Simultaneously, continued developments in science & technology are increasingly blurring the lines of chemical weapons arms control. Owing to the dual use nature of chemical agents, developments are leading to convergence between life sciences & chemistry.