

# **A NEW AGENDA FOR PEACE**



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# A NEW AGENDA FOR PEACE

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## ABSTRACT

In July 2023, the UN Secretary-General (UNSG) presented “A New Agenda for Peace”, a policy brief on the framework of cooperation in the field of security in the multilateral domain. The report is one of nine policy papers presented to the member states by the UNSG to draw up the foundations for a “UN Summit of the Future”, scheduled to be held in September 2024. The UNSG expressed hope that the summit will serve as an appropriate platform for global leaders to deliberate institutional reforms and tackle pressing global issues. Earlier, a UN report entitled ‘Our Common Agenda’ released in September 2021, dealt in detail with the multitude of challenges confronting humanity. The report asserts that humanity’s future hinges on working together, in harmony, to achieve collective objectives. ‘A New Agenda for Peace’ identifies priority areas and proposes desirable actions. An agreed framework is expected to emerge from intergovernmental negotiations. The first 'Agenda for Peace' presented in 1992, by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali served as an important road map for the United Nations' role in establishing stability in the post-Cold War world. In the ongoing and future intergovernmental discussions on the subject, Pakistan’s principal adversary India will make relentless efforts to secure for itself a bigger niche in multilateral institutions, particularly a permanent seat on the Security Council. India, backed by its powerful allies, will promote its strategic worldview and policies and will try to cast Pakistan in a negative light. The discussions in the United Nations on the issues of peace and security are vitally important for Pakistan. In light of the myriad and complex threats to Pakistan’s security, this research paper will examine the UNSG’s policy paper, scan the responses of major international players, and suggest recommendations for safeguarding Pakistan's core interests.

**Keywords:** Pakistan, UN, Agenda for Peace, India, Security

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

As the world moves towards a new period marking the definitive close of the post-Cold War era, the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) Mr. “António Guterres presented his policy paper ‘A New Agenda for Peace’<sup>1</sup> on 20 July 2023 to the UN member countries. A new global order is on the horizon, in an evolving multipolar world. The Secretary General has articulated his vision of collaborative endeavours to promote peace and security, grounded in international law, in a world undergoing transformation.<sup>2</sup> Three decades ago, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had presented ‘An Agenda for Peace’<sup>3</sup>, following the end of bi-polar world order that heralded the emergence of the United States as the sole super power. It addressed the peace and security challenges of that era.

The Secretary General Mr. Guterres draws attention to serious geopolitical tensions and major power rivalry and the growing scepticism of member states in the efficacy of the multilateral system to cope with the issues of peace and security. The situation is compounded by violations of international law, double standards of powerful states and the complex nature of contemporary conflicts. Against this background, the policy brief, the New Agenda for Peace builds on the Secretary General’s recommendations in his report entitled “Our Common Agenda”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “A New Agenda for Peace | Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs,” accessed September 20, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/a-new-agenda-for-peace>.

<sup>2</sup> “Launching New Agenda for Peace Policy Brief, Secretary-General Urges States to ‘Preserve Our Universal Institution’ amid Highest Level of Geopolitical Tension in Decades | UN Press,” accessed September 20, 2023, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgsm21885.doc.htm>.

<sup>3</sup> Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Un Secretary-General, “An Agenda for Peace :: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-Keeping : Report of the Secretary-General Pursuant to the Statement Adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992 /: Boutros Boutros-Ghali,” 1992, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/145749>.

<sup>4</sup> “Our Common Agenda | United Nations,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.un.org/en/common-agenda>.

The Secretary General's report 'Our Common Agenda' identifies a multitude of challenges confronting mankind and asserts that the future of humanity depends on living in harmony as a global community and striving together to attain shared objectives. This report, followed by nine policy briefs issued by the Secretary General, including 'A New Agenda for Peace' has generated a very healthy debate at the United Nations on how to carry out institutional reforms and to deal with looming global threats. The intergovernmental negotiations are expected to culminate in the September 2024 Summit of the Future.

In the morphing global order, new strategic alignments are taking shape both at global and regional levels. The rapid rise of China is unprecedented in human history. At the same time, there has been a gradual and steady erosion of American preponderance in the world. "Out-Competing China and Constraining Russia"<sup>5</sup> have become major strategic goals of the United States. The US National Security Strategy 2022, regards the Indo-Pacific as "the epicentre of 21st century geopolitics".<sup>6</sup> The United States is, therefore, weaving a web of strategic alliances and partnerships to retain its global influence and reach. In its design to encircle and contain China, India has become a pivot to the US policy in the Indo-Pacific.

At present, the world is facing two types of strategic challenges. The first is fierce competition among the major powers to determine the contours of future world order. The second category of challenges refers to issues that do not recognise borders and affect the globe as a whole, such as climate change, communicable diseases and pandemics like Covid-19, all forms and manifestations of terrorism, food insecurity, energy shortages, market volatility and inflation, etc. These 'common challenges' are not subordinate to geopolitics. They are in fact central to national and international security.

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<sup>5</sup> Biden "Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.Pdf," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>.

<sup>6</sup> "Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.Pdf."

For Pakistan, the intergovernmental discussions on the subject hold high importance as India has been making all-out efforts to secure for itself a bigger niche in multilateral institutions, particularly a permanent seat on the Security Council. India is raising the pitch of its claim to be recognised as a great power at every forum. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has claimed that India's economy could be among the top three in the world within the next five years.<sup>7</sup> India as the chair of G20 has extensively lobbied for a bigger role in multilateral institutions, especially the Security Council.

Because of India's growing strategic partnership with the United States, especially in the context of the Indo-Pacific and the size of its market, US-led Western powers, dictated by realpolitik, give a muted response to India's inhuman policies in the Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK). These countries often echo India's allegations about so-called cross-border terrorism by Pakistan. India does not spare any opportunity to involve Pakistan in any nuclear proliferation controversy and to paint Pakistan's image in a negative light. India has also been using its influence to isolate Pakistan through institutions like FATF.

Pakistan has always accorded high importance to the discussions in the United Nations on the issues of "peace and security", especially when such discussions have a direct impact on Pakistan's vital security interests. Pakistan is among a number of countries that have submitted its comments and views on the issues of peace and security covered in the Secretary Generals' report "Our Common Agenda"<sup>8</sup>, a prelude to the policy brief: A New Agenda for Peace.

In light of numerous, multifaceted and growing threats to Pakistan's security, this research paper will examine the UNSG's policy paper, trace its context, underline what is at

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<sup>7</sup> "PM Narendra Modi Independence Day Speech Full Text," *The Indian Express* (blog), August 15, 2023, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/prime-minister-narendra-modi-independence-day-speech-2023-full-text-8893141/>.

<sup>8</sup> "Pakistan.Pdf," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/pakistan.pdf>.



stake, briefly scan responses of key international players, and suggest recommendations for safeguarding Pakistan's core national security interests.

## **2. “AN AGENDA FOR PEACE”**

### **2.1 Report of the Secretary-General (1992)<sup>9</sup>**

December 25, 1991, stands as a landmark moment in history, signifying the conclusion of the Cold War period. This significant day witnessed the lowering of the Soviet flag from the Kremlin for the final time, to be replaced by the Russian tricolour. Simultaneously, Mikhail Gorbachev stepped down from his position as President of the Soviet Union, making way for Boris Yeltsin to be the President of the newly established independent Russian Federation.<sup>10</sup> Earlier on 12 June 1991, the Russian parliament had formally proclaimed Russian sovereignty from the Soviet Union.

### **2.2 First Summit Meeting of the UN Security Council**

Against this backdrop, the Security Council convened its first summit session i.e. at the level of Heads of State or Government on January 31, 1992. During this session, the Security Council issued a statement, tasking the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) with the preparation of recommendations aimed at enhancing and streamlining, within the guidelines of the Charter, the United Nations' capability for preventive diplomacy, peace-making, and peacekeeping.<sup>11</sup>

The former Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, recognised that the Cold War's decades marked by conflict and rivalry had rendered it impossible for the Organisation to fulfil its original mission. He noted that the January 1992 Summit meeting of the Security Council marked an unprecedented reaffirmation, at the highest political level, of the Charter's purposes

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<sup>9</sup> Boutros-Ghali and Secretary-General, “An Agenda for Peace.”

<sup>10</sup> “Milestones: 1989–1992 - Office of the Historian,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/foreword>.

<sup>11</sup> Boutros-Ghali and Secretary-General, “An Agenda for Peace.”

and principles.<sup>12</sup> The first ‘Agenda for Peace’ presented in 1992, served as a fundamental declaration of the UN’s role in stabilizing the world after the Cold War.<sup>13</sup> It celebrated the end of mistrust and intense rivalry between the two Cold War superpowers and proposed a road map for the United Nations, for conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations and the process of peace building in the aftermath of conflict situations. As a result, the notion of a proactive and interventionist United Nations had a profound influence on policy discussions within the UN and elsewhere for the subsequent three decades.

### **2.3 The End of History**

It is towards the fag end of the cold war era that Francis Fukuyama, an American political scientist wrote an essay "The End of History?" Released in 1989, just prior to the collapse of the Berlin Wall, this publication contended that following the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), Western liberal democracy had emerged as a triumphant force and reflected the ultimate stage in humanity’s ideological development. Hence, the end of history. Fukuyama in his book ‘The End of History and the Last Man’<sup>14</sup> published in 1992 further expanded on the same thought. Fukuyama posited that history ought to be perceived as an evolutionary progression and that the culmination of history, in that sense, signified that liberal democracy was the ultimate form of governance for all nations. As such the evolutionary process had reached its precipice.

In the lexicon of International Relations, it meant the end of a bi-polar system that heralded a uni-polar world under American dominance. In the changed international paradigm, the Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s Agenda for Peace promoted conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-keeping. However, the Secretary General’s vision

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<sup>12</sup> Boutros-Ghali and Secretary-General.

<sup>13</sup> “What’s New about the UN’s New Agenda for Peace?,” July 19, 2023, <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/whats-new-about-uns-new-agenda-peace>.

<sup>14</sup> “The End of History and the Last Man | Book by Francis Fukuyama | Official Publisher Page | Simon & Schuster,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.simonandschuster.com/books/The-End-of-History-and-the-Last-Man/Francis-Fukuyama/9780743284554>.

was only partially realised. During this period, convinced about the ultimate success of Western democracy and liberal values, the United States, together with its allies, made several external interventions, repeatedly bending the international norms and law to their advantage.

### **3. CONTEXT OF A NEW AGENDA FOR PEACE**

The Secretary General's report on A New Agenda for Peace has been launched at a yet another turning point in history. The world order is at an inflection point.<sup>15</sup> Rising China has emerged as the new principal rival of the United States, leading to a new great power confrontation. Ukraine war has pitched the US-led West against Russia. The principles of the UN Charter and precepts of International law are being flouted. Multilateralism is under growing stress. Climate change, food and energy insecurity and communicable diseases are among the present era's numerous and interconnected challenges. The response of the international community to these challenges is insufficient and ineffective. It is, therefore, an opportune moment for the international community to reflect and chart out a global framework to address the common threats.

This policy brief is also part of the Secretary General's efforts to establish a linkage between peace and the sustainable development goals as envisioned in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.<sup>16</sup>

The on-going debate and discussion on how to address these new and more complex global issues at the United Nations is expected to culminate in the UN Summit of the Future, scheduled to be held in September 2024.<sup>17</sup> This summit will seek to develop a shared approach to Humanity's common future and will endeavour to ascertain ways and means to realise that objective. Secretary General, "Guterres has termed the summit as a unique occasion to bolster

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<sup>15</sup> Harsh V. Pant, "An Inflection in the World Order," ORF, accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/an-inflection-in-the-world-order/>.

<sup>16</sup> "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development | Department of Economic and Social Affairs," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda>.

<sup>17</sup> "Our Common Agenda | United Nations."

multilateralism, reaffirm dedication to fundamental principles, and embrace a proactive Accord for the Future.<sup>18</sup>

Henry Kissinger in his book *World Order*<sup>19</sup> foresaw what was to follow in the years to come. Drawing upon his extensive experience as one of the most eminent statesmen of the contemporary era, Kissinger highlighted that a profound challenge of the twenty-first century was to construct a cohesive global order in a world characterised by varying historical perspectives, intense conflicts, swiftly advancing technology, and ideological extremities. Kissinger astutely noted that throughout history, a genuine global order had never truly existed. Instead, civilisations had historically fashioned their own notions of order, with each perceiving itself as the focal point of the world and envisaging its unique principles as universally applicable.

## 4. OUR COMMON AGENDA

In September 2021, complying with the UN75 declaration, the Secretary-General presented his report entitled “Our Common Agenda”<sup>20</sup>. Our Common Agenda embodies the Secretary-General's vision for the future of global cooperation, through strong and productive multilateralism. The report was presented against the dark shadow of the COVID-19 pandemic, the imminent climate calamity and the intensifying geopolitical competition and global economic instability. The Secretary General cautioned “Humanity faces a stark and urgent choice: breakdown or breakthrough”<sup>21</sup>. This report is a broad-based agenda of action, designed to strengthen and accelerate multilateral agreements, especially the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to ensure a better future for mankind.

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<sup>18</sup> United Nations, “Summit of the Future,” United Nations (United Nations), accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.un.org/en/common-agenda/summit-of-the-future>.

<sup>19</sup> “H\_Kissinger\_-\_World\_Order.Pdf,” accessed September 21, 2023, [https://chinhnghia.com/H\\_Kissinger\\_-\\_World\\_Order.pdf](https://chinhnghia.com/H_Kissinger_-_World_Order.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> “Our Common Agenda | United Nations.”

<sup>21</sup> “Our Common Agenda | United Nations.”

Our Common Agenda served as a solid basis for the Secretary General to present nine policy briefs on key issues for deliberations by the UN member states. In his report titled A New Agenda for Peace, the Secretary General presents a vision for the United Nations initiatives aimed at achieving rule-based peace and security in a world, undergoing significant transformation. This report acknowledges the intricate interconnectedness of numerous contemporary global threats and challenges and introduces a comprehensive set of ambitious proposals.

## **5. PRIORITY AREAS OF “A NEW AGENDA FOR PEACE”**

A New Agenda for Peace identifies five priority areas and offers twelve actionable proposals. In his introductory remarks on the report, the Secretary-General contended that the world is now poised toward a new order characterised by multi-polarity. Today, nations face a multitude sources of instability. Given the persistence of conflicts across the globe, peace remains elusive. Geostrategic rivalry is leading to geo-economic divisions. According to UNSG Guterres, this makes a compelling case for international cooperation to avoid more human suffering. He advocates for a fresh approach to multilateralism that transcends the limited security interests of nations and is rooted in the values of trust, inclusivity, and cooperation. Furthermore, this approach should actively embrace both human rights and the advancement of sustainable development.<sup>22</sup>

An overview of five priority areas and twelve suggested actions by the UNSG may be seen at Annex I.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> “Launching New Agenda for Peace Policy Brief, Secretary-General Urges States to ‘Preserve Our Universal Institution’ amid Highest Level of Geopolitical Tension in Decades | UN Press,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgsm21885.doc.htm>.

<sup>23</sup> “Our Common Agenda | United Nations.”

## 6. WHAT IS AT STAKE?

This is a time of global shift and new geo-strategic and geo-economic rivalries. A new order is gradually emerging which is decidedly multipolar. To enhance their respective influence and reach, major powers are entering into new alliances, partnerships and arrangements. India has steadily become a strategic partner of the United States, especially in its Indo-Pacific strategy. Under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India has been on a high economic growth trajectory. With a GDP of 3.38 trillion dollars.<sup>24</sup> India has become the fifth largest economy only behind, the US, China, Germany and Japan. If India manages to sustain its growth rate, it may overtake Japan and Germany in GDP in a decade. India will soon have a larger population than China. India has also made its mark in modern information technologies and many Indian Americans head a number of global technology brands. India's relentless and ambitious arms acquisitions are designed to make its military capabilities robust and to establish its hegemony at least in South Asia. As a strategic partner of the US in its Indo-Pacific strategy, India is strengthening its blue water navy. Mr. Modi seeks to transform India from being merely an influential entity into a great power. India thus has a vaulting ambition to become a global great power, a new pole in the emerging multipolar world and to be recognised as such. India, therefore, will make concerted efforts to create a bigger role for itself in the international multilateral system.

### 6.1 Mr. Modi's Independence-Day Speech 2023

Mr. Modi's 2023 Independence Day speech reflects India's designs for the future. It also brought out scorn for the Muslim rule in India's history. Modi said,

“We all know that our country was invaded 1000-1200 years ago. A small kingdom and its king were defeated. However, we couldn't have known that this

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<sup>24</sup> “World Bank Open Data,” World Bank Open Data, accessed September 21, 2023, <https://data.worldbank.org>.

event would lead India into a thousand years of subjugation. We got ensnared in slavery, and whoever came, looted us, and ruled over us. What an adverse period it must have been, that thousand-year span”.<sup>25</sup>

This remark was reminiscent of what Indira Gandhi has said after the fall of Dhaka, “We have taken the revenge of a thousand years”.<sup>26</sup>

Mr. Modi has projected ‘a golden period’ in the history of India. He recalled that in 2014, when he assumed office, India was the 10th largest economy of the world. Today it is the 5th largest economy. He said if he gets another term, India will become the 3rd largest economy in five years. He added that it was a compelling story of change. He articulated his vision of a modern India harnessing renewable energy, increasing capabilities in the space sector, blue water navy, bullet trains, concrete roads in villages and modern urban centres, having latest mass communication systems. He asserted that internet had reached all parts of the country. He stressed that more female students than males were taking up education in STEM. He affirmed that at 100 years, in 2047, India will be a developed country.

## **7. INDIA’S OBJECTIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF UN**

In the context of the United Nations and the on-going discussions on a New Agenda for Peace, India’s key objectives include:

### **7.1 A Permanent Seat on the Security Council**

Since the turn of the century, India has been pitching for a permanent seat on the Security Council,<sup>27</sup> so far without any success. In the present situation, being a strategic partner of the United States for its Indo-Pacific strategy and having the fifth largest GDP, India has gone in an overdrive mode to secure for itself a permanent seat on the Security Council, with

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<sup>25</sup> “PM Narendra Modi Independence Day Speech Full Text.”

<sup>26</sup> politicon.co, “Fall of Dacca: Another Perspective,” politicon.co, accessed September 21, 2023, <https://politicon.co/en/essays/5/fall-of-dacca-another-perspective>.

<sup>27</sup> “Welcome to Permanent Mission of India to the UN , New York,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://pminewyork.gov.in/>.

or without veto. India will fully avail and exploit discussions within the goal of “strengthening international governance” of the New Agenda for Peace which envisages building a stronger collective security machinery, to plead its case.

During the course of its Presidency of the Security Council in December 2022, its eighth term on the UNSC (2021-22), India inscribed an item: “Maintenance of International Peace and Security: New Orientation for Reformed Multilateralism for an open debate in the Council on 14 December 2022”.<sup>28</sup>

The External Affairs Minister of India Jaishankar used this opportunity to re-iterate India’s claim. India will surely make it a central piece of its policy for the Summit of the Future, foreseen in September 2024.

## **7.2 India: Building its case, within a New Agenda for Peace**

In the on-going discussions on a New Agenda for Peace (NAP) within the framework of UNSG’s report Our Common Agenda, India has contended that “A New Agenda for Peace cannot be arrived by the old UN system and the starting point, therefore, needs to be a UN that re-invents itself, rather than a UN that continues to reflect 1945 geo-political realities in some organs of its decision making”.<sup>29</sup> As such, India wishes to have a sub-item “UN reforms, including reforms of UNSC” in “the NEW Agenda for Peace”. India, among others, wants:

- NAP’s core areas should include comprehensive reforms of the UN Security Council to address the contemporary global challenges and reflect the current geopolitical realities and correct the glaring lack of wider UN membership in the Security Council and other key decision- making bodies of the UN. (*India considers itself the well qualified.*)

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<sup>28</sup> ““New Orientation for Reformed Multilateralism’: Open Debate : What’s In Blue : Security Council Report,” accessed September 22, 2023, <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/whatsinblue/2022/12/new-orientation-for-reformed-multilateralism-open-debate.php>.

<sup>29</sup> “India.Pdf,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/india.pdf>.



- Comprehensive reforms must be aimed at making the Security Council broadly representative-especially with greater presence of the Member States from the Global South. (*Championing the cause of the Global South is to broaden its support base.*)
- India wants discussions on UNSC reforms to be time-bound to achieve concrete outcomes within a fixed time-frame that the General Assembly could consider during UN's 80th Anniversary. (*India wants a favourable decision for itself by the upcoming summit*)
- NAP must also call for reforms in the working methods of the Security Council. (*this will address, inter alia, the question of veto or no veto*)

### **7.3 Terrorism: Branding Pakistan as a Country sponsoring Terrorism**

India has been using the bogey of cross border terrorism to malign Pakistan. Over the years, especially since the indigenous uprising of the Kashmiri people in the IIOKJ in the 1990s, India has consistently painted the heroic resistance of the Kashmiri people to the Indian occupation forces, in terms of terrorism and cross border terrorism. Because of India's importance as a very large market, there have been many buyers of the Indian view point in the US-led West, especially after 9/11 incident. Many important members of the OIC also look the other way, ignoring continuing Indian atrocities against the Kashmiri people.

India wants to use a New Agenda for Peace to target Pakistan under counter terrorism mechanisms. India wants to use NAP to make Sanctions Committees of the Security Council more evidence based and effective.

India favours strengthening the role of FATF.

India has also called for practical steps to conclude a Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism.

## 7.4 Non-Proliferation and FMCT

India has reiterated its call to commence negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. This approach makes India's view closer to the position taken by the US. On its part, Pakistan has been opposing the FMCT, without taking into account of existing stocks of fissile materials. Pakistan has almost singlehandedly stood in the way of the start of FMCT negotiations, since May 2009, at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva".<sup>30</sup>

India has never spared any opportunity to project Pakistan as an irresponsible nuclear weapon state that proliferates nuclear technology. It will continue to do so.

## 7.5 Quest to Lead Global South

Amid deepening political confrontation between the Western countries and the China-Russia camp, countries of the Global South have attracted limelight. Many of these countries have opted for an independent or neutral stance, not clearly aligning with either side, which has had a significant bearing on the shifting dynamics of global power.<sup>31</sup> India is making all out efforts to become a self-styled leader of the Global South, a position clearly held by China.

At the United Nations, China repeatedly holds meetings under the framework of "the G-77 plus China" and urges solidarity with the developing countries. G-77, was inaugurated in 1964 by 77 developing countries of Africa, Middle East, Asia Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. Currently G-77 and China have 134 members.<sup>32</sup>

Raja Mohan, in his article entitled "India's G20 Presidency: Championing the Global South" that appeared in "the Indian Express" on 6th December 2022, highlighted this new

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<sup>30</sup> "Playing the Nuclear Game: Pakistan and the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty | Arms Control Association," accessed September 22, 2023, <https://www.armscontrol.org/act/2010-04/playing-nuclear-game-pakistan-fissile-material-cutoff-treaty>.

<sup>31</sup> "China and India Battle for Leadership of Global South - Nikkei Asia," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://asia.nikkei.com/Spotlight/Comment/China-and-India-battle-for-leadership-of-Global-South>.

<sup>32</sup> "G77 & China (Geneva Chapter) - Pakistan Mission to the UN, Geneva," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.pakungeneva.pk/ContentPage.aspx?ID=15>.

ambition of New Delhi.<sup>33</sup> The Global South Summit that the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi convened in New Delhi on 12 and 13 January 2023 did not yield any significant results. That was not the real expectation of the Indian leaders. India's foremost objective was to project itself as a leader of the developing countries of the South.<sup>34</sup> The Summit helped India consult with the developing countries in the run-up to the G20 Summit in Delhi (September 9-10, 2023). In June 2023, the Indian President Droupadi Murmu claimed "India is recognised as a responsible development partner and a voice of the Global South on the global stage".<sup>35</sup> That clearly reflected India's quest for the leadership of the Global South as a great power. The G20 Presidency provided India the biggest opportunity to project that image.

## 7.6 To Isolate Pakistan

The bilateral relations between India and Pakistan have been characterised by a history of tensions and conflicts since the inception of two countries. India wishes to establish its hegemony in South Asia and views Pakistan as a big hurdle. India has adopted a multi-pronged strategy to diplomatically isolate Pakistan by attributing mainly the so-called acts of terrorism to it.<sup>36</sup> India has also been accusing Pakistan of nuclear proliferation, human rights violations, and religious extremism and has sought punitive actions against Pakistan through forums like FATF. India has fully exploited Pakistan's weak economy and political instability in the country. India has made every effort to erode Pakistan's standing within the international community.

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<sup>33</sup> "India's G20 Presidency: Championing the Global South | The Indian Express," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/india-g20-presidency-c-rajam-mohan-opinion-8307870/>.

<sup>34</sup> "India's Return to the Global South – NUS Institute of South Asian Studies (ISAS)," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/papers/indias-return-to-the-global-south/>.

<sup>35</sup> "India Is Recognised as Responsible Development Partner and a Voice of Global South: President Murmu," <http://www.ptinews.com/>, accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.ptinews.com/news/international/india-is-recognised-as-responsible-development-partner-and-a-voice-of-global-south-president-murmu/585343.html>.

<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Nawaz Bhatti, Muhammad Waris, and Sher Muhammad, "Indian Policy to Isolate Pakistan at International Forum and the Way Forward," *Review of Economics and Development Studies* 5, no. 4 (2019): 703–12, <https://doi.org/10.26710/reads.v5i4.881>.

India will also use the negotiations on a New Agenda for Peace to diplomatically isolate Pakistan and to cast it in the category of a pariah state.

## **8. PAKISTAN’S PRINCIPLED POSITION AT UN**

In the on-going discussions on Our Common Agenda and a New Agenda for Peace at the United Nations, Pakistan has identified current threats to peace and security in a number of broad categories and has suggested a number of measures to develop the required political and institutional responses to such threats. The comments submitted by Pakistan to the UNSG,<sup>37</sup> include the following:

### **8.1 Ensuring adherence to the principles of the UN Charter, UNSC resolutions and International Law,**

The principles enshrined in the UN Charter and fundamental tenets of international law are a solid foundation for smaller, relatively weaker and vulnerable countries on which to build the edifice of their policies to ensure their peace and security. In the same spirit, Pakistan has reiterated its strong belief in the principles of the UN Charter, UNSC resolutions and International Law to build durable international peace and security. Pakistan has stressed that It is imperative that all Member States of the United Nations, irrespective of their size, power or influence, demonstrate and ensure consistent and universal respect for the principles of the UN Charter and the tenets of international law in letter and spirit. Pakistan has proposed, among others, that as a first step, the UN Secretary-General should prepare ‘An international Review’ of situations, especially those on the agenda of the Security Council, where principles of the UN Charter, UNSC resolutions or International Law have been violated. Pakistan has also suggested measures to ensure adherence and measures to censure non-adherence.

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<sup>37</sup> “A New Agenda for Peace | Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/a-new-agenda-for-peace>. Pakistan pdf.

## 8.2 Reducing International Tensions

Escalating geopolitical tensions, characterized by military, political, and economic antagonism in numerous regions, coupled with global economic unpredictability are fostering a tense and precarious global landscape. A major conflict is underway in Ukraine and intensified tensions can be witnessed in several parts of Asia. Countries like India are seeking to exploit major powers' rivalries to enhance their own political and hegemonic agenda in their respective regions. Such trends imperil stability and peace at regional and global levels. A vast majority of States have suffered from the direct and indirect fall-out of these tensions. Food and energy insecurity and debt crises are confronting many developing countries.

Such tensions have also impeded the ability of the Security Council to address a number of important issues on its agenda. This has also restrained international cooperation on global common challenges such as climate change, sustainable development, achievement of the SDGs and issues of non-proliferation and terrorism.

Pakistan has acknowledged that there will always be inter-state rivalry. However, it is crucial to a) Avert another significant conflict between major military powers, especially in a "nuclearized" setting; b) Promote the international collaboration necessary to address global threats; c) Shield the security and progress of "third nations," from adverse consequences, particularly the developing countries, which are not a party to the major power rivalries or military alliances and d) manage global threats and challenges effectively.

To address these challenges, Pakistan has made a number of suggestions including, an annual UN "Global Security Report" by the UNSG, together with remedial measures; a U.N. "Early Warning System"; a proactive role by the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly, inter-alia, to oppose the use or threat of use of force by parties involved in such situations and the utilisation of appropriate mechanisms in order to the easing of tensions in situations which may threaten international peace and security.

### **8.3 Promoting Arms Control and Disarmament**

The escalating global tensions, the linked arms race and the increasing reliance of States on military means to advance their national security are challenging the entire edifice of arms control and disarmament. It is a source of deep concern that the more powerful countries apply double standards and discrimination in the processes of arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation.

Pakistan has called for reviving the arms control processes as a principal means to enhance global security and "equal security for all states", recommending that the Conference on Disarmament negotiate treaties or internationally binding instruments on, inter alia, Nuclear Disarmament, Negative Security Assurances and Outer Space. Pakistan has also advocated the establishment of special negotiating mechanisms to formulate treaties to maintain peace and security on the Oceans and Cyber domain. Furthermore, the development of international rules on cyber security that ensure a peaceful, secure, open and cooperative cyberspace; negotiations on concluding agreements on the control of Deadly Autonomous Weaponry and the military use of Artificial Intelligence, in special bodies reporting to the UN General Assembly.

### **8.4 Peaceful Settlement of Disputes**

The unresolved dispute of Jammu and Kashmir is central to Pakistan's peace and security concerns. Pakistan has always desired a peaceful settlement of this dispute in accordance with the UNSC resolutions and the principles of the UN Charter.

Against the backdrop of outstanding disputes and the adversarial nature of relations with India, Pakistan has suggested to the UNSG, that the Security Council and the General Assembly should accord the highest priority to the peaceful resolution of conflicts and disputes, especially those on the agenda of the Security Council. This can be done through dedicated discussions and the creation of specific modalities, including among the parties and/ or at the regional level. Such "modalities may include high-level platforms, peace commissions or

regional forums”. Pakistan has emphasized the need to address the underlying causes of long-standing disputes and conflicts for their resolution or at the very least prevent their escalation or exacerbation. All such regional or other mechanisms should report to and be guided by the UNSC and the General Assembly.

## **8.5 International Terrorism**

Pakistan has been seriously affected by terrorism, particularly acts that are supported, sponsored, and funded by foreign sources. A very large number of Pakistani citizens, including thousands of security personnel, have sacrificed their lives or suffered injuries as a result of terrorist acts. However, such dastardly acts have only reinforced Pakistan’s resolve to eradicate the menace of terrorism. At the National level, a comprehensive national strategy is in place. Pakistan’s law enforcement agencies have achieved remarkable successes in breaking the back of this menace.

Terrorism is a worldwide threat that necessitates a comprehensive approach to address it in “all its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism”. The international community must coordinate its efforts and take collective action to combat this danger. It is vitally important to address the underlying causes for the effective eradication of terrorism and violent extremism. Until these underlying causes are justly addressed, the menace of terrorism and violent extremism will continue to haunt humanity.

Till now, international efforts to eliminate terrorism have remained partial, mainly focusing on one form of terrorism and failing to address others. International efforts have fallen short of containing the spread of terrorism including the expansion of terrorist groups. Without a doubt, international efforts have failed to address the underlying causes of terrorism, in particular, state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism. The international community has also failed to identify and contain many new and emerging forms of terrorism, as well as the emergence of right-wing, extremist and fascist movements which encourage and patronize

terrorism. Hence the world's counter-terrorism framework needs to be re-configured to include all contemporary forms, manifestations, entities and organizations engaged in terrorist activities. In this regard, the UN General Assembly should adopt a comprehensive and more effective strategy to combat all forms of terrorism. Pakistan has called for “strengthening and democratising the UN's counter-terrorism architecture by establishing a Counter-Terrorism Committee under the UN General Assembly”, in order to formulate a comprehensive counter terrorism strategy and to ensure its implementation.

## **8.6 Strengthening the United Nations and its Organs**

It is abundantly clear that the existing and future challenges to global peace and security can solely be tackled through collaborative efforts within the ambit of the UN Charter and adherence, in letter and spirit, to its purposes and principles. The inadequacies in addressing these challenges do not signify limitations of the UN organs, but rather the failure of the Member States to judiciously utilise these organs and reach a consensus on collective measures to tackle such threats.

The "New Agenda for Peace" must adopt concrete measures to strengthen and reinforce the capacity of the UN and its organs:

### **8.6.1 Security Council**

“The Security Council should be more transparent, more representative, more accountable, more democratic and more effective through (a) equitable geographical expansion of 11 additional non-permanent elected seats; (b) greater transparency and accountability; (c) restrictions on the use of the veto; and (d) improvements in its working methods, including pre-emptive actions to prevent and avert conflicts before they occur”.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> “A New Agenda for Peace | Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/a-new-agenda-for-peace>. Pakistan.pdf.



### 8.6.2 General Assembly

Among the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly is regarded as the most representative. It is necessary to use its true potential for purposeful outcomes across the UN's three pillars. The three interconnected pillars of the UN system are peace and security, development and human rights.<sup>39</sup> The General Assembly must reflect today's realities and adjust its capacities to address the new and emerging challenges, including the new arms race, governance of "global commons",<sup>40</sup> and should be ready to play an effective role for the preservation of international peace and security, whenever and wherever the Security Council is unable to discharge its functions under the Charter.

### 8.6.3 Disarmament Machinery

The UN's multilateral disarmament mechanisms (the Conference on Disarmament (CD), The Disarmament Commission and UNGA's First Committee) should be activated to fulfil their assigned functions of negotiating international disarmament treaties, and discussing arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation issues, building upon the established principles and objectives, notably, those outlined in the Programme of Action and Declaration of SSOD-1.<sup>41</sup>

The role of the CD as the "single multilateral disarmament- negotiating forum" is irreplaceable. The CD's agenda should be expanded to cover and formulate treaties on all weapons and security domains, including missiles, cyber, outer space, autonomous weapons and preventing an arms race in outer space.

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<sup>39</sup> Digital Solutions Unit, "The Three Pillars," *United Nations and the Rule of Law* (blog), accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/the-three-pillars/>.

<sup>40</sup> U. N. Environment, "Our Planet: Global Commons, the Planet We Share," UNEP - UN Environment Programme, October 4, 2017, <http://www.unep.org/resources/report/our-planet-global-commons-planet-we-share>.

<sup>41</sup> "Declaration and Programme of SSOD1 - Google Search," accessed September 22, 2023, [https://www.google.com/search?q=declaration+and+Programme+of+SSOD1&rlz=1C1CHBF\\_enPK1006PK1006&oq=declaration+and+Programme+of+SSOD1&aqs=chrome..69i57j0i546.15197j1j15&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8](https://www.google.com/search?q=declaration+and+Programme+of+SSOD1&rlz=1C1CHBF_enPK1006PK1006&oq=declaration+and+Programme+of+SSOD1&aqs=chrome..69i57j0i546.15197j1j15&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8).

#### 8.6.4 UN Peacekeeping and Peace Building

Peacekeeping has been a "success story"<sup>42</sup> of the UN. In general, the effectiveness of UN Peacekeeping is enhanced when it is integrated into a comprehensive 'political strategy' aimed at resolving conflicts and maintaining peace. Pakistan has put forth the proposition that the UN Peacekeeping strategy should encompass the entirety of the peace continuum, starting with conflict prevention, then the resolution of the conflict and finally the peace-building processes.

Pakistan plays a major role in UN peacekeeping efforts, engaging actively in both policy and operational aspects. Pakistan is one of the largest troop-contributing nations since 1960. Pakistan has assigned more than 230,000 men and women to serve in 46 UN peacekeeping missions across various continents. Tragically, 172 Pakistani peacekeepers have made the ultimate sacrifice in the line of duty.<sup>43</sup>

Pakistan has been advocating that the formulation of peacekeeping mandates should be carried out in two phases. First, consultations with the Troop Contributing Countries. Second, the political and financial considerations should not influence the composition of UN peacekeeping missions. Adequately staffed and resourced missions provide the most reliable assurance for the success of the mission and the security of its personnel.

Pakistan has cautioned that "UN peacekeeping is fundamentally different from peace enforcement or counter-terrorism operations. Venturing into "grey zones" will erode the neutrality of UN peacekeepers and undermine its reputation and success, besides endangering the safety and security of peacekeepers".

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<sup>42</sup> "Our Successes | United Nations Peacekeeping," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-successes>.

<sup>43</sup> The Newspaper's Staff Reporter, "Pakistan to Host UN Peacekeeping Ministerial Preparatory Meeting," DAWN.COM, 07:51:24+05:00, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1772826>.

The advisory role of the Peace Building Commission should be strengthened to facilitate more informed decision-making by the concerned UN institutions, especially the Security Council.

#### **8.6.5 Disinformation**

The use of disinformation as a destabilization tool has added complexity to the challenges to international peace and security. It is imperative to establish regulatory and monitoring frameworks and conventions for social media platforms, internet providers, etc. Legally binding instruments will help filter and prohibit content that promotes disinformation, instigates violence and disseminates hate speech and xenophobia, including Islamophobia, etc.

## **9. POSITION OF KEY INTERNATIONAL PLAYERS**

### **9.1 China**

China's multilateral diplomacy is principled and is based on win-win considerations, seeking collective good. China is Pakistan's staunch supporter and has always stood by Pakistan in all difficult situations. China has consistently supported Pakistan to fend off all initiatives to malign Pakistan and cast it in a negative light.

China strongly supports multilateralism and considers the United Nations to be central to the global system. China wishes for an international order, based on international law and the principles of the UN Charter. China rejects bloc confrontation and cold war mentality and advocates the vision of "common, cooperative, comprehensive and sustainable security".<sup>44</sup> China promotes win-win cooperation, and security for all. According to China, the major countries bear a special responsibility in maintaining international peace and security and they should foster peaceful coexistence, overall stability and balanced development.

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<sup>44</sup> "A New Agenda for Peace | Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs," accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/en/a-new-agenda-for-peace>. China pdf.

China advocates political settlement of international and regional hotspots to safeguard and promote global peace and security. “The international community should support the principle of indivisible security, and establish a balanced, effective and sustainable security architecture”. The root causes of conflicts must be addressed and the role of preventive diplomacy may be given full play. China seeks to strengthen the UN Peacekeeping Operations and to deepen peace-building efforts.

On the crucial issue of the reform of the UNSC, the Chinese position is close to the position taken by Pakistan. China regards the UNSC as central to the concept of collective security. Like, UfC viewpoint, China maintains that the member states want a Security Council that operates efficiently, exhibits greater inclusivity, and truly reflects principles of fairness and democracy.

Speaking at the 76th UNGA, the Chinese Ambassador Zhang Jun remarked that the fruits of reform should be shared by all 193 member countries, weak or strong, poor or rich, small or big. The selfish interest of a few should not dominate the reform agenda.<sup>45</sup> China remains silent on any type of expansion in the permanent category of the UNSC.

## **9.2 Permanent 5**

Four of the five permanent members of the UNSC, including the US, the UK, France and the Russian Federation have expressed support for a permanent seat for India. China is resolutely opposed.

## **9.3 European Union**

The European Union’s comments on the UNSG report, include important comments on the issue of reform of UNSC. It contends that under the present circumstances, UNSC is often constrained to fulfil its primary responsibility of preventing conflicts and preserving global

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<sup>45</sup> “Remarks by Ambassador Zhang Jun at the Plenary Meeting on Security Council Reform of the 76th Session of the UN General Assembly,” accessed September 21, 2023, [http://un.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/chinaandun/zzhgg/202111/t20211116\\_10448764.htm](http://un.china-mission.gov.cn/eng/chinaandun/zzhgg/202111/t20211116_10448764.htm).

peace. Therefore, the EU calls upon all nations to reaffirm their commitment to the fundamental principles of the UN Charter. In this context, the EU has underlined the key responsibility of UNSC members, in particular its permanent members enjoying veto power, who should be held accountable for their duties. The UNSC should prioritise conflict prevention through enhanced collaboration with the entirety of the UN system, including other principal UN organs and bodies.<sup>46</sup>

#### **9.4 Japan (A G4 Member)**

Like India, Brazil and Germany, Japan is also an aspirant for a non-permanent seat on the UNSC. It has, therefore, very similar views on the issue of reform of the UNSC as those of India. Japan's viewpoint as conveyed to the Secretary General underscores the need for additional seats in both categories, non-permanent and permanent to correspond with the quadruple growth in the UN membership since 1945, and the issues before the UNSC today are multifaceted, varied and complex.<sup>47</sup> Clearly Japan is keen to gain a permanent seat on the UNSC by the forthcoming UN summit in 2024.

#### **9.5 Turkey**

Speaking at the 77 annual session of the United Nations General Assembly, on 20 September 2022, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan articulated Türkiye's official position on the reform of the UNSC stating:

“In particular, enabling the Security Council with a more effective, democratic, transparent and accountable structure and functioning will be an important milestone in the pursuit of peace, justice and welfare of the entire humanity. To keep reminding our common duty towards that end, we will continue to

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<sup>46</sup> “A New Agenda for Peace | Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs.” EU pdf.

<sup>47</sup> “Japan.Pdf,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://dppa.un.org/sites/default/files/japan.pdf>.

underline that "the world is bigger than five" and "a fairer world is possible", on every platform, and in the strongest terms possible.”<sup>48</sup>

Turkey is a member of the Uniting for Consensus (UfC) Group and opposes the concept of permanent members. More recently, speaking at Ankara on 4th April 2023, at Ankara, President Erdogan spoke firmly against the veto power in the hands of Permanent 5, stating the fate of humanity could not be made hostage to the veto- wielding five.<sup>49</sup> He stressed the need for urgent UNSC reforms.

## **10.RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STRATEGIC DIRECTION OF PAKISTAN AT UN**

In addition to the position already taken, Pakistan needs to sharpen its focus and carry out policy adjustments as discussed below.

### **10.1 Stay Firm on the Question of UNSC Reforms**

Amid worldwide power transitions and strategic instability, India is endeavouring to establish a more prominent position for itself within the emerging power structure. The pursuit of a permanent seat on the Security Council is a fundamental component of India's overarching strategy. It is imperative for Pakistan to deploy all efforts to deny India a permanent seat on the UNSC, and instead secure a reformed UNSC with a larger membership of the non-permanent members and restrictions on the use of discriminatory veto power. This campaign can result in success with the combined efforts of the ‘Uniting for Consensus’ (UfC) group, and the invaluable support of veto-wielding China. UfC comprises a group of important countries that share a common objective of a more democratic and representative Security Council. These countries include, among others, Pakistan, Turkey, Spain, Italy, Canada, Argentina, Columbia,

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<sup>48</sup> “2022-09-20-Bm-Konusma.Pdf,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://tccb.gov.tr/assets/dosya/2022-09-20-bm-konusma.pdf>.

<sup>49</sup> “Inclusive Reform to UNSC Is Urgent Need, Says Turkish President,” accessed September 21, 2023, <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkiye/inclusive-reform-to-unsc-is-urgent-need-says-turkish-president/2863705>.

Mexico, Costa Rica and the Republic of Korea. UfC has been advocating to make the UNSC more democratic, equitable, more accountable and transparent to the UN membership.<sup>50</sup> . Currently, Pakistan and like-minded countries are seeking 15 additional non-permanent seats on the UNSC and restrictions on the use of veto power.

## **10.2 Regain Leadership Role in Global South**

Traditionally, Pakistan has played a lead role in the multilateral forums, including, the UN, OIC, SCO, ECO, G77 and Non-Aligned Movement. Pakistan is committed to an equitable and just global order that places the highest value on human dignity and the preservation of global tranquillity and stability.

Since its inception, Pakistan has consistently demonstrated its deep commitment to the objectives and precepts outlined in the UN Charter. The purposes and principles of the UN Charter. As a fervent supporter of multilateralism, Pakistan has actively participated in UN endeavours in diverse domains, especially those seeking peace, security and development. Pakistan has been one of the largest contributors to the UN efforts for peacekeeping in different parts of the world.

Pakistan is the fifth most frequently elected member of the UNSC's non-permanent seats. Pakistan was elected 7 times to the UNSC, behind India 8 terms, Argentina 9 terms, Brazil 10 terms and Japan 11 terms.<sup>51</sup> Pakistan has been frequently elected to all major UN bodies, and their subsidiary organs.

Pakistan has always taken the lead to defend and promote the causes and interests of the developing world, be it in the United Nations Security Council, General Assembly, other

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<sup>50</sup> “Joint Press Release of the ‘Uniting for Consensus’ Group – Ministero Degli Affari Esteri e Della Cooperazione Internazionale,” accessed September 22, 2023, [https://www.esteri.it/en/sala\\_stamp/archivionotizie/comunicati/2023/03/joint-press-release-of-the-uniting-for-consensus-group/](https://www.esteri.it/en/sala_stamp/archivionotizie/comunicati/2023/03/joint-press-release-of-the-uniting-for-consensus-group/).

<sup>51</sup> “Infographic: The Most Frequently Elected UN Security Council Members,” Statista Daily Data, June 18, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/chart/14180/non-permanent-un-security-council-members-with-most-years-served>.

bodies of the organisation, Group of 77 and the Non-aligned Movement, etc. As new global alignments are taking place, thus redefining the global order, it is imperative for Pakistan to regain some of its lost ground in the leadership of the Global South, together with other key players. Pakistan should indeed be an important pole in the multipolar Global South.

### **10.3 Firmly Stand by the Principles of the UN Charter**

Pakistan must continue to uphold the sanctity and primacy of the principles enshrined in the UN Charter. These principles must be the foundation stones of any future global order. In a world in transition, where more powerful countries tend to bend fundamental principles and international law to their advantage, adherence to the principles of the UN Charter has assumed prime importance.

Respect for the principles of the UN Charter is of paramount importance for ensuring international peace and security. This includes full respect and commitment to the concept of national sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; protection and promotion of human rights and the dignity and well-being of all humans, regardless of their nationality, race, religion, or ethnicity, settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, inclusive and sustainable development and the pursuit of common goals of humanity. These principles seek to promote respect for international law, protection of fundamental rights, fostering a world where disputes are resolved peacefully, humanitarian values are upheld, and collective efforts are directed towards addressing pressing global challenges like climate change, poverty alleviation, and conflict prevention. In an interconnected world, adherence to the principles of the UN Charter is essential for maintaining peace and advancing the well-being of all nations and their citizens.

### **10.4 Keep Focus on Common Challenges**

For Pakistan, it is important to steer the focus of the United Nations to common challenges, especially new and emerging challenges such as the mounting impact of climate



calamities, especially on the most vulnerable states; the increasing global and regional conflicts and tensions; the crises of development caused among others by Covid19 pandemic, spiralling inflation, reduced economic growth and expanding debt crises, especially in developing countries. Pakistan must also safeguard its interests in the ‘Global Commons’<sup>52</sup>, generally described as the common heritage of mankind, for example Antarctica, outer space and the high seas.

### **10.5 Project Pakistan’s Key Role in UN Peacekeeping**

Pakistan has an outstanding record in the United Nations Peacekeeping operations (PKOs) worldwide, often in very difficult situations. Pakistan’s contributions are universally recognised. It is therefore important to build upon such successes.

Pakistan's unflinching adherence to the objective of universal peace and security is well demonstrated by the fact that Pakistan is one of the top troop contributor countries to the UN peacekeeping operations. Pakistan’s first contingent served in Congo in 1960. Pakistan has been an effective player in the field of UN peacekeeping, in terms of its policy contributions as well as operations on the ground. So far 230,000 Pakistani peacekeepers have participated in 46 PKOs. 172 Pakistani peacekeepers have sacrificed their lives in the line of duty in different Peacekeeping Operations.<sup>53</sup> This places Pakistan in a select group of countries in the United Nations. Pakistan’s services for common endeavours for peace and security must be highlighted effectively.

### **10.6 Strengthen Existing Groups and Create New Partnerships**

The world is changing at a brisk pace. New partnerships and alliances are emerging reflecting contemporary power configurations. India, Pakistan’s arch-rival is vying for a global

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<sup>52</sup> Environment, “Our Planet.”

<sup>53</sup> “UN Peacekeeping Ministerial Preparatory Meeting to Take Place in Islamabad,” August 28, 2023, <https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2023/08/28/un-peacekeeping-ministerial-preparatory-meeting-to-take-place-in-islamabad/>.

role and has become a self-styled champion of the Global South. In the recent past, India served a two-year term (2021-22) on the Security Council, its eighth, served as the President of SCO and as chair of G20 hosted more than 250 meetings including the 18 G20 Summit at New Delhi (9-10 September 2023). India is a founding member of the important group BRICS which has added six new members, including four Muslim countries, making it a symbol of the Global South and a potential counterbalance to the West-dominated existing order. India has become a pivot to the US strategy for Indo-China and has entered into dozens of agreements and arrangements with the US and US-engineered grouping like QUAD. Has Pakistan kept pace? It seems in Multilateral arrangements Pakistan has somewhat lagged.

It is, therefore, necessary for Pakistan to strengthen groups where it enjoys comparative advantage such as the OIC and explore new partnerships. In the context of multilateral groupings, the OIC and ECO are at least two organisations that do not have the disruptive membership of India. Pakistan needs to strengthen its role in such groups and create and foster new minus-India partnerships in the multilateral domain.

The 57-member strong, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) groups together all Islamic countries and is the second largest organization only behind the United Nations.<sup>54</sup> The Organisation collectively represents the Muslim world. The OIC used to be a source of special multilateral strength for Pakistan. Its unrelenting support to Pakistan on all issues of importance and concern, especially on the Jammu and Kashmir dispute was almost always assured. However, OIC's solid support to Pakistan has somewhat eroded in recent years. It is important to make special and concerted efforts to ensure that the OIC once again becomes an instrument of strong support for Pakistan.

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<sup>54</sup> "Organisation of Islamic Cooperation," accessed September 22, 2023, <https://www.oic-oci.org/home/?lan=en>.

The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which succeeded the erstwhile RCD, is an excellent economic grouping that has huge potential. ECO's 10 members include Pakistan, Iran Turkiye, Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.<sup>55</sup> There is a strong need to transform this organisation as an engine for regional growth and development. Pakistan together with other member states needs to explore the opening up of its membership to China, Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries.

Pakistan should also actively seek membership in organisations like BRICS.

### **10.7 Address Internal Weaknesses.**

A major factor that casts its shadow on Pakistan's ability to play a more impactful and lead role at the UN and other multilateral forums is its own dismal economic situation. This coupled with prolonged political instability and continued existence of violent extremism and weak law and order constitute serious constraints. Pakistan needs wide ranging economic reforms, and all-out determined efforts for growth, inclusive development and modernity.

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<sup>55</sup> "Member States – Economic Cooperation Organization," accessed September 22, 2023, <https://eco.int/member-states/>.

## ANNEX I

### **Priority Area 1:**

***“Preventive action at the global level: mitigating strategic risks and geopolitical divisions”***

Two actions are proposed: “1) Measures to eliminate nuclear weapons and 2) Re-invigorate ‘preventive diplomacy’ in a period of deep divisions”.

### **Priority Area 2:**

***“Preventing conflict and violence and sustaining peace”***

Five actions are proposed by the UNSG under this priority area. “1) Shift of conflict prevention and sustaining peace model within countries, 2) Fast-track implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and address the underlying drivers of violence and insecurity, 3) Optimally utilise the power of gender dynamics in peace and security, 4) Deal with the inter-linkages between climate, peace and security, and 5) Reduce the human cost of weapon”.

### **Priority Area 3:**

***“Reinforcing peace operations and addressing peace enforcement”***

Under this priority area, three actions are suggested by the UNSG, “1) Strengthen peace operations and build partnerships, 2) Address peace enforcement, and 3) Support to African Union and sub-regional operations for peace support”.

### **Priority Area 4:**

***“Innovative approaches to peace and potential domains of conflict”***

The action proposed is, “1) Prevent the weaponisation of emerging domains and promote accountable innovation”.

**Priority Area 5:**

***“Strengthening international governance”***

UNSG advocates one action,”1) Build a stronger collective security set-up”.

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