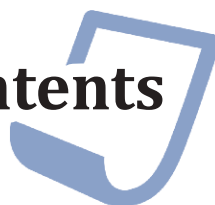


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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE



2013 was an outstanding year in the short but exciting life of the Center for International Strategic Studies. It was a year jam-packed with activities; conferences, workshops, round table discussions, research and publications. During the year, one of our researchers availed a fellowship in the Naval Post Graduate School in Monterey, California, two of our researchers participated in a track-II initiative for developing nuclear confidence building measures between India and Pakistan in Sofia, Bulgaria; and I attended a number of international conferences abroad. CISS also undertook partnership ventures with the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington. Our association with these two prestigious and internationally recognized think tanks gave CISS a high standing in the Islamabad milieu. Locally, we organized major events with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, and the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung amongst a number of other affiliate bodies. In the third year of its existence, our fledgling Center has already made its mark as a serious and productive institution of national discourse and international dialogue.

The year began with a conference on peaceful uses of nuclear energy in Pakistan, and continued with related nuclear issues throughout the year. CISS also contributed to the debate on deterrence stability in South Asia and looked at the framework of the transforming international nuclear order. We had distinguished speakers from across the continents to speak on related topics during conferences and joint workshops with IISS and CEIP. Dr. Bruno Tertrais, a renowned French scholar, of the Foundation for Strategic Research, Paris, was invited for an international conference that was held on June 19, 2013.

Many eminent speakers visited our Center during 2013 for roundtable discussions in which prominent Pakistani policy-makers, academicians and representatives of the think-tank community in Islamabad participated. The delegations from the Near East and South Asia Center (NESA) Washington brought policy perspectives from the Beltway to enrich our discussion. Our roundtable discussions focused on Pakistan-US relations, Pakistan-India relations, nuclear issues of South Asia, outlook of the situation in Afghanistan after the drawdown of ISAF forces and its regional implications. Moreover, IISS and CEIP workshops saw the participation of highly regarded nuclear experts like Mark Fitzpatrick, George Perkovich, Toby Dalton and others.

We expanded our research activities as well during this year. Our regular journal called "CISS Insight" commenced its publication. It is now a quarterly publication providing in-depth analyses of strategic issues confronting Pakistan and the region. Moreover, we also published the report of our joint workshop with CEIP on 'Deterrence Stability in South Asia'.

Looking back at the achievements of the year 2013, we feel gratified. Hard work of our small but highly dedicated team of researchers and administrative staff helped us achieve much. Our achievements have been a source of strength and have motivated us to perform even better in the future.



Workshops

IISS-CISS Joint Workshop titled, 'Defence, Deterrence & Nuclear Weapons' at the CISS, March 7, 2013

Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) in collaboration with the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) organized a workshop titled "Defence, Deterrence & Nuclear Weapons" at the CISS premises in Islamabad on 7 March, 2013.

Workshop took stock of the prevailing strategic environment of South Asia, evolution of Pakistan's deterrence posture, and future trajectory of nuclear developments in the region while learning lessons from the cold war.

The workshop was well attended by policy makers from Pakistan, academia and think tank representatives.



CISS-CEIP Joint Workshop on Deterrence Stability in South Asia, October 23, 2013

A Workshop on **Deterrence Stability in South Asia** was jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) at Islamabad.

The workshop examined the strategic stability of South Asia, deliberated on the dynamics of the strategic developments in the region and the role of nuclear weapons in nuclear stability; India's increasing military strength and its impact on strategic balance as well as Pakistan's changing threat perception.

Chairman of Senate Defence Committee, Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed was the keynote speaker at the workshop. Mr. George Perkovich, an internationally recognized expert on nuclear strategic affairs from the CEIP and Mr. Toby Dalton were the eminent speakers. Other prominent speakers included Dr. Zafar Iqbal Cheema, Dr. Shireen Mazari, Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, and Ms. Salma Malik.

Participants included members of academia, nuclear policy making establishments, diplomats and students from prominent universities in Islamabad.



Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed in his keynote address said that South Asia doesn't need US lecture on stability and its challenges. Pakistan's policy before testing nuclear weapons in 1998 was "Test the West, before we test". It was the Indian and Western attitudes that forced Pakistan to demonstrate its nuclear deterrent. Pakistan's nuclear test, in his view, was a positive strategic development that stabilized the region, but United States by signing civil nuclear deal with India has once again threatened stability of South Asia. Thus, the role of nuclear deterrence in ensuring stability of the region remains critical.



Joint Workshop with International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) and Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad, December 10, 2013

An international workshop was jointly organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS) on the subject “Defense, Deterrence and Stability in South Asia” on December 10, 2013. This was the second such international workshop jointly organized by CISS and IISS.

The workshop consisted of three sessions covering the following subjects: Nuclear and Missile Control Regimes, Pakistan – India Crisis Scenarios and Capabilities, and Military and Nuclear CBM's with India: Challenges and Prospects.



The workshop was well attended by Pakistani policy makers, members of the academia and think tank researchers based in Islamabad.





Conferences

One day conference on Pakistan and Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, March 19, 2013

Nuclear energy is vital for economic development and overcoming the prevalent energy crisis. The international community can help Pakistan access the global nuclear market in this regard.

This was the crux of a conference on **Pakistan and Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy**, organised by Centre for International Strategic Studies (CISS) on March 19, 2013.

Minister of state for foreign affairs Malik Amad Khan was the chief guest on the occasion. The speakers included Chairman Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Ansar Parvez, UN Additional Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Aizaz Chaudhary, Dr Zafar Iqbal Cheema, Dr Shireen Mazari, Ambassador Tariq Osman Hyder and Dr Zafar Nawaz Jaspal.

The speakers agreed that Pakistan's potential in civil nuclear sector, particularly nuclear energy, has the capacity to improve its economy. They observed that the country has five-decade long history of managing and indigenising its civil nuclear related operations. Mr. Amad Khan in his address said that Pakistan was a fossil fuel-deficient country with growing demand for energy. He added that the gap in power sector between demand and supply stands at 5,000mw.

"The prevalent geo-strategic challenges, economic and energy crises and international barriers could not halt our entirely peaceful nuclear programme," he added.

Strategic Studies Institute Islamabad Director General, Dr Shireen Mazari, said the Pakistan-China nuclear deal is peaceful and will not affect the stability of the region. She also termed Iran's efforts to obtain civil nuclear technology legitimate and said its programme is entirely peaceful.



CISS International Conference on Contours of Emerging International Nuclear Order: Challenges and Options, June 19, 2013

A conference on Contours of Emerging International Nuclear Order: Challenges and Options was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) at Marriott Hotel on June 19, 2013. Conference was attended by members of academia, nuclear policy making establishments, diplomats and students from prominent universities in Islamabad.

Former Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff Committee General (retd) Ehsan ul Haq was the keynote speaker at the conference. General (retd) Ehsan ul Haq in his address said that with the end of Cold War the security environment at regional and global levels became more complex which was contrary to optimism expressed by many at that time.



General Haq was of the view that surge in globalization, arrival of information age and increased competition on access to energy resources are becoming new elements in emerging global security order. He argued that Pakistan deserves its rightful place in the emerging global nuclear order based on internationally recognized record of safety, security and non-proliferation. He added that Pakistan needs to be vigilant on the developments in global nuclear order.

Dr. Bruno Tertrais talked about Nuclear Weapons State and New Nuclear Powers. He highlighted three major changes regarding the global nuclear order i.e. shift of Euro-Atlantic focus to Asia-Pacific, traditional two class nuclear power paradigm becoming irrelevant and role of nuclear weapons as equalizer in the face of growing conventional asymmetry. Dr Bruno also mentioned the challenges global nuclear order is facing from states such as North Korea, Iran and; double standards in nuclear non-

proliferation regime, increasing interests by several countries in enrichment and reprocessing technologies and complex politico-military configurations e.g. India-China-Pakistan, China, Russia and United States etc. He concluded that in order to strengthen global nuclear order, measures such as additional protocols, transparency and focus on article 6 of NPT should be considered.

Mr. Andry N. Shabalin gave a presentation on **Russian perspective on strategic stability and disarmament**. Mr. Andry was a part of Russian team that negotiated New Start treaty with Obama administration in April, 2010. He talked about New START treaty, global strategic missile defense program of United States and its implications for security of other states, Russia's retaliatory measures and factors affecting strategic deterrence.

Dr. Shireen Mazari, Director General Strategic Studies Institute, Islamabad, talked on the topic titled **Discrimination and Global Nuclear stability**. She highlighted the difference in arms control conceptualization from two view points. One, from economic perspective and other from the perspective of arms control being a tool of technology control. She argued that NPT and the inherent discrimination within this treaty has not been the source of stability in global and regional security. Regarding four export control cartels, Dr Shireen Mazari was of the view that these cartels have no legal standing.



Earlier, Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director, CISS, in his opening remarks outlined the broader context of the conference. He deliberated on the conceptual framework of global nuclear order and traced its historical and contemporary trajectory to outline possible contours of the new order. He maintained that emerging global nuclear order will have opportunities for Pakistan. He stressed that Pakistan as responsible nuclear weapons state desires to contribute and be the part of emerging global nuclear order and there is no rationale for keeping Pakistan out of global nuclear regime. There is a need to establish new relationship between *de facto* and *de jure* nuclear weapons states based on equality and non-discrimination.





Center for International Strategic Studies



Roundtables

A Round Table on Nuclear Learning with Experts, March 29, 2013

A round table discussion was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad titled “**Nuclear Learning in South Asia**” on March 28th 2013 at the CISS conference room in Islamabad.

The purpose of the roundtable was to engage the policy makers, scholars and security analysts from Pakistan to discuss the regional security situation with reference to dynamics of nuclear learning, ranging from issues such as theoretical foundations of nuclear learning, arms control diplomacy, institutional learning, confidence building measures and influence of technologies on doctrinal beliefs. The round table was attended by prominent policy makers and members of academia from Pakistan.

Welcome remarks from CISS Executive director Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi were followed by brief short presentations by Dr. Rifaat Hussain, Brig (rtd) Feroz Hassan Khan, Dr. Mansoor Ahmad, Air Commodore (rtd) Ghulam Mujadid and Ms. Saadia Tasleem. An interactive and stimulating question and answer session followed the discussion.



Discussion on Nuclear Non Proliferation issues with a British Expert Mr. Andrew Cuff, June 27, 2013

Mr. Andrew Cuff deals with nuclear non-proliferation issues, NPT and counter proliferation at the South Asia desk of Foreign and Commonwealth Office of United Kingdom. Mr. Cuff visited the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) and discussed **issues and developments regarding global nuclear non-proliferation and Pakistan's perspective on these issues.**

Ambassador Naqvi highlighted that Pakistan is, and has been committed to the cause of nuclear non-proliferation and at one time was leading the discussion on nuclear weapons free zone (NWFZ) in South Asia and negative security assurances.

Mr. Andrew Cuff appreciated CISS regarding its work and thanked Ambassador Naqvi for putting forth Pakistan's perspective on nuclear non-proliferation issues. Mr. Andrew Cuff raised some questions in the discussion like, whether Pakistan thought it could also get a deal on the lines of India – US nuclear deal and expansion of NSG and its likely consequences. On the matter of proposal of nuclear weapons free zone in Middle East, Mr. Andrew Cuff thought that challenges are acute. He stressed that the issue may drag on for some time to come.

After preliminary general discussion, in order to get Mr. Cuff's position on important nuclear issues CISS researchers asked several questions regarding the future of CTBT, regional nuclear balance, FMCT, US-Russia New START treaty and the talk of more cuts in nuclear arsenal and issues regarding nuclear non-proliferation.



Current Thinking in Washington and Discussion on Pakistan-US relation with Ambassador James Larocco , Director Near East and South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) NDU Washington, July 9, 2013

A delegation of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis (NESA) headed by its director Amb. James Lorocco visited the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad on 9th July 2013 and gave a talk on **Current Thinking in Washington on US – Pakistan relations**.

Ambassador Ali Sawar Naqvi, Executive Director, CISS, in his opening remarks welcomed the delegation from NESA. To set the context of the discussion, Ambassador Naqvi mentioned Vali Nasr's latest book titled "The Dispensable Nation" and its chapter "Who Lost Pakistan" and asked Mr. Lorocco to comment on this theme and also discuss the prospects of Pakistan - US collaboration on Afghanistan.

Ambassador James Lorocco in his remarks said that Pakistan – United States relations are marked by several ups and downs and in i.e. 2012 the bilateral relationship was at its lowest ebb. There were almost no US officials coming to Pakistan and there was a communication gap between the two sides. This was accompanied by deep suspicion and distrust on both sides, argued James Lorocco.



Ambassador James Lorocco in his assessment of emerging trends in US – Pakistan relations said that this will be upward and positive, and US assistance to Pakistan will be flowing smoothly particularly in the context that new government in Pakistan is focused on trade, energy and economy, and added that US will be an important partner in this regard. He was of the view that the geostrategic interests of US and Pakistan overlap regardless of tactical level differences. He added that there are real concerns in both the countries with regard to situation in Afghanistan. Many in US, in his view, were watching how Pakistan will play its role in reaching the solution to the Afghan problem.

Regarding US- Iran relationship, Ambassador Lorocco was of the view that Iran is off the agenda for now and said that Obama will be happy if Iran kept quiet and did not vitiate the atmosphere by issuing belligerent statements. He regarded the Iranian elections as an opportunity for US and said that Iran is part of the solution in Afghanistan, not only in economic terms but also for security of the region.

On role of China in Afghanistan, the Director said that China's primary interest in Afghanistan is economic. Chinese leadership in his assessment was presently concentrating on maintaining China's economic growth and they would be very reluctant to play a role in the future security of Afghanistan.

The talk was followed by an interactive session in which director NESI answered different questions raised by the participants regarding US vision for this region, Qatar peace talks, role of Russia and China in Afghanistan, prospects of civil nuclear cooperation with Pakistan and influence of media in US policy making.

Discussion with Dr. Richard Bonney on Dealing with Al-Qaeda post 2014, July 21, 2013

Round Table discussion was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS), Islamabad on **Dealing with Al-Qaeda post 2014**. Renowned British scholar, Dr. Richard Bonney, delivered a talk on the subject. The session was attended by a select group, representing Islamabad's strategic community, members of the diplomatic community, and CISS research team. Opening the discussion, Executive Director CISS, Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi gave a historical perspective of the terrorism problem and said that Al-Qaeda can be compared to anarchist groups in Europe in the nineteenth century when violent means were adopted to achieve political ends. He was of the view that persuasion through discussion should be the means for political change rather than violence and terrorism and that instead of looking back to 10th century Islamic statehood; we should live in our time in which the global system operates differently.

In his opening remarks, Dr. Bonney thanked the Center for International Strategic Studies for giving him the opportunity to discuss a vital issue which is the focus of the attention of policymakers and scholars all over the world. Dr. Bonney said that Al-Qaeda is a wild terrorist group and is different from other groups in resilience and ideology. Such groups draw strength from the coverage given to them by the electronic and print media, besides other sources. He was of the view that there is a need for strong state structures in the Muslim world in order to deny space to Al-Qaeda for its operations and propaganda. Dr. Bonney gave an example in this context that even if there are only 100 Al-Qaeda members in Afghanistan, but if they have friends and supporters in the media, teachers and other citizens, they remain a problem in the region.

Dr. Bonney discussed different de-radicalization models being implemented in various countries in the world. He gave the example of UK government's de-radicalization program which is aimed at making the terrorists peaceful members of society.

The talk was followed by questions on the situation in Egypt, contemporary Islamism, nature of Al-Qaeda threat, and models of de-radicalization employed by several states to address the issue of violent extremism and radicalization.

In House Discussion with Russian Expert on Pakistan – Russia Relations, September 9, 2013

'Pakistan-Russia Strategic Dialogue' was the subject of talk by Mr. Andrey Shabalin. Mr. Shabalin has over fifteen years of experience in dealing with arms control, non-proliferation and global security issues. Russia intends to cooperate with Pakistan in the energy sector, economic development and counter-terrorism. He informed the audience that formation of inter-governmental working groups on trade, economics and counter-terrorism are under consideration between Moscow and Islamabad. Andrey Shabalin, who is the Political Counsellor in Russian Embassy, Islamabad, said this while addressing a round table organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) on Pakistan-Russia Strategic Dialogue here.

Andrey Shabalin, said Pakistan and Russia have taken similar approach on a number of issues such as the proposed treaty on military, business-operation of satellites in outer space, and proposed international code of conduct on drones operations.

He further said that Russia is trying to help Pakistan in upgrading Pakistan Steel Mills, Mazaffar Garh and Guddo power plants and increasing power generation capacity of Tarbella. Establishment of Pak-Russia Business Council and interaction between the business communities of the two states is also under consideration.

Speaking on the Syrian issue Mr. Shabalin said that International law does not authorize intervention in any state even if it is for humanitarian purposes. Western states' stance on attacking Syria is seen as unjust by both Pakistan and Russia.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director at CISS, observed that the round table was the first step towards strengthening and developing sustainable relations between Pakistan and Russia at the think tanks level. He hoped for a qualitative change in the relations of the two states in near future.

A delegation from an Iranian Think Tank Noor Institute of Future Studies visited the Center for International Strategic Studies Islamabad on 11 September, 2013

Scholars from the Iranian think-tank, the Noor Institute of Future Studies, visited the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) for an introductory visit to the Centre. CISS Executive Director Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi welcomed the delegates and briefed them on the research carried out at the CISS.

He informed the delegation that the CISS was an independent think-tank which carried out well-researched analyses of strategic and foreign policy issues.

The delegation's head, Dr Sadollah Zarei Noor informed the participants about the work carried out at his institution. He said that Pakistan's foreign policy was also monitored at his institution.

“The policy work is divided into regional desks and the inputs of this research are sent to the Iranian Foreign Affairs Ministry. The Noor Institute's Staff totals approximately 200 researchers. The institute also has the support of about 100 university professors who give their inputs regularly,” he informed.

Mr. Zarei emphasised on the need to develop collaborative links between Noor Institute of Future Studies, and Center for International Strategic Studies, Islamabad.

In House Discussion with NESAs Delegation With Ambassador James Larocco, Director NESAs, September 18, 2013

To assess the unfolding situation in the Middle East, a discussion was held on the Syrian conflict, Afghanistan and the political dynamics of South Asia at the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS).

The roundtable discussion, **US perspective on Middle East and Afghanistan**, was chaired by CISS Executive Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi. Ambassador James Larocco, director of the Near East South Asia (NESA) centre at the National Defence University Washington, shared his analysis on the developing situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East.

In his view the turmoil in the Middle East would continue for a long time and after Syria, Libya may take the centre stage, as it is on the point of collapse. "Later even Iraq may boil over." Thus new surprises could be in the offing.

Ambassador Larocco reviewing Obama's policies in the Middle East said that President Obama had not expected the Arab spring to come to Syria. The issue was triggered by a series of sporadic incidents of civil disobedience which turned into a full-scale armed insurrection.

He stated, "It was not planned earlier and the pressure of events resulted into a situation where President Obama had to take a position on the use of US forces in Syria. US still wants to resolve this issue peacefully."

Five million people are internally displaced in Syria, and almost an equal number of Syrian migrants have entered Jordan. As eight states are already involved in the Syrian conflict, if concerned states are not careful the issue can escalate into a full-blown armed conflict, he added.



Discussion with Special Italian Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan, November 5, 2013

A round table was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) with the visiting Italian special representative on Afghanistan and Pakistan Mr. Francesco Franson. Mr. Francesco elaborated on the **Existing situation in Afghanistan and challenges in the face of NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan**. He shared his perspective on the status of Afghanistan National Security Forces (ANSF), the upcoming national elections in Afghanistan, nature of reconciliation process and the future of international assistance to the war torn country in post 2014 period. The meeting was chaired by Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director CISS and the participants included prominent members of academia and think tanks in Islamabad. The talk was followed by an interactive session where the participants discussed various aspects of Afghanistan problem.

Discussion with French Scholar on Internal violence in Pakistan with Focus on Karachi, November 7, 2013

Mr. Laurent Gayer visited the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) Islamabad and delivered a talk on **Violence in Pakistan with reference to the situation in Karachi**.

Mr. Laurent is a Ph.D in political science (international relations) from Sciences Po, Paris and specializes on the Indian subcontinent, focusing on intrastate conflicts in India and Pakistan. Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director CISS, welcomed Mr. Laurent Grayer at the institute.

Mr. Gayer's talk focused on the political thinking of MQM after May 2013 general elections in an increasingly complex politico-military configuration of the Karachi. He said that sources of strength and enduring power of MQM comes from dialectics of strong arm action and generosity: the power to control and coerce to gain resources, and also a fantastic capacity of redistribution of these resources to help deprived communities of Karachi.

The session was followed by interactive question and answer session in which the audience commented and asked a number of questions.



Discussion with Canadian High Commissioner to Pakistan on Importance of Trade and Economic Cooperation for Security, November 13, 2013

A Round Table was organized on **The Role of Trade and Economic Cooperation in Enhancing Security** in November 2013. Mr. Greg Giokas, High Commissioner of Canada in Islamabad, was the speaker.

Executive Director, CISS, Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi introduced the guest speaker. Mr. Greg Giokas thanked the Center for International Strategic Studies for providing an opportunity to discuss an important issue with CISS researchers.

Mr. Giokas said that Pakistan is a strong country in South Asian region which possesses vast economic resources and an important geographical location. Making use of these resources should be the top priority of Pakistanis. He was of the view that Pakistan can play a significant role in improving regional security and its economy. The High Commissioner said that policy discourse within Pakistan has focused more on security aspect and less on economic dimensions. He argued that Pakistan should be confident of its economic resources and should work to build Pakistan as an integrated regional economic hub.

The talk was followed by an interactive session where discussion focused on future direction of Pakistan and its relation with India.



Roundtable with US Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, Rose Gottemoeller, November 20 , 2013

A round table was organized by the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS) with the visiting US **Acting under Secretary for Arms control and International Security** Rose Gottemoeller. Under Secretary elaborated her thoughts on the existing situation of global nuclear order, treaty issues, regional arms control prospects and the future trajectory nuclear discourse. Her talk was followed by an interactive session where the participants discussed various aspects of related issues.

The meeting was chaired by Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi, Executive Director CISS and the participants included Students, prominent members of academia and scholars from think tanks in Islamabad.



