

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

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MARMARA ÜNİVERSİTESİ

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI (İNG)

Pakistan and the United Nations Security Council Reforms: A Regional Security Complex Approach

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

UBAID AZHAR ZAMAN

İstanbul, 2022

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DANIŞMAN: **Dr. GONCA OĞUZ GÖK**

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Dedicated to the angry Chicken, my mother Yasmeen and my Motherland: Gilgit-Baltistan.

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to express my deepest and sincerest gratitude to my thesis advisor Professor Gonca Oğuz Gök for the continuous support, patience, motivation and immense knowledge. This study would not have been completed without my advisor and I could not have imagined having a better advisor for my thesis. Thank you Professor.

I would like to thank Awais Imran for being such a great friend and gorgeous soul throughout my studies and stay in Turkey. I was fortunate to share my academic journey with people like Muhammed Mustafa Bilgili and Lena Hadadin who inspired and taught me a lot. Thank you Necef Haider for being an excellent translator for us, without you it would have been so difficult to survive in Turkey.

I owe my everything to my Parents and I thank Allah for blessing me with the most incredible parents in the world. Last but not the least, thankyou Natalia Fidalgo Valiño for sticking with me during my low times and supporting me.

ÖZET

Pakistan ve Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi Reformları: Bölgesel Bir Güvenlik Kompleksi Yaklaşımı

Güney Asya bölgesi, iki nükleer silahlı rakip komşuya, yani Hindistan ve Pakistan'a ev sahipliği yapıyor. Keşmir'in tartışmalı statüsü, iki komşu arasında bir nükleer savaş için "parlama noktası" olarak kabul ediliyor. Hindistan, G-4 platformu aracılığıyla BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nde kalıcı statü için kampanya yürütüyor ve Pakistan, Hindistan kampanyasını bölgedeki çıkarlarına yönelik bir tehdit olarak görüyor. BMGK reform tartışmasına ilişkin mevcut literatürde bir boşluk var çünkü henüz BMGK reform tartışmasını bölgesel güvenlik perspektifinden incelemedi. Bu nedenle, eldeki çalışma Pakistan'ı bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alıyor ve Güney Asya'daki bölgesel güvenlik endişelerinin Pakistan'ın BM Güvenlik Konseyi reform tartışmasıyla ilgili politikasını nasıl etkilediğini inceliyor. Çalışma, Pakistan'ın bölgesel güvenlik endişelerinin, özellikle Keşmir anlaşmazlığının, BM Güvenlik Konseyi reform politikasını etkilediği iddiasını doğrulamak için çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini temel aldığı bir temel olarak Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi Teorisini kullanmaktadır. Çalışma, Pakistan'ın BM Güvenlik Konseyi'nin kalıcı kategorisini genişletmeye karşı çıkmasının, Güney Asya bölgesinde Hindistan ile olan tarihsel düşmanlığı tarafından tanımlandığını varsayıyor. Hipotezi kanıtlamak için 2005-2020 yılları arasında BM Genel Kurulu açılış oturumlarında Pakistan'ın yaptığı konuşmalar üzerinde içerik analizi yöntemiyle araştırma yapılmıştır. Ayrıca Pakistanlı yetkililerin açıklamaları, gazete raporları ve konuyla ilgili akademik yazılar, Güney Asya'nın bölgesel güvenlik kültürünün Pakistan'ın BM Güvenlik Konseyi reformları politikası üzerindeki önemini ve etkisini incelemek için zenginleştirilmiş bir literatür geliştirmek üzere dahil edilmiştir. İçerik analizinden sonraki bulgular, Pakistan'ın Güney Asya'daki Bölgesel Güvenlik Endişelerinin, yani Hindistan'ın, Pakistan'ın Güvenlik Konseyi'nin kalıcı kategorisindeki genişlemeye karşı çıkmasında belirleyici faktörler olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Birleşmiş Milletler, Birleşmiş Milletler Güvenlik Konseyi, Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi, Dörtlü Grup, Uzlaşma için Birleşme grubu, Pakistan, Hindistan.

Abstract

Pakistan and the United Nations Security Council Reforms: A Regional Security Complex Approach

The region of South-Asia is home to two nuclear armed rival neighbors, i.e. India and Pakistan. The disputed status of Kashmir is considered "flashpoint" for a Nuclear war between the two neighbors. India, through the platform of G-4, is campaigning for the permanent status in UN Security Council and Pakistan considers Indian campaign as a threat to its interests in the region. The existing literature on the UNSC reform debate has a gap in it because it has yet to study the UNSC reform debate through regional security perspective. This is why the study at hand takes Pakistan as a case study and examines how the regional security concerns in South-Asia viz-a-viz India affect Pakistan's policy regarding the UN Security Council reform debate. The study employs Regional Security Complex Theory as a base on which it builds theoretical framework of the study to substantiate its claim that regional security concerns of Pakistan, mainly Kashmir dispute, influence its policy of UN Security Council reform. The study hypothesizes that Pakistan's opposition of expanding UNSC's permanent category is defined by its historical enmity with India in South-Asian region. In order to prove the hypothesis, content analysis method of research has been conducted on the speeches made by Pakistan in UN General Assembly opening sessions from 2005 to 2020. Moreover, the statements of officials from Pakistan, newspaper reports and academic writings on the subject have been included to develop an enriched literature to study the importance and impact of regional security culture of South Asia on Pakistan's policy of UNSC reforms. The findings after content analysis show that Regional Security Concerns of Pakistan in South Asia viz-a-viz India are the defining factors in Pakistan's opposition of enlargement in the permanent category of Security Council.

Keywords: United Nations, United Nations Security Council, Regional Security Complex, Group of Four, Uniting for Consensus group, Pakistan, India.

List of Acronyms

UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
RSCT	Regional Security Complex Theory
G-4	Group of Four
UfC	Uniting for Consensus Group
AU	African Union
AL	Arab League
CC	Carabbien Community
ATC	Accountability, Transparency and Coherence Group
L.69	Group of Developing Countries
LDC	Least Developed Countries
P.5	Permanent Five
S.5	Small Five

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Chapter 01

Introduction

Ralph Johnson Bunche describes United Nations as, “The United Nations is our one great hope for a peaceful and free world” (Bunche & Henry, 1995, p. 165). The obsession of human beings with ‘hope’, ‘peace’ and ‘freedom’ might have started when human beings encountered their very first conflict. Since then, the fascination of human race with these concepts led to the creation of political and social philosophies to understand the very concepts. The start of 20th century marked with new developments on international political arena. Decolonization, United States of America emerged as the most powerful country in Western Hemisphere and World War I started in 1914. The end of first World War brought mankind on the table to ensure future peace and freedom while hoping not to repeat the mistakes of past, thus League of Nations was established on January 10, 1920. The League of Nations failed to live up to the standards set by its founding members and it practically lost its reason to exist with the start of Second World War when Germany invaded Poland in 1939. The end of Second World War gave birth to another global institution: United Nations, with a goal of ensuring peace and security of post-war world. Although, United Nations faced criticism for being out of order during cold war or having too little impact on containing conflicts but the credit goes to United Nations for managing the status-quo of peace since no third World War started after 1945.

The Security Council of United Nation is the most powerful institution in modern world because of it role of being the guardian of world peace. The end of cold-war started with more vigorous demands of reforming the workings and composition of the Security Council. The proponents of reforming Security Council argue that the Security Council falls short of reflecting the changing geopolitical realities of the world because the world has changed considerably since 1945. According to McDonald & Patrick (2010), United Nations Security Council will lose its authority and legitimacy if Security Council does not expand its membership to the unrepresented regions, such as, Latin America and Africa. The same argument of Security Council’s ‘inefficiency and losing legitimacy because of “underrepresentation’ is used by the G-4 (Japan, Germany, Brazil and India) who favor enlargement of Security Council. The other group, uniting for Consensus (UfC), favors reforming Security Council but opposes enlargement of permanent members in Security Council. According to McDonald & Patrick (2010), UfC argues that enlargement in permanent category would weaken the UN’s power, increase complication, encourage lowest-common-denominator and empower antagonistic leaders of the nonaligned movement.

Although, the debate on reforming United Nations Security Council is an extensive one because of the involvement of different coalitions of states such as: African Union, Group of four, uniting for Consensus group and others, as well as individual states competing with each other to secure maximum benefit out of reforms. This study will focus specifically on UNSC reform debate through South-Asian regional security complex. There are number of reasons why this study looks at the reform debate through a regional security perspective by focusing specifically on Pakistan and India. To start with, literary work on UNSC reform has yet to look at the issue beyond normative approach of improving the input legitimacy of UNSC or effectiveness-based approach of securing maximum output from the reform process. This study attempts to go beyond the normative/operational discussions and study how regional concerns of states influence them to adopt a certain policy of reforming UNSC. Secondly, the region of South-Asia is home to two nuclear armed arch rivals, i.e. India and Pakistan. India is campaigning for permanent membership in Security Council and Pakistan considers it as threat for its regional security if India gets the permanent membership without resolving the outstanding issue of Kashmir. Lastly, regional security concerns in UNSC debate does not apply just on Pakistan's policy of opposing inclusion of its regional rival as a permanent member of Security Council but it also shows the concerns of South-Korea, Argentina and Italy against Japan, Brazil and Germany's bid for permanent membership. The regional concerns of states like Pakistan, Italy, South-Korea and Argentina brought them together to form a coalition, Uniting for Consensus group, against G-4 (Germany, Japan, India and Brazil) in reform debate of Security Council. The transnational alliance of UfC clearly shows that how decisive role regional concerns play in Security Council reform process. Since, Pakistan and India are the important members of UfC and G-4, respectively, this study will mainly focus on the competing G-4 and UfC proposals regarding Security Council reform in 2000s. To the best of our knowledge, there has not been a study specifically focusing Pakistan's policy towards the UNSC reform debate. In this regard, the study at hand will try to answer questions, such as: "How can we explain Pakistan's stance towards the UNSC reform in UfC group in 2000's reform proposals?" Which factor (identity/security or power) best explains Pakistan's stance towards the UNSC reform? "Why Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in reformed UN Security Council?" In order to answer these questions this study will use UNGA debate in 2005 because in 2005, the Group of four and UfC presented their proposals for Security Council reforms. Furthermore, the study will conduct content analysis on Pakistan's statements at the opening sessions of UNGA from 2005 to 2020. The thesis argues that regional security complex of South Asia and regional security concerns of Pakistan are the factors dictating its policy of opposing enlargement in permanent category of UNSC.

1.1 Statement of problem

The world's victorious nations of World War II came together over seventy-five years ago to begin the task of providing a better insurance policy of peace to the postwar world. They founded a new organization, United Nations, based on the lofty goals of securing sustainable peace, global prosperity and promote human rights worldwide. It has been more than seventy years and different nations around the globe and people of the world want to see the assessment report of United Nations performance since its inception. The United Nations, especially its main organ, Security Council, is one of the most significant and powerful institutions of contemporary world. The Primary responsibility of UNSC is maintaining peace and security of the world according to Article 24 of the UN Charter. However, it has been one of the argued and debated topics now days that Security Council of United Nations outdated its utility long ago since it no longer represents the current geo-political dynamics of 21st century.

According to Tharoor (2011, p. 397), there are number of arguments for reforming UN Security Council since the geopolitical realities of the world have been changed drastically since 1945. Firstly, when the United Nations was founded in 1945, the total members of UN were 51 and the Security Council consisted of 11 members. In today's world, UN members are 193 and the Council consists of only 15 members. These numbers show that how inadequately the contemporary world has been represented in UN Security Council. Secondly, the undue weightage to Europe in today's Council does not by any means reflect geographic composition of the world because Europe accounts for less than 5% population of the world and controls 33% of Security Council's seats (Tharoor, 2011). The United Nations, upon sensing the mood, established Open-Ended Working Group of General Assembly in 1992 to give a formula for Security Council reforms before UN's fiftieth anniversary in 1995. The group has failed so far providing with any viable solution for reforms and this failure earned name of "Never-ending Shirking Group" (Tharoor, 2011, p. 398).

While discussing the reform debate of UNSC, the factor of securing maximum benefit out of reforms by states cannot be ignored. One of the main contenders for securing permanent seats at high table of Security Council is the group of four (Brazil, Germany, Japan and India) or G-4 countries. Since 2005, they have been in forefront for expecting benefits from possible expansion of the permanent category in Security Council. Although, their efforts have been repeatedly opposed and thwarted. The reason of opposition is mainly dictated by safeguarding national interest because countries who believe their status should be recognized are opposed by those countries who feel they would be much marginalized in reformed Security Council than the current structure of United Nations. As Tharoor (2011,

p. 399) considers the rival group of G-4, i.e. Uniting for Consensus group (UfC) and says that UfC countries, i.e. Pakistan, Italy, South-Korea and Argentina are rivals of the possible beneficiaries (India, Germany, Japan and Brazil) of enlarged Security Council deeply oppose possibility of G-4 countries joining higher tier for two reasons, i.e. objection based on principle, and objections based on realpolitik: "some of the objectors, such as Canada and Spain, are genuinely motivated by principle: they consider the very existence of permanent membership to be wrong, and they have no desire to compound the original sin by adding more members to a category they dislike" (Tharoor, 2011, p. 399). On the other hand, there are countries, like South-Korea and Pakistan, who consider giving more privileges to some over others would leave a catastrophic effect on their regional geo-politics (Tharoor, 2011).

The primary focus of the study is on Pakistan's policy towards UN Security Council reforms; however, this study will go beyond analyzing various reform proposals presented by G-4 and Uniting for Consensus coalition since 2005. More importantly, it is important to explain how particular regional security concerns of region influence policies of its states on issues related to global level and vice versa. In this regard the study at hand will answer: Why Pakistan opposes addition of new permanent members to the reformed UN Security Council? How South-Asian Regional Security Complex influences Pakistan's policy of UN Security Council reform debate? Why Regional Security Complex approach provides a better explanation for Pakistan's stance towards UNSC reform and its preference to be in the Uniting for Consensus (UfC) group in 2000's compared to other explanations like its Muslim identity/ideological rivalry etc.

1.2 Research Question(s) and Hypothesis

The prime question this thesis attempts to answer is: How can one explain Pakistan's policy towards the UNSC reform and being in UfC group in 2000's UNSC reform debates? While focus of this thesis is to answer the above mentioned question, it will also aim at addressing other sub-questions, such as:

i) Which factor (identity/regional security or others) best explains Pakistan's policies towards the UNSC reform in 2000s?

ii) Why Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in reformed UN Security Council in 2000s Reform debates?

iii) Did Pakistan support procedural (working methods) reform initiatives or structural reforms of UNSC in 2000s?

iv) How the regional rivalry between India and Pakistan transforms itself into a part of global debate of Security Council's reform?

v) What does Pakistan's case tell us about the nexus between regional and global security dynamics in the UNSC reform debates?

vi) What this failure of competing UfC and G4 proposals in 2000's reform debates tell us about the future prospects of "consensus" among different states (both regionally and on material power) on the issue of UNSC reform (on both "structural" and "procedural" grounds)?

In order to answer all the above mentioned questions the study at hand hypothesis that Pakistan joined the UfC group and opposed G4 proposal in United Nations Security Council because of its regional security concerns viz-a-viz India in South-Asian region.

1.3 Theoretical framework: Regional Security Complex Theory

The pivotal purpose of this section is to elaborate the connection of existing theories and their connection with the knowledge. The section named theoretical framework would best be explained by stating that it is a structure that would uphold or give grounds to the research which is being undertaken by the researcher (Creswell et al., 2007). It is theoretical problem that explains the existence of a research problem and its nature. It elaborates the references and concepts and definitions concerned with the research problem and the relation building with the existing literature. It also projects the better understanding of the concepts and literature relevant to the topic. Chapter three of the study "Theoretical Framework: Regional Security Complex Approach and Pakistan in the UNSC Reform" has been dedicated separately to scrutinize the theoretical framework. Nonetheless, this part would briefly explain why RSCT better explains Pakistan's policy towards UNSC reform debate.

The study at hand uses Regional Security Complex theory (RSCT) to understand Pakistan's policy of reforming United Nations Security Council. RSCT is a regional security theory presented by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their book "Regions and Powers: The structure of International Security".

The striking and interesting feature of RSCT lies in its incorporation of realist assumptions, liberal ideals and constructivist approach in one theory of examining securitization. It assumes anarchic

international structure and balance of power, inculcates liberal ideal of interdependence and connection between regional and global structures, and explains amity and enmity as social constructs. This grand perspective on securitization made the theory to be seen as a hybrid one with realist and constructivist elements. RSCT uses both materialist and constructivist approaches in its explanation. In materialist sense, RSCT uses the idea of bounded territory and distribution of power that are closely associated with that of neorealist explanations. The explanation of RSCT about regional level distribution of power is compatible with neorealist explanation but it breaks away from neorealism on analyzing the influence of global-level structure on regional patterns. According to Buzan and Waever RSCT distinctly differentiates between regional level and global level. Regional systems, "are defined by durable patterns of amity and enmity taking the form of sub-global, geographically coherent patterns of security interdependence" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 45). As for constructivist side, it adds the behavioral elements of amity and enmity to the constructivist explanation in order to analyze the system at regional level. RSCT takes a bottom-up approach while studying security policies of states and places regional arrangements at the center of states' security concerns. The reason RSCT focuses regional level analysis because according to Buzan (1991, p. 188) "A region, in security terms, means that a distinct and significant subsystem of security relations exists among a set of states whose fate is that they have been locked into geographical proximity with each other". This is why RSCT is applied to Pakistan's policy of reforming UNSC and as Buzan and Waever state:

"RSCT is aimed at people working empirically on specific regions. It is mostly a descriptive language, a method for producing order out of complicated data, and for writing structural history. The theory offers the possibility of systematically linking the study of internal conditions, relations among units in the region, relations between regions, and the interplay of regional dynamics with globally acting powers. It also provides some structural logic most notably the hypothesis that regional patterns of conflict shape the lines of intervention by global level powers" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 52).

The purpose of applying RSCT on Pakistan's policy of UNSC reform debate is to offer a systematic way to study the influence of security issues in anarchic international system on the power dynamics among regional units. RSCT explains the security structure that has been developed after the end of cold-war. It examines the world with a view that security concerns of states has mainly regional dimension rather than looking at the world divided into core and periphery like other mainstream IR theories. As the Regional Security Complex Theory claims that security concerns within the region are the most important factors that define any country's actions. Pakistan's opposition of India's bid for permanent membership

at the Security Council can be better understood through Regional Security Complex Theory, because employment of the theoretical framework of RSCT will enable us to better analyze how Pakistan positions its security policies according to its national interests and how the conflicts and rivalry between India and Pakistan travel beyond the regional level.

Hence, it is important to include regional arrangements while studying policies of states like Pakistan in global debates such as UNSC reform. The regional outlook of RSCT provides substantial basis for studying Pakistan's policy regarding UNSC reform debate because the hypothesis of the study at hand claims that Pakistan's policy about UNSC reform is influenced by its regional security arrangements. The detailed discussion about the theoretical framework has been included in chapter three, Theoretical Framework: Regional Security Complex Approach and Pakistan in the UNSC Reform, of the thesis.

1.4 Methodology

This part of the dissertation which is known as research methodology explains the lenses or the pathway adopted by the researcher to undertake the study. The existing stockpile of knowledge in every field of knowledge can be connected with the one that is being developed needs a theory that would act as the bridge. The role of the theory would be open to new experiments for further validations or invalidations of the theory. The term research is best understood by defining it ''the systematic way to cover the gap in existing stockpile of the knowledge'' (Walliman, 2011, p. 7). The other part is methodology can be best explained as the framework rooted in a theory or intended to develop a theory, bounded by some boundaries (Brown, 2015).

Overall, Qualitative research method would be applied to define and explain the role of regional security concerns on the reform debate of United Nations Security Council. The qualitative research is opinion oriented in its nature as it asks why questions instead of what questions. The most significant thing associated with asking open ended question is that it focuses on the opinion instead of numerical data and the biasness of the respondent is allowed to guide the answer. The thesis at hand will investigate Pakistan's policy of reforming United Nations Security Council through its regional security concerns. Therefore, understanding security concerns of Pakistan within South-Asian region is important to understand Pakistan's policy of reforming global organization such as United Nations. Since, there is lack of academic literature that investigates Pakistan's policy regarding UNSC reform, the study at hand would use various newspaper articles, official statements and other reports regarding UNSC reform debate.

Moreover, in order to substantiate the hypothesis with evidence the study aims at answering questions such as, why Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in reformed UN Security Council during 2000s? How a regional rivalry between India and Pakistan transforms itself into a part of global "debate" of Security Council's reforms as reflected in the proposals of G4 and UfC group in 2000's. In order to answer those questions, content analyses research method will be employed to understand whether Pakistan opposes inclusion of new permanent members in Security Council because of its regional security concerns or not. For content analysis, opening speeches by Pakistan's dignitaries in UN General Assembly from 2005 to 2020 will be used. Content Analysis is used to determine the presence of certain themes or concepts within a qualitative data to quantify and analyze the meaning of such concepts and themes. Seven words have been selected from the speeches, i.e. India, Kashmir, Conflict, Region, Security, Terrorism and Peace. These seven words have been selected after analyzing the texts of the speeches. The reason of selecting these words lie in their connection with broader themes that stand out in every speech. According to Kassarjian (1977), "Content analysis as a mode of textual analysis is characterized by a concern with being objective, systematic, and quantitative".

The United Nations is composed of 193 members, this study will focus on one country's, Pakistan, policy and its proposals for reforms. Since Pakistan has aligned itself with different like-minded countries on forums like Uniting for Consensus group, those forums and coalitions will also be a topic of interest in the thesis. Pakistan is one of the leading voices against inclusion of a new Permanent member at Security Council with veto power and this is why Pakistan's stance is very contentious for India's bid of permanent membership. It can be explored through the speeches of Pakistani representatives at UNSC that how and in what ways Pakistan has opposed and made its stance clear. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies especially writings of Barry Buzan's and Ole Waever's Regional Security Complex Theory, academic writings on United Nations reform debate and writings on Pakistan's policy on UN Security Council reform debate have been consulted by the researcher to develop an enriched opinion-based research dissertation. The research is based on also the secondary sources, the matter of understating what the other is trying to say in his message would be multidimensional and would lead us to go for the construction of the reality with the intention to help others in their discourses for the further researches.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Reform debate of United Nations Security Council has been a subject of interest for many academicians but still very few studies have been conducted to understand the interplay between

regional and global level while trying to understand the motivations of states in UNSC reform debate. The novelty of the study at hand lies in the simple fact that to the best of our knowledge no other academic work has been done on how regional Security concerns of states transform themselves into a pivotal point in the global debate of reforming United Nations Security Council. Research on UN Security Council reforms through the lenses on Regional Security Complex entails significant contribution to the academic literature and it may prove to become a harbinger of future point of reference for academic work on UN reforms. The study applies Regional Security approach on Pakistan's policy of UN Security Council reforms. Moreover, the research question and sub questions of the thesis lay foundation for nuanced academic debate on UN reforms based on regional security patterns as the thesis on the subject will be the first of its kind.

1.6 Organization of Chapters

The thesis is divided into five chapters and the chapters will proceed in a sequence with selected topics leading us to the conclusion. The first chapter will give a comprehensive detail about the topic along with research question, hypothesis, theoretical framework, and selected methodology. Chapter two of the dissertation will be extensive literature review because it thoroughly explains the studies done on UNSC reforms and the reform efforts since the inception of United Nations in 1945. Although, regional security concerns of states in UNSC reform debate started with the campaign of G-4 countries for permanent membership in 2000's but it is equally important to understand previous reform efforts as well. Moreover, it will briefly explain the failure and achievements of reform efforts since 1945. The demands and reform proposals from coalitions like African Union and non-aligned movements are included but special emphasis has been given to the reform proposals of two competing coalitions, i.e. G-4 and UfC. The chapter concludes with a summary of reform proposals presented by some major coalitions.

Chapter three is dedicated to discuss theoretical framework adopted in the study. Since, the theory used in the study is "Regional Security Complex" presented by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their work "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security". The chapter is divided into two part, first part of the chapter will explain the theory of regional security complex and why it better explains Pakistan's policy of UNSC reforms. The second part would scrutinize Pakistan's security concerns in the South-Asian region viz-a-viz India. The chapter also mentions how Pakistan's interests in the region would be at stake if India gets the status of permanent membership in Security Council.

Chapter four is my contribution to the literature of UNSC reform. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part of the chapter studies Pakistan's engagement with United Nations and its contribution to UN peacekeeping operations. Second part of the chapter extensively discusses the reform proposals of UfC and G-4. This part, in detail, analyzes Pakistan's approach towards UNSC reform debate since 2005. It explains in detail about how regional security concerns shaped Pakistan's response to the demand of permanent membership by G-4 countries. The Chapter will analyze Pakistan's approach of reforming United Nations Security Council both in its expansion and its working methods with a special reference to proposals put forward by G-4 and Uniting for Consensus in 2005 debates. It will include in-depth analysis of reform proposals by G-4 and UfC. It will also include Pakistani newspapers, official statements of leaders and opening speeches of Pakistan in UN General Assembly with special reference to the Speech in 2005 on the reform proposal (A/59/L.64) by the permanent representative of Pakistan to United Nations. The third part of the chapter is content analysis of speeches by Pakistan in opening sessions of UNGA from 2005-2020. Content Analysis will validate the claim of the study at hand that Pakistan's policy towards UNSC reforms is influenced by its regional Security concerns

Finally, the last chapter of conclusion will discuss the general assessment of the study made on the topic along with the findings and way forward to Pakistan on Security Council reform debate. It will briefly include recommendation for the future researches. Moreover, the discussion on the findings would highlight the contribution of this study towards the literature on UNSC reform debate.

Chapter 02

Literature Review: UNSC Reform Debates in Historical Context

2.1 Literature Review

The United Nations was established as a universal international organization in 1945 to maintain global security and relations among great powers, protection of human rights, solution of global problems and to promote self-determination. The basic essence of the United Nations was to save succeeding generations from the plague of another world war. The United Nations has six structural organs, and the United Nations Security Council is one of the important organs of the United Nations body. The end of Cold War and the outset of 21st century brought some new patterns for the establishment of the Modern World. The United Nations is losing its credibility and legitimacy for being top international organization with the basic and fundamental responsibility of maintaining the global peace and security.

The United Nations Security Council is considered as one of the key organs of the UN body. The debate over the issues of United Nations reforms and expansion has been a topic of concern since its inception (Jha et al., 2018, p. 16). There are numerous factors, i.e. power struggle, prestige or identity etc., that play essential role in motivating a state to follow a certain policy at United Nations. However, reforming United Nations Security Council and position of states about it is derived by either strategic power patterns or deep-rooted motivation of improving Security Council. As put by the Malaysian permanent representative to the UN in 2012 as, “we just want to be seen as being politically correct; hence we continue to mislead the world by claiming that we want reform in this important organ of the United Nations? It is time for us to reexamine our real intentions and positively help the process to move forward” (Schaefer, 2017, p. 15). The studies on UN reforms produced extensive literature on its working method, decision-making, expansion of United Nation Security Council and Veto power. However, the question of how regional security arrangements influence UN Security Council reform debate has yet to be answered. This literature review would focus on examining and evaluating existing literature and scholarship on the reform debate.

Barnett (1997) investigates Security Council reform debate from a liberal and neo-liberal perspective. According to Barnett, Organizations like United Nations are not only capable of encouraging states to cooperate but “celebrate their existence as evidence that states have been able to put aside immediate gratification for long-term harmony” (Barnett, 1997, p. 576). The argument of Barnett is more

in line with the argument of Deudney & Maull (2011), who argue for cooperation among European Nations for pursuing synchronized policy in UNSC reform debate. Deudney and Maull further elaborate that if Britain and France could give up one of their permanent seats and make it available for one non-European country, this would significantly increase the effectiveness of Security Council as well as the image of Britain and France "as advocates of better representation for countries such as India and Brazil on the Security Council" (Deudney & Maull, 2011, p. 124). The fact is undeniable that each country has its own political and social context while debating and urging for a change at a forum like United Nations. The important aspect of UN Security Council reform is based on multiple cases in order to generalize from multiple state motivations during the reform process, and explain why states remain committed to this issue (Collier & Mahoney, 1996; George & Bennett, 2005). States individually as well as collectively put a unanimous voice for important issues such as Security Council reforms.

Souaré (2011), studies the case of Africa in UNSC reform debate and says, "the case of Africa remained very interesting in terms of UN reform debate as it has been the only continent without a permanent seat in Security Council" (Souaré, 2011, p. 85). Souaré (2011) also depicts that in what ways Africa has been suffered under the title of humanitarian intervention or peacekeeping operations as It has been home to 66 United Nations Peacekeeping missions from 1948 to 2010. Souaré has noted that the expectations of African were not met in an institution like UN when it comes to dealing with issues specifically related with Africa (Souaré, 2011, p. 87). The same view about the role of Security Council is shared by Barnett (1997), who questions the efficiency of UNSC regarding its response to the issues related with Africa. According to him, the role of permanent members of Security Council show little to no interest, even on issues like genocide if it happens outside of their regional "interests". The case of Rwandan genocide is one of the examples when "no matter how grieved member states were by the genocide in Rwanda, they were unwilling to commit money and manpower to any operation because it remained outside their interests" (Barnett, 1997, p. 562). Therefore, Gould & Rablen (2017, p. 9) describe the position of African Union as, "although it opposes the right of veto, if some countries are to have the right of veto, then this right must be extended". Africans generally view use of veto as selfish interest of permanent members. Since 1990 there have been many strong voices from Africa as they formed African Union (AU) which shows a united front focusing on reforming the undemocratic composition of Security Council (Souaré, 2011).

Schwartzberg (2004) and Fassbender (2003) explain the unanimity among UN member states on the question of reforming Security Council. According to them, nearly all member states want to either

abolish or limit the veto status of Security Council because they view the veto right of Security Council as undemocratic and unfair legacy of World War II. This unanimity of member states is, however, not shared by the permanent five members of Security Council that is why according to Weiss & Young (2005), Permanent members would resist any initiative to change the veto prerogative of Permanent five. France, one of the permanent five, is more interested in reforming working method and efficiency of veto rather than limiting, abolishing or extending it to others, as written by Shetty (2015) "France continues to spearhead a campaign for a code of conduct regulating the veto in situations of mass atrocities or genocide". However, another permanent member, China's position is based on two factors, i.e. a) China will not support any reform that would limit or abolish veto power and, b) China strongly opposes inclusion of Japan as a permanent member of Security Council Nadin (2016, p. 65). The policy of China to stop Japan getting permanent status in Security Council is visible in the speech given by Chinese permanent representative to United Nations, Liu Jieyi in 2013 during 68th session of General Assembly, "priority should be given to increasing the representation of developing countries, in particular African countries". Whereas, according to Nadin (2016), Russia as a permanent member of Security Council shares the same idea of other permanent members that veto category shall remain as it is but Russia is more flexible on some aspects of reforming Security Council. As Nadin (2018, p. 65) argues, "Russians view the inclusion of BRICS aspirants (India, South-Africa and Brazil) as an exercise in bloc creation—a counterweight to the Western permanent members and their aspirants Germany and Japan". The position of China and Russia is thus derived by the logic of consequence because they view reforming Security Council in terms of their own strategic interests. The calculations of strategic interests are equally shared by United States of America along with China and Russia. As Gowan & Gordon (2014, p. 5) write, "the US, China, and Russia appear skeptical [about reform], with U.S. interest declining since the matter received some attention in 2009–2010". Although, the permanent representative of US to United Nations Ann Elizabeth Jones, while addressing the 69th session of General Assembly in 2014, said "The US is open to modest Council expansion in permanent and nonpermanent membership". According to Nadin (2016, p. 66), United States is losing interest of engaging in a meaningful reform debate and it could be linked to the differences among permanent members of Security Council over issues related with Syria and Libya. Moreover, polarization among P5 over Syria and Libya led United States' to support India and Brazil for permanent membership in Security Council. Burns (2005) views reform debate as an intricate issue faced by the United States. He also illustrates that in what ways it is an essential tool for the successful management and the implementation of US foreign policy. According to Burns (2005) management reforms, proper and

more effective human rights commission, economic development, democracy fund and counter terrorism have been the United States priorities for United Nations reforms.

Schaefer (2017) categorizes sates into two groups based on their position regarding Security Council reforms. According to Schaefer (2017), states with no direct stake in Security Council reform are less powerful and such states mostly advocate for either improving working methods of the Council or identity based representation; are motivated by the normative concern of improving Security Council. While, states that have more to gain or lose, like getting permanent representation or their rival getting permanent representation in Security Council; are largely motivated by strategic calculations. Lisa Russell (2001), investigates the reform debate from a perspective of a medium size country whose position on reform debate is largely influenced by its geographical location and economic dependency. Russel takes the example of Canada and says, "Canada is still more likely to be shaped by international events than to shape them" (Russell, 2001, pp. 107–108). This is why Canada advocates for more procedural reforms and "Canada's support for the organization has been, at its core, rooted in Canada's own particular interest in the development and maintenance and maximization of an international system based on rules where power matters less" (Russell, 2001, p. 108). The Canada's policy of reforming Security Council is also based on recognizing veto status as an undemocratic status of privileged few and it opposes enlargement of permanent category in Security Council. The principled position of Canada on reforms is acknowledged by Tharoor (2011, p. 399) as "Canada and Spain, are genuinely motivated by principle: they consider the very existence of permanent membership to be wrong, and they have no desire to compound the original sin by adding more members to a category they dislike". Along with longstanding principled position of countries like Canada, states like Pakistan and Italy also oppose enlargement in permanent category of Security Council who strictly follow the policy of blocking their regional rivals' (India and Germany) way of getting permanent status. As Schaefer (2017, p. 33) says, "Pakistan potentially prefers the status quo and sees it as the lesser evil to actual reform, where its main rival India might be attributed a permanent seat". The arguments for enlarging Security Council advocate for more representative council and the most vocal supporters of enlarging Security Council, G-4, present themselves as candidates for permanent category.

In Group of four (Germany Japan, Brazil and India), Japan and Germany are first world countries with developed economies while Brazil and India have great potential in future given their size and population but their economies are still in developing stage. According to Bourantonis (2010), Germany's and Japan's desire of permanent membership is based on their financial contribution to the UN budget. Japan and Germany are the second and third largest budget contributors to the UN budget and financers

of UN peacekeeping operations. As Bourantonis (2010, p. 39) says, “Japan paid an average of 12.5 per cent of the total cost while Germany contributed about 8.93 per cent to the UN’s budget and to the expenses for the peacekeeping operations”. The desire of Japan’s willingness and desire to become permanent member was expressed by Japan’s permanent representative to United Nations Yoshio Hatani in 1993 as, “in the future we do not want to be just good taxpayers, but to have a word to say on the important decisions that are taken in the United Nations”. However, Italy opposes the idea of including states in permanent category based on financial contribution to the United Nations. Pedrazzi (2000) explains Italy’s opposition of enlarging permanent members and investigates Italy’s idea of creating another category within Security Council having 20 non-permanent electable seats for two-year term. This alternative idea of enlarging Security Council in non-permanent category “would be chosen on the basis of various criteria, i.e. financial contribution to the UN, geographical dimension, population, etc.” (Pedrazzi, 2007, p. 188). Salleo & Pirozzi (2008) also investigate Italy’s position on the reform debate and attribute Italy’s position as an attempt to reform electing states based on the only criteria of regional representation. Italy finds it undemocratic and against the spirit of UN to elect countries based on “automatic regional rotation in the election of states to UN collegial bodies and, even more importantly, to the Security Council” because such arrangements within United Nations depict failure of evaluating “the conduct and behaviour of candidates, especially with respect to UN principles and resolutions” (Salleo & Pirozzi, 2008, p. 98). The argument of Japan and Germany is based on their financial contribution while India and Brazil claim the right of permanent status based on their other contributions, i.e. contribution to peacekeeping operations.

According to Tharoor (2011), the current composition of Security Council deliberately denies “opportunities to other states that have contributed in kind (through participation in peacekeeping operations, for example) or by size, or both, to the evolution of world affairs” (Tharoor, 2011, p. 398). Kumar (2017) says that India views the current structure of Security Council as an inefficient body because it lacks fair representation of the current geopolitical realities of the world. The same view has been expressed by the permanent representative of India to UN in 2017 while addressing the 71st plenary meeting of General Assembly, “lack of broad representation in the membership of Council has added to its lack of legitimacy and credibility”. This is why, “restructuring of the UNSC through expansion could bring back the lost legitimacy and representative character of the Council. India places itself as a legitimate candidate in this race” (Kumar, 2017, p. 548). Yadav (2016) also bases Indian claim to permanent status on its non-financial contribution to the United Nations. According to Yadav, “India bases its right to be a permanent veto wielding power on reasons like one of the biggest contributor in UN peacekeeping

missions, one of the fastest growing economies and huge population of around 1.3 billion people" (Yadav, 2016, p. 01). According to Binder & Heupel (2020), G-4 has been failed to convince others to support their bid for permanent membership in Security Council because they lack rhetorical coercion. Rhetorical coercion is defined by Krebs & Jackson (2007, p. 36) as, "Rhetorical coercion occurs when a claimant's opponents have been talked into a corner, compelled to endorse a stance, they would otherwise reject". Binder and Heupel use the same argument for G-4's campaign of permanent membership and say, "G4's rhetorical coercion strategy failed to provide compelling justifications for their reform proposal that would have forced their opponents to endorse a stance they were opposed to" (Binder & Heupel, 2020, p. 94).

The contenders for permanent status in Security Council such as G-4 countries have been opposed in their campaign by their regional rivals such as Pakistan against India, Italy against Germany, South-Korea against Japan and Argentina against Brazil because of their regional rivalries. However, the debate on reforming Security Council has been studied from identity-based perspective as well. The argument about rise of Muslim identity in modern times has been mentioned by Macqueen (2010, p. 48) as:

> The military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, sanctions on Iran, and a host of issues from setting gender policy to human rights have amplified a sense of alienation between Muslim communities and the West. Indeed, many Muslims are convinced that they are subject to a neo-colonial agenda of domination and conquest.

The alienation between Muslim world and the West should bring Muslim countries together on framing a unanimous framework for reforming Security Council. Macqueen (2010) investigates the case of African-Muslim countries (Egypt, Libya and Nigeria) in regard to Security Council reform debate and tries to answer: whether Muslim identity has unified Muslim countries on the issue of Security council reforms or not. According to Benjamin, although, it is true that Muslim states want to be represented by one of their own in Security Council but the question of 'who' has divided them. As Macqueen (2010, p. 68) concludes:

> "Inter-state rivalry; the reticence of existing Council members, particularly the US, to approve permanent membership for certain Muslim states; the relatively weak bargaining position that these states hold in the negotiations, and the tendency for many to support one of the different reform models, some with mutually-exclusive perspectives".

The same argument of identity-based alliance of countries has been mentioned by Kumaraswamy & Quamar (2020 pp. 83-107) as they dedicated a whole chapter in their book, "India's Saudi Policy: Bridge

to The Future" in which the authors see Pakistan as a decisive factor in Indo-Arab relations because Pakistan and Arab countries share Muslim identity. According to Kumaraswamy and Quamar, Muslim world supports Pakistan over India on every crucial matter such as Kashmir issue, Indo-Pak wars and Arab states back Pakistan through platforms like Organization of Islamic Conference because middle-eastern countries see Pakistan's Muslim identity more similar to them than that of India's secular and Hindu identity. The authors suggest commercial and business based approach to de-link Pakistan from middle-east and eventually turning Middle-Eastern countries closer to India which could increase Indian reach of influence. The authors of the book make a strong point because if India somehow de-links Pakistan from Middle-East then it could rally more support globally. The role of Muslim identity as a hindering force in India's way to garner support from 'Muslim middle-east' for its bid for permanent membership is negated by scholars like Ayesha Siddiqa. According to Siddiqa-Agha (2017), Muslim Middle-East does not support Pakistan because of its Muslim identity but Pakistan has a long standing security arrangements with Middle-Eastern countries, especially oil rich gulf countries, as she says, "Almost all of the military doctrines in the Gulf feature Pakistan's profile in military terms and nuclear capability. Gulf countries are aware of the fact that any security architecture in the region cannot be established without including Pakistan" (Siddiqa-Agha, 2017, p. 6).

The existing literature on UN Security Council reform debate ignores how regional arrangements influence policies of individual states regarding the reform debate. As the current literature suggests that intricate nature of Security Council reforms has divided states broadly into three categories, i.e. a) Hegemons (Permanent five), who are contented with the current arrangement of Security Council, b) Revisionist states, who aspire to change the structure of Security Council and c) Bandwagoning states, who do not aspire to change the structure of Security Council as well as having no capability to do so and such states either Bandwagon with the hegemons or the revisionists. The existing studies focusing Security Council reform debate use the lenses developed by conventional theories of International relations and this is why previous studies are not sufficient enough to explain cases, such as: how regional security concerns influence Pakistan's policy towards Security Council reform. 'Regionalism' has been an important factor in reform debate and regional representation, such as Africa, in Security Council has been extensively studied but how 'securitization' and regional security arrangements influence the policies of states within a region has yet to be studied. Russell (2001) studies regional arrangements and Canadian policy of reforming Security Council from liberal perspective of improving United Nations for strengthened rules and procedures for enhanced economic integration of the world. Furthermore, as (Russell, 2001) suggests that the economic integration and interdependency would eventually give birth to an

international order where power would matter less. The case of regional arrangement for Pakistan is different as it looks at the reform debate of Security Council from its regional security concerns rather than regional economic concerns. The study at hand uses “Regional Security Complex Theory” developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their work “Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security”. The study would employ the theory of Buzan and Waever to explain why regional security concerns better explain Pakistan’s position of UN Security Council reform. Chapter 03 is dedicated for theoretical analysis and Pakistan’s regional security concerns.

2.2 Reform Efforts of UNSC

Before moving on, it is necessary to first identify the key issues being faced by United Nations Security Council. These central issues include the categories of membership, representation at regional level, enlargement of council, issue of veto and the relationship between UNSC and UNGA (Gorman, 2001). Restructuring the United Nations Security Council (hereafter UNSC) has been one of the major challenges wherein entire hurdles and obstacles are entangled in a microcosm. The current oligarchic structure of the Security Council is ineffective because of these particular reasons. Historical Contextualization of the UNSC reform debate is very crucial to understand its present loopholes and trends. An historical overview of UNSC reform debate and different initiatives which had been taken are given below to make argument more persuasive.

2.2.1 Reform Efforts: 1945 to 1965

Wilcox and Macy in “Proposals for Changes in the United Nations” published in 1955, were the first who systematically discussed and analyzed the structure and working method of United Nations Security Council, and raised some serious questions on its working method. As Winther (2020, p. 77) claims that the early period of the United Nations after its establishment has witnessed a lot of criticism on its working method as well as on its fairness. This criticism was merely based upon the structure of UNSC and the abolition of the veto power. The veto power basically gives more powers to permanent-5 of the UNSC over the other members of General Assembly. The undemocratic structure of Security Council, under-representation of regions like South-America and Africa were some of the reasons behind the suggestions by several member states of General Assembly, intellectuals and think tanks.

There were several scholars who categorically criticized the structure of the UNSC and suggested a working method to tackle this intricate issue. Goodrich (1958, p. 278) was also one of the scholars who saw veto system as problematic and he was in the favor of informal cooperation among the veto powers. It can be said that the basic criticism which has been faced during that specific time was mostly about two things, i.e. firstly, geographical equity and secondly, adequate representation keeping in view all the continents, countries and ethnicities across the globe.

According to Blum (2005, p. 636), the questions have been raised at the end of 1950's by the member states in General Assembly to raise UNSC members and to improve its structure in a comprehensive way. The question of reforming UNSC was raised by the new members of the Assembly because the decolonization period after world war-II witnessed new states becoming members of General Assembly, mostly from Africa and Asia. Although, according to Blum (2005, pp. 636–637) the basic question which had been debated was about the qualification of the country that which country can qualify for permanent seat and in what ways its restructuring should be done. The new admitted states could see the confusion of Security Council about the anomalous situation of Taiwan, which retained China's seat in the Council until 1971. Nonetheless, the tendency of global powers for the expansion of UNSC remained quite different.

The first effort to reform UN Security Council realized in 1963, when the General Assembly passed resolution to enlarge Security Council's membership from eleven to fifteen (UNGA, A/RES/1991 (XVIII). According to this resolution, five seats out of ten non-permanent member seat would be given to African and Asian states, two seats would be allocated to the Latin American states, two seats to Western European and Other Group (WEOG), and one to the Eastern European countries. Although, the enlargement of the Security Council proved to be stepping stone towards pushing for different reform initiatives in future but it came with a side effect as well. The side effect is explained by Blum (1966, p. 874) that before the resolution to enlarge UNSC in 1963, no decision could be adopted without the support of at-least one permanent member but after the resolution of 1963 any resolution can be adopted with the support of nine affirmative votes of non-permanent members even if all the permanent members abstain or remain absent.

However, the enlargement of the UNSC in 1963-1965 was just a start of different initiatives to reform United Nations generally and Security Council particularly. The next part of the chapter will discuss thoroughly different reform initiatives after 1965.

2.2.2 Reform Efforts: 1965 to 1993

The 1965 reforms of UNSC were considered as important because the member states of General Assembly were trying to make some tangible structural reforms. The reform resolution of 1963 was fundamentally an expansion of council's membership. It was the structural journey of reform debate from six non-permanent members to the ten non-permanent members. The number of permanent members remained same: five as it was earlier. According to Bennet (1994, p. 106), there were two particular reasons behind the expansion of councils and non-permanent members, i.e. the Cold War was the first and decolonization as the second reason behind the reform initiative of 1963. However, according to him the cold war actually had a positive impact on the UN Security Council's reform discourse:

> "These initiatives would not be possible without a general spirit of cooperation, to which the United States is contributing, at the United Nations. As long as that spirit prevails, we will have the flexibility to experiment and find new ways of working together to unravel thorny problems. We should not expect every such experiment to succeed, but the risk of failure is not nearly so great as the risk of failure to try" (Bennet, 1994, p. 107).

Bennet's view of positive impact came from the first reform initiative of 1963 because it had largely enhanced the responsibility of the United Nations General Assembly. Additionally, it can be seen that the outset of Cold War had developed different school of thoughts which viewed UNSC reform debate differently. Although UNSC was expanded during the time period of 1963-65, but it was not the end of story.

The criticism which working body of UNSC had faced after the enlargement of 1963-65 was about geographical representation (Abba, 2017, p. 807). It was an evident factor which was coined by different non-member states that the working body of UNSC should not ignore geographical factor. As stated by Venter (2003, pp. 33–34) that the countries who were in the opposition including countries from Africa were of the view that world's top organization should do some considerable steps to equitable geographical representation because, if there would be unfair geographical representation, it would have negative implications for the future reforms discourse and complex security threats. Due to these unrests among the different developing nations a joint attempt was made by African-Asian-Latin American during 1980 in order to increase council's membership to approximately twenty-one. This joint effort was made that the non-permanent seats would be divided among Africa-Asia and Latin America groups. It was also mentioned at the outset of 1980 by Africa-Asia and Latin America groups that the number of these non-permanent seats would be six and the five among these six seats would be divided among the Africa-Asia

and Latin America groups and the remaining seat would be given to any other regional group without considering Asia group. The basic problem this initiative later had faced was also related to structure because the fourteen votes were initially required for the affirmation of this decision. Consequently, this initiative could not have been worked.

It is also very essential to further explore the two crucial factors which favored some changes in the size as well as composition of the council. Blum (2005) says that those two factors are, i.e. decolonization after world-war II and disintegration of USSR at the end of cold war resulted in rapid growth of UN membership. Secondly, the quantitative growth in the UN membership brought qualitative change with it. These two changes pushed for more productive and meaningful debate on power relations within the General Assembly. It was that qualitative change that had identified the loopholes prevailed in the power relations during early 1990s. These two factors: increasing membership of United Nations and initiation of debate on power relations have largely accelerated the United Nations Security Council reform debate.

It can be noted that the major discussions which had been done on the council from 1965 until 1993 were about its insufficient representation, geographical equitability and increased membership. This problematization of the fact that Security Council essentially does not reflect the realities of post-cold war era led to the debate that initiated the formation of Open-ended Working Group (OEWG) in 1993. The later part of the would look into it in detail.

2.2.3 Reform Efforts: 1993 to 2005

In 84th Plenary meeting on Dec 11, 1992, (GA A/RES/47/62) the General Assembly of United Nations asked its member states for proposals regarding, “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council” because international structure of power changed after cold war. In 1993, the Secretary General’s along with proposals submitted by member states resulted in the resolution, A/RES/48/26, passed by General Assembly. The resolution asked for formation of Open Ended Working Group (OEWG) in order to address, “Question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council and related matters”. This working group was chaired by the then President of General Assembly; Ismael Razali. Ismael Razali proposed three-stage reform plan in 1997. The name of this plan was associated with the former president of UNGA and Chair of the OEWG, Mr. Ismail Razali from Malaysia. The Razali proposal has been considered as one of the important

proposals ever presented for the restructuring of the UNSC. While dealing with the question of equitable geographical representation and increase in the membership of UNSC the Razali Plan proposed the increase in five new permanent members along with the 5 permanent new member it had suggested to inculcate 4 non-permanent members.

The Razali Plan also suggested an appropriate composition about the enhancement of permanent members as follows that the among five new permanent members 2 seats would be for industrialized states while other 3 would for developing countries of each continent respectively: Asia, Africa and Latin America. Secondly, the four non-permanent members would also be as follows: One from each continent, Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America (Popovski, n.d. p.4). The Razali plan remained very important because it had rightly articulated workable reforms keeping into the consideration the geographical realities of the modern world. But, this proposal was later blocked by the NAM countries. The body of NAM feared that it would have negative implications and threats to its cohesion. According to Sreenivasan (2008, p. 284), the plan presented in Razali report was a good compromise but it was never put in front of UN General Assembly members because of the severe opposition of Italy, non-aligned movement and African States.

At the very outset of 1997, the Ambassador of Australia at United Nations, Richard Butler, called a special group to debate and discuss the Security Council reforms. This group had diverse representation but, in this group some certain countries who wanted to have a permanent seat at UN were influential: India, Brazil, Japan, Germany Egypt and South Africa. This group also included other countries which were supporting the group of this countries for the permanent bid. This group approximately met for the four times but could not agree on the issue of permanent seats (Popovski, n.d, p. 4).

Italy explicitly opposed both Razali and Butler plans and the Ambassador of Italy in 1997 suggested a different proposal (Olumide, 2018, p. 52). This proposal was quite different from the previous two proposals at that specific time. He rejected the very basic idea of expansion in permanent membership and favored a new special classification compromises intermediate states. He also gave a plan that in what ways this special category be elected and rotate. He was of the view that this special category of intermediate states would be elected by the General Assembly periodically. It would further rotate in and out of the Security Council.

There were some other efforts from outside the Working Group but those attempts to garner majority consensus of the UN members remained unsuccessful. In 2003, the then Secretary-General Kofi

Anan established a High-Level Panel that proposed two plans: Plan A suggested formation of six permanent members without veto power and three non-permanent members with two-year term period and plan B proposed eight new seats for four years subjected to re-election and one two-year, not immediate re-electable, seat. The models proposed by High-Level Panel suggested enlarging the Security Council to 24 members. These two plans have been further illustrated through Figure 1 and Figure 2.

Region	Members	Permanent Seats (Current)	Proposed New Seats	Proposed two-year seats (Non-renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6
Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	1	2	6
America	35	1	1	4	6
Total	**191**	**5**	**6**	**13**	**24**

Figure 1. Model A (Source: UNGA, 2004, A/59/565).

Region	Members	Permanent Seats (Current)	Proposed four-year seats (renewable)	Proposed two-year seats (non-renewable)	Total
Africa	53	0	2	4	6

Asia and Pacific	56	1	2	3	6
Europe	47	3	2	1	6
America	35	1	2	4	6
Total	**191**	**5**	**8**	**11**	**24**

Figure 2. Model B (Source: UNGA, 2004, A/59/565).

These different plans, despite their theoretical weaknesses had been acknowledge by the various scholars. None of the initiatives was capable to win the confidence of the two-third of countries. Resultantly, it also failed. It can be concluded that a common dominator which remained prominent and present in all three proposals was the enhancement of non-permanent members. What, truly once had happened in 1965.

2.2.4 Reform efforts since 2005

Although, reform proposals in 2005 by different groups like G-4, UfC and African Union provided a clear vision of reforming UNSC and the reform proposal from former Secretary General Kofi Anan, "High Level Panel On Threats, Challenges, and Change", in General Assembly (UNGA Res, A/59/565) clearly endorsed the importance of reforming Security Council. However, the momentum for reform clearly slowed down because of the disagreements among the member states. As (Schaefer, 2017, p. 79) notes down: "After the 2005 UN summit, during which Council reform subsumed some '90% of diplomatic energy in New York City', the reform process stalled". In 2007, during 61st session of the General Assembly and 8th meeting of Open-ended Working Group (OEWG) submitted its report regarding reforming Security Council. This report was compiled by the five facilitators, who were appointed by the president of General Assembly, Sheikha Haya Rashed Al-Khalifa, in February 2007. The facilitators, after consulting will different interest groups and member states submitted their report, "Notions on the way forward", on April 19, 2007. (UNGA A/61/47). This report proposed four temporary suggestions without derailing the engagement among states over reform process:

a) “Extended seats that could be allocated for the full duration of the intermediary arrangement, including the possibility of recall.

b) Extended seats, which would be for a longer period than the regular two-year term, but with the possibility of re-election. The length of the terms as well as the re-election modalities should be decided in negotiations.

c) Extended seats, which would be for a longer period than the regular two-year term, but without the possibility of re-election. The length of the term should be decided in the negotiations.

d) Non-permanent two-year seats with the possibility of immediate re-election.” (UNGA, A/61/47, p. 12).

This report was criticized by G-4 on the grounds that increasing seats with two-year term and not including creation of new permanent seats does not reflect the aspirations of G-4 and its allies (Freiesleben, 2013, p. 10)**.** African Union also rejected it because this report does not include regional representation of Africa. The rejection of Facilitators report in 2007 made it clear that OEWG reform process did not garner enough support from member states. Although, according to Schaefer (2017), the General Assembly decision 62/557 in 2008 is one of the most important event for Security Council reform in last two decades. This decision of General Assembly asked to start inter-governmental negotiations (IGN) no later than February 2009 (Schaefer, 2017, p. 79). Furthermore, according to the decision 62/557, the reform process is categorized into five categories, i.e. membership, Veto, regional representation, Security Council and the relationship between General Assembly and Security Council. This categorization of reforming the overall structure and the Council did not bring any fruitful results, as Vincent Pouliot (2016, p. 126) comments on the reform debate after General Assembly decision 62/557, “the format was changed from working group to informal plenary, in 2009, several missions were hoping to facilitate negotiations by moving beyond pre-cooked country declarations to informal discussions – however meetings remained highly scripted, no true dialogue happening between groups and more often than not speeches are still scripted and doesn’t allow for productive exchange of ideas and thoughts”.

According to Nadin (2016, p. 68) the entire history of UN Security Council reform could be summarized as plans and negotiations that led to nowhere because years and decades of debate, the composition of UN Security Council remains unchanged.

2.3 The accomplishments and failures of intergovernmental UN Reform initiatives since 1945

Fassbender (2003), while analyzing the complex issue of UNSC reform and its transitional journey from 1945 to 2003 rightly associated the situation with a quote of American prominent singer's song Tracy Chapman: "All illusions shattered". He had associated this quote and noted that the today's world is so different from 1945 but the structure and working methods of UNSC are still same. Fassbender was writing and analyzing the situation in 2003 approximately 18 years ago. In these two decades so many new debates had taken place in international arena and changed the socio-economic patterns of the world. After the establishment of UN, the global powers tried to maintain their interest at international level through this organization. The states which had won the World War 2 shaped the UN charter in their regional and global interests. Permanent seats and the power of veto had been associated with them. They also made the structure of UN so complex that the possibility of its restructuring become minimal. The article 108 of the United Nations deals with the constitutional amendment of UNSC. It has been stated in the article that two third majority vote of UNGA and including all the states who have permanent status at UNSC. Presently, there are 193 member states of the UN and 5 among them have permanent status. Among 193 member states the vote of 128.7 (129) is necessary for new constitutional amendment along with the affirmation of P-5. From this complex procedure it can be evaluated that the process of its restructuring has been made very hard. Resultantly, the states which had won World War 2 largely shaped the UNSC's discourse keeping in view their national, regional and global interests.

Different intergovernmental initiatives had started after the decolonization (MacQueen, 2006). These initiatives were the result of increasing membership of UN and power competition among global powers. Diverse group emerged and claimed that they should have right to have a prominent position at UN. The first systematic attempt was made using the platform of Non-aligned Movement during 1979 by African countries and India (Mathur, 2016, p. 16). Africa and India made a request for the expansion of Security Council while focusing only on enlarging non-permanent by four more members. Both the proposing parties were of the view that non-permanent members should be increased keeping in view geographical representation. (Mathur, 2016) has analyzed the reasons behind the rejection of the proposal in 1979 submitted by Non-aligned movement countries. The author has of the view the major reason behind its rejection was the lack of interest of the permanent members. The proposal did not materialize as the P-5 showed no interest. Consequently, no tangible step was taken place on the question of equitable representation from 1980 to 1990.

According to Mathur (2016, p. 17) the next important initiative was taken in 1992 when India and other countries which were the part of Non Aligned Movement (NAM) presented a draft resolution that was requested to be part of the agenda in 48th session of General Assembly on the equitable representation in the UNSC. Later, this draft was supported by some more countries and the number of countries increased from 24 to 35. The UNGA adopted as Resolution 47/62 during its 48th session in 1992. According to the resolution 47/62 of General Assembly, revitalization and restructuring of UN Security Council is a matter of serious attention. The 48th session of UNGA which happened in July 1993 was important because almost 50 states had submitted their remarks about the subject. India, as one of the founding members of Non-aligned movement (NAM) reaffirmed the official stance of NAM that Security Council is the most important organ of United Nations, so it is imperative to improve the working of UNSC (Luck, 2007). On the other hand, Sudan and Libya suggested complete the abolishment of Veto. Each country had shared its concerns and interests related to the issue. Different suggestions come from different countries regarding expansion of UNSC. Resultantly, an Open Ended Group came into being during December 1993. The report of OEWG was finally submitted in 1995. At the same time, Non-aligned movement including African countries and India also submitted a proposal on UNSC reforms (Mathur, 2016, p. 18).

Various reform initiatives and interests of different states had been discussed above in the scholarly work till 1993. During, 1990s the reform debate of SC entered into a new phase and the fundamental reason behind this was the different peacekeeping missions and increasing activities of the United Nations. The intergovernmental negotiations framework (hereafter IGN) is also known as IGN group is basically a group of nation-states which are the members of the UN. The basic aim of this group is to reform UNSC further in order to make it more effective. The composition, interests and working of IGN have been described and discussed in subsequent section.

2.4 Analyses of the different UNSC Reform Proposals in 2000s: Exploration of IGN

There are diverse groups across the globe who wanted to reform UNSC according to their own interests and fears. Each group has had its own reservations towards the structure and working methods of UNSC. The deposition of each group comes from its regional concerns and geographical representation. The analysis of each group separately is necessary to understand the current loopholes and trends of UNSC reform debate. A brief analysis of each group has been given below.

2.4.1 The African Union (AU)

There is no denying the fact that Africa has largely been ignored when debate comes to the representation of different continents and countries keeping into consideration their population and size at the world's top organization: United Nations. Africa has always been numerically significant at the UN. The recent meeting of United Nations Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, with Chairperson of AU was important because Antonio Guterres has recognized the fact that Africa should have adequate representation at UN. He further noted that the partnership between the UN and the AU is not a matter of choice, but a matter of necessity. The basic stance of AU when debate comes towards the reform of UNSC remained or focused on text-based reforms. The AU always wanted a democratic, transparent as well as liable process in order to make UNSC more effective. The non-existence of African countries at UN had created unrest among AU states and it is not the story of today, hence, it has evolved and appeared as one of the top agendas of the African Union. AU wanted to increase both permanent and non-permanent member states at UN and the inculcation of African states. They wanted two permanent and five non-permanent seats for the continent of Africa without drifting from the Sirte Declaration of 2005 (Fafore, 2020). The AU had noted that it would be the only liable and workable solution to overcome African absence at UN in general and their ongoing concerns in particular.

2.4.2 The Group of Developing Countries: L.69

It is another important group which want to reform UNSC. This is a group of developing countries from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Caribbean and the Pacific. The common goal and agenda of this group is also the restructuring of the United Nations Security Council. The current total member states of the group are 42. They are united for a common cause and have taken different initiatives. This group has noted several times that the current working method of UNSC is not capable to deal with the complex realities of the World. The name of the group was derived from a draft document number L.69 that the group initially had tabled during 2007-2008. The expansion of permanent as well as non-permanent members of the UNSC was proposed in L.69 draft. The draft also focused on the representation of developing countries including smaller states and islands. It later led to the outset of IGN. It was the OEWG who started the intergovernmental negotiations (IGN) and emphasized on its importance and necessity.

2.4.3 The Caribbean Community (CC)

The Caribbean Community is also one of the intergovernmental organizations which include 15 countries. Among these 15 countries the 14 are nation states, while one is dependency. The organization was initially established in 1973 with the objectives of economic integration as well as cooperation on a mutual basis (Montonen, 2017, p. 02). Headquarter of this organization is in Georgetown, Guyana. The official stance and statements of this group of states depicts that it has acknowledged the 70th session of IGN. Guyana, while speaking for the CARICOM has admitted the achievements of 70th session. Although, it has called the progress very important and relevant but identified some loopholes in its working methods simultaneously. The official statement of the group of states indicated that there is a serious need to reform some particular aspects of UNSC. It has also proposed that the text convergence elements should be foundational for the reforms in upcoming 71st session.

2.4.4 The Arab League

Arab league is a regional organization which consist 22 member states. The league was established in 1945 on the basis of Arab Nationalism. The importance of Arab Nationalism is very crucial and evident to understand the interests of particular states. The basic goal behind the establishment of Arab League was the cooperation among regional countries and the safeguard of their sovereignty. Kuwait, while representing the common agenda of Arab League states towards the United Nations Security Council reform debate has acknowledged the perpetuation of IGN debates in 71th session. While addressing 68th General Assembly meeting (GA/11450) the representative Kuwait, on behalf of Arab League, said that reforms should be directed towards making UNSC more representative of the current geographical realities of the world. Arab league supports fair representation of every region, race and religion of the world (GA/11450). The importance of Arab League at the UN cannot be undermined or overemphasized because it represents major Arab countries.

2.4.5 Small five (S5)

In 2005, five small countries (Costa Rica, Jordan, Liechtenstein, Singapore and Switzerland) formed a group to improve the working methods of Security Council. The S-5 emphasized that, “its initiative was by no means revolutionary, but that it was an invitation to the Council to consider some significant recommendations” (Lehmann, 2013, p. 3). In May 2012, S-5 presented a draft resolution (A/66/L.42), which proposed recommendations for taking effective decisions in UNSC, the relationship of

Security Council with General Assembly and subsidiary bodies, Accountability and appointment of the Secretary-General of Security Council. Moreover, the draft resolution of S-5 (A/66/L.42) aimed at regulating the use of veto in two ways, i.e. firstly, P-5 should explain why veto is used or even considered. Secondly, P-5 shall refrain from using veto to prevent mass atrocities such as genocide. According to (Lehmann, 2013, p. 4), S-5 failed because P5 wanted to "maintain their control over the representation of member states interests and the reform agenda at the UN".

2.4.6 Accountability, Coherence and Transparency Group (ACT)

In May 2013, a group of 22 UN member states formed a new group to improve the working methods of United Nations Security Council. ACT consists of four of the previously S-5 countries. It states its mission as, "the UN Security Council (UNSC), in its present composition, shall work in a more transparent, efficient, inclusive, coherent, legitimate and accountable way, both within its own structure, but also in relationship with the wider membership" (Lehmann, 2013, p. 4). The ACT's interest to reform the council largely overlap with that of previous S-5. As Lehmann (2013) says that ACT is a much more issue based group that would operate on different issues such as better working relations between Security Council and General Assembly of United Nations, Resolutions in General Assembly and open debates in Security Council etc.

2.5 Synchronization of common agenda for reforming UNSC: Group of Four vs. Uniting for Consensus Group

The divergence on the issue of Security Council reform debate remained for upcoming years. This divergence eventually led to the formation of two and the most important coalitions of opinions. The first group included four countries: Japan, India, Brazil, and Germany (G-4). While on the other hand, the second group included Egypt, Pakistan, Mexico, Italy, and others present in Coffee Club. It is an evident factor that both the groups had their own political and regional agendas for the restructuring of the Security Council. These come political goals largely come from the regional nexus of different states. For the understanding of common political and regional goals of both groups their exploration is necessary. The inception of each group and their relevant goals have been mentioned in the subsequent paragraphs.

2.5.1 Group of Four (G-4) Reform Proposal: 2005

The G-4 is the group of four states which favor each other for the permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council. These four groups are India, Japan, Brazil and Germany. The primary and basic goal of G-4 countries is to acquire permanent status at UNSC. All the countries which are the member of this group have been non-permanent members of the SC since its establishment. The economic and technological development of G4 countries reached at a remarkable level. They are now comparable to the permanent members of the council P-5, because each country has significantly grown its influence over the political and economic sphere of the world. This increasing influence of G4 countries have pushed them to recall the restructuring of the UNSC. The G-4 group proposed a formula of G4+2, which means four countries which are the member of group as permanent and two countries from Africa without power of Veto. There are further two opinions which exist about the bid of G4 one is in its favor, while the other is against it.

Firstly, starting with the countries who acknowledge the bid of G4 countries and admit that they should have place in UNSC. The UK and France have largely backed the G-4 stance for permanent bid. Japan, on the one hand, directly receives its support from the USA and UK. India, on the other hand receives supports of all permanent members P-5 except China which associate India's permanent bid with Japan. Brazil's inclusion as a permanent member has also acknowledge by the United States of America. India's aspiration for the UNSC reform debate has been acknowledge by the many countries, state officials and think tanks. The India's permanent bid and the opposition of Pakistan has been discussed and explored in the Chapter 3 of the dissertation. Secondly, the opposition of G4 members emerge in the form of Uniting for Consensus Group (UFC).

2.5.2 Uniting for Consensus: 2005 reform Proposal

It is the group of different states which oppose the proposal of G-4. There are approximately 40 member states in this group and leaders of this group includes South Korea, Pakistan, Italy and Columbia. This group is also nicknamed as the Coffee Club. This group initially was developed in 1990 to oppose possible expansion of UNSC and the inculcation of G-4 members (Mingst et al., 2017). The factors behind the opposition of UFC are easy to understand because each state has its own regional security concerns. And each state also claims a prominent role and cannot bear its political irrelevance at the world's top organization. UFC proposed the expansion of non-permanent members from ten to twenty in 2005. They

further suggested that the election of non-permanent members would be done from United Nations General Assembly. Later, in 2009 the two leader states of group Italy and Columbia presented a new deal for the complex reform of Security Council. The basic essence of this proposal was the establishment of a new category of seats. That the duration for non-permanent members would be extended from 3 to 5 years. This expansion in duration would be without the possibility of an emergency or immediate re-elections. It was also suggested that the allocation of new seats would be carried out on a rotational basis. At the end, this proposal also deals with the intricate question of veto. It has suggested diverse range of options and this range of option largely go in the favor of limited application of Veto.

2.6 Summary of different motives for reforms and conclusion

In previous part we explained some major groups and their reform proposals. In order to clarify the reform motives of different groups and states with the General Assembly, the following table would briefly summarize the reform motives of different stakeholders in UN Security Council reform debate.

Group	States	Active for reforms (Time)	Reform Motives	Evidence of Motives	Opposition
P5	China, France, Russia, USA and UK	Since 1990's	• Preserving their privileges and legitimize their status	• Less interested in reform debate. • Stalling status quo. • Organized hypocrisy.	• ACT and small states. • No direct pressure due to veto.
G-4	Brazil, Germany, India and Japan	Brazil and India joined in 2005. Germany and Japan since 1990	• Obtaining permanent seat	• Not accepting semi-permanent seat or dropping veto demand.	• Uniting for Consensus group. • China

UfC	Pakistan, Italy, Argentina, South Korea and others	Since 2005. Coffee-Club since 1990's.	• Blocking permanent seat expansion. • Increasing non-permanent seats.	• Fear of regional rivals (G-4) getting permanent seats	• African Union • G-4 • ACT
African Union	All 54 African States	Since 2005	• More seats for Africa with two permanent seats	• Not willing to let veto demand go.	• UfC • P5 and other small countries
L.69	Over 40 Least-developed countries. Brazil, India, South-Africa, and Nigeria etc.	Since 2007	• Increased representation of LDC	• Hardened their demand for veto	• G-4 (except India) • C-10 from African Union
ACT	27 members. Denmark, Ghana, New Zealand etc.	Since 2013	• Improve the working method of SC • Efficiency, Legitimacy and Transparency	• Willing to improve the SC in its current Composition • Pragmatism	• P5 argument that working methods should be addressed by the SC alone.

Individual states	Small states like Panama, Cuba etc.	Largely since 2005, sporadically in the 1990s	• More representative, equitable and transparent SC	• Willing to work on veto restraint in its ideal not only attainable form. • Creating a single category of seats.	• Often too idealistic; not enough supporters;

Figure 3. Summarized table view of reform motives (Source: Nadin, 2016).

2.6.1 Conclusion

The chapter discussed three main themes in the chapter. This first part studied the existing literature on UN Security Council reform and established that literature on UN reforms has yet to study the subject from the security concerns of states within their respective regional complexes. Moreover, the history of reforming Security Council since inception of the United Nations has been included in order to understand the concerns of different stake holders regarding Security Council's reforms. The history of reform efforts led to explaining the accomplishments and failures of those reform efforts.

The second part mentions the motives of important voices for reforming UN Security Council. The voices to reform include African Union (AU), Group of developing countries (L.69), Accountability, Coherence and Transparency (ACT), Small Five (S5) and Caribbean Community (CC). The reason of including these voices to reform Security Council will enable the reader to understand what motives others have to reform UN Security Council apart from the motives of G-4 and UfC.

The final part of the chapter is dedicated to understand the reform initiative of G-4 and UfC in 2005. The reform suggestions of both coalitions has been mentioned to understand what motives G-4's campaign for permanent membership and UfC's opposition of G-4's inclusion in Security Council. The chapter concludes with a table mentioning different stakeholders' reform ideas, their motives for reforms, evidence supporting their motives and who opposes their proposals.

Chapter 03

Theoretical Framework: Regional Security Complex Approach and UNSC Reform

3.1 Theoretical Framework

In this part, the author will explain theoretical boundaries of the thesis and why Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) is more applicable to Pakistan's position on United Nations Security Council's reform debate than other International Relations theories. In order to make the applicability of the theory to the topic, the author will explain RSCT along with its key concepts, how it is different from other mainstream IR theories, although, it takes its key concepts from Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism and finally, why it is more applicable to the position of Pakistan on United Nations Security Council (UNSC) reform debate. In order to better develop the understanding of the topic, the author uses Regional Security Complex theory developed by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their work, "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security". According to the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT), the security complexes of states are derived by the threats in close geographical proximity rather than the distant ones and these threats are the product of regional anarchic structure and balance of power operating within the anarchic system. Barry Buzan has defined RSCT as: "A regional security complex has been defined as a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another" (Buzan, 1991, p. 44).

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever further went on defining Regional Security Complex in regions and powers as: "RSCs are defined by durable patterns of amity and enmity taking the form of sub-global, geographically coherent patterns of security interdependence" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 45). The structure of Regional Security Complex is made up of four components; defined boundary (Geography), anarchic structure (regional), Power Polarity (distribution of power) and social construction. We will define all these components in order to better understand the structure of regional complexes and the theory itself.

Firstly, Buzan and Waever argue that Regional Security Complex is a cluster of states within a geo-political context, which means there is a set boundary within which the cluster of states exists. They highlight the existence of the complex by drawing a clear picture of the units (states) within that complex and those that lay outside the complex. The relationship between or among the states within the complex

is defined by the element of proximity. This is the reason Buzan and Waever emphasize on giving proper weight to the regions while doing security analysis (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 46).

Secondly, the variable of anarchy in RSC is easy to explain and understand as it denotes the same meaning used in neo-realism. The boundary defined as the first component of the RSC has units (states) within that specific boundary and those states are autonomous and independent. There is no superior authority above those states which gives birth to the regional anarchy and if those states are not autonomous then those states fail to form distinct regional system thus opening opportunities for the outside powers to influence and penetrate (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 49).

Thirdly, Regional Security complex has a distribution of power among the units (states). As presented by Buzan and Weaver (2003, p. 49), "the structure of anarchy, the essential structure and character of RSCs are defined by two kinds of relations, power relations and patterns of amity and enmity." A regional Security Complex is not independent of international structure but it is a sub-structure of global one. This sub-structure gives birth to a distinct dynamic in which "Security" could be molded according to the distribution of power (Polarity) within it. This sub-structural level, "can be analyzed in terms of polarity, ranging from unipolar, through bipolar and tri-polar, to multipolar" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 49). While studying security concerns it is important to understand the historical interactions between or among the states of a region. It is important to study distribution of power among the states in order to study conflicts but historical contextualization of the conflicts weigh as important as the power distribution. Historical animosities, friendships, conflicts and cooperation predict the pattern of rifts among the states and those historical interactions shape the overall development of fear, threats and cooperation that explain Regional Security Complex (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 50). As in the theory of RSCT, security interdependence is heavily focused on regional level because of the power struggle distributed among the states and this is the reason security concerns join together and form clusters on a regional level.

Lastly, Traditional IR theories pay less weightage to the patterns of amity and enmity than power. They see it as an outcome of units interacting with each other on regional level. According to RSCT, if we study the interactions among states in specific regional context then it is easier to determine enmity or amity based on the nature of those interactions. The patterns of enmity and amity show what kind of relation dominates the regional system. The interactions among the units might be friendly or hostile but they are, "influenced by various background factors such as history, culture, religion, geography, but to a large extent they are both path dependent and this become their own best explanation" (Buzan & Wæver,

2003, p. 50). The emphasis on understanding the patterns of enmity and amity does not discard the importance of power within regional system. Power is necessary but it not an enough sign of coherent regional sub-system. The power distribution within any Regional Security complex indeed shapes various possibilities of regional positions for its units but it does not dictate entire anarchic character of a security complex.

Regional Security Complex Theory use the above mentioned four variables to draw an essential structure of any Regional Security Complex. These variables of the Regional Security Complex are important for anyone studying define the dynamics of any regional security complex. The distinction of RSCT is that, as Buzan says, "it stays more narrowly with security and security- defined activities, and uses RSCT as a general instrument for telling a structured version of world history, past, present and future" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 79).

In the following part the author will define "Security" and "Region" through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory. The concept and understanding of Security as in traditional understanding has been strictly regarded only with political and military sphere but it has evolved beyond its traditional definition. in post-cold war era, the states cannot be treated as single independent unit of analysis for security. In order to redefine security Buzan offers a nuanced approach which argues, "security threat is an issue that is posited (by a securitizing actors) as a threat to the survival of some referent object (nation, state, the liberal internal economic order, the rain forests), which is claimed to have a right to survive" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 71). The definition of security by Buzan adds constructivist approach of perception in it. According to him, security threats are understood in way that allows the respondents to either act accordingly or not. This definition offers two sub-definitions of securitization and de-securitization. To put it in simple words, securitization is a perception of the regional community to treat a threat imminently with any means possible while de-securitization is also the perception of political community that no longer treats something as imminent threat and which can be dealt through ordinary process of daily politics.

Moving towards defining Region, it is not an easy task to define region because there is no comprehensive definition of region exists that satisfies our theoretical needs. However, while referring to RSCT, it is important to see that how Buzan defines region. According to him, "A region, in security terms, means that a distinct and significant subsystem of security relations exists among a set of states whose fate is that they have been locked into geographical proximity with each other" (Buzan, 1991, p. 188). The geography of a region is important because it dictates the processes of securitization and de-

securitization. The states within the region share the features of their region as a structural anarchic context and this is why geography is an important factor in analyzing RSCT.

The theory presented by Buzan and Waever received number of criticisms for lacking its own well defined and accepted parameters. The criticism of (McSweeney, 2009, p. 123) points out the flaw in RSCT that it uses state as the main object of analysis while studying security same as the neorealist. Although, Buzan and Waever take realist assumptions of anarchic system and balance of power while explaining security but the critic fails to see the difference of RSCT's explanation of the influence of system level anarchy on the securitization adopted by the states than that of neo-realists. As neorealist argue that it is International anarchic structure that dictates the behavior of the states to pursue or ensure their survival (Mearsheimer, 2010). According to the neorealist school of thought, anarchic structure of system is the primary reason of conflicts because there is no superior authority over states to check or prevent those conflicts, thus that system as a whole drives the states' policy of ensuring their individual survival. In contrast, RSCT differentiates between the influence of system as a whole and sub-system (regional) constraints influencing the security policies of the states. According to the explanation of RSCT, neorealist scholars gave too much weight to the influence of system level on the security policies adopted by states. According to Buzan and Waever "RSCT asserts that the regional level will always be operative, and sometimes dominant" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 52).

The criticism of other authors mention failure of RSCT's explanatory power. As (Barrinha, 2014) argues that the typology of power presented in RSCT is inconsistent and it results in lack of explanatory power when we apply it to the case of Turkey (Andre Barrinha, 2014). The other criticism also follows the same line and argues RSCT fails to explain the position of Russia in International Politics since it is not a great power anymore, transformation of Western security policies and hybrid warfare of NATO. It criticizes RSCT for not including missing topics related with new security issues like terrorism or migration etc. (Sultan, 2017).

The criticisms about RSCT are more on its frame work and most of the critics argue that RSCT is not a theory but a framework. According to Hills (2008), RSCT fails to explain the power dynamics of Africa, it fails to explain how and why security levels change that leads RSCT presenting a mere picture of the power situation there (Hills, 2008). Some other criticisms presented by Wojczewski (2014), according to him although RSCT explains the power structure on regional levels but it lacks the power struggle within states. He furthermore adds that it important to understand the power struggle within the states as well because it better explains the state security preferences and change in security policies adopted by

leaders. Moreover, Regional Security Complex Model does not include the security conditions and characteristics of post-colonial states. The main argument of his criticism revolves around the fact that the experience of a state formation and internal conflicts are one of the main driving forces of a state adopting certain security policy (Wojczewski, 2014).

The criticisms presented by different authors are not against the theory but are mostly against the book "Regions and Powers" written by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. Since the criticisms are mainly against one of the writings of Buzan and Waever so the answers to these criticisms are available in other writings of Buzan and Waever. For instance, as mentioned earlier the criticism of Sultan (2017), which highlights the missing topics in RSCT. Barry Buzan explained the relation of issues related with environment, terrorism or migration with Regional Security Complex Theory in his writing, "Regional Security Complex Theory in the Post-Cold War World" (2003). Moreover, it should be considered that terrorism, migration or other such issues were not of major concern for most of the world when "Regions and Powers" was published. According to (Rahman, 2015), the categorization of regions in RSCT resembles with that of Samuel P. Huntington's categorization of civilizations because both of the theories divide the world into regions. However, Huntington's categorization of regions is based on cultural premises of civilizations while RSCT studies regions based on "its member states' actual security practices and geographic locations" (Rahman, 2015, p. 32).

South-Asia is home to eight Countries, i.e. Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Srilanka, Bangladesh and Maldives but focus of this thesis is two important and dominant powers of the region; India and Pakistan. The reason of choosing Regional Security theory on Pakistan's policy of United Nations Security Council reforms opens up an interesting discussion that how a regional rivalry between India and Pakistan transforms itself into a part of global debate of Security Council's reform. As the study conducted is analytical in its nature, RSCT provides all the important tools for analysis because the analysis would be based on threats posed by India if it becomes permanent member of UNSC. Moreover, Regional Security Complex theory provides solid basis of understanding about regional and intraregional level of power dynamics as well as it analyzes how regional, intraregional and global level interact with each other. The two-fold analysis of RSCT, i.e. regional level, and global level would help the reader understand how general pattern of amity and enmity at regional level impact political developments of the regional powers at global level. If we look at the regional level then as, Buzan (2011, p. 5) says, "The two biggest powers in the region, India and Pakistan, remain at each other's throats. The low level war between Indian and Pakistani intelligence services continues, expressed in accusations, and probable realities, of mutual

interference in each other's domestic politics, including sponsoring insurgency and terrorism". The same analysis about the security complex of South-Asia has been discussed by Senanayake (2020, p. 82), "the formation of the regional security complex of South Asia was shaped the rivalry between India and Pakistan". This animosity and distrust between the two most important powers in the region is the reason why this region's security complex is mainly defined by military and political concerns. The economic interdependence and cooperation among the countries of the region is so weak that it cannot counter-balance the political and military tension (Buzan, 2011). Although, some authors like Frazier & Stewart-Ingersoll (2010) claim that although India is the most powerful country in South-Asia yet it lacks necessary legitimacy and coercive capability to become the hegemon. The reason of India not being able to dominate the region is explained by Buzan as, "unless India's South Asian neighbours have become almost inconsequential to it, which seems unlikely, India will remain distracted and hampered by the unsettled nature of its home region, and vulnerable to external interventions by outsiders in its backyard" (Buzan, 2011, p. 8).

The position of South-Asian complex at global level is much complex in its nature than any other regional complex. The regional complex of South-Asia is influenced by two main external factors, i.e. Position of rising China as a global super Power and United States involvement in the region as declining global hegemon. The role of economic integration of the region is also very important regardless of the fact that whether China rises as a new super power or US holds the position. This strategic partnership between India and USA changed the prospects Pakistan in South-Asia. India, now claims for more decision making roles in international arena, i.e. permanent membership at the UN Security Council. The claim of India for permanent status is also attributed to its quest for recognition as a great power. In order to achieve the status of great power, India and other G-4 countries aspire to become permanent members of the Security Council. In return, as Binder & Heupel (2020, p. 96) argue, "G4's economic and political weight as well as their material contributions to the UN would enhance the Council's effectiveness in addressing international security threats and would improve compliance with Council decisions". Pakistan, since the regional security drastically changed after US-India nuclear deal, is striving for balancing the deterrence of power in the region.

3.2 Pakistan: Between Regional Security Concerns and UNSC Reform Debate

The Post-Cold War era has witnessed some dramatic changes in the socio-economic patterns of the modern world. The dimensions of security agenda got changed rapidly. These dimensions paved the way for the establishment of some new theories to understand the realities of the world. The regional security complex theory was developed by Buzan and Waever in their work "Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security" (2003). The RSCT of Buzan and Waever discusses the security dynamics within a region and considers regions as the most important parts of the world politics. RSCT studies and analyses regions as some independent sub-systems of global politics with their distinct characteristics. As Buzan and Waever say that RSCT distinctly differentiates between regional level and global level. Regional systems, "are defined by durable patterns of amity and enmity taking the form of sub-global, geographically coherent patterns of security interdependence" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 45). Regional Security Complex Theory employs analysis at four levels: In first level of analysis is about any given state's powers and vulnerabilities within the geographical boundaries. Domestic security, power and vulnerability of a state is analyzed. The Second level of analysis is about studying a region. In this level of analysis, we study relations among the states situated in the same region. In the third level, we study the interactions of different regions. Finally, we study how global powers influence a region and how that influence affects Regional Security Complex (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 51).

This chapter of the thesis is dedicated to understand the reasons of Pakistan's opposition to India's quest for permanent membership at United Nations Security Council. Thus it is imperative to understand the regional security concerns of Pakistan in South-Asia viz-a-viz India. In this part of the thesis, regional level of analysis will be employed. In Regional Security Complex theory, "The second level of analysis is the regional level, where relations among regional states are analyzed" (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 51). Since, this chapter will discuss that Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in UNSC because of its regional security concerns, it is imperative to discuss security complex of South-Asia. The basic essence of this theory is that global security should be viewed and examined from domestic and regional perspective. This theory also claims that the relations among states and their disposition at international level are largely shaped by their regional concerns (Buzan and Waever, 2003). Security discourses have been changed over the years. After the analysis of interests of different states at global level it can be argued that their concerns are shaped by their regional nexus. Previous chapter has shortly discussed the United Nations Security Council reform debate and different initiatives taken for its restructuring. On the issue of restructuring, different states have their own interests and fears. This

chapter will discuss and analyze the regional security complex of South Asia, India's bid for permanent membership and the regional security concerns of Pakistan.

3.2.1 Regional Security Complex of South Asia

The South Asia is a sub region within Asia which consists of different countries with India at its center surrounded by Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Maldives. The region has been in the focus of global powers and international community in recent years because of the post 9/11 developments in Afghanistan. The importance of region at international level is due to several reasons including Afghanistan issue, Kashmir paradox, rivalry between India and Pakistan, new great game and different military strategies (Giri and Abbas, 2015). The region has also been associated with the inter-play of security factors, emergence of territorial claims and different extremist activities in the name of religion. The formation and establishment of the security complex of the region is merely based upon the two pivotal factors. The first and foremost factor is the traditional tussle between two important powers of the region, India and Pakistan. The second factor which is also considered as the important in shaping the discourse of security complex of the region is the dependency of different small states on the regional hegemony of India. However, as explained by Buzan (2011, p. 5) the first factor, regional rivalry between India and Pakistan, remained dominant in shaping the interests of both countries at international level in general and at world's top organization, United Nations in particular.

The UNSC reform debate is not the only thing affecting and exposing the regional complex of the region. Some other developments including BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) have already changed the complex dynamics of the region. The understanding of regional security complex of the South Asia has been changing after BRI (Rana & Ji, 2020). It has forced China to contemplate as an internal member rather than considering the country as an external power. The interests of India in Afghanistan have further escalated the regional nexus. The geographically proximate space has a high degree of the interdependence on the name of security. Buzan (2003), while identifying and analyzing the security complex of South Asia has noted that this complex is merely based upon the military tensions between the India and Pakistan since their inception. He identified Kashmir as a pivotal point of power struggle in the region. Buzan, in his work "Regions and Power" has concluded that if the entire discourse of South Asia Security Complex is really about something, it is about Indo-Pak rivalry (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 74). This rivalry between the both powers of the region has invited global powers to influence as well as penetrate the regional security complex of the region. The interesting point here is that none of the global

powers was capable to redefine or reshape the patterns of this complex. The major development of BRI is also important to address in order to understand the security complex of the region in a more persuasive way (Rana & Ji, 2020). When China has introduced its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the interests of smaller states in the region also have been increased. They were tied with the India due to their social and economic arrangements. However, after BRI their interests were shifted favoring China. Their economic and political interdependence on India diminished over the time. It was the political desire of the smaller states to reduce their dependency from the India and China has provided them an opportunity to do so. They had been under the hegemony of the India for a long time. The Belt and Road initiative has opened ports and different transits for the Nepal to meet its trade requirements. It has been proved that Nepal is now capable of reaching the Indian ports even in less time after the inception of BRI. These all developments can be best understood in the context of regional security complex theory. Sri Lanka was now also capable to new maritime trade routes towards China to achieve its economic goals (Shah, 2019). Consequently, China's influence in the region has been increased. It has also raised some serious questions on the internal security dynamics of the region. Scholars like (Pandalai, 2018, p. 01) has called it imperialism and debt diplomacy. The author has further argued that China's disposition in the South Asian region is very important to understand and address keeping into the consideration its long terms impacts and implications on the region. Economy can be considered as driven force which has compelled the smaller states to rely on China. However, the increasing influence of global powers on the region is also altering the security dynamics of the region.

According to Malik (2001), there are several factors that directly or indirectly shaping the security complex of South Asia but the most important is Chinese alliance with Pakistan against India:

> "At the heart of Sino–Indian relations is the familiar Indian suspicion, which seems to have now matured into a certainty, that China is seeking to deny India its proper stakes in the game of international politics by boxing it in the narrow confines of the subcontinent through China's military alliances with Pakistan in the west and Burma in the east" (Malik, 2001, p. 81).

The inception of two major countries of the region in an environment of antagonism remained problematic. The relationship of one important country India with the other smaller states fluctuates over the time and the main reason behind this was the rivalry between Pakistan and India. All these debates and issue come to an end when regionalism is applied from a state-centered formula. Because the changing scenarios and interests of the two countries come from their conventional antagonism.

Resultantly, their disposition at both regional as well as global level is also a result of their decade's tensions.

3.3 Indian desire of Permanent membership at UNSC

Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narendra Modi, during the 75th session of United Nations General Assembly in 2020 criticized international community for excluding India out of UNSC, as he asked, "how long the world will ignore the voice of 1.3 billion people and keep the world's largest democracy out of the key decision-making structure of the UN?" (UNGA, A/75/PV.11). Previous paragraphs have shortly discussed that India is a regional power despite facing so many challenges inside as well as out-side the region. India has been very successful to maintain its regional hegemony but, the developments over some years have merely altered the patterns of power and influence. The fact is that India is primarily a regional power which is attempting to define herself in terms of global power in maintaining the relationship like other global powers including United States, Russia, China and Great Britain. India's bid to join United Nations as a permanent member has not appeared after its inception, whether it existed before partition of Sub-continent (Hurtig, 1980). Chapman (2019, p. 28) has noted that "this dream is pre-dated even the transfer of power from the British". According to Krishman (2017, p. 2), Nehru, while talking to the Army Officers in October 1946 said, "India is today among four great powers of the world: other three being America, Russia, and China but in point of resources, India has greater potential than China. India is likely to dominate politically and economically, the India Ocean". The views of Indian founding fathers show that India had the intentions of increasing its influence on global level. Currently, India is trying very hardly to seek global confirmation for its status as a dominant power. India is trying to take an active and forceful role in the front of international community be considering itself as an important power between Middle East and Southeast Asia. However, India's bid of permanent membership at the United Nations Security Council has been a topic of concern over the past two decades. The state claims that it is capable and deserving to have a permanent seat at UNSC.

3.3.1 Indicators and Ingredients behind India's Claim

India has supported its claim to join UNSC as a permanent member with multiple indicators and ingredients. These claims of the country are very important when we analyze them in the sense of regionalism, hence, these claims are yet to be recognized by the global powers. Two categories remained

very dominant to determine the eligibility of a country for permanent membership and these two are economic and military capabilities. India is second most populous country of the World next to China on the one hand and 6th largest economy on the other. It has militarily developed and it possess 4th largest Army of the world. Additionally, it has produced a considerable amount of doctors, scientists, scholars and engineers. India also claims to have an established and stable democracy since its very inception. The Mantra of democracy and liberalism has been very dear to most of the western world. And India is perpetually claiming that it has protected human rights and participated in different peace keeping missions. The country has largely emphasized on the different aspects of multiculturalism. Because it has participated in 41 out of 59 United Nations peace keeping operations. During 1998 the India had become the largest contributor of the troops. In a nutshell, we can say that India supports its claim of permanent bid due to following reasons: established and stable democracy, believer of human fundamental rights, size of economy as well as population, military capability, contributions in terms of economics to the United Nations, commitments on non-proliferation and efforts against terrorism. New Delhi strongly believes that India fits on the criteria to join UNSC as a permanent member (Mukherjee & Malone, 2013).

Although the military and economic capabilities of the India ensure that it is eligible for the permanent membership of the UNSC, but the world has seen the emergence of many other countries other than India. These countries include Japan, New Zealand, Malaysia, Spain and Germany. These countries have developed in both economic and military terms over the past couple of decades. The demographic and geographic factors are yet to be justified by the world top organization. The numerically absence of Africa at the United Nations Security Council is another issue. The other emerging powers excluding India also claim that they have capabilities to translate their powers to play a key role at global level (Lihua, 2004). It can be said that the regional grouping and emergence of different powers have contributed to the lack of some meaningful progress. Resultantly, the UNSC remained unreformed for decades. The power struggle among different powers is one thing and the consensus of P-5 is another. The reforms can be take place when P-5 members show their agreement. But, it has been seen that there is an unrest among five great powers of the world on the issue of UNSC expansion (Mukherjee & Malone, 2013). Hence, these are the key factors which raised crucial questions on the Indian desire of permanent member.

3.4 Regional Security Concerns of Pakistan

India had initiated its largest diplomatic campaign at international level during post-Cold-war era. The goal of this campaign is the permanent membership of UNSC. The country has used multiple strategies to achieve its goal and maintain its regional hegemony. It has joined G-4, which includes countries: Japan, Brazil and Germany. Other countries of the group did not stress on acquiring the power of veto but India has claimed to have veto power at UNSC as a permanent member (Kaura & Singh, 2021). However, the group G-4 remained unsuccessful in gaining the support of countries which were required. Japan, Brazil and Germany's bid is also the result of some kind of regional complexes as same in the case of India. The case of India and its disposition at diplomatic and international level has already been discussed previously. But, the debate over India's bid remained important because of its opposition by its neighboring country Pakistan.

Pakistan has been an active member of United for Consensus group for a long time. It has advocated an effective and workable reform of the United Nations Security Council based on the consensus among the United Nations members. It is first essential to understand the Pakistan's disposition at the world's leading organization to further debate the reasons behind the country's opposition. As Nawaz (2018) mentions three main reasons, i.e. firstly, it has been an energetic member of UfC and it has categorically rejected India's bid at every level. Secondly, Pakistan want UNSC more democratic and legitimate in terms of geographical and demographic representation. Thirdly, it focuses on the major issues of reforms and these major issues include balance of power, power struggle, working methods, size and question of veto and regional representation. Additionally, Pakistan along with its UfC fellow members endorse and favor the expansion in the category of non-permanent membership. It has presented its own formula – Italy-Columbia paper, which suggests to establish a set of long-term electable seats, while reforming the other four important areas. Pakistan has noted this formula as a permanent solution of Security Council Reforms. This was all about the Pakistan's disposition at the United Nations.

The debate over the issue of India's inclusion has never been intense than it is today. The Indian Prime Minister Narendera Modi, made a recent speech and noted that India has a strong position to have a prominent role at the United Nations. The Pakistani permanent representative to the UN, Munir Akram has called it "a pipe dream". Moreover, the United Nations speeches of Pakistani leaders depicts the position of Pakistan in the front of the global community. The systematic analysis of those speeches would be given in the subsequent chapters. These speeches point out the interests of the Pakistan come from the regional security nexus (Shafiq, 2019). It is essential to identify and explore those security complexes

of Pakistan which actually compelled a country to behave in a defensive way at world's most important organization. An analysis of regional security concerns of the Pakistan is given below.

3.4.1 Kashmir paradox: A pivotal factor shaping foreign policy

British empire had to lose its colonies after the second World War. In 1947, India as one of the biggest colony was divided into two countries: India and Pakistan. At the time of division, India was divided into British India and Princely states. The princely states were given choice to either choose Pakistan or India on the basis of religious population. The case of Kashmir, as a princely state, was interesting because the population of Kashmir was dominantly (around 80%) Muslim but it was ruled by a non-Muslim ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh. The Muslims in Kashmir wanted to become a part of Pakistan but the ruler of the state was hesitant. Upon sensing the mood of Maharaja, the population started an armed rebellion against the Maharaja of Kashmir. The ruler of Kashmir requested India for the help and India sent its troops to Kashmir. On the other hand, people from Pakistan joined the rebellion against Maharaja of Kashmir and this led to the first war between India and Pakistan in 1948.

According to Tasleem & Dalton (2018), since the very inception of Pakistan as an independent country its conflict with India over the Jammu and Kashmir has influenced and shaped the course of its foreign policy. The tragedy of 9/11 and immediate response of the United States in th e result of invasion in the Afghanistan and then its departure after twenty years leaving Afghanistan economically crippled has substantially altered the security environment in the South Asia. The important thing is the behavior and attitude of Pakistan in the response of these activities and it has consistently been associated with Kashmir cause (Tasleem & Dalton, 2018)**.** Pakistan has adapted its security policies considering the Kashmir cause at the top. Even the theocratic regime of Taliban was not of the primary interest of the Pakistan. However, it was important and crucial for Pakistan for its geo-strategic interest and its enmity with the neighboring country India. The Pakistan's support was due to the Kashmir issue and to attain more strategic depth in the region. The other interest was to make a safe corridor to Central Asia. Additionally, it has been analyzed and viewed that the political and economic discourse of the South Asia has been changing rapidly. But, the Pakistan's concern and its security nexus is largely the result of its rivalry with India over Kashmir issue. Consequently, this paradox has compelled Pakistan to oppose India at the UNSC. Because Kashmir has been a pivotal factor shaping the foreign policy of Pakistan since its inception. Even, the BRI, new Great Game, US influence in the region cannot change the Pakistan's security interests towards Kashmir.

3.4.2 Water conflicts and Military threats

The Indus Basin Water Treaty was signed in 1960 between India and Pakistan. The purpose of this treaty was to resolve the water conflict between both countries. While investigating the effect of climate change on security situation between India and Pakistan, Latif et al. (2021) say that here is no denying the fact that this treaty has been very helpful in minimizing the water conflict between two important powers of the South Asia. However, the recent climatic variability has escalated the issue once again. Due to this climatic variability the rise in water demand has paved the way to so many news issues prevailing in the region. Resultantly, the Indian government focused more on the construction of new hydropower projects on the western rivers in order to meet up its requirements. The provisions of the Indus Water treaty that were open for the interpretation eventually resulted in the cross-border conflict. Pakistan has also faced floods due to inadequate water storage resources. However, the underlying point in this discussion is the understanding of regional concerns of the Pakistan and place of water conflicts in this. It has been very crucial in shaping the attitude and behavior of Pakistan at both regional as well as global level.

Military threats have been the most important and decisive factors forming the discourse of Pakistan's foreign policy. The debate over this issue got more currency because of the nuclear capability of the both countries (Tasleem & Dalton, 2018). It has been an evident factor that a nuclear war would have negative implications on the region in particular and on the continent in general. The military threats from the neighboring country India has forced Pakistan to join opposite camp keeping into the considering this rivalry since the establishment of Islamic Republic. The sensitivity of Islamabad can be seen at the different global initiatives of being treated on the basis of equality. Both countries had the history of four wars. There have been man initiatives taken in the past to normalize the tensions between the both countries. New Delhi and Islamabad were serious to ponder upon the mutual interests during 2004. A formal normalization process was appeared in 2004. But the Mumbai attacks had disturbed and halted the peace process and eventually normalization process had been stopped. All the above data indicates the security challenges being faced by the country in general and its regional concerns shaping foreign policy in particular. The emanating from the India has forced Pakistan to be more concerned about its regional complexes while taking any stance in front of the global community as well as in front of global organizations.

3.3.3 Self-interests and Power struggle

It has been discussed and analyzed in the previous paragraphs that Pakistan and India have fought four wars because of their regional concerns including Kashmir paradox, security threats and water tensions. Pakistan has its own self-interest which is derived from its regional concerns about India's bid as a permanent member. These are the pivotal factors which shape the self-interest of any nation state. Same has happened in the case of Pakistan and its motivation behind India's opposition. Pakistan has reservations on India's permanent membership because if India acquires a permanent seat it can be dangerous towards Kashmir as well as it can diplomatically isolate Pakistan (Mukherjee & Malone, 2013).

Another important debate in the sphere of power struggle is the role of military in forming the relations of both countries. It has been witnessed that both are security driven states and spend a lion's share budget on their military respectively. Consequently, military claims a prominent and supreme role over the civilian government elected by the people (Schiff, 2016). Thus the discourse of foreign policy is also largely influenced by the military of the respective country.

3.4 Conclusion

In bottom lines, it can be noted that several factors push a country to adopt a certain policy while engaging with international community. The regional security complex of South Asia remained very important because of the involvement of outside powers such as China's presence in the region on the one hand and USA's influence on the other. Pakistan's opposition of the India's bid of permanent membership is also the result of regional security concerns of Pakistan such as Kashmir conflict, water conflict between India and Pakistan over distribution of rivers and power struggle which have been identified and discussed in the chapter. The next chapter of the dissertation will explore and analyze the Pakistan's approach towards United Nations. The chapter 4 of scholarly work will focus on how and in what ways this approach appeared and evolved over the time.

Chapter 04

Analyses of Pakistan's Approach for the UNSC Reform in 2000's through UN Debates

4.1 Principles of Pakistan's engagement in UNSC Reform Debate

States, according to their own interests and benefits, play a constructive and meaningful role at regional or international stage. The role of Pakistan at the United Nations is no different because it has been conditioned by Pakistan's journey to be a part of UN, and its needs and experiences. Pakistan has been committed to the goals and principles set by the United nations, i.e. human rights, peace and security, respect for states' sovereignty and cordial relations with all countries especially with the neighbors are some of the principles on which Pakistan bases its relationship with the United Nations. The founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, said as early as February 1948 (Jinnah & Burke, 2000, pp. 463–464).

> "Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in all principles of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the UN Charter".

Pakistan has been elected seven times as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. In 1952-1953, 1968-1969, 1976-1977, 1983-1984, 1993-1994, 2003-2004 and last time in 2012-2013 Pakistan served as a non-permanent member of the security Council. Pakistan's election to world's most powerful institution is embodiment of Pakistan's commitment and dedication to world peace and security. In terms of contribution, Pakistan's engagement with United Nation Peacekeeping operations and contributing peacekeeping operations with manpower shows its interest in the success of United Nations. Pakistan's contributions to United Nations in terms of peacekeeping operations has been discussed in next part of the chapter.

According to Wasi (2005, p. 90) the main objectives of Pakistan at the UN are projection of security, legal and humanitarian dimensions of the Kashmir issue to the world and seeking its earliest solution, countering any threats internationally against Pakistan and safeguarding Pakistan's security

interests in the region. In case of expansion in Security Council, while safeguarding Pakistan's interests, proposing roadmaps for alleviating highlighted international economic inequality in order to strengthen developing economies are the objectives Pakistan actively pursue.

There are number of reasons which motivate states to become a member of United Nations Organization. According to Wizarat (1987) one of the most important factors to become a member of United Nations for a state lies in "perceived enhancement of national stature" (Wizarat, 1987, p. 95). The platform of United Nations provides states with opportunities to influence each other and use its platform as a vehicle of their foreign policies. According to Wizarat (1987, p. 95) "Because of unequal distribution of wealth and resources, some states have greater ability to assert their national goals at United Nations forum". Wealthy and rich countries more frequently use the platform of United Nations to assert their foreign policy goals but for a developing country like Pakistan, apart from recognition, the economic and technical assistance provided by United Nations is an added benefit (Wizarat, 1987).

Pakistan applied for the membership of United Nations soon after its independence in 1947. The founding father Muhammad Ali Jinnah said, "Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter" (Callard, 1961, p. 301). While expressing his views on Pakistan's future within the organization of United Nations, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan said, "We firmly believe that world peace is a condition precedent to the peace and prosperity of Pakistan, and we shall therefore unreservedly cooperate with the United Nations in every possible way in the great task of establishing world peace" (Callard, 1961, pp. 301–302). According to Wasi (2005) Pakistan participates in UN led programs when occasion demands but there are four major areas where Pakistan actively participate: Peacekeeping operations, Nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, Security Council expansion and Human right. The major contribution of Pakistan to the United Nations is in the field of Peacekeeping operations. The following section of the thesis would be focusing on Pakistan's contribution to United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The Chapter is divided into different sections. The first section is dedicated to scrutinize Pakistan's contribution to United Nations in terms of providing manpower for peacekeeping missions. The second section is dedicated for analyzing Pakistan's approach of reforming United Nations Security Council both in its expansion and its working methods with a special reference to proposals put forward by G-4 and Uniting for Consensus in 2005. Since the approach of the study at hand focuses on Pakistan's approach of reforming Security Council through the prism of Pakistan's regional security concerns that is why the

chapter will focus on the reform proposal of G-4 and its regional competitor UfC. Moreover, comparative evaluation of reform proposals by G-4 and UfC has also been discussed. The final part of the chapter is content analysis of the speeches by Pakistan in opening sessions of UNGA from 2005-2020. Content Analysis will validate the claim of the study at hand that Pakistan's policy towards UNSC reforms is influenced by its regional Security concerns

4.2 Pakistan's Peacekeeping role

The Charter of United Nations promises "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". However, there is no explicit article that mentions peacekeeping as UN activity but Article 24 of UN Charter allows UN Security Council to take collective action "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the UN" thus "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" is a role assigned to the Security Council. Pakistan supported the role of United Nations as a custodian of international peace and security. Pakistan itself has been a recipient of one of UN's oldest and longest running peacekeeping mission i.e. UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) in 1949. Regarding the role of UNMOGIP, Pakistan's foreign Secretary said, "Pakistan attaches great importance to both the symbolic value and substantive contribution of this mission".

Krishnasamy (2002) studies role of UN peacekeeping operations in Pakistan's foreign policy and according to him, financial benefits of participating in UN peacekeeping operations is an important reason of Pakistan's interest in peacekeeping. Cabuyao (2018) describes Pakistan's involvement in peacekeeping to secure political interests rather than economic ones because peacekeeping is Pakistan's way of portraying itself as a 'good international citizen' ready to take 'international responsibilities'. Cabuyao (2018, p. 3) says, "Pakistan's concern regarding its image could be rooted in its larger goals. Before it can pursue its international interests, it should be able to assert its strengths and capabilities first". However, Bullion (1997) argues that participating in peacekeeping operations for Pakistan is another arena for regional rivalries and competition with India. Bullion (1997, pp. 106–107) further explains the regional rivalry between India and Pakistan in peacekeeping missions as, "inter-regional rivalry plays a part in India's wish to retain a major peacekeeping role and there was clearly an element of sub-continent competition about such deployments from Asia". Nonetheless, the significant role of Pakistan in UN peace keeping missions around the globe cannot be denied. According to (Kiani, 2004), Pakistan is an active participant of UN peacekeeping operations and it is one of the largest contributor of personnel to the UN peacekeeping missions. As Kiani (2004, p. 41) says, "since 1962, Pakistan has participated in 28 missions.

Today, amongst the 100 personnel-contributing countries, Pakistan ranks one of the highest. 80 Pakistani peacekeepers have perished in their efforts to maintain peace in the world." (Kiani, 2004, p. 41)

The Tables Below will illustrate Pakistan's contribution to the UN Peacekeeping missions. Figure 4 illustrates completed UN Peacekeeping missions, figure 5 illustrates contribution of Pakistan to ongoing UN peacekeeping missions, and table 3 would illustrate Pakistan's Military and Police contribution to UN operations from 2005 to 2021 as compared to the rest of the world.

Time period of operation	Name of operation	Location	Contribution (troops)	Causalities
1960-1964	United Nations Operation in the Congo	Congo	400	None
1962-1963	United Nations Security Force in New Guinea	Western New Guinea	1500	None
1989-1990	United Nations Transition Assistance Group	Namibia	20 (military observers)	None
1991-1993	United Nations Iraq–Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM)	Kuwait	1136	None
1993-1996	United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)	Haiti	525	None

1992-1993	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC)	Cambodia	1106	None
1992-1996	United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR)	Balkan Countries	3000	06
1992-1996	United Nations Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I)	Somalia	7200	39
1993-1996	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR)	Rwanda	07 (Military Observers)	None
1995-1997	The United Nations Observer Mission in Angola (MONUA)	Angola	14 (Military Observers)	None
1996-1997	United Nations Transitional Authority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)	Eastern Slavonia	1014	None
1999-2005	United Nations mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	Sierra Leone	5000	06

Figure 4. Completed UN Peacekeeping missions (Source: UN Peacekeeping).

Since Pakistan has engaged in 28 UN led peacekeeping missions and it is not possible to examine all of them, however the missions which altered Pakistan's commitment towards peacekeeping and have enhanced Pakistan's stature in the international peacekeeping arena are comprehensively discussed.

Pakistan has contributed to the peacekeeping missions during cold war period as well as after cold war period. Peacekeeping missions during Cold War period was mostly about "observing, verifying ceasefires and acting as neutral buffers between two antagonist parties" (Kiani, 2004, p. 46). Pakistan participated in three such operations during Cold War: Congo (ONUC, 1960), West New Guinea (UNSF, 1962) and Yemen (UNYOM, 1964). In the post-Cold War time, Pakistan's notable contribution was in establishing UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC, 1992). Pakistan's role in UNTAC was acknowledged by the its force commander, General J.M Sanderson as, "the Pakistani contingent showed professionalism, patience, determination and compassion, which indeed are the hallmark of an effective peacekeeping forces" (ISPR 1998, p. 19). Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia during 1990s changed the nature of peacekeeping operations because now UN had to respond to collapse of the states and ethnic tensions, which in turned proved to be humanitarian disaster such as genocide, ethnic cleansing and mass migrations.

According to Kiani (2004) Pakistan's role as in Somalia established that Pakistani soldiers are reliable and dependable forces who, in spite of great human loss, fulfill the mandate given to them by United Nations. Pakistan was involved in Somalia through three stages: Humanitarian assistance in UNOSOM I, peace enforcement and nation building in UNOSOM II, and joint operations with US-Quick Reaction Force. During UNOSOM II, Pakistani soldiers were the main operative contingent in Mogadishu. In June 1993, Pakistani troops were attacked and ambushed which resulted in killings of 24 Pakistani peacekeepers. In October 1993, 18 US soldiers were killed and their bodies were dragged through the streets and broadcasted internationally. This led the US to withdraw its troops from Somalia and following USA, other troop contributing countries like Italy, France, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Norway, Germany, Sweden, Republic of Korea and Morocco also departed from Somalia. According to (Kiani, 2004) this situation put Pakistan under pressure to continue its commitment towards the UN Peacekeeping mission. Pakistan lost 37 of its personnel and it was the last to leave. The sacrifices of Pakistani peacekeepers were acknowledged by other members as well and as (Krishnasamy, 2002) writes that the unfaltering commitment of Pakistan established it as a reliable peacekeeping nation.

The another important case of Pakistan's reliability became evident when UN protection force was established to monitor cease-fire agreement in Croatia and providing assistance to the general

population. Pakistan provided two battalions of 3000 troops. Pakistani Battalion 1 and 2 were deployed in Bosnia. The two Battalions of Pakistan were tasked with preventing hostilities between Bosnians and Croats. Pakistan also participated in UN Mission in Bosnia Herzegovina (UNMIB, 1994-2002) which was tasked with reconstruction. Pakistan also participated in Nato-led operation "Implementing Force" (IFOR 1995-1996) with 1000 soldiers. In total more than 6000 soldiers participated in Bosnia, in which six perished while serving. (Kiani, 2004, p. 54) quotes Bosnian News Magazine, Ratni Haber, editorial: "PAKBAT I has not only protected us from the brutal assault of Serb offensive but also infused a new spirit into our lives. They have given us all sorts of humanitarian help, taught us the values of Islam and above all given us constant medical care in form of their hospital".

The role of Pakistan in UN peacekeeping operations was reiterated by Pakistan's Prime Minister in UN General Assembly meeting on 2013 as:

> "Pakistan is the largest troop contributor to United Nations peacekeeping. Since 1960, we have contributed 150,000 troops, and 135 of our peacekeepers have lost their lives in the service of peace. That has been our most tangible assistance to the United Nations efforts to maintain international peace and security". (A/68/PV.15, p. 24)

The commitment and contribution of Pakistan towards UN peacekeeping was acknowledged by UN Secretary General, Kofi Anan, while visiting Pakistan, in 2001 said about Pakistan's role in UN peacekeeping operations, "Your soldiers have made the ultimate sacrifice in the service of world peace, and the United Nations. I salute this record of global idealism because I believe that it reflects a determination among the Pakistani people to serve the world" (Kiani, 2004, p. 46)

The previous figure 04, showed Pakistan's contribution to the completed peacekeeping missions by United Nations while the following table briefly illustrates the current engagements of Pakistan in peacekeeping operations around the world.

Start of operation	Name of operation	Location	Contribution (personnel)
1999	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	Democratic Republic of Congo	3556

2003	Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Liberia	2741
2004	United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB)	Burundi	1185
2004	United Nations Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Côte d'Ivoire	1145
2005	Mission in the Sudan (UNMIS)	Sudan	1733

Figure 5. Contribution to ongoing Peacekeeping missions (Source: UN peacekeeping)

As mentioned earlier, Pakistan's engagement in UN peacekeeping started with UN operations in Congo during the time period of 1960-1964. Since, the study at hand focuses Pakistan and UN relations after 2005, that's why Pakistan's troop contribution to UN peacekeeping after 2005 has been illustrated through the table below.

Year	Contribution by Pakistan (Military & Police)	Contribution by rest of the world (Military & Police)
2005	8999	69838
2006	9867	80368
2007	10610	84309
2008	11135	91712
2009	10764	98197
2010	10652	98638
2011	9416	99016
2012	8967	94090
2013	8266	98200
2014	7936	104062

2015	7643	107088
2016	7156	100376
2017	6238	92682
2018	5262	89846
2019	4383	83331
2020	4737	81832
2021	3950	74438

Figure 6. Military and Police contribution to UN operations from 2005 to 2021: Comparing India and Pakistan (Source: UN peacekeeping)

Figure 6 shows Pakistan's contribution to UN peacekeeping in terms of providing manpower. Pakistan contributed 11,135 troops for UN peacekeeping in 2008. Although Pakistan is still one of the important troop contributors but since 2008 the trend of assigning its troops for UN peacekeeping is decreasing. The graph below illustrates the downward trend of Pakistan's contribution in UN peacekeeping.

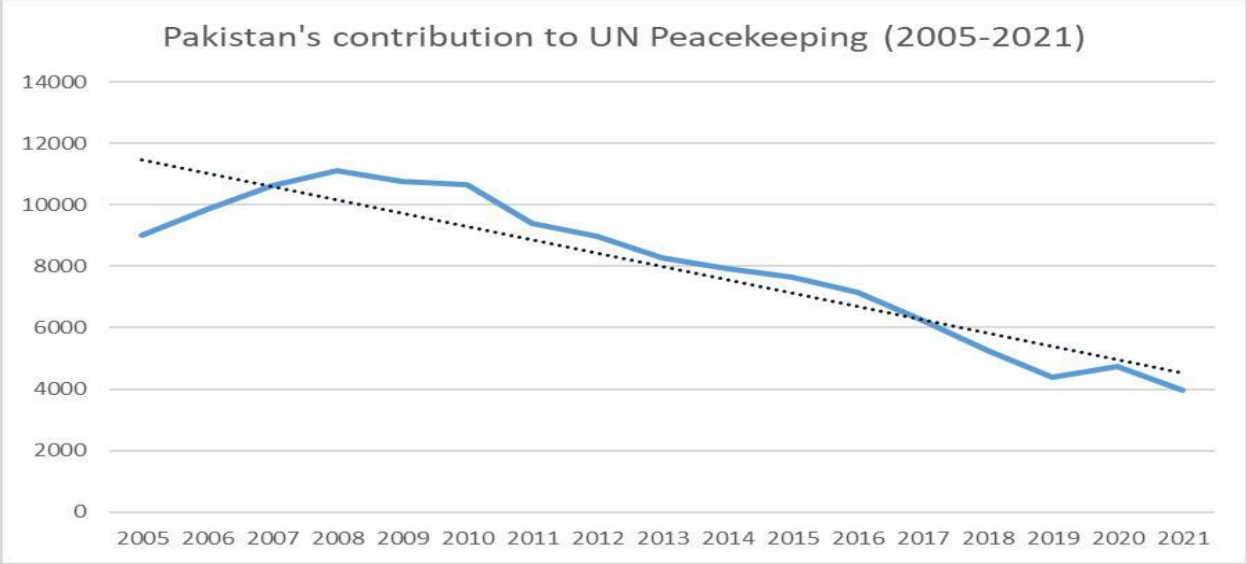

Figure 7. Pakistan's contribution to UN Peacekeeping between 2005 to 2021. (Source: UN peacekeeping)

As from the figure 7 it becomes evident that there is a downward trend in Pakistan's contribution to the peacekeeping operations. The downward trend of contributing peacekeepers is not only limited to Pakistan because the overall contribution by other countries also decreased (figure 06). The highest number of peacekeepers was in 2015 when 1,07,088 peacekeepers were assigned then gradually the number decreased and now in 2021 the total number of peacekeepers around the world is 74,438.

4.3 Pakistan-UNSC Reform debate until 2000's: In between regional and global security concern

Since 1945, when the body of United Nations was established, the membership has increased from 52 to more than 193 states to date. As the membership increased, the scope of UN led programs have expanded also. At present, UNSC is composed of five permanents and ten non-permanent members. The Security Council of United Nations is indeed its most powerful organ because the UN charter has entrusted it with the maintenance of global peace and its decisions are obligatory for the member states of United Nations. Nonetheless, there is indeed a widespread agreement among the member states on Security Council reforms but there is a huge disagreement among the members on how to reform the Security Council. According to Sarwar (2011, p. 257) the question of how to reform the Security Council has divided the member states. Some of the members propose that reforming Security Council might help boost its authority through continuing the legitimacy because increase in members mean more inclusive and powerful Council. While to the others the reform process might increase their state's power because having a seat at high table means their more influence over the United Nations system. A successful reform would indeed tremendously increase the credibility of United Nations as an institution but failure reform Security Council would expose the already division of the member states. It would potentially slow the key issues presented and debated in General Assembly, and it could even adversely affect already ongoing reform debates.

According to Wasi (2005, p. 95), Since the current composition of Security Council does not correspond with increased members since its inception. UN General Assembly, at its 35th session held in 1980, decided to put the reform and expansion of UNSC on its agenda. However, this reform proposal of expansion was continuously delayed by the General Assembly until its 47th session. The Secretary-General of United Nations was requested to ask every member state to propose their written suggestions on a possible reform of Security Council's membership. In 1993, at the 48th session of General Assembly, it was decided to form an Open Ended Working Group to consider and suggest any meaningful working

mechanism regarding the issue of increase in the membership of UNSC (GA resolution 48/26). This working group started working in January 1994 on how to propose an acceptable proposal of reforming UNSC to all the stakeholders.

As Wasi (2005) argues the policy of Pakistan on reforming the UNSC is based on the predominant idea that since the issue of reforming UN Security Council is very important with very far-reaching consequences, that's why the issue of reforming UNSC should only be decided with general and maximum consensus of the UN member states. The reason behind Pakistan's policy of stressing upon the need to get broader and maximum consensus of General Assembly for any reform proposal is based of its regional concerns viz-a-viz India as it was mentioned by Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Shari, while addressing UN General Assembly's 68th session in 2013 said, "The United Nations needs reform, but it should be a reform that reflects the interests of all, not just the ambitions of a few. We believe that the Security Council's composition should be made more representative, democratic and equitable, and its work more effective, transparent and accountable" (UN document A/68/PV.15, p. 22).

Pakistan supported and endorsed the resolution (A/53/PV.80) adopted by the 53rd session of General Assembly in Dec, 1998 because it reaffirmed the need of reaching agreement through general consensus. The resolution says that General Assembly will not decide the matter of UNSC reform without the approval of at least two-third of the UN member states. This reiteration of UN General Assembly was indeed what Pakistan advocates that without inclusion of maximum and broader consensus of the members would not only hamper the reform process but it will also further divide the members: "Pakistan supports initiatives to strengthen the United Nations. However, it is important not to start anything that could prove divisive or potentially unravel the essential pillars of the United Nations" (UNGA, A/66/PV.29, p. 08). Pakistan's foreign Minister, while addressing UNGA session in 2011, said "The process of Security Council reform must be carried out in a manner to reinforce the confidence of the world's peoples in that body and enhance its credibility and effectiveness. Such reform must enjoy the full consensus of the international community and accord with the fundamental principle of sovereign equality." (UNGA A/66/PV.29, p. 8).

The resolution of 53rd session of General Assembly is practical depiction of Article 108 of the Charter of United Nations that emphasizes on the participation of maximum members, (UN charter, 108) "Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United

Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council." The Article 108 of the UN charter is what on which Pakistan takes its stand as well as by the other majority member states and groups like Non-aligned Movement (NAM), African Union (AU) and the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). According to Wasi (2005) as far as Pakistan's position of inclusion of new members is concerned, it opposes the idea permanent membership because permanent membership negates the basic principle of sovereign equality of all members in the United Nations. This is why, the present Security council, that is embodiment of inequality, should not be aggravated with the inclusion new permanent members. The inclusion of new members will further divide few privileged states and small and medium size states, who constitute majority of the UN General Assembly. Pakistan is very much mindful of its regional compulsions. As we have discussed in the previous chapter that Pakistan's opposition of adding new members to the Security is largely driven by its regional security concerns. As G-4 countries are campaigning actively to become part of the Security Council, Pakistan feels threatened because Pakistan considers one of the G-4 members; India, an existential threat to itself. The bitter relations between India and Pakistan, four wars and countless skirmishes and above all Pakistan's defeat in 1971 at the hands of India led East-Pakistan to become now Bangladesh are more than enough to say that India as a Permanent of UNSC would threaten Pakistan. This is why Pakistan's interests would be in serious jeopardy if G-4 countries win the bid to become permanent members of Security Council because it would mean that India gets to sit on the high table. As explained by Wasi (2005, p.96) that Pakistan bases its opposition of Indian membership as a permanent member in Security Council also for its non-compliance with UN resolutions on Kashmir. Moreover, there are many differences among the member states on the question of expansion and reforming Security Council but Pakistan believes in a credible way of getting general agreement regarding Security Council reform.

4.3.1 Pakistan's Approach for the UNSC Reform since 2000: A Regional Security Approach

This part of the chapter focuses on Pakistan's approach of reforming Security Council through the prism of Regional Security Complex of South-Asia, specifically in regards with India. The discussion in this part of the chapter revolves around two major themes, i.e. understanding Pakistan's approach of reforming UN Security Council through the lenses of Regional Security Complex approach and secondly, it will analyze Pakistan's response to G-4's UN Security Council reforms proposal. Since the chapter mainly focuses Pakistan's position of UNSC reform process, it is imperative to Understand the two types of reforms, i.e. Structural reform and procedural or working method reform. The explanation of these two

types of reforms will make it easier for a reader to understand whether Pakistan supports structural or procedural reform proposals.

It will also discuss the attempts that are being made to expand the Security Council, with emphasis on developments in 2005. It discusses position of Pakistan and its like-minded group, i.e. Uniting for Consensus on one side and G-4 on the other side. Thus, the chapter will primarily focus on analyzing reform proposals suggested by Uniting for Consensus (UfC) and G-4 in 2005.

The seeming rise of India within the region after cold war period started the transcendence of Indian influence outside the region. This broadened sphere of India's reach towards wider horizons in Asia without resolving its outstanding issues with Pakistan threatened balance of power between the two bitten rivals. Although, resurgence of Taliban and war on terror fragmented Pakistan further but the competition with India on Security and enmity never diminished because Nuclear weapons played the role of great equalizer (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 115). The Regional Security Complex of South-Asia, because of the growing rivalry between China and USA, is caught up to such an extent that all the states within the region have to align themselves according to USA and China. (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 103) write that India was more engaging and integrating in the world's economy and politics but still it continued to be refused as a big power, e.g. excluding India from Nuclear Weapons Club by Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. The denied recognition of India did not last long because USA needed India to counter China's growing influence in the region. USA signed a ground breaking agreement facilitating nuclear cooperation with India on July 18, 2005. The start of new millennia completely changed the Security-Complex of South-Asia. War on terror after 9/11 primarily focused Afghanistan that lies in this region, Rise of China and its rivalry with USA brought India closer to USA and nuclear deal between the two countries in 2005 alarmed Pakistan and its regional ally China. The new developments in the region and globally led India to pursue more ambitious plan of becoming a permanent member of UNSC. On 59th session of United Nations General Assembly, Brazil along with India, Japan and Germany opened debate on 'Group of Four' sponsored draft resolution on Security Council reform. We will discuss about this draft resolution and the response for Pakistan in the later part but before we will briefly explain types of reforms as well as what type of reform proposal Pakistan and its allies suggest.

United Nations Security Council reforms are of two types, i.e. Structural reform and Procedural or working method reforms. Structural reform is about UN charter amendments, for example, change in membership's structure or delegation and retention of the veto power (Mingst et al., 2017, p. 58). While working method reform refers to agreement in UN Security Council without charter amendments

according to article 30 of the UN charter (Sievers & Daws, 2014, p. 673). According to some other authors like (Hassler, 2014, p. 210), UNSC working method reform is considered as a more practical solution to the challenges face by Security Council. Working method reform increases the efficiency of Council in matters related to its provisional rules of procedures. The problematic part arises when reform proposal involves matters related with veto-power because extension or removal of veto rights require structural reform which requires charter amendment. According to Winther (2020, p. 74), in principle, there is a way around, if the Council agrees then the veto power can be sacked for example, not to use veto in the case of resolutions targeting genocide, without charter amendment, which would be working method reform.

Pakistan along with other members of Uniting for Consensus group advocates fiercely against expansion of UN Security Council in Permanent membership. Although, Pakistan supports the idea of reforming UNSC but it opposes the idea of reforming UNSC based on power politics. According to Pakistan's official statement of permanent mission to the United nations (2021), Pakistan supports the decision 62/557 of general Assembly to hold inter-governmental negotiations on reforming UNSC. It supports the proposal (A/59/L.68) put forward by Uniting for consensus group during 59th General Assembly plenary meeting on July 26, 2005. According to the proposal, in addition to the permanent five members, the Security Council would include 20 elected members for two-year time period. These elected members could be re-elected or new members can be elected. This proposal thus ensures maximum representation of the member states because it is equitable, fair and democratic. The provision of greater role to the neglected regions, e.g. Africa and South-America, and accommodation of the interests of all the groups and states is ensured in the proposal through rotation of membership and re-election (UNGA, GA/10371). Pakistan and its allies on UNSC reform issue oppose adding permanent members with veto powers. Pakistan supports Procedural or working method reform initiatives as well along with structural reforms. The above discussing makes it clear that Pakistan will only support any structural change if it does not change the current composition of permanent members in the Security Council.

The following part of the chapter will focus on Pakistan's stance about the UNSC reform through General Assembly speeches and 2005 debate on G-4 reform proposal (document A/59/L.64) along with the reform proposal (document A/59/L.68) proposed by Uniting for Consensus group. In order to understand Pakistan's stance better the writer will use Pakistani newspapers, official statements of leaders and opening speeches of Pakistan in UN General Assembly with special reference to the Speech by the then permanent representative of Pakistan to United Nations. The reason of selecting 2005 debate is because it has been until now the most important debate in General Assembly on Security Council

reform because it served as a starting point of G-4's formal endeavor for permanent membership in Security Council and UfC's anti-G-4 stance (Von Freiesleben, 2013). Moreover, this debate is also important because it demonstrates how competing norms attract more audience and how some norms prevail against others (Rublee, 2009).

The Group of four or G-4 (India, Germany, Brazil and Japan) introduced (A/59/L.64) reform proposal for discussion in UN General Assembly during its 59th session on July 11, 2005. The proposal was regarding enlargement of Security Council's veto bearing membership and fair geographical representation. The proposal suggested increase in Security Council's permanent membership from 15 to 25 by adding 06 permanent members and 04 non-permanent members. According to the proposal new permanent members would be elected as: two from African states, two from Asian states, one from Latin America and Caribbean States and one from Western Europe. The four non-permanent members would be: one from Asia, One from Eastern Europe and one from Latin America and Caribbean States.

In response to G-4 proposal, the permanent representative of Pakistan to the United nations, Munir Akram, urged the members to work for genuine reforms rather than securing selfish demands of few states in pursuit of unequal privilege. Pakistan's permanent representative to the UN, while addressing the opening session of UNGA in 2005 opening session, said, "at stake is whether we can achieve important decisions on development and genuine United Nations reform, or squander our political energies on a selfish and ultimately fruitless demand of a few ambitious States for unequal privileges." (UNGA A/60/PV.18, p. 27).

The closer look at the speech made by Pakistan in opposition makes it clear that Pakistan feels threatened by inclusion of new members to the Security Council with veto powers because India is one of the members of G-4 and inclusion of G-4 countries as permanent members in Security Council means India gets to sit at the high table. The permanent representative of Pakistan further said that Privilege seeking members of G-4 (Especial focus on India) champion themselves as representatives of weak and unrepresented but in reality they are not more than wolves in sheeps clothing:

> "The seekers of special privileges and power masquerade as the champions of the weak and the disadvantaged, asserting that the special privileges they seek will make the Council more representative and will neutralize the power of the present permanent members. History has witnessed many who have proclaimed that they came to bury Caesar, not to praise him (UNGA, A/60/PV.18)".

The permanent representative of Pakistan to United Nations, Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri while responding to the reform proposal of G-4 (A/59/L.64) during 60th session of United Nations General Assembly in 2005, elaborated the concerns of Pakistan about United Nations Security Council reforms debate. According to him, "the zero-sum proposal (with six winners and 180 losers) would increase divisions and tensions, not only within the United Nations, but also within various regions, contradicting the objective of promoting peace and security" (Akram, 2005). The regional implications of accepting G-4 proposal would indeed seriously jeopardize Pakistan's security interests South-Asian region. Later on, while addressing the General Assembly's 60th session and 18th plenary meeting held on September 21, 2005 in New York, the then foreign minister of Pakistan Mr. Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri stressed that while reforming UN Security Council it imperative to consider the aspirations of all states, regions and political groups. The important point of the foreign minister's speech was about the acknowledgement that threats Pakistan face are interdependent. While addressing the issue of terrorism Pakistan faces, Mr. Kasuri said:

> Pakistan is gratified that the summit reaffirmed the central values and principles of the United Nations and acknowledged that the range of threats we face requires our urgent, collective and more determined response. It also acknowledged that many threats are interdependent. We welcome the renewed emphasis on the peaceful settlement of disputes and on the Charter's strict constraints on the use of force.

The regional rivalries and disputes in South-Asia should be thus acknowledged as such and peaceful settlements of disputes among the states is the way out (Kasuri, 2005, p. 27). While addressing the ministerial meeting of Uniting for Consensus group on 'Global Governance and Security Council reform,' held in Rome, on May 16, 2011, the then Federal Minister for foreign affairs Hina Rabbani Khar said, "reform must make the Security Council more equitable, diverse, and plural in terms of representation, as well as more open and accountable to reflect the aspirations of the general membership. The dynamic and flexible proposal put forward by Pakistan, along with other UFC colleagues, are practical demonstration of our political will to make difficult compromises for the common good." (Khar, 2011). This is the reason Pakistan and UfC members suggest expansion of UNSC in non-permanent category because such an expansion would make the Council more transparent, democratic and inclusive organization that represents every region fairly.

The 2006 speech of President Pervez Musharraf during 61th session of UNGA in 2006 is important to explore the Pakistan's concerns, as (Khalifa 2006) noted that president asked United Nations for an effective role over Kashmir issue because it has potential to flare up a full-fledged war between two

nuclear armed countries. The 63rd session in 2008 as well as 64th session in 2009 of UNGA were addressed by Asif Ali Zardari, the former president of Pakistan. The president started his speech by saying that Pakistan has now entered into a democratic era. He was of the view that dialogue is the only way to solve Kashmir paradox. While addressing the session, Mr. Zardari stressed the importance of regional security. As he said, "All nations seek security. Peace and security are closely linked. Equal security for all is important. The principle of equal security is of fundamental importance for achieving those objectives. Imbalances in security, especially at the regional level, need to be redressed" (Zardari, 2009).

Shafiq (2019) illustrated that the concerns conveyed by Pakistani representative were not solely based upon the issue of Muslim identity, rather, securitization and regional security issues of Pakistan including Kashmir cause compels Pakistan to be concerned about the expansion of UNSC. The consecutive speeches of Mian Nawaz Sharif, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan during 68th, 69th and 70th sessions in 2013, 2014 and 2015 of General Assembly are important to understand Pakistan's point of view. Two topics were common in all three speeches of Pakistan's P.M in the above mentioned sessions, i.e. Kashmir issue and regional Security. Mr. Sharif said, "The United Nations must, for instance, continue to remain attentive to the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and the full realization of the right to self-determination of its people. The suffering of the people cannot be brushed under the carpet because of power politics" (UNGA, A/68/PV.15, p. 21). He emphasized that South-Asia can never progress unless and until the issue of Kashmir is not resolved. While addressing the 69th session of General Assembly in 2014, Mr. Sharif emphasized that Pakistan will support a Security Council reform initiative that takes everyone into consideration. An inclusive reform initiative will be supported by Pakistan that safeguards every sovereign country's interests, not the individual interests of few, as he said "We support a reform of the Security Council that reflects the interests of all Member States — small, medium-sized and large — and not the ambitions of a few. There should be no new permanent seats in the Council. That would be contrary to the democratic character of this world body. We want the Council to become more representative, equitable, accountable and transparent" (UNGA A/69/PV.12, p. 39). The speeches made by Pakistan's representatives at UNGA show that Pakistan's reservations about enlarging Security Council are largely shaped by its regional security nexus. For instance, while addressing the 70th session of UN General Assembly in 2005, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan explained the complexity of South-Asian region and its security concerns. According to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, "Pakistan neither wants, nor is engaged in, an arms race in South Asia. However, we cannot remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics and arms build-up in our region, which obliges us to take essential steps to maintain our security" (UNGA, A/70/PV.19 p. 41).

Siddiqui (2020) notes that Prime Minister Imran Khan historic speeches were about Kashmir Resolution, Water disputes with India and United Nations Security Council Resolution. The focus of Pakistan's Prime Minister remained on Kashmir cause and India as an existential threat to Pakistan. He said, "But let us suppose a country seven times smaller than its neighbour is faced with the choice of either surrendering or fighting to the death for its freedom — what will we do? I ask myself that question, and my belief is that there is no God but God. We will fight. And when a nuclear-armed country fights to the end, there will be consequences that reach far beyond its borders. There will be consequences for the world, which is why I repeat that I am here to send out a warning. It is not a threat. It is a reasonable concern about where we are headed" (UNGA, A/74/PV.9, p. 21). This speech of Imran Khan at United Nations show that Pakistan indeed believes India as a greatest threat to its survival and the security concerns of Pakistan in the region are India oriented. Moreover, Mr. Khan said that Kashmir issue is not only a problem of two regional rivals but it is a global issue because if war started between India and Pakistan then the consequences would be of global scale, "I have come here to tell the United Nations that it must act. This is a test for the United Nations. It was the United Nations that guaranteed the people of Kashmir the right to self-determination. They are suffering because of that right and now is the time to do something. Unlike 1939, it is not the time to appease" (UNGA, A/74/PV.9 p. 21).

According to a report published in one of the leading newspapers in Pakistan Dawn (Iqbal, 2021) that Pakistan considers the G-4 aspiration to become permanent members of the Security Council as an effort to sabotage the consensus based process of reforming UN Security Council. The G-4 countries did not garner enough support from the member states and if they push put their resolution to amend the UN charter then it would hamper the meaningful reform initiatives by setting it back by much more years. Another report published in The Express Tribune by Akram (2021) stated that, "More permanent members will compound the Council's inequality and dysfunctionality because Permanent membership contradicts the fundamental precepts of sovereign equality, democracy, representativeness and accountability". According to a report published in Dawn by (Haider, 2016), Pakistan's ambassador to the United Nations Maleeha Lodhi criticized the very basis on which India and its G-4 allies formulate their claims by saying that the G-4 proposal of expanding UNSC in permanent category reflect how some self-serving ambitious states sabotage the equal representation claim of world body's wider membership. According to Maleeha Lodhi, "to propose allocation of 4-6 seats permanently to that many countries, while handing over only 4-5 seats to the rest of the membership is not only poor mathematics but also poor logic, and even poorer rationale for a just and meaningful reform" (Haider, 2016).

It is understandable that Pakistan feels uncomfortable with the idea of India being a permanent member of UN Security Council given the history between Pakistan and India. Overwhelming majority of the member states agree on reforming the Security Council but it is the question of how and in what ways it should be reformed. In case of Pakistan, it is obvious that Pakistan's policy of opposing expansion of Security Council in permanent category is dominated by its regional security concerns. According to Sarwar (2011, p. 274), the regional rival of Pakistan, India, is among the major contenders for the permanent seat in Security Council. Any expansion in the permanent category of Security Council would pose serious security consequences for Pakistan because India might get s permanent seat. If India is bestowed with veto power, then it would be in a position to reject any proposal brought to Security Council which is considered as a threat for India's interests. As a permanent member, India may garner enough support within the Council to settle Kashmir issue according to its wishes, e.g. it could pressure Pakistan into accepting the temporary ceasefire line (LoC) into a permanent recognized international boundary. The regional Security Concerns of Pakistan viz a viz India were discussed in a report published by Daily times on August 29, 2021:

> "Pakistan has adopted a principled, clear and firm stance on the proposal of adding new permanent members to the UN Security Council (UNSC). It has reiterated its position on various occasions that India does not qualify for a seat on the 15-member body – permanent or even non-permanent. India in violation of UNSC resolutions in occupied Kashmir, had deployed 900,000 troops to crush the Kashmiris' legitimate freedom struggle" (Jappa, 2021).

The security concerns of Pakistan in South-Asia are the reasons why Pakistan opposes Indian permanent membership in Security Council and the past relations between Pakistan and India are testament of it. According to Jappa (2021), the world knows that India has waged 20 wars with its neighbours since independence and acted as a peace spoiler, fomenting terrorism and causing instability across the region, especially in Pakistan. Moreover, as a permanent member India would have greater say in International institutions like International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The former IMF chief Christine Lagarde acknowledged during her tenure in IMF that big countries like China and India, reported by Irish Times (2011), "deserve increased IMF voting power commensurate with their growing economic clout, and a fair shot at the emergency lending institution's top decision-making posts." India's presence and greater say in the most powerful organization would not only be an economic and political setback globally but it could seriously threaten its security concerns in South-Asian region. Consequently, India as a permanent member of Security Council would not be in Pakistan's interest.

4.3.2 Comparative Study and Evaluation of the UNSC reform proposals of G-4 and UfC

This part of the chapter is solely dedicated to evaluate and comparatively study the reform proposals put forward by G-4 and UfC in 2005. This comparative study would enable us to understand the difference in suggestions, who supports and opposes these proposals.

The Group of Four (G-4) countries are constantly striving for Security Council reform with the sole purpose of obtaining permanent seats for themselves. They cannot simply demand what they want without justifying the reasons of their demands. Binder & Heupel (2020, p. 93) say that those states who want institutional reform have to justify what they are demanding is legitimate because without justification they cannot garner enough support in General Assembly and Security Council to get the desired results.

The G-4 countries justify their inclusion as a permanent members of the Security Council with the argument that their inclusion would make Security Council more representative, efficient and effective because they will strengthen it financially, militarily, geographically and politically (Swart, 2013, p. 46). Japan along with Germany is seeking permanent seat in Security Council since 1990s and both the countries argue that they are the second and third biggest contributors of the overall United Nations budget, they deserve to be a part of the Council. The two other members, i.e. Brazil and India, joined the group from 2000, in order to join forces with Germany and Japan on enlarging the Council. India and Brazil base their claim on the fact that they are the growing largest economies of the modern times (Minor, 2010, p. 22).

In September 2004, Foreign Minister of Germany, President of Brazil, Prime Ministers of India and Japan established Group of four (G-4) in order to launch a united campaign for permanent membership in UN Security Council. They declared that, “Germany, Brazil, India and Japan, known as the G4 nations, based on the firmly shared recognition that they are legitimate candidates for permanent membership in an expanded Security Council, support each other’s candidature” (Deutsche Welle, 2004).

According to the draft resolution put forward by G-4 (UNGA A/59/L/64) “effectiveness, credibility and legitimacy of the work of the Security Council will be enhanced by its improved representative character, its better ability to discharge its primary responsibility and to carry out its duties on behalf of all members”. The Group of four acknowledges that new members must reflect fair distribution of contemporary geographical realities in order to maintain international peace and security as well as “fair geographical distribution”, as mentioned in Article 23(1) of the UN Charter. According to the draft

resolution, the result of enlarging Security Council is “to better reflect contemporary world realities, thereby shaping a balance of forces capable of enhancing the Council’s responsiveness to the views and needs of all Member States, in particular developing countries, and ensuring the adoption of improved working methods” (A/59/L/64. p.1-2).

The composition of Security Council, according to the draft resolution (UNGA A/59/L/64), shall be twenty-five by adding six permanent seats and four non-permanent seats to the current fifteen (five p permanent and ten non-permanent members). According to the draft proposal, “The new permanent members should have the same responsibility and obligations as the current permanent members” but “they shall not exercise the right of veto to new permanent members has been decided upon in the framework of the review mandated under paragraph Seven” (A/59/L/64. p.3). In 1945, Security Council was consisted of Eleven members (Five permanent and six non-permanent) and it represented 51 members of General Assembly, representation ratio of 1:5. While under G-4 proposal, a council of 25 members would represent 193 members of General Assembly. A representation proportion of 1:8 (Nadin 2016, p. 78).

Electoral Groups	Permanent Seats	New Permanent seats	Elected seats	New elected seats	GA's total membership percentage	SC's total membership percentage	SC's New status	Estimation
WEOG (Western European and Others Group) (29 members)	3 (US, UK, France)	1 (Germany)	2	-	15%	33.3%	24%	Over-represented
GRULAC (Group of Latin America and the Caribbean) (33 members)	0	1 (Brazil)	2	1	17%	13.3%	20%	Over-represented
Eastern European (23 members)	1 (Russia)	-	1	1	11.9%	13.3%	12%	Balanced

Africa (54 members)	0	2	3	1	28%	20%	24%	Under-represented
Asia-Pacific (53 members)	1 (China)	2 (Japan and India)	2	1	27.5%	20%	24%	Under-represented

Figure 8. Representation of different regions and Electoral groups under G-4 proposal (Source: Nadin, 2016).

As it is evident from the table (Figure 8), the current Security Council has great imbalance in terms of geographical representation of five different regions and groups. Western European and Other Group (WEOG) has 33.3% representation though it has only 25 members. The G-4's proposed expanded council would not solve the issue of over-representation because it still allocates 24% representation to WEOG. Furthermore, according to the G-4 proposal, Proportional representation of Asia, Africa and Group of Latin America and the Caribbean (GRULAC) would increase but Asia and Africa would still be under-represented and GRULAC would be over-represented.

As briefly explained previously, G-4's reform proposal received strong criticism of different countries and groups when it was proposed. As, the biggest opponent of G-4 is Uniting for Consensus (UfC) group. Uniting for Consensus (UfC) is a group of regional opponents of G-4 members, i.e. Italy is against Germany, South-Korea against Japan, Argentina against Brazil and Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in Security Council. Uniting for Consensus group is mainly led by Pakistan and

Italy along with other countries, like Argentina, South-Korea, Mexico, Colombia, Spain and Turkey. In response to the proposal of G-4, UfC proposed another reform draft (A/59/L.68) in General Assembly contrary to G-4's proposal. The following table explains Uniting for Consensus group's idea of reforming Security Council.

Regions/ Groups	**Number of States**	**Current Representation**		**Expansion (Permanently assigned to regional groupings)**	**Total**
-	**-**	**Permanent**	**Non-Permanent**	**-**	**-**
Asia	54	1	2	3	6
Africa	53	0	3	3	6
Group of Latin America and Caribbean States (GRULAC)	33	0	2	2	4
Western European and Other Group (WEOG)	29	3	2	1	6
Eastern Europe	22	1	1	1	3
Total	**191**	**5**	**10**	**10**	**25**

Figure 9. Reforming Security Council according to UfC's proposal (Source: Hassler, 2014).

As an alternative, UfC suggested to enlarge Security council from current ten members to twenty-five, elected for two years, non-permanent members (see table 2). According to the proposal (A/59/L.68), "any expansion of the Security Council should make it more democratic, more equitably representative, more transparent, more effective and more accountable". The composition of veto power nation in the council shall remain the same and General Assembly shall elect twenty-five members as non-permanent members. The new composition of non-permanent members shall be: six from Africa, five from Asia, four from Latin America and Caribbean States, three from Western-Europe and Other States; and two from Eastern European States (A/59/L.68).

The Security Council according to G-4's proposal (UNGA A/59/L/64) would be comprised of Eleven (11) member, i.e. India, Japan, Germany and Brazil along with two African states. Furthermore, elected members would be fourteen (14) from different regions and electoral groups. This increase in permanent members would definitely minimize the role of elected members in the Council. (Nadin, 2016, p. 86) states that such concentration of power within the permanent members of the council would block the way of innovation and diplomacy of small and middle powers. This would lead to minimized constructive contribution in United Nations' initiatives because the new permanent-11 would consult among themselves rather than consulting broader membership of the council. Pakistan and other members of Uniting for Consensus group make the same arguments that Security Council must be reformed but reformed Security Council shall be more democratic, equitably representative, transparent, effective and more accountable (UfC resolution A/59/L.68).

In order to get broader support from the member states, G-4 worked hard to make its proposal accepted. However, both the proposals from G-4 and UfC failed to achieve any significant consensus of majority members. G-4 worked with African Union to make its proposal acceptable but African Union insisted on their demand of getting veto rights created dead-lock. As Swart & Perry (2013, p. 9) say, "It had been a close call, but in the end the African insistence on the right of veto and the US and Chinese opposition to Germany and Japan respectively, had sufficiently obstructed the process to block any concrete results"

G-4's reform proposal faced opposition of permanent members other than African Union and Uniting for Consensus group. (Shirakawa and Kawakami 2005) argue that the group of four have three important obstacles in their campaign of permanent membership, i.e. US favors only Japan the other three on the issue of permanent membership, China's opposition of Japan and India as a permanent members and disagreements among the G-4 countries among themselves. USA opposes Germany's inclusion in

Security as a permanent member. Freiesleben (2013, p. 6), “Unlike the Clinton administration, President George W. Bush was quite vocal in his opposition to giving a permanent seat to Germany, a position often attributed to Germany’s opposition to the US-led war against Iraq in 2003”

Despite USA and China strongly opposed, G-4 continued working out its differences with African Union. They tried to convince African Union and its member countries to postpone the veto rights for at least fifteen years. Nigeria and South-Africa attempted to came together with the G-4 on it but African Union showed strong reaction against the action of Nigeria and South-Africa by establishing the committee of 10 states to show a united front while converging with other groups (Swart, 2013, pp. 24–25). In July 2005, African Union called an emergency meeting to discuss the common position of African Union on the issue Security Council reforms. The summit of African Union reaffirmed their position and demand for two (02) permanent seats with veto power remained the same. The African Union and G-4 did not reach at any common position the G-4 resolution along with African Union’s proposal and UfC’s proposal to achieve any progressive outcome (Freiesleben, 2013, p. 7).

Although the reform initiatives of G-4 and UfC failed to get garner enough support from the Assembly but these initiatives cannot be labelled as failures either because such proposals facilitate pragmatic improvement in working methods of United Nations. As explained by Weiss (2003, p. 198), “the rhetorical fireworks over the last two decades have contributed to a permissive environment that facilitated pragmatic modifications in working methods. These have injected more openness, accountability and diverse inputs into Council deliberations and could be expanded”.

4.4 Content Analysis of Speeches in UNGA opening sessions by Pakistan from 2005 to 2020

In order to conduct content analysis, this study takes a sample of opening speeches made by Pakistani dignitaries in UN General Assembly from 2005 to 2020. The approach used while doing content analysis is deductive approach, seven words (codes) have been predefined to interpret the data. The selection of these words will help us verify hypothesis of the thesis that South-Asian regional security concerns mainly guide Pakistan’s policies while engaging on global level. Each of the seven words has been identified across the texts and categorized under a theme. In next part, we will analyze every speech separately to understand how much important role security concerns of Pakistan in South-Asian region play in its engagement with United Nations. The understanding of Pakistan’s regional security concerns will lead us to substantiate the claim of the thesis that Pakistan’s policy of UNSC reform is dictated by its regional security concerns viz a viz India.

Year	Word 1 (India)	Word 2 (Kashmir)	Word 3 (conflict)	Word 4 (Region)	Word 5 (Security)	Word 6 (Terrorism)	Word 7 (Peace)	Theme(s) in each Speech
2005	04	03	04	08	06	10	20	• Millennium Development Goals • Terrorism • UNSC reform • Regional Security issues (Palestine and Kashmir)
2006	01	01	05	12	07	12	10	• Multilateral cooperation to tackle 21st century challenges • Regional Security (Focus on Afghanistan and India) • Terrorism • UN reform
2007	05	06	03	11	03	06	12	• Regional Security concerns (Kashmir and Afghanistan) • Terrorism • Climate Change • UNSC reform
2008	04	01	00	05	02	35	04	• Democracy in Pakistan • Terrorism
2009	02	01	02	07	05	06	12	• Democracy in Pakistan • Regional cooperation
2010	04	12	04	08	11	06	12	• Climate change • UNSC reform • UN peacekeeping • Kashmir issue

2011	02	03	01	10	04	07	23	• Multilateral cooperation to tackle global challenges • Kashmir issue • Regional security issues (Afghanistan and terrorism) • UN peacekeeping
2012	01	02	00	09	01	03	11	• Terrorism • Democracy in Pakistan • Kashmir issue • UNSC reform
2013	03	03	02	06	13	13	21	• Kashmir issue • Regional issues (Afghanistan, Syria and Palestine) • Terrorism
2014	01	09	03	02	08	06	11	• Climate change • Kashmir issue • Afghanistan and Palestine • Terrorism • UNSC reform
2015	18	07	03	08	10	12	16	• UN reforms • UN peacekeeping • Terrorism • Kashmir issue
2016	03	18	04	02	06	16	18	• Terrorism • Regional security concerns (Afghanistan)

								• Kashmir issue
2017	14	18	02	05	07	01	14	• Syria and Palestine • Kashmir issue • Terrorism
2018	21	12	04	09	08	16	12	• Indian sponsored terrorism in Pakistan • Climate Change • Kashmir
2019	37	22	00	01	03	24	02	• Global Warming • Economic inequality between East and West • Islamophobia • Kashmir issue (Most discussed)
2020	20	18	06	04	03	02	14	• COVID 19 • Economic inequality between Global South and North • Islamophobia • Kashmir issue • Afghanistan
Total	**140**	**118**	**43**	**107**	**97**	**175**	**203**	

Figure 10. Content Analysis of Speeches in UNGA opening sessions by Pakistan from 2005 to 2020

(Source: UNGA Opening sessions, 2005-2020).

If we look at the table, we can see that the word “peace” has been most frequently used in the speeches. In total, the word “peace” has been used 203 time in the speeches from 2005 to 2020. The second most used word is “terrorism” which has been used 175 times. The third most used word is “India”

which has been used 140 times. The word "Kashmir" has been used 118 times, "region" has been used 107 times, "Security" has been used 97 times and "Conflict" has been used 43 time. When we attach these words with the themes that standout in every speech then it becomes evident that Pakistan's policy choices are mostly security oriented and more precisely Pakistan's policies are derived by its regional security concerns. In the following part every speech has been separately scrutinized to developed enriched understanding of Pakistan's policy of reforming UNSC.

The then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Khurshid Mehmud Kasuri, addressed the opening session of UN General Assembly in 2005. Mr. Kasuri's address revolved around three main topics, i.e. Terrorism, UNSC reform, and Security issues (Palestine in Middle-East, Afghanistan and Kashmir in South-Asia). The speech of Mr. Kasuri is an important speech for number of reasons. Firstly, in 2005 the Group of Four (G-4) and Uniting for Consensus (UfC) presented their ideas about reforming UNSC in General Assembly. Secondly, it was the year when Pakistan openly negated expansion of the Security Council in permanent category. Mr. Kasuri said:

> "The Council should be enlarged by adding 10 additional non-permanent members to reflect the entire spectrum of the United Nations membership. It could allow immediate re-election to enable major countries to seek more frequent membership of the Council, but it should not add to inequality by inducting new permanent members" (A/60/PV.18, 2005, p.27).

The main part of the speech was related to prevailing security issues of South-Asian region. The most important outstanding conflict between India and Pakistan is Kashmir issue. Mr. Kasuri mentioned Kashmir issue as the key to peaceful and progressive South-Asia. According to Mr. Kasuri, "Pakistan and India must not remain trapped by hate and history in a cycle of confrontation and conflict. To prevent that from happening, it is essential to find a just solution to the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir, acceptable to Pakistan, India and, above all, the people of Kashmir" (A/60/PV.18, 2005, p.28). As per Mr. Kasuri, the issue of terrorism in South-Asia and Middle-East is linked with the outstanding conflicts such and Palestine and Kashmir, "Pakistan believes that while dealing with new threats, such as terrorism, the United Nations must continue to accord priority to addressing and resolving the numerous disputes and conflicts that afflict so many regions of our world" (A/60/PV.18, 2005, p.27).

In 2006, Pakistan's president Mr. Musharraf addressed General Assembly. Mr. Musharraf addressed issues like, Multilateral cooperation to tackle 21st century challenges, Regional Security (Focus on Palestine, Afghanistan and Kashmir), Terrorism and UN reform. According to the president, resolving

Kashmir issue is indispensable for the peace in South Asia and the world, "resolving issues—including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute—that have been the source of tension and conflict between the two countries in the past. The resolution of Kashmir issue is vital for the future of both countries and for peace in South Asia and beyond" (A/61/PV.10, 2006, p.18). Furthermore, while mentioning UNSC reform, Mr. Musharraf said, "The reform of the Security Council is of vital interest to every Member State and must therefore be adopted by consensus or by the widest possible agreement" (A/61/PV.10, 2006, p.19).

The speech by Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, Mr. Riaz Muhammad Khan, in 2007 included the topics: Regional Security concerns (Kashmir and Afghanistan), terrorism, climate change and UNSC reform. According to Mr. Riaz, rise of terrorism and violence is largely associated with political instability of Afghanistan and Kashmir. As he said, "The unfortunate happenings in our neighborhood impacted on our own society, giving rise to terrorism and extremism" (A/62/PV.14, 2007, p. 33). The source of tension and conflict between India and Pakistan is Kashmir conflict and without resolving it sustainable peace cannot be achieved. The unresolved Kashmir conflict is the reason that led Pakistan and India to arms race, while talking about arms race in South Asia, Mr. Riaz said, "We have concerns over strategic stability, which we will maintain despite our firm opposition to an arms race in South Asia" (A/62/PV.14, 2007, p. 34). The speech although discussed other topics as well but regional security concerns of Pakistan viz a viz India was mentioned in detail. Mr. Riaz blamed India for starting arms race in South Asia and as he said, "We started pursuing the nuclear option only after 1974, when the strategic balance was disrupted by the first Indian nuclear test" (A/62/PV.14, 2007, p. 34). In his address, Mr. Riaz mentioned that expansion of Security Council shall reflect the maximum agreement of the assembly members rather than adding more to the list of privileged. According to Mr. Riaz "Security Council reform must enlarge the representation of all Member States rather than expand the circle of the privileged" (A/62/PV.14, 2007, p. 35).

Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, President of Pakistan, addressed opening session of General Assembly in 2008. The address revolved around democracy in Pakistan and terrorism. Although, Mr. Zardari mentioned the regional cooperation to fight the menace of violence in South-Asia. As he said, "Better relations between Pakistan, Afghanistan and India would help create a regional environment more conducive to reducing militancy in our region". (A/63/PV.10, 2008, p. 18).

In 2009, again Mr. Asif Ali Zardari addressed UN General Assembly and the address was about democracy in Pakistan and regional cooperation to fight terrorism and extremism in South Asia. According to Zardari, "We also believe that regional cooperation against terrorism and extremism holds great promise. We emphasize regional efforts for peace and stability" (A/64/PV.7, 2009, p.29). Mr. Zardari

mentioned the importance of resolving the outstanding issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. As he said, “Meaningful progress towards a resolution of the Kashmir dispute is necessary for durable peace and stability in South Asia” (A/64/PV.7, 2009, p.29).

The speech in 2010 by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, in UN General Assembly unambiguously states Pakistan’s policy of UNSC reform. According to Mr. Qureshi:

> “We should look for an outcome that unites and does not divide the membership, one that strengthens and does not weaken the Organization. Our collective search should culminate in a consensus solution that corresponds to the interest of the entire membership, particularly small and medium States, developing countries and Africa” (A/65/PV.21, 2010, p. 24).

This was the first time since 2005 when Pakistan clearly stated that in case of reforms, particular focus should be on securing the interests of small and medium sized states. The speech of Mr. Qureshi focused on security concerns of Pakistan in South Asia because of the developments in Afghanistan and Indian occupied Kashmir. While mentioning the impact of instability in Afghanistan, Mr. Qureshi said, “No country has suffered more than Pakistan from the direct and indirect consequences of decades of conflict in Afghanistan” (A/65/PV.21, 2010, p. 25). The issue of Kashmir has always been at the center of Pakistan’s security concerns and according to Mr. Qureshi, “Pakistan is willing to engage India in a comprehensive dialogue to normalize relations between the two countries by finding amicable solutions to all outstanding issues, including the core dispute of Jammu and Kashmir” (A/65/PV.21, 2010, p. 25).

The speech in 2011 by the then Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar, addressed Terrorism, UNSC reform, and regional Security with the focus on Afghanistan and Kashmir. While mention UNSC reform, Khar reiterated Pakistan’s position as:

> “The process of Security Council reform must be carried out in a manner to reinforce the confidence of the world’s peoples in that body and enhance its credibility and effectiveness. Such reform must enjoy the full consensus of the international community and accord with the fundamental principle of sovereign equality” (A/66/PV.29, 2011, p. 09).

Ms. Khar mentioned how neighboring countries of Pakistan (Afghanistan and India) should not let their territories be used against Pakistan. As she said, “On the regional plane, we must all pledge that our respective territories will not be allowed to be used by terrorists against others” (A/66/PV.29, 2011, p. 9). While mentioning the dispute of Kashmir, she said, “We look forward to resolving all outstanding issues,

including the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, which is among the oldest on the agenda of the United Nations and the subject of several Security Council resolutions" (A/66/PV.29, 2011, p. 7).

The opening session of UN General Assembly was addressed by president Asif Ali Zardari in 2012. He mentioned UNSC reform, terrorism, democracy in Pakistan and Kashmir issue in his speech. He emphasized on reforming the UN system as, "The United Nations system must become more democratic and accountable, and reform should be based on consensus and democratic principles" (A/67/PV.7, 2012, p. 23). He criticized United Nations for not being able to resolve the Kashmir conflict as, "Kashmir remains a symbol of the failures, rather than the strengths, of the United Nations system. We feel that a resolution of these issues can be arrived at only in an environment of cooperation" (A/67/PV.7, 2012, p. 23).

2013 was the election year in Pakistan. The people of Pakistan choose Mr. Nawaz Sharif as their Prime Minister. Mr. Sharif addressed the opening session of General Assembly in 2013. Mr. Sharif's speech was about UNSC reforms, Kashmir issue, terrorism and regional security. Mr. Sharif while mentioning UNSC reform said, "The United Nations needs reform, but it should be a reform that reflects the interests of all, not just the ambitions of a few" (A/68/PV.15, 2013, p. 22). Although, Mr. Sharif did not mention the names of "ambitious few" but it is evident that he was pointing towards the Group of four (G-4). He criticized UN for not paying attention to the suffering of Kashmiri people, as he said, "The United Nations must, for instance, continue to remain attentive to the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and the full realization of the right to self-determination of its people. The suffering of the people cannot be brushed under the carpet because of power politics" (A/68/PV.15, 2013, p. 22).

The opening session of UN General Assembly in 2014 was addressed by the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, of Pakistan. This speech included the topic of climate change along with more emphasis on regional security issues and terrorism. He mentioned that unresolved conflicts between Pakistan and India hamper the development plans of both countries. As he said, "it is my Government's aspiration and endeavor to build a peaceful neighborhood by pursuing a policy of constructive engagement. In South Asia, our people have missed opportunities for prosperity because of unresolved conflicts" (A/69/PV.12, 2014, p. 38). While emphasizing on the resolution of Kashmir conflict Mr. Sharif said, "The core issue of Jammu and Kashmir has to be resolved. It is the responsibility of the international community. We cannot draw a veil on the issue of Kashmir, until it is addressed in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir" (A/69/PV.12, 2014, p. 38)

The speech of prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in the opening session of UN General Assembly in 2015 discussed UNSC reforms, terrorism, Kashmir issue and regional security issues. He opposed inclusion of new permanent members to the Security Council and said:

> "Pakistan supports the comprehensive reform of the United Nations, including of the Security Council. We need a Security Council that is more democratic, representative, accountable and transparent — a Council that reflects the interests of all Member States, in accordance with the principle of sovereign equality, not an expanded club of the powerful and privileged" (A/70/PV.19, 2015, p. 39).

According to Mr. Sharif the way to peace and security within South Asia goes through resolved Kashmir conflict. According to him, "Kashmir and peace and security — along with six other issues, including terrorism. The primacy and urgency of addressing those two issues is even more compelling today" (A/70/PV.19, 2015, p. 41). The conflict of Kashmir is the reason why Pakistan and India are engaged in arms race as according to Nawaz Sharif, "Pakistan neither wants, nor is engaged in, an arms race in South Asia. However, we cannot remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics and arms build-up in our region, which obliges us to take essential steps to maintain our security" (A/70/PV.19, 2015, p. 41).

In 2016, Nawaz Sharif addressed the opening session of UN General Assembly. The themes in the speech were same as before like Regional Security, Kashmir issue and UNSC reforms. Mr. Sharif's most of the speech was about Kashmir conflict and tensions with India. He said, "Peace and normalization between Pakistan and India cannot be achieved without a resolution of the Kashmir dispute" (A/71/PV.11, 2016, p.39). According to Mr. Sharif, unresolved Kashmir conflict is dangerous for the peace and stability of South Asia:

> "The international community ignores the danger of rising tensions in South Asia at its own peril. For its part, Pakistan is committed to the establishment of strategic stability in the region. It neither wants nor is engaged in an arms race with India. But we cannot ignore our neighbor's unprecedented arms build-up, and we will take whatever measures are necessary to maintain credible deterrence" (A/71/PV.11, 2016, p.39).

While mentioning UNSC reform debate, he said, "it should become more representative, transparent and accountable. A comprehensive and democratic reform of the Security Council, which Pakistan supports, should enhance its relevance and representation. Creating new centers of privilege will do the opposite" (A/71/PV.11, 2016, p.40).

The opening session of UN General Assembly in 2017 was addressed by the then Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi. The themes in his speech were: Kashmir issue, terrorism and climate change. Kashmir issue covered main part of Mr. Abbasi's speech. He blamed India for militarizing South Asia as, "Confronted by a hostile and increasingly militarized neighbour, Pakistan has been obliged to maintain its capability for credible deterrence. My country developed nuclear weapons only when they were introduced in our region by that neighbour" (A/72/PV.14, 2017, p. 10).

The opening session of General Assembly in 2018 was addressed by Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Shah Mehmood Qureshi. The speech of Mr. Qureshi discussed Islamophobia, Indian sponsored terrorism in Pakistan, Kashmir issue and climate change. Mr. Qureshi, while mentioning Indian sponsored terrorism in Pakistan, said, "Pakistan continues to face terrorism that is financed, facilitated and orchestrated by our eastern neighbour. We wanted to sit with India to discuss all issues, including terrorism, that have created violence in our cities and towns and have led to tens of thousands of casualties among innocent Pakistanis" (A/73/PV.14, 2018, p.45). While mentioning the plight of Kashmiri people under Indian occupation, he said, "It is India that, in plain sight of the international community, perpetrates State-sponsored terrorism in Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir" (A/73/PV.14, 2018, p.45).

In 2019, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Imran Khan addressed the opening session on UN General Assembly. He mentioned Islamophobia, economic inequality between East and West, climate change and Kashmir issue. After briefly talking about the three topics he dedicated most of his speech on Kashmir conflict. He said, "My fourth point is the most critical and the reason why I came here. It is about what is happening in Kashmir" (A/74/PV.9, 2019, p. 18). While warning the world community if Kashmir issue is not resolved, Mr. Khan said, "If things go wrong, the world will hope for the best, but it should be prepared for the worst. If a conventional war breaks out between the two countries, anything could happen" (A/74/PV.9, 2019, p. 21). Furthermore, if war between India and Pakistan starts on Kashmir conflict, Mr. Khan added, "let us suppose a country seven times smaller than its neighbour is faced with the choice of either surrendering or fighting to the death. when a nuclear-armed country fights to the end, there will be consequences that reach far beyond its borders" (A/74/PV.9, 2019, p. 21).

The speech of Mr. Imran in the opening session of UN General Assembly in 2020 mentioned the same topics as 2019 along with US troops withdrawal from Afghanistan and COVID 19. He mentioned Kashmir as a nuclear flash point in South Asia and without resolving Kashmir conflict durable peace is not possible in South Asia. Mr. Khan said, "There will be no durable peace and stability in South Asia until the

Jammu and Kashmir dispute is resolved on the basis of international legitimacy. Kashmir has been rightly described as a “nuclear flash point” (A/75/PV.10, 2020, p. 66).

The following pie chart has been designed in order to see which of the themes stood out after analyzing the speeches made by Pakistan during the opening sessions of UN General Assembly from 2005 to 2020.

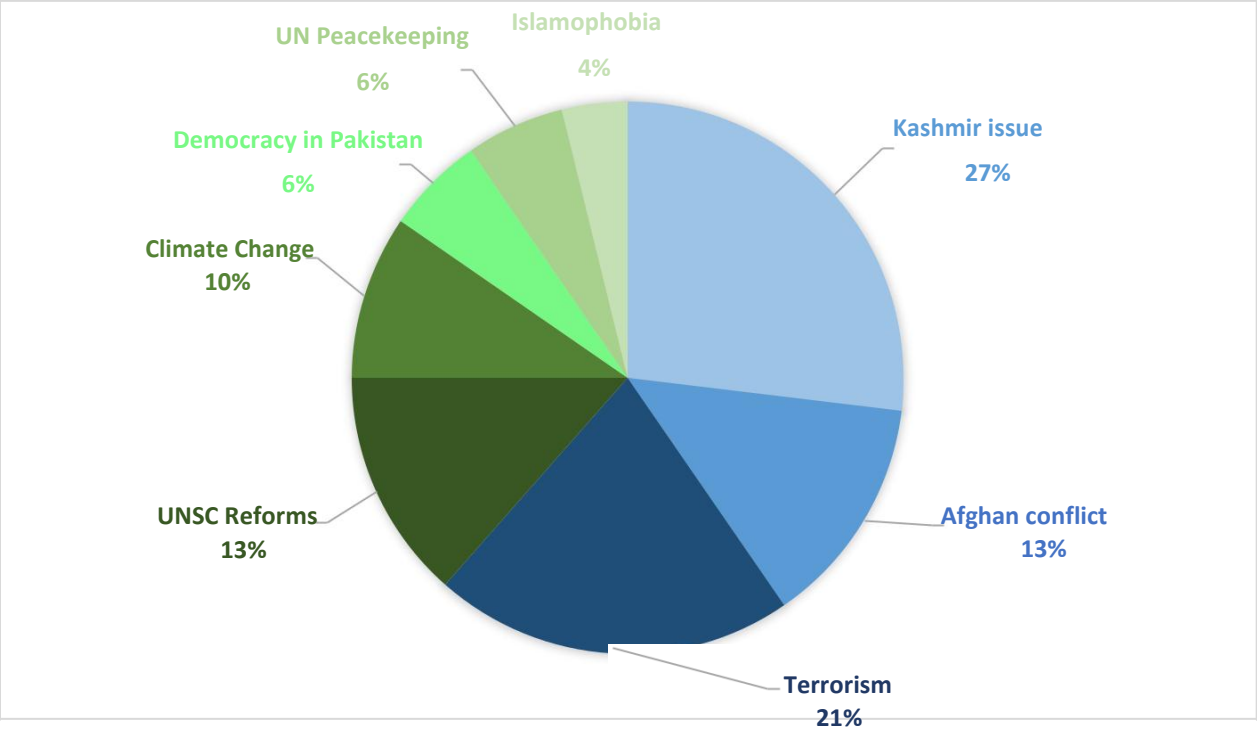

Figure 11. Themes in Pakistan’s speeches in UNGA opening sessions (Source: UNGA opening sessions, 2005-2020).

As we can see that the topics such as Kashmir conflict, Afghan issue and terrorism account for 61% of the topics mentioned in Pakistan’s opening speeches. The rest of the topics such as UNSC reforms, Climate change, UN Peacekeeping, Islamophobia and democracy in Pakistan are the topics that account for only 39% of the mentions in the opening speeches of UN General Assembly from 2005 to 2020. The speeches made in UN General Assembly prove that Pakistan’s emphasis on highlighting issues of Afghanistan, Kashmir, terrorism and India has regional security connotations. So, the data at hand verifies hypothesis of this study that Pakistan’s regional security concerns play vital role in its engagement with United Nations.

4.4.1 Conclusion

A mere look at the table makes it evident that the topics which stood out in every speech by Pakistan in UNGA opening session was related with regional security concerns of Pakistan, i.e. Kashmir conflict, instability in Afghanistan, terrorism and relations with India. There are other themes like economic development, economic inequality between global north and south, climate change, Islamophobia and democracy have been addressed in the speeches. The constant theme throughout every speech from 2005 to 2020 is “Kashmir conflict”. The word “peace” has been used more than words like “Kashmir” or “India” in the speeches but when we see the context, most of the times “peace” has been coupled with “India” or “Kashmir”. The second most used word in the speeches is “terrorism”, but it also has regional connotation to it e.g. while addressing the UNGA opening session in 2018, Mr. Qureshi said, “Pakistan continues to face terrorism that is financed, facilitated and orchestrated by our eastern neighbour” (UNGA, A/73/PV.14, p. 45). The other example is from the speech in opening session of UNGA by Pakistan’s Prime Minister, Imran Khan, “The international community must investigate these grave violations and prosecute the Indian civil and military personnel involved in state terrorism and serious crimes against humanity, being perpetrated, with complete impunity” (UNGA, A/75/PV.10, p. 65).

Chapter 05

Discussion and Conclusion

5.1 Reform debate so far

Every organization or institution, whether national, regional or global, has to go through a process of transformation in order to adapt with the needs and requirements of changing times, and United Nations Security Council is no different. The study of other organizations shows us that the transformation according to changing times is an essential ingredient of success, e.g. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was formed in 1947 as a multi-national organization for reducing tariffs and increase in trade among the signatory states was transformed into World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. Similarly, European Economic Community (EEC) formed in 1957 transformed itself into European Union (EU) in 1992 to widen and deepen the regional integration of Europe. The same goes for North-Atlantic Treaty Organization when it had to synchronize itself with the changed global geopolitical reality after disintegration of USSR between 1988-1991. These are some examples where we can see that adaptability of organizations according to changing requirements is the key to success. However, according to (Schaefer, 2017, p. 98), we notice no substantial changes in the structure and working of UNSC since its formation; although, some minor changes did occur in structure of Security Council during 1963-1965, when non-permanent category of UNSC was increased. While Open-ended Working Group (OEWG) of 1993 brought some change in Security Council's working methods.

The topic of Security Council reform has been one of the most debated topics in United Nations and almost every member of United Nations agrees that reforming UNSC is indispensable for its effectiveness and legitimacy but reaching on a common reform plan has yet to be realized. The analysis of states' motivations in Security Council reform debate explain to the larger extent that why reform debate is being dragged on for so many years. The states are divided into two groups according to their motivations, i.e. states motivated by logic of appropriateness and states motivated by the logic of consequence. However, when we put these two group of states in a scenario such as reforming UN Security Council then as Schaefer (2017, p. 12) says, "most of the major negotiation parties involved during reform, are largely driven by strategic self-interests rather than a norm-driven logic of appropriateness". In our case states like G-4 base their motives of reforms on normative concerns of reforming the overall structure of UNSC because according to them the current composition of UNSC lacks legitimacy and

efficiency (Tharoor, 2011). However, the normative belief of reforming UNSC by giving more representation in permanent category would indeed make UNSC more representative and legitimized but the question of efficiency would still remain an elusive concept. As the concerns about more representation without substantial efficiency are pointed out by a former permanent representative of Netherland, "no one can seriously believe a council with 24 members can be more effective than one with 15, but it has become politically incorrect to point this out" (Chapnick, 2006, p. 89). This leads to the question of how to make the current Council more legitimate as well as effective. As discussed above, the dichotomy between legitimacy and efficiency is a matter of concern in reform debate of UNSC. The Security Council of United Nations derives its authority at international political arena from its status being 'legitimate'. The legitimacy of the Council is agreed upon by all the members but according to (Schaefer, 2017, p. 90) "once this perceived legitimacy of the Council decreases due to unrepresentativeness or growing inefficiencies, the authority of the UNSC is at stake".

As we mentioned that the Security Council reforms debate led to the division of states into two groups: states motivated by normative concerns of improving Security Council versus states led by strategic based logic of consequence. The only coalition that adheres more to the normative concern of reform debate is Accountability, Coherence and Transparency group (ACT), while the rest such as G-4, African Union and UfC etc. are motivated by self-interests to gain as much as possible in reformed Security Council. This zero-sum approach of major reform coalitions is one of the factors that hinders Security Council reform process. Furthermore, analysis of states' motivations for reforming UNSC vary from state to state and studying those motivations would eventually lead us towards understanding 'why states do what they do'. Moreover, state identity, history, power, ideology etc. would indeed help us understand the reasons why states are either motivated by normative concerns or strategic concerns in reforming Security Council.

In this study the focus has been Pakistan's policy towards UN security Council reform. Until now, most of the scholarship on the subject of Security Council reform has been focused on studying the motives of states for reforms through the lenses of identity, power, economy, resources etc., but this study gives a different path to look at the subject, i.e. impact of regional security arrangements on global subjects such as Security Council reform debate. The case of Pakistan in UNSC reform debate is interesting as well as intriguing one because a middle power like Pakistan has neither capability nor aspiration to become a permanent member of Security Council but it tries to influence the debate on it. The study applies Regional Security Complex Theory on South-Asia and analyzes how this theory better explains

Pakistan's position on Security Council reform debate. Nonetheless, studying Security Council reform debate through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory is just a new way of understanding and analyzing the impact of regions, regional rivalries and regional security arrangements on the complex nature of council's reform debate.

5.2 Findings

The study thoroughly went through Security Council reform debate with the special focus of Pakistan's position of opposing G-4 campaign of getting permanent status in Security Council. The study has led to the following findings:

a) The study of UN Security Council reform shows that the composition and structure of UN Security Council is unlikely to change in near future. The debates on Security Council reform originate from the General Assembly of the United Nations and the UNGA cannot pass a binding resolution on amending UN Charter regarding the rules and Structure of Security Council without two-third majority votes of its members. The current proposals by G-4, UfC, African Union or any other state or group lacks the majority consensus of General Assembly members.

b) UN Security Council indeed does not reflect the current global realities and it should be reformed. If reform initiatives do not reflect the aspirations of middle or regional powers, like Pakistan, Italy, South-Korea or Argentina etc., then substantial progress on reforms will remain an elusive dream.

c) The anarchic nature of International system dictates states' behavior of securing maximum national interest. In such a situation, no state would support any development in international institution such as United Nations that jeopardizes their national interests. This is why it Regional rivalries such as India vs Pakistan, South-Korea vs Japan, Italy vs Germany and Argentina vs Brazil play significant role in Security Council reform debate.

d) The division of states for reforming Security Council between normative concerns and strategic concerns does not show that there are two categories of states and each group has its own firm ideological basis for reforming Security Council. These two groups have states within their camp with clashing interests but they joined together through 'Doctrine of necessity'. As Thomas G. Weiss (2009, p. 5) says,

"much of con temporary UN debate can be compared with the Roman Senate's effort to control the Emperor".

5.3 Discussion on Findings and overview of previous chapters

Chapter one of the thesis briefly explains the rationale for investigating the study. It includes statement of the problem on which the study revolves. It introduces the research questions and hypothesis of the study. Moreover, brief introduction of theoretical framework and methodology are included to familiarize the reader about the discussions included in subsequent chapters. chapter two of the thesis focuses on reviewing previous literature produced on the subject of UNSC reform debate. In order to provide sound basis for the research the chapter is divided into three parts. The first part highlights the gap in existing literature on UNSC reform debate because so far no study has been done that focuses on regional security as a factor in UNSC reform debate. This study provides basis for all the future studies that would analyze the significance of regional security arrangements on UNSC reform debate. The second part of the chapter provides historical context of Security Council reform efforts. This part mentions that there has been structural change in the composition of UNSC once in 1965 when the number of non-permanent members were increased from ten (10) to fifteen (15). Although, the thesis focuses on Pakistan and India along with their respective coalitions, i.e. UfC and G-4, but it also briefly mentions other coalitions for reforming UNSC. The reason other coalitions are included because other coalitions signify diverse motives on reforming UNSC among the member countries. The third part sheds light on the reform proposals presented by UfC and G-4 for reforming UNSC. This part essentially demonstrates how different countries with diverse agenda could form a coalition on matters such as UNSC reform. Those countries who do not wish to see their regional rivals getting permanent membership in UNSC formed UfC. The leading members of UfC such as Pakistan, Italy, South-Korea and Argentina oppose G-4's campaign for permanent membership because of their regional rivalries with the members of G-4. The study focuses Pakistan as its case study on which it asks following questions:

- How can one explain Pakistan's policy towards UNSC reform being a member of UfC group?
- Why Pakistan opposes India's bid for permanent membership in reformed UNSC in 2000's?
- How regional rivalry between India and Pakistan transforms itself into a part of global debate of Security Council reform?
- What does Pakistan's case tell us about the nexus between regional and global security dynamics in the UNSC reform debates?

- What does the failure of competing UfC and G4 proposals in 2000's reform debates tell us about the future prospects of "consensus" among different states (both regionally and on material power) on the issue of UNSC reform (on both "structural" and "procedural" grounds)?

The first two questions have been answered in chapter three of this study. Chapter three explains the theoretical framework employed in this thesis i.e. Regional Security Complex Theory. The study uses the explanations provided by RSCT and applies it on Pakistan to investigate how regional security concerns of Pakistan. The investigation in this chapter make two interrelated claims that answer the first two questions. Firstly, Pakistan uses the platform of UfC to oppose enlargement in permanent category of UNSC. The opposition of Pakistan is based on its regional security concerns because India along with other G-4 countries is campaigning vigorously for permanent membership in UNSC. In order to answer the second question, chapter three mentions the rivalry between India and Pakistan in South-Asia. Pakistan considers India as an existential threat and these two countries have fought four wars since their independence in 1947. The study suggests that without resolving the outstanding issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan, India as a permanent member in UNSC negatively impact the security complex of South Asia.

The third and fourth question has been discussed in chapter four of the thesis. In order to answer these questions, content analysis method has been used. The speeches of Pakistan's representatives in the opening sessions of UNGA from 2005 to 2020 has been used as a sample to answer the third and fourth question. The third question raises two points. Firstly, the rivalry between India and Pakistan has regional basis. Secondly, the regional rivalry is not limited to the South Asian region but it dictates Pakistan's narrative on global level debate of UNSC reforms. Pakistan has no aspirations as well as capabilities to become permanent member of UNSC but it does not stop Pakistan from lobbying to oppose inclusion of its arch rival, India, as a permanent member. The opposition of India as a permanent member in UNSC has been mentioned many times by Pakistan. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, while addressing the 68th session of UN general Assembly in 2013 criticized G-4 countries as, "The United Nations needs reform, but it should be a reform that reflects the interests of all, not just the ambitions of a few." The fourth question tries to investigate that how regional security arrangements of South Asia affect Pakistan's policy regarding UNSC reform because the reform debate for Pakistan is not about increasing the effectiveness of UNSC but the reform debate entails a very important question for Pakistan, which is "whether its regional rival, India, becomes permanent member or not?" The India factor is very important for Pakistan's policy regarding UN reforms. Regional rivalries transcended their boundaries and

became part of a global debate and UfC is an example that shows how regional rivals of India, Germany, Japan and Brazil joined hands to stop their regional rivals becoming permanent members of UNSC. The analysis of speeches by Pakistan in UNGA shows that regional security concerns of Pakistan (Kashmir issue, Afghan conflict and Terrorism) share 61% of the total topics discussed in total speeches. Among all the topics Kashmir issue has been mentioned more than any other topic. (see figure 11). The topics such as UNSC reforms, Climate change, UN Peacekeeping, Islamophobia and democracy in Pakistan are the topics that share 39% in the opening speeches of UN General Assembly by Pakistan from 2005 to 2020. The speeches made in UN General Assembly prove that Pakistan's emphasis on highlighting issues of Afghanistan, Kashmir, terrorism and India has regional security connotations. Thus, the data at hand clearly suggests that Pakistan's policy of UNSC reform is dictated by its regional security concerns.

All of the above mentioned discussions lead us to answer our final questions that what does the failure of competing UfC and G4 proposals in 2000's reform debates tell us about the future prospects of "consensus" among different states? The anarchic nature of international politics is the reason why states pursue their interest even on a collective concern, such as UNSC reforms. In such a situation regional rivalries play a significant role and rivals not only try to secure their interest but they try to block any development that could favour their rivals. The tug of war between UfC and G-4 is a clear example that shows that without resolving outstanding issues between regional rivals, global consensus over UNSC reform cannot me materialized. As long as regional rivalries are not addressed, states would look at the reform debate as zero-sum game rather than positive-sum game.

5.4 Way Forward for Pakistan

India along with other G-4 members is vigorously campaigning for getting permanent status in Security Council and it is already enjoying support of more than 80 countries including four permanent members of Security Council (Sarwar, 2011, p. 274). If India manages to the status of permanent member in Security Council, then India would be in position to veto any proposal in Security Council that would potentially serve Pakistan's interests in South-Asian region. India as a permanent member would be in position to reject any resolution on resolving Kashmir issue and as a regional rival of India, Pakistan's position on sensitive issues related with its security like Kashmir, Rivers and Terrorism would weaken.

In order to avoid all issues related with Indian permanent membership in Security Council, the study suggests that Pakistan should take India's bid for permanent membership of the Security Council

more seriously because the most important hurdle among the permanent five (P5) for Indian campaign is China and India is currently engaged with China over the issue. As India is engaging with China, it is also focusing on African Union and the Least Developed Countries to get the necessary support (Sarwar, 2011). As a member of Uniting for Consensus, Pakistan should use the UfC platform to lobby against expansion of permanent membership in Security Council. Pakistan should engage with international community and especially with P-5 that without resolving Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan, inclusion of India as a permanent member in Security Council would be unacceptable for Pakistan. Pakistan should take the matter of Indian aspiration to become permanent member with other South-Asian countries because India has outstanding bilateral issues of water and border demarcation with Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan. All these countries share similar concerns as Pakistan over Indian regional aspirations. Pakistan should approach other international coalitions such as Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Non-aligned movement (NAM), African Union (AU), Least Developed Countries (LDC) and others to support UfC proposal. The support from other coalitions to UfC proposal means expansion in non-permanent category of Security Council and such development would automatically block expansion of permanent membership in Security Council. As Germany and Japan are not pleased with United States' open support for India, Pakistan should exploit it as much as possible for its advantage. Pakistan could approach Germany and Japan with a proposition that if they withdraw their support for India as a permanent member in Security Council then Pakistan would soften its policy of no expansion in permanent category as well.

The above mentioned recommendations are presented with a view of geopolitical realties of South-Asia. There is another important area where Pakistan can strengthen its position and that is breaking the security complex of South-Asia based on Indo-Pak rivalry. As the security studies on South-Asia heavily focus on Indo-Pakistan rivalry, other countries have been under-studied. In order to paint the complete picture of South-Asian security complex, other states such as Afghanistan should be included in the studies. Moreover, countries like Iran and China should also be studied because, although, these countries lie outside the South-Asian region but they effect the regions politics heavily. Inclusion of other smaller countries within the region and other countries outside the region would balance the current Indian dominance in the region.

5.5 Recommendations for future studies

This study mainly focused on Pakistan's policy regarding UNSC reforms through Regional Security Complex theory. The study at hand focuses Pakistan and analyzes the speeches of Pakistan in opening sessions of UNGA between 2005 to 2020. The idea behind studying Pakistan is to analyze the role of regional security arrangements on Pakistan's policy of UNSC reforms. This opens a new way of analyzing UN reform debate and further studies can be conducted on the policies of other UfC members. There is always room for betterment, so another study on reforming Security Council through regional security approach can come up with new theory of securitization or methodology to produce new literature on UNSC reform debate. The studies in future can take the four regional rivals of G-4 members, i.e. South-Korea, Argentina, Pakistan and Italy, in order to conduct a comparative study. The comparative study G-4 and their regional rivals would be more rigorous and enable us to reveal whether above mentioned UfC members share the same level of regional security concerns or their motives are more diverse than that of Pakistan. Further studies can also investigate whether UfC opposes G-4 on all fronts or the opposition of UfC is limited to G-4 campaign for permanent membership in UNSC. Moreover, there are coalitions other than G-4 and UfC which are interested in reforming the working method of Security Council, such as Accountability, Coherence and Transparency Group. A comparative study between coalition of working method reform (Accountability, Coherence and Transparency Group) and structural reform coalition (G-4, UfC or AU) could be done to study which reform method would be more beneficial for strengthening Security Council.

5.6 Conclusion

The United Nations Security Council reform process is in a deadlock. The decades of debates, discussions, coalitions, and proposals have not led to any feasible solution. The deadlock is because of two reasons, i.e. the rigidity in UN Charter about the procedure to reform Security Council and the clash of interests among UN members over how Security Council should be reformed. Every state wants to secure its interests in the reformed Security Council because any change in the composition or working of the Security Council would profoundly affect the structure of international politics, and it is the reason why states do not sit idly without trying to influence the reform process. The coalition of states like G-4, African Union and UfC argue that the Council has yet to become more fair and democratic institution that reflects the trust of every nation but how it should be reformed is the question that divided states into different groups and coalitions. The question of reforming Security Council became more like a chaotic

wrestling among the contestants with the difference that United Nations General Assembly became arena and the states acted as contestants. This tug of war among states, instead of providing a practical roadmap for reforming Security Council, led to the proposals that could best serve their own interests. This is why former Secretary General Kofi Annan wrote in his "In Larger Freedom" report that "the task is not to find alternatives to the UNSC as a source of authority but to make it work better" (Schrijver, 2005). The purpose of this thesis is to consider how regional rivalries affect the reform process and in order to do so, I have employed Regional Security Complex Theory on Pakistan's Policy towards UN Security Council reform debate. The constant struggle to between G-4 and UfC over Security Council reform is nothing more than regional rivalries transcending their regional boundaries and influencing global debates. As (Hurd, 2002, p. 48) says, "the pursuit of international political goals takes much the same shape as does the pursuit of domestic political goals" because in both cases states push to obtain maximum gains. Reforming UN Security Council in a world where regional rivalries are intensifying is indeed a tough task because until the Security Council reform process is not de-politicized and the focus of states from zero-sum game to positive-sum game is not changed; the struggle for securing national interests among the states at every stage, whether regional or global, is going to remain constant.

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