

# Emerging Global Realities Challenges and Response

13 - 15 November 2024

A Chronicle of Papers & Analyses



Islamabad Policy Research Institute Research | Innovation | Dialogue | Policy

#### © Islamabad Policy Research Institute 2025 ISBN: 978-627-7691-14-1 ISBN (E-book): 978-627-7691-15-8

All rights reserved. No part of this Publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the Editor/Publisher.

Opinions expressed are those of the authors and speakers, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute. Complete responsibility for factual accuracy of the data presented and bibliographic citations lies entirely with the author/s and speakers.

#### Note:

# IPRI holds the right to accept or reject any manuscript at any stage from being published.

#### The Institute has a zero tolerance plagiarism policy.

All correspondence pertaining to subscriptions or comments on published material should be addressed to the Editor, through post or email at the following address:

Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Evacuee Trust Complex, 5th Floor Sir Aga Khan Road, F-5/1, Islamabad, Pakistan. Tel: (92 51) 9211346-49 Fax: (92 51) 9211350 Email: editor@ipripak.org

Printed by:

Price: National PK: Rs. 1500/-International US: \$10



### President

Amb. Dr Raza Muhammad

### **Director Research**

Dr Raashid Wali Janjua

### **Chief Coordinators**

Ch. Siddique Humayun Brig. (retd) Naveed Ali, SI(M)

### Coordinators

Khalid Hussain Chandio, Javairyah Kulthum Aatif, Hadia Usman, Iqra Hasnat, Faizan Riaz, Syed Muhammad Jawad ul Haque, Ali Hamza, Ch. Sheraz Ahmad, Iqra Bano Sohail

### **Compiled by**

Amna Ejaz Rafi, Maryum Tamoor, Faizan Riaz, Iqra Siddique, Nageen Ashraf, Muneeb Shah, Hajra Hashmi

### Media

Ishtiaq Ali Mehkri

# Editor

Shamsa Nawaz

# **Deputy Editor**

Ishtiaq Ali Mehkri

# Graphic Designer/Composer

Saleha Sadaf

## **CONTENTS**

### **Opening Session**

1

5

Welcome Address by Amb Dr Raza Muhammad President, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI)

Inaugural Address by Honourable Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani Chairman of the Senate of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan

### Forum A

# Great Power Competition and its Impact on Peace and Security in Global South

<b>Chair/Moderator Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry</b> Chairman Sanober Institute, Pakistan	13
<b>Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed</b> Chairman Pakistan-China Institute, Pakistan	15
<b>Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr</b> Professor of International Affairs and Middle East Studies, John Hopkins University, USA	19
<b>Professor Dr Igor Panarin</b> Member of the Academy of Military Sciences, Russian Federation	25
<b>Professor Dr Victor Gao</b> Vice President, Center for China and Globalisation, China	31
Q & A Session	35

### Forum **B**

# Regional Security and Development Dynamics of South Asia: Challenges and Possibilities

Chair/Moderator	51
Fahd Husain	
President, Aik News, Pakistan	
Professor Steve Coll	53
Senior Editor, The Economist, USA	
Security & Stability in South Asia	55
Pravin Sawhney	
Editor, Force Magazine, India	
Challenges Emanating from the CASA Region	59
Ambassador Asif Durrani	
Senior Research Fellow, IPRI, Pakistan	
IIOJK Post August 5, 2019: Impact on Peace	63
And Stability in South Asia	
Mushaal Hussein Mullick	
Former Special Assistant to Prime Minister (SAPM) on	
Human Rights and Women Empowerment, Pakistan	
Russia's Perspective on Developments in Asia and	67
its Relationship with the Global South	07
Anton Bespalov	
Senior Research Fellow, Valdai Discussion Club,	
Russian Federation	
Q & A Session	69

# Special Forum on Economy Pakistan's Economic Security through Regional Trade

<b>Chair/Moderator Dr Aneel Salman</b> Chair, Economic Security, IPRI	85
<b>Professor Ahsan Iqbal</b> Federal Minister for Planning, Development & Special Initiatives, Government of Pakistan	89
<b>Driving Economic Stability through Trade and</b> <b>Investment Initiatives</b> <b>Ehsan Malik</b> Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Pakistan Business Council, Pakistan	93
<mark>Economic Security in the New Era</mark> <b>Zafar Masud</b> Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Bank of Punjab, Pakistan	95
<b>Dr Aqdas Afzal</b> Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, The Gulf Cooperatic Council (GCC)	97 on
Q & A Session	99
Forum C Age of Technology: Exploring New Horizons	
<b>Chair/Moderator</b> <b>Dr Basit Raza</b> AI Entrepreneur, Former Adviser to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on IT and Telecommunication, Pakistan	107
<b>Alex Gladstein</b> Chief Strategy Officer, Human Rights Foundation, USA	111

<b>Emerging Technologies and their Impact on National</b> <b>Security and Economy</b> <b>Daniel Castro</b> Vice President, Information Technology and Innovation Foundation (ITIF), USA	115
<b>Impact of Technology on Warfare Brig (R) Dr Raashid Wali Janjua</b> Director Research and Analysis, IPRI, Pakistan	119
<b>Developing Emerging Technologies and the Role of East</b> <b>Prof. Dr Gao Xudong</b> School of Economics and Management, Tsinghua University, Chi	127 ina
<b>AI Regulations/ Autonomous Weapons Iva Gumnishka</b> Founder, Humans in the Loop, Czech Republic	133
Q & A Session Forum D	135
Reforming Governance and Human Security in Pakistan	
<b>Chair/Moderator Jam Kamal Khan</b> Federal Minister for Commerce, Pakistan	147
<b>Governance and Bureaucratic Reforms Shakil Durrani</b> Executive Director, Society for the Promotion of Engineering Science and Technology (SOPREST), Pakistan	151 7
<b>Health and Social Security Professor Dr Shahzad Ali Khan</b> Dean and Vice Chancellor Health Services Academy, Pakista	155 וח
<b>Political Economy Sakib Sherani</b> CEO, Macro Economic Insights, Pakistan	161

Climate	Security
Cumute	Decurity

Dr Claudia Milena Adler

Dr Sabina Imran Durrani

Lecturer, International Humanitarian Affairs, University of York, UK

#### **Population**

Director General, National Emergency Health Services, Pakistan

Q&A Session

## **Special Forum on Law International Law: Selective Compliance** in a Multipolar World

Chair/Moderator	181
Maham Naweed	
Chair, International Law, IPRI	

**Global Implications of Selective Compliance by the West** 185 Prof. Makane Moise Mbenque Faculty of Law, University of Geneva, Switzerland

Regional Dynamics Influencing Selective Compliance	189
Ahmer Bilal Soofi	
Founder RSIL, Pakistan	

Q&A Session

195

# **Concluding Session**

**Concluding Address by** Ambassador Inamul Haq Chairman BOG, IPRI

203

171

167

# Special Session Pakistan's Contribution to Peace and Stability

Special Address by	211
General Syed Asim Munir, Nishan-e-Imtiaz (Military)	
Chief of Army Staff, Pakistan	

Biographies	217
Annexures	231
IPRI Publications	299

# **OPENING SESSION**







# Welcome Address



### Amb. Dr Raza Muhammad President IPRI

Honourable Chairman Senate of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, Chairman IPRI, Ambassador Inamul Haq, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, Excellencies, the members of diplomatic corps, scholars, practitioners, media representatives, and my team of IPRI.

It is a great honour to welcome you all at the Margalla Dialogue 2024. This Dialogue which commenced in 2019, is now recognised as one of the country's most prestigious and impactful dialogues. We endeavour to benefit from a diverse array of experts from home and abroad. The discourse aims at deliberating traditional and non-traditional security issues having far-reaching impacts. This year's theme is *"Emerging Global Realities Challenges and Response."* Therefore, the discussion will mainly revolve around the global milieu that is becoming increasingly complicated and challenging.

Big power contestation is fast evolving into rivalry despite attractive expressions like globalisation and Rules-Based World Order, the world continues to be driven by self-interest. Inter-state wars and intra-state conflicts, and proxy wars have taken a newer and more lethal dimension. Artificial Intelligence (AI) and high-end technology have made wars contactless yet more destructive. Gaza,

Margalla Dialogue 2024

1

#### *Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response*

Iran, and Lebanon are experiencing it first-hand. Genocide perpetuates in Gaza. Pakistan's efforts to bring India to talks to resolve conflicts fall into an unfathomable abyss of arrogance. Asia Pacific is being militarised and nuclearised. I often wonder whether we live in a Rules-Based World Order or a world ruled by a few ones' order. In this strange matrix of cooperation and competition, the rival economies are intertwined to independence; the USA, India, Japan, Australia, and so many other countries. India has trade amounting to hundreds of billions of dollars with China despite a conflict. Russian gas continues to flow to Ukraine, and interestingly Russia pays royalty to Ukraine.

North Stream 1 is destroyed, and North Stream 2 has not been allowed to open. The United States has become the largest gas supplier to Europe. Military-Industrial Complexes are thriving, and the Chinese philosophy of win-win cooperation embodied in the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is being painted negatively. China is portrayed as a revisionist state. The Chinese employed on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in Pakistan are being targeted by well-planned externally ported attacks.

It is worth reasserting that Russia is also being targeted by economic sanctions. The great power competition is gradually transitioning towards bipolarity and bloc politics.

Environmental degradation is leading to unexpected climatetriggered humanitarian crises. Frequent floods caused by melting glaciers have become a new feature, especially in South Asia. Drugs are becoming another frontier to fight.

Dis-information and misinformation are new means of opinion shaping. Google and Matte occupy half of the world's population minds. AI, developed primarily by the West, influences the thought and ideology affording effortless research with the Chatbots, have perhaps made our youth complacent.

#### Welcome Address

The palm held devices have changed the family culture. Knowledge, high-end technology, international systems, trade, economy, even the vaccines have been colonised. Africa suffers through neocolonisation designed to unfairly serve their precious natural resources. The Nubians are supposed to feed on wild animals.

After four decades of death and destruction, Afghanistan is left to subsist in increasing poverty. However, there are multiple silver linings too. Everything is not bad. The technology, the AI, the inventions, the advancements in the medical science are helping humanity in a greater way.

Enhancing environmental cautiousness inspires a clean and greener world. China leads in the production of renewable energy and has achieved the objective of renewable energy targets six years before time.

BRI has about 150 partners, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO), Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (BRICS), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), African Union (AU), and other such forums are enabling the regions to overcome challenges compounding human security. The revival of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) is in the larger interest of the people of South Asia. We (Pakistan) have been grappling with internal security and economic problems for many years.

Atrocities and human rights violations are being committed in the Middle East and Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir (IIOJK). UN tries to play its role despite the vetoes. Realising its innate potential, the global majority South is uniting around commonalities of interest. With the changes in the offing, the Asian Century is evolving into a reality. It may take time but it is irreversible now.

3

#### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

These realities will agitate the intellect of our panelists, and the participants will also generate candid discussions to accrue responses. Against this backdrop, this Dialogue will be held in four main forums and three special sessions.

Ladies and gentlemen, indeed we are lucky to have amongst us the former Prime Minister of Pakistan and Chairman Senate of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Mr. Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani, who has the best visibility of these challenges. We look forward to his valuable insights and vision for Pakistan and its future.

Thank you so much.■

# Inaugural Address

### Honourable Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani Chairman of the Senate of the Islamic

Republic of Pakistan



In a short span of five years, this important platform has become a hallmark of progressive deliberations on issues of national security and development in Pakistan. IPRI deserves strong commendations for bringing together such distinguished voices from across the globe. It is through dialogue like these that we advance collective wisdom and explore solutions to the challenges that shape our shared future. Today's theme, "Emerging Global Realities Challenges and Responses," depicts the urgent need to understand, adapt and act in a rapidly changing world. Stiff competition among global powers is shaping new divides and blocs reminiscent of the Cold War.

De-globalisation is creating exclusive powers, clubs and minilateral alliances such as QUAD, AUKUS and I2U2 that often leave behind multilateral organisations like the United Nations and the WTO. These new blocs often shift focus on multilateral cooperation to isolated alliances leading to fragmentations in global governance.

Developing nations, particularly in the Global South, are navigating great power competition amidst bloc politics and economic containment. They face an increasing divide with wealthier nations, further limiting their economic and security options. This stark

Margalla Dialogue 2024

#### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

reality is reflected in conflicts like the Ukrainian war and tensions in Gaza where geopolitical interests often obscure humanitarian imperative.

Ladies and gentlemen, our way forward lies in a more democratic and inclusive global order. At this historic cross-roads, Pakistan holds a unique position as a bridge across regions and a voice of global power. Our responsibility, therefore, is two-fold. Domestically we must address our internal challenges, issues of security, governance, and economic resilience. Internationally, we must present a clear unified voice that advocates collective security, economic justice, and cooperation to address transnational threats like climate change, pandemics, and terrorism.

As Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of the nation, remarked in his first post-independence interview, "Pakistan is a pivot of the world placed on the frontiers on which the future position of the world revolves." These words signify Pakistan's enduring role as a frontline state whether against expansionism in the past or the contemporary struggle against terrorism and proxy conflicts. We aim to champion the principles of respect, sovereignty, and peaceful co-existence. Principles that demand addressing the core conflicts such as the Palestine, and Kashmir issues with fairness and without prejudice. In our core regions, global tensions echo profoundly on Eastern and Western fronts, however, we remain resilient in our resolve to foster peace and stability. Pakistan firmly believes in dialogue and mutual respect in South Asia that can transform a theatre of rivalry into a community collaboration.

As we address the internal security challenges whether terrorism, organised crime or social disunity, Pakistan remains committed to peace and stability in the region.

Ladies and gentlemen, my vision for Pakistan is one that builds on strength, our strategic location, our rich cultural heritage and our

#### Inaugural Address

resilient people. We must channel these assets to foster a society based on inclusivity, justice, and good governance. This means embracing a governance model that empowers local communities, strengthens institutional independence and governments to depoliticise economic plans. By doing so we create a nation that is economically self-reliant, socially cohesive, and intellectually vibrant. To move forward we must foster investor's confidence by ensuring political stability, and sound governance. Also securing peace and stability in the newly-merged districts is imperative.

We must empower local communities to socio-economic reforms, thereby, closing gaps that allow terrorism and extremism to flourish. Moreover, since education remains the cornerstone of any nation's progress, we must equip our youth with skills needed to thrive in a competitive globalised world. Pakistan's future depends on an educated, innovative, technologically competent workforce capable of driving sustainable development.

On the climate change front, mobilising resources and engaging with multilateral institutions is essential to secure a resilient future for our country. At the same time, we must counter disinformation winning the hearts and minds of citizens, particularly our youth. This requires truth, transparency, and commitment to countering propaganda with evidence-based discourse.

Another imperative is strengthening the judicial system, updating outdated laws, and implementing criminal justice reforms. This will empower our people and curb criminal activities that threaten national cohesion.

Distinguished guests, our journey ahead does not lie in isolation but in unity, and collaboration, both internally and with our global partners. Together by adhering to the principles of justice, inclusivity, and resilience, we can navigate these turbulent times, and emerge stronger. I thank you all for your dedication, your insights, and your commitment to a brighter future for Pakistan and our global community. *Pakistan Zindabad*.

# **FORUM A**

GREAT POWER COMPETITION AND ITS IMPACT ON PEACE AND SECURITY IN GLOBAL SOUTH















#### Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry Chairman Sanober Institute, Pakistan

The world order established approximately 80 years ago is in distress, with major power competition being one of the defining features of this disorder. Around seven years ago, the National Security Strategy during President Donald Trump's first-term, prioritised strategic competition with Russia and China as the top national concern for the United States. Since then, this competition has intensified, raising concerns among many countries in the Global South about the direction of the global landscape.

There is an apprehension that this competition could evolve into a cold war similar to the one between the US and the Soviet Union. Some also fear that the world might be divided into opposing camps or that this competition could escalate into a conflict. Although the leadership of the US and China have repeatedly assured that this competition will not lead to conflict, lingering concerns persist. Questions remain about the potential division of the world into camps and the difficult choices that countries in the Global South may be compelled to make.

Today's discussion concerns the steps that the countries in the Global South, including Pakistan, should take in such a scenario.■



### Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed Chairman Pakistan-China Institute, Pakistan

When discussing the emerging global realities, it is evident that the world is undergoing turbulence and transformation, a phenomenon highlighted by various global leaders. Chinese President Xi Jinping has stated that we are witnessing "once-in-a-century changes." German Chancellor Olaf Scholz has described the situation as an "epochal tectonic change." French President Emmanuel Macron has remarked that 300 years of Western hegemony is coming to an end. Recently, during an online discussion at the Financial Times Festival in London on September 7, CIA Chief, Bill Burns and MI6 Chief, Richard Moore both noted that the global order is facing challenges unseen since the Cold War.

What are the emerging global realities? Three key aspects can be identified. *The Economist* wrote on May 9, 2024, in a cover story that the Western-led liberal international order is "slowly coming apart" and warned that its collapse could be "sudden and irreversible." The so-called liberal international order today lies buried under the rubble of Gaza, where it has exposed its double-standards on human rights and the value of human lives. Its failure to prevent the Gaza genocide by Israel, with many of its proponents complicit, underscores these shortcomings. This reflects the slow-motion unravelling of the post-World War II global order. The advent of the Asian Century now appears irreversible, with a significant shift in

Margalla Dialogue 2024

the international centre of gravity occurring inexorably and inevitably.

The second critical reality is the historic and remarkable political comeback of President Donald Trump. He would be the first American president since John F. Kennedy not to represent the United States security establishment or the so-called 'Deep State'. President Trump has proposed a 10-point plan to dismantle the Deep State and is expected to reject the playbook of the Washington establishment and Military Industrial Complex (MIC). His instinct-driven approach may result in a calmer world, as he is neither a cold warrior nor inclined to foment new conflicts. He has promised to end the war in Ukraine, marking another significant development.

The third reality involves two contrasting global narratives. China advocates for connectivity and cooperation, as emphasised by President Xi Jinping through initiatives such as the BRI. With 152 participating countries and investments exceeding \$1 trillion in over 3,000 projects during the past decade, the BRI has emerged as the most significant diplomatic and developmental initiative of the 21st century, fostering connections across Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Europe. In contrast, the Western, security-centric narrative, particularly from Washington, focuses on the containment of Russia and China, echoing a militaristic tone reminiscent of a new Cold War. This flawed policy's outcomes are starkly visible, such as the \$2.2 trillion wasted in Afghanistan over 20 years, leading to the same regime being reinstated that the US sought to oust.

In the regional context of South Asia, where Pakistan plays a central role, positive signs are emerging. Sixty per cent of the Trump administration's foreign policy will be focused on this region, encompassing countries such as Iran, Russia, China, and India, with Pakistan at its centre. This reflects the emergence of a "Greater South Asia" as a geo-economic concept, integrating South Asia, Central Asia, China, Iran, and Afghanistan through interconnected

#### Forum A

economies, energy networks, roads, railways, ports, and pipelines. This evolving framework signals the opening of a new world order. However, India remains the exception, aligning itself with America's new Cold War strategy as a frontline state against China. A strategy that has historically proven unsuccessful.

Positive developments are evident in South Asia, marked by the emergence of a framework prioritising democracy, enhanced regional connectivity, and a collective rejection of Indian hegemony by the states in the region. In the Maldives, the India Out campaign contributed to President Muiz's electoral victory. Nepal is governed by a Maoist-led administration, while Sri Lanka's Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), a leftist organisation has gained power. Bangladesh has witnessed a student-led revolution rejecting Indian dominance, calling it Second Liberation and rebranding the country as Muslim Bangladesh. It is a shift that offers new opportunities for Pakistan.

Pakistan is playing a pivotal role as a hub for regional connectivity, acting as a bridge between East and West. Amid this changing and turbulent world, emergence of the Global South as a significant force is another critical development.

One of the consequences of the great power competition has been its significant implications for the region. The United States' Indo-Pacific strategy, involving countries like India, Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, has led to instability and emboldened India to pursue actions such as the annexation of Occupied Kashmir. However, this strategy has failed to achieve its objectives.

The Global South is now contributing to building an alternative global order through frameworks such as the SCO and BRICS. This new order is defined by three key pillars: democratisation of the international system and rejecting domination by a single superpower or bloc. Demilitarisation, which includes curbing NATO expansion and ending unnecessary military expenditures. For

Margalla Dialogue 2024

instance, over the past year, the US has spent \$82 billion on war efforts, including \$64 billion for Ukraine and \$18 billion for Israel.

The third consequence is de-dollarisation, as evidenced by 68 countries shifting towards conducting trade in currencies other than the United States dollar. These developments mark the contours of an emerging global order, heralding the dawn of the Asian Century and the rise of the Global South. Pakistan, along with other middle Muslim powers such as Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia, is poised to play a key role in reshaping Asia and their respective regions over the next decade. In this context of transformation, the initiative by the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) to host this discussion is both timely and commendable.■



**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr** Professor of International Affairs and Middle East Studies, John Hopkins University, USA

The international liberal order, or the world order as it was known, has been under stress, with a growing recognition that it is transitioning or collapsing. This shift began during the Barack Obama's administration with the realisation that China was rising as a major challenger for global economic supremacy. As the Americans saw it, the era of harmonious relations with China, and the harmonious rise of China, had come to an end. Ultimately, this shift meant that the idea of a unipolar world dominated by the US in both the economic and political spheres might be changing into at least a bipolar world, if not a multipolar one.

Additionally, the international liberal order has been under assault due to the rise of a rebellion against globalisation. It is the economic pillar of the international liberal order, in both the US and Europe. This rise of populism in these regions is essentially a challenge to the economic foundation of the international liberal order. It raises the question of whether the international liberal order can make sense without its economic component.

The war in Gaza has raised questions about the legal, political, moral, and ethical aspects of the international liberal order. The prevailing conclusion, particularly outside the US but also within it, is that the primacy of the US and the viability of the international liberal order are intertwined. This assumption was evident during

Margalla Dialogue 2024

19

#### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

both the Obama and Biden administrations. However, in reality, these two are not the same. President Trump represents a view that does not believe in the international liberal order, neither its economic nor its legal framework. Instead, he believes in the US primacy. The world will likely witness a degradation of the international liberal order, accompanied by a concerted effort to assert the US primacy.

It is not given that the world will move towards a multipolar environment. In fact, for the next few years, the world will be in a state of flux, where it is yet to be seen whether Trump's vision of asserting the US primacy will succeed in returning to a unipolar world while sidelining globalisation and the economic, legal, and political frameworks that support it. The US goal, at least since the Obama administration, has been to slow China's rise or even downsize it, essentially cutting China at its knees and preventing it from reaching the top. However, an often overlooked aspect of this project is that it also involves downsizing Europe. Europe, especially under the Biden administration, has been battered in terms of trade, as the US has prioritised bringing manufacturing back to America and rebuilding its economy. This approach is unlikely to change under the Trump administration. This struggle, which is expected to continue for the coming years, will unfold principally in two arenas: economic and geographic. Economically, the focus will be on the pressure to "de-couple" or "de-risk" relations with China. This essentially means ending the supply chains that currently connect the Global South to China and, in turn, connect Chinese products to the Global South, Europe, and the US. This process is being carried out by pressurising companies to move away from China and increasingly using tariffs to induce shifts in supply chain choices. While also denying China access to the high-end technology produced by the West to slow its technological progress, equally important is the power of the US dollar. The USA's continued primacy in controlling financial markets gives it significant leverage to assert its dominance. The US sanctions which control access to
#### Forum A

financial systems, play a crucial role in maintaining American primacy.

Since the year 2000, or the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, American sanctions have increased by 900 per cent. Currently, about a third of the countries in the world are under some form of American economic sanctions. These sanctions may be imposed for political or geopolitical disagreements, wars, and other reasons, but their consequences are economic. In the ongoing debate with China, beyond tariffs, the denial of technological capabilities, and attempts to downsize Chinese national champions like Huawei, the issue of leveraging America's access to financial markets and the dollar's supremacy is central to determining the outcome.

Indeed, this is where the concept of BRICS should be understood, as the economic engagement between the US and China has a profound impact on the Global South. The Global South, which has risen economically on the back of globalisation, includes countries in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and ASEAN, which have prospered under the umbrella of harmonious relations between China and the US. These nations have become wealthy and climbed the economic ladder by leveraging a flat supply chain between the US and China, becoming part of that global supply chain. Disruptions to that supply chain, caused by tariffs, sanctions, and political pressure, challenge them. It is not given that the Global South welcomes the conflict between China and the US, and will not suffer as a result of this conflict. Many countries in the Global South lack a clear strategy for navigating a world that is no longer characterised by a flat economic landscape but by economic blocs. They are increasingly presented with zero-sum choices: either align with one bloc or the other or decouple from China if they wish to access Western markets. The growing interest in BRICS, for example, reflects efforts to find ways to navigate this shifting global economic order.

Many countries in the Global South, particularly in West Asia and the Persian Gulf region, such as the wealthy Arab monarchies, find themselves in the eye of the storm. Their primary concern is maintaining access to Western markets and technology, benefiting from the security protection of the US while remaining open to relationships with China. Negotiations between Saudi Arabia and the US over a security pact, for instance, illustrate this dynamic. One aspect of these negotiations is the conditionality tied to Saudi Arabia's normalising relations with Israel. Saudi Arabia seeks various security guarantees from the US but at the core of this is the question of how much Saudi Arabia is willing to decouple from China, and what it will receive from the US in exchange.

This is a difficult challenge for Saudi Arabia, as it, like the United Arab Emirates (UAE), wants to be part of the supply chain for chips and AI, which requires access to Western markets and technology. However, Saudi Arabia's economic model, especially initiatives like "Vision 2030" and the development of the Neom City convey that the Gulf aims to play a central role in trade between Africa and China. The challenge for the Gulf region is navigating this rivalry and maintaining a supply chain that depends on China, particularly trade routes from Africa to China while being integrated into Western technological supply chains.

In the US, the geographic aspect of this rivalry is often associated with the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, spanning from India to the East. Concepts such as AUKUS and the QUAD are designed around securing these oceans in response to the emerging confrontation with China. However, from the perspective of West Asia, American policy towards Russia and Iran, particularly the use of sanctions has created a different geographic reality; i.e. of Eurasia. This represents a pathway extending from the Gulf States through Iran to Central Asia, and onward to Russia and China. This forms a route which is contrary to the conventional perception of the US.

#### Forum A

This brings the discussion to the corridors. The US views corridors from India to the Mediterranean, extending to Europe, as a means of integrating the Gulf with India into an economic relationship and supply chain that excludes China, ultimately aiming to bring the Middle East or West Asia into a bloc that the US can control. However, other corridors are emerging that are not often discussed. One such corridor is the North-South Corridor, which is developing from Russia through Iran to the Gulf countries. The rivalry over these corridors, particularly as both routes pass through countries like the UAE, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, illustrates the dilemma faced by these countries in the Global South. These nations must navigate complex relationships while attempting to balance interests in both blocs.

Under President Trump, there will likely be an intensification of this dynamic on multiple levels, which will put pressure on the countries of the Global South. Although the economic interests of each country differ, it is clear that the space where the Global South has thrived, a space between China and the US, allowing them to take advantage of economic relations with both will no longer be sustainable. Countries in the Global South, such as Saudi Arabia, have historically maintained close economic relations with China while also having strong economic and security ties with the US. In a world where these dual relationships are no longer possible, maintaining prosperity and security will become more difficult. These countries will need to devise strategies to address this challenge, though it is uncertain whether they will succeed or if the rise of multipolarity or the Global South as a bloc will materialise smoothly. It is also possible that divisions within the Global South will emerge as they navigate these issues.

Moreover, it is not guaranteed that President Trump's vision of this rivalry, one that rejects the international liberal order, seeing it as a constraint on American economic power will succeed. There is the potential for overreach, and the strategy may unravel over time. The

Margalla Dialogue 2024 23

transition from unipolarity to multipolarity presents significant challenges, and the economic costs and consequences of this shift remain unclear. It is evident that the world is on the cusp of a new world order but the shape it will take will be determined in the coming years. This process will unfold as President Trump moves forward with a clear mandate not only to reshape America but also to reshape the global order.



# **Professor Dr Igor Panarin** Member of the Academy of Military Sciences, Russian Federation

Pakistan is at the forefront of Asia and global civilisation. It is home to one of the world's oldest civilisations, the Indus Civilisation. This heritage underscores the significance of developing Pakistan's longstanding legacy. The ancient city of Mohenjo Daro, founded approximately 5,000 years ago, was the centre of the Indus Civilisation. It is rarely acknowledged that Mohenjo Daro is located in Pakistan. This city, alongside Arkaem, was a crucial centre of world civilisation.

The current world order is undergoing significant change. There is a need for a navigator to guide us through this transition. The book titled 'The Hybrid War and Yalta 2', written in 2022 by me (Dr Igor Panarin), addresses the process of navigating through disinformation. It also stresses the necessity of reaching a new world order referred to as Yalta 2. In this new world order, the key figure envisioned, instead of Winston Churchill, is President Xi Jinping.

The following is a summary of the major problems facing the world today: -

- A pivotal era: The beginning of the collapse of parasitic empires.
- Emergence of new centres of influence and power, such as the SCO and BRICS.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

- Transition from a British-led global governance project (war) to a Russian-led project (peace).
- Global transformation: Moving from a monopolar to a polycentric (multipolar) world.
- Yalta 2 Ahead: A new division of the world, aiming for a world without wars and conflicts.

Donald Trump's victory in the 2024 election paves the way for a new world order, Yalta-2. The Concept of Universe Re-division: -

- The re-division of the universe was first carried out by Alexander the Great after his ascension and his return to earth.
- The re-division of the universe was also undertaken by the first Roman Emperor Augustus Octavianus, from whom the first Russian Tsar, Ivan IV, descended.
- The re-division of the universe continued with the adoption of the doctrine "Moscow the Third Rome," which began with Alexander Nevsky and culminated in Ivan IV.

The most important point in world history is considered to be the ascension of Alexander the Great. The site of his ascension, after the battle with King Porus on the River Gidasp (Jhelum), is located approximately 100 kilometres from Islamabad, Pakistan. Trump is said to resemble Alexander the Great, and the fact that Trump survived an assassination attempt is interpreted as a form of ascension, implying that he became wiser and will play a role in saving the world. A bust of Roman Emperor Augustus Octavianus, who initiated the second re-division of the universe, is located at Trump's residence.

The Great Russian prince Alexander Nevsky led the third re-division of the universe. The Russian Tsar, Ivan IV, finalised it. However, the Dark World Order emerged after this, characterised by a monopolar,

#### Forum A

liberal world order that continues today. The establishment of the East India Company initiated this order. There are two ways to proceed, the British way, which focuses on war and colonialism. Second is the Russian way, which promotes peace. It is noted that 125 years ago, at the initiative of Russian Tsar Nicholas II, a peace conference was held at Hague.

The Global South is suffering due to the ongoing confrontation between the great powers. The new world order should be based on the Yalta-2 principles, which reflect the ideas voiced at the 1899 Peace Conference at Hague. These principles emphasise a world free of wars and conflicts.

In terms of control over the current monopolar world, it is not Washington but London and the Venetians, the globalists who sit in London. Their main instrument is the United States Federal Reserve System and the United States Deep State.

At the Linz Conference in Austria on September 9, 1998, the speaker highlighted the issue of the information war. During the conference, the first hypothesis was that the United States might disintegrate into six parts. The key question was whether Donald Trump could save the United States, which remains open, though there is hope that he can.

The November 2024 US elections marked Donald Trump's historic victory, seen as a victory of peace over war, traditional family values, and normal human values. Donald Trump's return after surviving an assassination attempt is seen as a form of ascension, as noted by Tucker Carlson, who described it as Trump's ascension, signalling his desire to transform the world for the better.

It is also important to understand that the reserve control centre of the Dark World Order is located in India, where Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a globalist, and oligarch Ambani run the system.

The 16<sup>th</sup> BRICS Summit marked a crucial moment, providing new momentum to achieve positive results.

Seven basic principles are proposed to help build a world free from wars and conflicts: Dialogue, diplomacy, dignity, friendship, spirituality, goodness, and prosperity.

The slides (in annexures) depict a monument that will be erected in the future capital of the Yalta-2 world order, in the city of Minsk, to honour the memory of the Great Russian prince Vseslav, known as the sorcerer who had the power to transform into a bird and bear.

A new system of international relations is proposed to be formed in Minsk during the Yalta-2 process. The geo-political core of the Dark World Project, an empire of parasites, is currently Great Britain, the main organiser of the wars and conflicts of the last centuries. Therefore, the central topic of the Yalta-2 discussions in Minsk, involving world leaders and heads of major international organisations such as the UN, Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), SCO, BRICS, will be the formation of a new model for a positive future, a system of strategic geopolitical projects.

These geo-projects will realise the Russian way, the way of peace. As a result, London, as the main control centre of the Dark World Project, will lose all control and become exhausted. The geo-projects will neutralise the negative aspirations of the Venetians and block wars and conflicts. The reformatting of the United States Federal Reserve System will begin based on the Texas Red Dollar, an idea proposed by the US President, John F. Kennedy.

First, a political alliance called GIA-Russiya is proposed, uniting Germany, Italy, Austria, Russia, and Belarus, with its capital in the Austrian city of Linz. The key idea behind this alliance was to prevent wars organised by the British in Europe.

#### Forum A

The concept of the Balkan Confederation is proposed, which would include the following geopolitical alliance: Former Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece. The capital would be in Budapest, and the leader of this confederation would be Viktor Orban, a close ally of Donald Trump, who is expected to support Orban's leadership. Additionally, a Frankonia geopolitical alliance is proposed, encompassing France, Spain, Belgium, and Scotland, led by Emmanuel Macron, who has spoken about the downfall of the liberal world order.

The establishment of the Islamic Confederation is also suggested, which would include: Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Polonia, Pomerania, Prussia, Warsaw Voivodeship, and Podkarpackie. The capital of this confederation is proposed to be in Bratislava.

The creation of the Eastern Alliance is proposed, uniting Iran, Turkey, Iraq, Qatar, the UAE, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain.

Regarding the issues in Gaza and Lebanon, the formation of a new Assyria is suggested. It would include Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine as an independent state, and Cyprus.

The formation of a new United States of America under Donald Trump is proposed, with one key detail: Alaska must be returned to Russia. Canada and United Ireland would also be incorporated into the new United States of America. This is an idea, emphasising that Alaska is originally Russian land and should be returned to Russia.

The importance of expert consultations is also highlighted, with a proposal to establish an expert council within the Margalla Dialogue Forum that would include prominent state and public figures, heads of analytical entities (public and private), world-leading scientists, researchers, and analysts. The primary goal of this council will be to prepare annual public analytical reports. These proposals will

Margalla Dialogue 2024 29

hopefully contribute significantly to establishing a world free from wars and conflicts.■



# **Professor Dr Victor Gao** Vice President, Center for China and Globalisation, China

Whether Donald Trump is liked or not, his electoral victory must be acknowledged as a reflection of the American people's choice and a clear mandate. Credit should be given to President-elect Trump for his commitment to refraining from using war as an instrument of US policy in the coming four years. If this promise is upheld, it could represent a significant achievement.

If the US can adhere to this commitment and avoid engagement in wars of any kind over the next four years, it would mark one of the most notable accomplishments of Donald Trump. In four years, the United States will be significantly different from what it is today, and the world will also experience considerable change. Whether these changes will lead to improvement or not remains to be seen. The outcome will depend on efforts to ensure that the world becomes better and not worse than it is today. It is essential to strive for progress and ensure that humanity benefits from these changes.

The current world order was established in 1945, emerging from the devastation of World War II. It was designed to be multipolar rather than unipolar, as evidenced by the establishment of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) with five permanent members who held exclusive veto power over major global decisions. From its inception, the 1945 framework was never intended to allow for a single nation to dominate the world unilaterally.

The question of whether the world today is multipolar or unipolar, is therefore, not particularly relevant. The world was fundamentally structured to be multipolar from the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany in Europe and Imperial Japan in the Asia-Pacific. Attempts by any nation to assert itself as the sole pole in global affairs remains a contested notion.

Turning to relations between China and the US, often cited as the most consequential bilateral relationship globally, it is essential to acknowledge Pakistan's historical role. In 1971, Pakistan facilitated a pivotal diplomatic engagement between the United States and China, enabling Dr Henry Kissinger's secret visit, which ultimately opened a pathway to bilateral cooperation. This contribution remains a significant chapter in global diplomacy.

The current US approach to China, including efforts to isolate and undermine it, poses significant challenges. The notion of decoupling China and the US is akin to attempting to sever the Earth from the Moon, an impractical and potentially disastrous endeavour. Efforts to achieve such decoupling, if successful, could lead to grave consequences for global stability.

Regarding the speculation of a destined-for-war scenario between China and the US, the so-called "Thucydides Trap" is fundamentally flawed when applied to these nations. The original analysis of conflict by the theory's proponent, Graham Allison, an esteemed Harvard Professor focused on conventional wars, not nuclear-armed states. The dynamics between nuclear powers like China, the US, and Russia render the conclusions of such theories inapplicable. For these nations, the emphasis must remain on the inevitability of peace rather than conflict.

With Donald Trump's renunciation of war, any challenges between China and the US must be addressed through peaceful means of negotiation, diplomacy, and dialogue. These complex discussions on

#### Forum A

geopolitics and international relations can be simplified by an illustrative analogy.

In China, Yao Ming, the celebrated basketball star, stands at 2.26 metres tall. If Yao Ming enters a room, he will naturally become the centre of attention. Were he to state that he is tall or a basketball star, no one would dispute him. However, if he claimed to be the best basketball player in the world, many might choose to remain silent rather than engage in an unnecessary debate. Now imagine if Yao Ming declared that he would not allow anyone to grow taller than him, and ensure this by insisting that others be denied milk, nutrition, and education, such a proclamation would be universally rejected, as no one would accept such constraints on potential growth and development. This example when applied to global dynamics, sheds light on similar patterns observed in international relations.

The US, for instance, seems to exhibit what could be described as the "Tonya Harding syndrome." Tonya Harding, a former US figure skating champion, sought to eliminate her competitor, Nancy Kerrigan, from competition by resorting to unethical means. This analogy reflects how the US appears to be attempting to "whack China's kneecap" to hinder its progress and prevent it from competing more effectively.

In a way, this rivalry is not relevant. For instance, using Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), China's economy is already larger than that of the US, at approximately 130 per cent of its size. In key sectors such as manufacturing and shipbuilding, China outpaces the United States, building ships faster, more efficiently, and more affordable.

The focus should not be on fostering competition between China and the US, nor should nations be forced to choose between the two. The critical question should centre on which country, China or the US, acts in the best interest of the global community and conducts

itself in the right manner. If China acts in the right manner, it is logical to align with its approach. Conversely, if the US acts inappropriately or counterproductively, there is no reason to follow its lead. Every country must maintain its independence of thought and exercise its judgment. Blindly adhering to the leadership of another nation, without critical evaluation, risks leading to adverse outcomes or even falling into perilous situations.

# Question & Answer Session

Question by Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry:

BRICS, which includes Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, are now expanded with additional countries and many partner nations. Similarly, we have the SCO and BRI. In the West, these are perceived as anti-West moves aimed at challenging their economic dominance. Despite this, many countries in the Global South maintain strong economic ties with the West. Do you think these organisations might lead to a decoupling of the Global South from the West, or will they provide a new kind of de-risking for the Global South?

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed:** There is a certain mindset, particularly in Washington D.C. and among the American establishment or Military-Industrial Complex that perpetually seeks enemies. This mindset views alternative perspectives or rising powers like China as threats. China, as the first non-Western, non-white power to challenge Western hegemony, faces this scrutiny.

Countries like Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Egypt, close United States allies, explore alternative paths for development. However, in this interconnected era of globalisation, true decoupling is unrealistic. Trade linkages and supply chains, such as those between China and the US, China and Japan, or even China and India, are deeply entrenched.

This year alone, top American executives visited Beijing, signalling strong investment ties, with over 20,000 US companies operating in China. Rhetoric about decoupling is mere imagination. Choices shape history, and China's rise, achieved through its path, is admirable. The notion of halting or containing such progress is impractical.

# Question by Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry: Is the world heading towards a clash of civilisations, West versus East?

**Professor Dr Vali Nasr:** A quote often attributed to Trotsky says, "You may not be interested in war, but war is interested in you." While decoupling may not work, attempts to force the issue create short-term disruptions. Countries in the Global South, reliant on existing economic pathways, face significant challenges when these pathways are obstructed.

The US dollar remains a powerful tool of influence, enabling the US to control access to the international financial system. Unless BRICS or China create viable financial alternatives, the US retains significant leverage. While China may resist American pressure, many weaker Global South nations are vulnerable to such tactics.

There is a growing sense of "West versus the rest," even if not framed in the religious terms of Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilisations. However, the underlying issue today is economic dominance, not civilisational conflict. Civilisational rhetoric might be invoked, but the focus remains on economics.

# Question by Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry:

Donald Trump initiated significant tariffs on Chinese imports and restricted technology exports to China. Could this benefit Global South nations by redirecting supply chains to countries like India or Southeast Asia? What is your perspective?

**Dr Victor Gao:** In 2017–2018, the trade war between the US and China began with the imposition of tariffs under President Trump, a policy that was later continued and intensified by President Biden. Despite these measures, China's-US trade volume has steadily

#### Question and Answer Session

increased, highlighting the underlying logic of their trade relationship. Fundamentally altering this dynamic appears unfeasible. Importantly, the tariffs levied on Chinese exports to the US were paid not by China, the Chinese government, or exporters, but by the American people, effectively functioning as a tax on US citizens. This contributed significantly to inflation, prompting the Federal Reserve to maintain high interest rates, which have recently declined slightly.

If maximum tariffs are reintroduced under President Trump in 2025, it will likely complicate China-US trade further, but the economic burden will again fall on the American public. This approach is similar to "drinking poison to quench thirst," offering short-term relief but causing long-term harm. Historical parallels with tariff policies in the 1920s and 1930s, which contributed to economic instability and global conflict in the 1940s, highlight the potential dangers of such strategies. A more productive path would involve increasing trade volume between China and the US from the current \$800 billion to \$1 trillion and identifying quality, sustainable goods for export to China. A reciprocal zero-tariff agreement could create mutual economic benefits and enhance trade relations.

The concept of "de-risking," often proposed as a strategy, is fundamentally flawed, given that risks are omnipresent and cannot be eliminated entirely. Managing risks strategically is a more viable and effective approach for fostering stability and cooperation, not only for the US and China but for the global community.

#### Question by Ambassador Aizaz Chaudhry:

The proposed Yalta-2 as a new world order, aims to establish a balance of power through specific alliances and guided by seven foundational principles. Should this order not evolve through collective input from all countries at a platform,

# rather than being imposed, to ensure its success in a multipolar world?

**Professor Dr. Igor Panarin:** The concept of Yalta-2 aims to establish conditions to prevent wars, conflicts, and economic competition. The US, China, and Russia, as the three great nuclear powers, must agree on common principles for a future world order. The original Yalta Conference in 1945 addressed critical issues, leading to the establishment of the UN and the current multipolar system. However, recent conflicts, including the one in Gaza, highlight the urgent need for agreements among major powers, the UN, and multilateral institutions like BRICS.

The proposal includes restructuring security arrangements in regions like the Balkans and Eastern Europe to prevent future conflicts. The disintegration of the UK is considered pivotal, with Scotland aligning with Frankonia and Ireland uniting with Northern Ireland to form part of a restructured US-led configuration. In the Middle East, establishing an independent Palestine and integrating Cyprus and Palestine into a proposed new Assyria could foster regional peace.

The initiative emphasises making commitments to a world free from wars. The urgency lies in acting promptly to ensure that the initiative is realised, as conflicting advice from different advisors could influence Trump's decisions. The Yalta-2 conference must be held in Minsk, as the Belarusian President, Alexander Lukashenka is the first to acknowledge and congratulate Trump on his victory and inviting him to Minsk.

#### Question by Murtaza Solangi:

Is another split between China and the Russian Federation anticipated? If Trump does not represent the Deep State or the US establishment, how can his strong rhetoric, aggressive policies towards China, and support for Israel, including

# backing Israel's potential bombing of Iran's nuclear facilities, be reconciled with the notion of him as an anti-war advocate?

**Dr. Victor Gao:** China and Russia are neighbouring countries sharing a 4,300-kilometre-long border. Recently, at an important international forum in Russia, a question was posed to President Putin regarding discussions in the US about a potential new alliance between Russia and the US to oppose China. President Putin responded clearly, stating that the China-Russia friendship has its logic and is not targeted against any other country. He also expressed scepticism about the likelihood of complete rapprochement between the US, Russia, and Western countries.

The ongoing war in Ukraine, initially between Russia and Ukraine, has evolved into a broader conflict involving the US and NATO, using Ukraine as a proxy, which presents a significant danger. It is essential to acknowledge that China and Russia are important neighbours with strong ties. The Chinese economy is more than ten times larger than Russia's, and the Chinese population is also over ten times greater. Despite this, China respects Russia and seeks mutually beneficial relations. Along many sections of the China-Russia border, crossings remain unarmed and open, reflecting the positive nature of this relationship. Maintaining this dynamic is crucial.

A lasting peace in Europe, and globally cannot be achieved by excluding Russia. Engaging or re-engaging with Russia is the only viable approach. However, engaging Russia does not necessitate confronting China, as such a move lacks logic. China is not an enemy of the US. As one of the most philosophical nations, China considers the implications of today's actions not only in the short-term but over the next decade, century, and even millennium, striving to do what is right for the long-term future.

Margalla Dialogue 2024 39

**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr:** It is important to distinguish that President Trump is not a pacifist. He does not oppose war itself but prefers that the United States neither pay for nor directly fight in any such conflicts. This approach is evident in the message to Israel, which implies that others should "finish the job" without involving the United States militarily. However, the current path of the United States highlights the importance of hoping for the best while preparing for the worst.

The US is effectively engaging in economic warfare, though it is referred to as an economic statecraft. Historical parallels can be drawn, such as the economic warfare imposed on Japan before World War II, which led to Pearl Harbour and the Pacific War. Similarly, during President Trump's first-term, economic warfare against Iran brought the two countries dangerously close to open conflict. Actions such as choking Iran's economy led to attacks on tankers, oil facilities, and ultimately the killing of General Qasem Soleimani, escalating tensions to a critical point before Trump stepped back.

The lesson Iran and other nations may learn is that the way to counter economic warfare is by threatening real war, as this is likely to prompt a reassessment of strategies. Economic warfare, if unchecked, risks escalating into open conflict. While it is expected that logic will ultimately prevail, the challenge lies in navigating the short-term consequences. The US may explore various approaches before arriving at a sound strategy, potentially causing significant damage to the global economy in the interim timeframe.

#### Question by Major General (retd) Inamul Haq:

What are the benefits and costs of economic or military warfare for the US and the world economically? Since 2018, the US has created significant challenges for the Chinese economy, but China's economy continues to grow rapidly. The US has not gained much, even in high-tech sectors, as China makes rapid

# progress. If a military war were to occur, a conflict between a large country and a small country might benefit the US, but would a war between large countries be advantageous for the US?

**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr:** The question whether Trump can accomplish everything he aims for, remains open. Many argue that he is overreaching. His objectives include completely changing the balance of trade with China, expelling 11 million migrants from the US, and restructuring the entire bureaucracy in Washington. These are ambitious goals, and, likely, he may not achieve them, but only time will reveal the extent of his efforts. The key concern is the potential damage that trying to implement these changes could cause. Even if he fails, the cost of such attempts remains uncertain.

# Question by a Student to Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed and Dr Victor Gao:

The trade volume between the US and Mexico is nearly \$800 billion. China has an economy comparable to that of the US. However, in contrast to the US-Mexico trade volume, the trade volume between Pakistan and China stands at \$24 billion, with Pakistan exporting approximately \$3 billion to China while importing goods worth \$21 billion. How can this trade imbalance be addressed?

**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr:** The attempt to slow China's rise has not worked. Neither the Biden nor Trump administration assumes it has. If they conclude that it has not worked, there is no reassessment or acknowledgment that this strategy is wrong. Trump argues that it has not worked because not enough pressure has been applied, so the strategy is doubled down on. The US, starting with Obama but particularly under Trump, has adopted a strategy to change the balance of power between the US and China by weakening China, as Dr Gao mentioned, and denying it key advantages. This strategic

viewpoint has not changed and is unlikely to change. When a superpower commits to a strategy of this magnitude, it does not shift easily. I do not see a moment of reckoning among the American political class whether in the Democratic or Republican Party, Congress, or the media that questions this strategy in the way you are suggesting. Yes, the US does not want war, although talk of a war over Taiwan is more prominent in Washington than it may be elsewhere. But as I said, while the US may not want war, war may come regardless. The path the US is on escalating pressure on China and other countries may develop its logic over time. We can hope for the best, hoping that Trump's administration failed in achieving many of its goals, or that there will be a reassessment. But we should also be prepared for the worst, which is that the world order as we know it will go off the rails, not in the positive way some in the Global South expect, where superpowers weaken and an egalitarian world order emerges. Instead, things may go wrong in a way that damages everyone.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed:** An American public opinion survey conducted by the Democratic Party firm "Blueprint" in the summer of 2024 found that 64 per cent of American youth believe America is in decline. The pollster, Evan Smith, remarked that America is a dying empire led by bad people due to its actions in Palestine, highlighting the strong impact of the Palestinian issue on broader public consciousness.

A study conducted at Harvard University by Professor Graham Allison analysed several war scenarios between the US and China. In all five scenarios related to Taiwan and Southeast Asia, China was projected to win, as the US has never won a land war in Asia.

In Washington, a question was raised about which side to support, the US or China. The response emphasised the right side of history, with a focus on the Asian century and the resurgence of Asia. The world is transforming, and Pakistan's role is seen as pivotal in this global shift.

#### Question and Answer Session

#### Question by a Student to Professor Dr Igor Panarin:

### How do you foresee the Russia-Ukraine war ending? What would be the logical conclusion of this conflict?

**Dr Igor Panarin:** The relations between China and Russia are very strong, and there is hope that they will become even stronger in the future. Regarding the end of conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East, it has been observed that Trump repeatedly discussed these issues during debates with Biden and Harris. Some of his phrases were taken out of context or misinterpreted, but his strategic position on these conflicts was clear.

Concerning the Middle East, attention is drawn to the Michigan rally, where the Muslim community in the US showed wholehearted support for Trump and his change in stance towards Israel. During his first term, Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner were major decisionmakers in shaping the US Middle East policy and support for Israel. However, Trump's team has drastically changed, and there is hope that he will take action to end the conflict in the Middle East.

As for the Ukrainian crisis, it is emphasised that this is not just a conflict between Russia and Ukraine, but rather a conflict between Russia and the collective West. Trump has stated that he has not started any new wars and he is determined to end the Eastern European crisis. There is hope that Trump will turn these words into action, positioning him at the centre of a peacemaking process in Eastern Europe.

#### **Question by Ashfaque Hassan Khan:**

In the presentation, it was mentioned that the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the US was conditional upon Saudi Arabia normalising its relationship with Israel, with the US providing security in return. It was then noted that the future of US-Saudi relations will depend on how much Saudi Arabia is

## willing to de-link from China. Will the same logic apply to Pakistan, where the normalisation of relations between Pakistan and the US would depend on Pakistan's willingness to de-link from China?

**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr:** The situation regarding Saudi Arabia and Pakistan is uncertain. It will depend on how the circumstances evolve and what is presented at that time. However, it reflects a larger shift in the global South. In a world increasingly divided into blocs, particularly from Washington's viewpoint, countries might be able to leverage their relationships with China to secure benefits from the US. Unlike in the past, when countries could maintain relations with both and benefit from each, they may now face situations where they must choose between the two.

Question by Nader Al Turk, Deputy Head of the Mission of Palestine to Pakistan:

Islamabad Policy Research Institute must be commended for highlighting the ongoing suffering of Palestinian people, who are being killed daily in cold blood by Israeli and American forces. This genocide continues, exposing the failure of international organisations and the global community to address the issue and implement international resolutions aimed at ending these crimes against humanity.

The government and leadership of Pakistan also need to be recognised for their strong and clear support, in line with the vision of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Pakistan's foreign policy calls for: -

- Ending the supply of weapons to Israel, which are being used to kill innocent Palestinian civilians;
- (2) Suspending Israel's membership in the UN, as it is not following the resolutions and orders of the UN, and therefore does not deserve to continue its membership;

#### Question and Answer Session

(3) Supporting the international campaign initiated by Saudi Arabia to help establish an independent Palestinian state by the Two-State solution.

The question is will President Trump continue his unwavering support for Israel, disregarding International Law, and continue the supply of weapons, or will he follow the majority of the world and the global community in ending this genocide, not only in Ukraine but also in Palestine, Gaza, and elsewhere?

**Dr Victor Gao:** There is a collective need to unite and condemn the atrocities and war crimes being committed against Palestinian civilians. More than 40,000 Palestinians, 75 per cent of whom are women and children, including many pregnant women, have been affected. No man, no country, no civilisation with a decent mind should ever tolerate such actions. The US continues to declare unconditional support for Israel, but it is hoped that one amendment to this policy will be made: unconditional support should never be granted when Israel is wrong, particularly in committing crimes and atrocities against Palestinian civilians.

A distinguished Palestinian leader shared a vital perspective before leaving Beijing. He stated that the state of Palestine is a *fait accompli* and the world needs to call for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Palestinian lands. This is the right moment to shift away from merely discussing the Two-State solution, as it is now a *fait accompli*. Israel is occupying Palestinian land, and there are even plans to seize Gaza and turn it into a tourist resort or prime property project. Such actions are unacceptable and should not be tolerated by anyone with a sense of justice. Furthermore, the fact that 75 per cent of people in Israel condemn Prime Minister Netanyahu and call for his resignation or imprisonment gives hope that the Israeli people are taking the right stance in opposing his government's

Margalla Dialogue 2024

45

actions. It is encouraging that the call for accountability is being made by the people themselves.

The highest respect is paid to the Palestinian people, and deep mourning is expressed for all those lost in Gaza and elsewhere in the Middle East due to the atrocities committed by Israel against innocent people.

**Professor Dr Vali Reza Nasr:** President Trump, as a businessman, is unlikely to shift his support for Israel or follow the majority of the world in ending the genocide in Gaza or the broader Middle East conflicts. This is evident from his appointments of ambassadors to Israel and the Middle East. The focus right now is the annexation of the West Bank, an issue that has been on the table for long. Additionally, there is the issue of pressuring or negotiating with Egypt to resettle two-and-a-half million Palestinians from Gaza, which means Gaza does not appear to be a concern that significantly impacts Trump's thinking. The only issue in the Middle East that Trump might be able to course-correct is Iran, as it involves a war that could directly engage the US.

**Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed:** The Palestine question has had a profound impact and resonance in Western political consciousness, particularly since the Storming of Al-Aqsa, especially among the youth and many other communities. It is one factor in the defeat of Kamala Harris, just as Palestine was a factor in the defeat of the conservatives in Britain. Five people in the House of Commons in the UK won the election based on the Palestine issue alone.■

# FORUM B

REGIONAL SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS OF SOUTH ASIA: CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES











MARGALLA





IPRI Islamabad Policy Research Institute













# **Fahd Husain** President Aik News, Pakistan

The country has long been situated in a challenging neighbourhood, surrounded by the ongoing conflict. To the west, a clear and active conflict persists. The tensions surrounding Iran have the potential to escalate with changes in leadership, including the new US president. Additionally, instability in Afghanistan has been a direct source of terrorism, impacting national security. On the eastern side, continued hostility with a neighbouring country has promoted instability and raised the risk of further destabilisation.

However, beyond these security challenges, there is also a significant potential for regional cooperation. Opportunities for economic collaboration exist, particularly within Central Asia, where trade linkages with China, along with initiatives such as the CPEC, promise progress. Furthermore, the recent SCO conference in Islamabad highlighted the potential for advancements in trade, energy corridors, and multilateral investments. Thus, the region presents a dual reality of serious security concerns alongside promising prospects for economic growth and cooperation.



# **Professor Steve Coll** Senior Editor, The Economist, USA

The past 35 years marked a transformative period in South Asian history, characterised by dynamic socio-economic advancements. This era witnessed extraordinary achievements in per capita income, education, and health, alongside the rapid rise of ambitious middle classes. The societal transformation was largely driven by nongovernmental forces, including talented diasporas and open, dynamic societies rooted in deep civilisations. These developments were not solely government-led; in some cases, governance served as an impediment rather than a facilitator. The changes were further accelerated by leveraging global supply chains, particularly between China and the US, which fostered rapid economic growth across the region.

Looking ahead, the potential for continued transformation depends on addressing both internal and external pressures. Internally, challenges such as, stagnating state enterprises, corruption, and inefficiencies could hinder progress. Externally, risks of global economic disruption due to trade protectionism and military competition loom large. Sustained success requires reinvesting in the societal elements that fuelled prior achievements, such as market-driven innovation, technological advancements, and vibrant civil societies. Despite looming challenges, a strategic focus on leveraging these foundations could ensure long-term growth and stability for the region.

Margalla Dialogue 2024 53

Over the next 35 years, the region's potential hinges will be on advancing international cooperation and accelerating sustainable development, even amidst challenges such as, geopolitical instability and climate disruptions. Historical evidence highlights that cooperation has been sustained through difficult periods, offering a foundation for countries like Pakistan to lead in fostering collaboration despite adversities. Critical areas for cooperation include free trade, which has been intrinsically linked to the emergence of middle-class societies in the Global South. While globalisation's legacy is complex, the undeniable connection between managed trade and economic growth underscores the need for open markets and robust business ecosystems. Additionally, climate adaptation and mitigation require urgent attention and international collaboration, given South Asia's vulnerability to environmental challenges.

Sustained progress will also depend on investment in science, innovation, and inclusive governance. Historically, during global conflicts, rival states have collaborated in advancing scientific and technological innovations that improved human conditions. This approach remains essential for tackling contemporary challenges such as misinformation, climate resilience, and social inequality. Strengthening civil society by promoting gender equality, education, and empowerment is critical to accelerating prosperity. Upholding universal principles like tolerance, human dignity, and democratic ideals will shape the region's future, with South Asian societies positioned to reinterpret these principles to reflect their unique contexts. These measures highlight the potential for the region to surpass global powers by leveraging its adaptability and redefining developmental and governance models.■



# Security & Stability in South Asia Pravin Sawhney Editor, Force Magazine, India

The region of South Asia has long grappled with challenges to peace and stability, heavily influenced by the geopolitical dynamics of its member states. SAARC, established in 1985 with its headquarters in Kathmandu, was envisioned as a platform for regional integration and collaboration. However, it failed to realise its potential due to persistent discord, primarily between India and Pakistan. India's aspiration to assert its dominance as the largest country in the region was met with resistance from Pakistan, which rejected any notion of Indian supremacy.

A significant turning point for SAARC came in 2014, during the Kathmandu summit when Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and the Maldives proposed elevating China's observer status to full membership. India opposed this, fearing that China's inclusion would undermine its influence in the region. Given SAARC's consensus-based decision-making, this disagreement effectively stalled progress, marking the beginning of its functional decline. In 2016, following the Uri attacks in India, the scheduled SAARC summit in Islamabad was cancelled, further eroding the platform's relevance.

By 2017, global geopolitics underwent a significant transformation. The era of unipolar dominance by the US transitioned into a multipolar world, with the emergence of three major powers – the

55

US, China, and Russia. Each of these powers sought to influence global and regional events, often relying on strategic partnerships with regional players. In South Asia, India and Pakistan emerged as pivotal geopolitical actors within the Asia Pacific framework.

Simultaneously, the centre of global geopolitics shifted from the Transatlantic to the Asia-Pacific, driven largely by China's rise. This shift has had profound implications, as competition among the great powers increasingly converges in this region. The ongoing Ukraine conflict, while ostensibly European, is influenced by broader global rivalries that underscore the Asia Pacific's strategic importance. It is anticipated that the new US administration may seek to resolve the Ukraine crisis swiftly to refocus its attention on countering China.

This strategic reorientation has divided the global governance landscape into two distinct camps. On one side, the US-led bloc emphasises competition, military power, and a zero-sum approach to security, representing approximately 20 per cent of the world's population. On the other side, a China and Russia-supported bloc development, connectivity, multilateralism. prioritises and indivisible security, resonating with the Global South and emerging markets that account for 80 per cent of the global population. These competing visions of governance, one rooted in competition and the other in cooperation, highlight the turbulent geopolitical environment.

In 2019, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed a triangular framework for peace involving China, Pakistan, and India during his visit to India for an informal summit with Prime Minister Narendra Modi. However, India dismissed this proposal due to deep-seated ideological and political constraints from the current ruling party that prevent normalised relations with Pakistan. Similarly, border tensions and broader geopolitical rivalries have hindered progress in India-China relations, as reflected in statements by India's External
#### Forum B

Affairs Minister, who has emphasised the complexities and the need for equilibrium in dealing with a more powerful neighbour.

India has seemingly aligned itself with the US and the Global North, opting for a strategy that prioritises competition over cooperation in its geopolitical engagements. In contrast, Pakistan's positioning in the region, its relations with China, and its active role in multilateral platforms such as the SCO present both challenges and opportunities for fostering peace and stability in South Asia.

The discourse centered on Pakistan's strategic position as a geopolitical pivot is underpinned by its unique attributes. These included its geographic location, credible military strength, religious affinity with many nations of the Global South, and deep ties with major powers like China and Russia. Pakistan's role within the BRI and its involvement in key regional projects further enhanced its significance on the global stage.

However, an underlying ambiguity was noted regarding Pakistan's alignment in the evolving global order whether to align more closely with the Global North or deepen ties with the Global South. This indecision was perceived as a missed opportunity, particularly as global geopolitics were rapidly being shaped by advancements in emerging technologies such as, Artificial Intelligence and digital architecture. China, with its leadership in industrial internet and AI deployment across the Global South, was recognised as a dominant force in setting the standards for the industries of the future.

The competitive dynamics between technology and trade were highlighted, with China emerging as a manufacturing powerhouse, dominating shipbuilding and other key sectors, while the US and its allies focused on counterbalancing through innovation and alliances. This competition was particularly pronounced in South Asia, where regional stability was essential due to its strategic location, encompassing major maritime chokepoints and trade routes.

The discourse also touched on India's strategic realignment with the Global North, its adoption of the US-led technology standards, and implications of its divergence from China-led initiatives. Pakistan's potential to stabilise South Asia and leverage its connectivity with West Asia, the Western Indian Ocean, and Central Asia was emphasised. Initiatives like the CPEC and the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) were seen as critical for fostering regional development.

A key message underscored the urgency for decisive action, as technological and geopolitical shifts, including the splintering of the internet and the standardisation of AI-driven industries, were expected to crystallise over the next decade. Without alignment with compatible systems and partners, Pakistan risked being side-lined in the emerging global order. The discourse concluded with a call for strategic clarity to ensure stability, development, and prosperity for the region.

## Challenges Emanating from the CASA Region Ambassador Asif Durrani Senior Research Fellow, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), Pakistan



The Challenges and Potential of Regional Cooperation in South and Central Asia South, Central, and West Asia have struggled to transform their visions of regional integration into tangible realities. But the stagnation it suffers, fueled by geopolitical rivalries and a lack of visionary leadership, underscores the missed opportunities for fostering connectivity and cooperation across these regions. Unlike success stories such as the European Union (EU) or ASEAN, these regions have yet to address their underlying disputes, preventing progress toward economic prosperity and regional development. The EU's Franco-German reconciliation and ASEAN's pragmatic approach, by putting their political issues on the back burner, offer valuable lessons in resolving historical grievances and prioritising collective goals over individual differences.

#### Geographic Potential vs. Political and Economic Hurdles

Spanning a vast region from Turkey to Bangladesh and Kazakhstan to Sri Lanka, South and Central Asia encompass a combined population of over two billion people and immense economic potential. However, these regions are hindered by minimal intraregional trade, weak economic linkages, and the absence of robust cultural and scientific exchange. Trade among EU member states accounts for approximately 40 per cent, and ASEAN's trade levels reach 60 per cent, but comparable figures in South and Central Asia remain far below these benchmarks. Multiple factors perpetuate this stagnation, including political instability, conflicts such as the Pakistan-India rivalry, Afghanistan's instability, and economic sanctions against Iran.

#### Five Critical Challenges and Opportunities

- **Connectivity and Regional Cooperation**. For SAARC and ECO to achieve their objectives, they must collaborate to overcome barriers to economic development and enable the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital. Projects like the CASA-1000 energy corridor and the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline have faced persistent delays due to instability in Afghanistan. Establishing peace in Afghanistan would not only advance connectivity, it will reduce poverty and foster economic stability across the region.
- Addressing the Looming Water Crisis. The Himalayan, Hindu Kush, and Karakoram glaciers are vital water sources for South and Central Asia. However, the rapid melting of glaciers due to climate change poses severe risks of water scarcity, threatening food and energy security, agricultural productivity, and industrial growth. Cooperative water management could become a foundation for meaningful collaboration between these regions.
- **Combating Extremism and Radicalisation**. The rise of extremism, intolerance, and youth radicalisation continues to be a shared concern for Central, South, and West Asia. These interconnected challenges threaten more than a billion people and demand regional strategies to promote tolerance, education, and socioeconomic inclusion to curb violence and terrorism.
- Leveraging SCO Membership for Regional Economic Integration in CASA. The majority of ECO member states

#### Forum B

are also members of the SCO, which presents an opportunity for Russia and China to play a crucial role in reinvigorating regional economic integration.

• BRI: A Catalyst for Transforming South Asia's Socio-Economic Landscape. The success of initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), despite India's opposition, could serve as a catalyst for socio-economic development in the entire region. By fostering connectivity and collaboration, these projects have the potential to transform South Asia into a hub of economic growth and prosperity.

By addressing these critical challenges, South and Central Asia, and by extension West Asia, have the potential to emulate successful regional models like the EU and ASEAN, unlocking development, connectivity, and prosperity for millions. The time to act is now, before these opportunities are lost to unresolved conflicts and the inertia of indecision.■

## IIOJK Post August 5, 2019: Impact on Peace and Stability in South Asia Mushaal Hussein Mullick Former Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Human Rights and Women Empowerment, Pakistan



Kashmir, once known for its vibrant cultural identity and thriving local businesses, experienced a significant transformation in recent years. The region became increasingly characterised by the presence of non-local workers managing key sectors, including tourism and trade. In Srinagar, Nepali workers were observed operating water rafting services, while paragliding activities were often managed by Himachali vendors. Simultaneously, Kashmiri-owned businesses in prominent markets diminished, with many shops and restaurants replaced by establishments from other parts of India. Even traditional Kashmiri products and services became less visible, reflecting broader socio-political shifts and heightened security concerns following the abrogation of Article 370.

The stark contrast between the region's past, marked by its unique cultural and economic identity, and its current state highlighted the pervasive impact of these changes. Frequent visitors to Kashmir noted the overwhelming presence of non-local enterprises and the decline of Kashmiri entrepreneurship. Socio-political unrest and an extensive military presence further deepened the region's struggle, leaving its distinct heritage under threat. Injustices, such as ongoing incarcerations and trials, even with peace advocates like Yasin Malik, were often brought to light, underscoring the plight of the Kashmiri people.

The challenges faced by Kashmir were paralleled by global conflicts, including the Palestinian struggle and the Ukraine-Russia war, emphasising the need to address root causes. The Kashmiri demand for self-determination, recognised as a universal human right under International Law, remained a central issue. Political developments, including increased militarisation, alleged unlawful actions, and the suppression of dissenting voices, contributed to social and political instability, not only for Kashmir but also for the broader region.

The role of global powers, including the US, China, and European nations, remained critical in addressing these challenges. While diplomatic efforts and statements of support for peace were observed, the absence of tangible actions hindered progress toward justice and equality. Prolonged policies perceived as oppressive risked further alienating the *Kashmiri* population, potentially intensifying resistance and destabilising the region further.

Efforts to foster reconciliation and peace were recognised as essential in mitigating these challenges. The emotional and societal toll of the conflict was profound, evident in the experiences of families affected by the unrest. Global diplomatic initiatives grounded in respect, empathy, and healing were deemed necessary to pave the way for a stable and prosperous future for Kashmir and the surrounding region.

#### Awakening from the deep creases of sleep

Your love's a raging river – I weep. I crackle in love's flame, every atom of my body ignited When you came, evoking peaks and lush fields Careless crossings with endless blessings Walking hand in hand, gazing enchantingly.

A prison reforms into a tulip garden so magically Even hell becomes heaven with the...

Margalla Dialogue 2024

#### Forum B

Lying on those banks of Nagin, draped beneath the Chinar trees Blood-red lips and long walks on Lover's Lakes Evoking sparks and Kangas in my Soma's winter rains Blossoming lilies and roses of Kashmiri chicks.

The restless, bustling crowds of Srinagar Narrow streets showering petals and dry fruits – a welcome few have

I ask God why you shared a glimmer of paradise And brought me back to this earth, wretched in this parted world? Single, exiled from my lover, and hurled as a restless dervish I weep for the unison with my Romanticist Burning for the glance of my spiritual alchemist.

I'm a Malang in disguise Hair uncombed, body shrunken, shivering hands Growing strands of grey, tattered clothes shattered Feeling battered souls, yet you can't see me You're all blinded, for I have mastered the art of hide and seek Now, embrace me, my love, and hold me next to your heart Take me in your arms; I swear my words are too much to bear What blazes and jails stand in our way? What serpents and beasts of prey? No matter how many poison cups life serves In this whirlpool of heaven and abyss, love conquers all.

For I dance in your love – dance, dance Masshal, your love has come And I will dance in intoxication forever As I am the Lal Deen, so drunk in your eyes, Yasin.

Except for drunkenness, I have no tale to tell Till my heart tears apart and bleeds every drop, drop by drop And the soul overflows my beats When love arises, all your cages break

Margalla Dialogue 2024

The rituals haze; love, and only love, is seen And the rest, all learning, fades.■

## Russia's Perspective on Developments in Asia and its Relationship with the Global South Anton Bespalov Senior Research Fellow, Valdai Discussion Club, Russian Federation



The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War fundamentally altered the geopolitical landscape, marking the disappearance of the "Second World" and creating a unique space for nations in the Global South to assert their developmental autonomy. The discussions highlighted how this shift allowed countries to explore modernisation pathways distinct from colonial legacies and Western-centric models. While these efforts led to remarkable advancements in education, technology, and industrial growth, challenges such as corruption, inefficiencies in state structures, and socio-economic disparities persisted, necessitating targeted reforms. China's successful development, which does not fully align with Western practices, offers a powerful example for Global South nations seeking alternative methods of modernisation.

The concept of the "world majority" was underscored as an emerging framework for collective identity in the Global South. This narrative stressed the resistance to Western dominance and the pursuit of equitable and respectful global partnerships. It was noted that many nations opted to maintain trade and political ties with non-Western allies, advocating for mutual respect and prioritising national interests. This pragmatic approach underscored the significance of fostering sovereignty and reducing dependency on traditional power structures, creating a new paradigm in international relations.

67

It also recognised Eurasia and South Asia as pivotal regions for advancing global engagement. Mechanisms like the SCO and BRICS were highlighted as crucial platforms for fostering cooperation in trade, technology, and security. These regional collaborations were considered instrumental in addressing shared challenges while promoting sustainable development. The emphasis on aligning policies with national interests was seen as vital to achieving regional stability and fostering international cooperation.

Lastly, the importance of inclusive policies, respect for diverse development paths, and investment in sustainable growth were identified as central to the Global South's future success. This included leveraging innovation, addressing climate change, and enhancing civil society's role in governance. These strategies were seen as critical for ensuring the Global South's resilience and its ability to contribute meaningfully to a more equitable global order.

## Question & Answer Session

#### **Question from Fahd Husain:**

You (Steve Coll) mentioned the importance of avoiding conflict for the foreseeable future, at least for the next three decades. However, given the current dynamics in South Asia, conflicts seem inevitable. What needs to happen for this region to genuinely believe in the possibility of living in an era without conflict, and how can we envision such a future?

**Professor Steve Coll:** The conflict between India and Pakistan was envisioned as potentially addressable through fostering regional integration via initiatives such as joining ASEAN and promoting integrated trade, the movement of people, and free exchanges across all levels of society. This vision, plausible 10 to 15 years ago, frequently emerged in various Track-2 discussions. However, each country – India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan independently leveraged its geographical and economic opportunities during the modern age of knowledge, industries, and rapid offshoring. Pakistan developed a significant economic relationship with the Gulf States, receiving 70 per cent of its remittances from the region, while India became an integrated part of the US service economy.

While regional integration under SAARC's original vision remained desirable, it was deemed unnecessary for avoiding conflict. Stability between India and Pakistan was maintained primarily through mutual nuclear deterrence, though this arrangement was precarious. A critical weakness in the deterrence framework arose from ongoing cross-border proxy conflicts and unconventional wars. Deterrence, though effective to a degree, encouraged mischief-making, as actors tested the limits of accountability. This escalation, along with the development of tactical weapons intended for plausible battlefield use, posed destabilising risks rather than fostering stability.

The lessons of the Cold War era, where the US and the Soviet Union were jolted into restraint by events such as the Cuban Missile Crisis after deploying tactical weapons in the 1950s, appeared unlearned in this context by both India and Pakistan. Deterrence served as the foundation of relative peace but coexisted with proxy conflicts, terrorism, and the sponsorship of violent groups, notably in Pakistan's western regions and beyond. In the absence of political change in both capitals offering domestic incentives for normalisation, cross-border integration, and negotiation, the cycle of instability persisted.

#### Question from Fahd Husain:

Given your extensive experience covering South Asia and the Pakistan-India relationship, how do you assess the prospects for improved ties? Considering Mr Pravin Sawhney's view that the BJP government is ideologically opposed to better relations with Pakistan and remains a dominant political force, is there any realistic possibility for an opening between the two countries despite these dynamics?

**Professor Steve Coll:** A period of disruption and retrenchment, marked by isolation and withdrawal from the political and economic connectivity of recent decades, could evolve if the challenges of the current era are navigated successfully. The benefits of trade, though management, negotiation, and adjustment might prevail. A scenario could emerge where separate integration efforts among South Asian nations and the Gulf States strengthen ties. The Gulf States, increasingly dynamic middle powers, serve as both energy suppliers and sources of capital, exemplifying economic vibrancy. This dynamism could foster greater cooperation among neighbouring regions, leveraging energy connectivity and addressing shared challenges in a world marked by great power competition.

#### Question and Answer Session

Aspirations for modernisation through advanced technologies need not create zero-sum rivalries. Sustained growth and progress across key nations could, over decades, lead to a form of confederation that encourages collaboration and compels action.

#### **Question from Fahd Husain:**

Referring to your point Pravin Sawhney, about the Global South and Global North, where India appears to have aligned itself with the Global North while Pakistan remains unclear about its direction, how does this fit into the dilemma of balancing Pakistan's relationship between China and the US? Considering Pakistan's official position that it can manage this balance, why do you believe Pakistan lacks clarity in this regard, and why do you assert that time is running out for the country? What consequences could arise from this lack of clarity, and what steps should Pakistan take in your view?

**Mr Pravin Sawhney:** Time is running out for both India and Pakistan due to their heavy reliance on external sources for critical technologies and infrastructure. Nearly 100 per cent of hardware and a significant portion of software, even in India's case, come from abroad. The global landscape is increasingly shaped by innovation, with China advancing rapidly and the US maintaining a lead in this domain. In 2019, President Xi Jinping emphasised the importance of blockchain technology, calling for significant investments. Blockchain is now becoming central to commerce, finance, trade, and other sectors, as highlighted in discussions at BRICS.

Two major challenges emerge: cyber security concerns and the diversification of supply chains. Additionally, the shift from a mobile internet economy to a digital economy underscores the importance of 5G wireless communication, which forms the backbone of the digital economy. Technologies like Artificial Intelligence, blockchain, cloud computing, and data integration are key drivers of

Margalla Dialogue 2024

industrial transformation. In this context, China excels in innovation and integration, while the US and its allies impose restrictions on advanced technologies like chips exceeding 7 nanometers, limiting China's access.

Within the next 8 to 10 years, technological divergence is expected to cause compatibility issues between nations like India, Bangladesh, and Nepal. Differing technology standards will complicate ecommerce and governance integration. India is adopting strategies to align more closely with the US, believing this alignment will deter China, though this assumption is debatable. India also seeks to position itself as a competitor to China and as a leader of the Global South, providing loans and credit to smaller South Asian countries to enhance its influence.

However, the Global South lacks a singular leader, emphasising equality among nations. Leadership aspirations are further complicated by India's domestic challenges, including 800 million people living below the poverty line. Sustainable development and prosperity depend on adopting and mastering emerging technologies. Despite political expediencies, prioritising new technological frameworks is essential for achieving long-term growth.

#### **Question from Fahd Husain:**

Ambassador Durrani, you identified extremism as a key challenge for Central, South, and West Asia, with Afghanistan at the centre. Given its impact on regional progress and Pakistan's struggle with threats like the TTP, what steps can be taken to address terrorism emanating from Afghanistan? Based on your experience as a special envoy, what viable options exist to tackle this pressing issue?

#### Question and Answer Session

Ambassador Asif Durrani: Extremism and terrorism are not confined to Afghanistan but remain concentrated there, with over a dozen terrorist groups currently using the country as a sanctuary. Among these, groups like TTP, ISKP, IMU, and ETIM pose significant threats. ISKP, in particular, has a global reach, having carried out attacks in Pakistan, Iran, and Moscow, with reports suggesting plans for surprise attacks in France and Germany.

While TTP remains a pressing concern for Pakistan, it is viewed by some as a manageable issue rather than an existential threat. The solution largely lies within Pakistan's borders, requiring effective police action. The police, equipped with better intelligence and community support, are considered better suited for such operations. Success, however, hinges on strong political ownership and a commitment to addressing the presence of TTP operatives within Pakistan's territory, particularly in KP and the former FATA regions, where local support may be enabling their activities.

At the regional level, enhanced cooperation is also crucial. Platforms such as the SCO have established mechanisms, including a Counter-Terrorism Centre in Uzbekistan, but individual countries' capacities and political will remain key determinants of success. Historical narratives, such as the transformation of the *Mujahideen* into perceived threats post-9/11, underscore the need for introspection and a reassessment of past policies. Political ownership and a return to a strategic approach are essential to effectively counter the persistent threat of terrorism.

#### Question from Fahd Husain:

You (Ms. Mushaal) referred to the recently concluded elections in IIOJK as a small window of opportunity. Could you elaborate on this perspective? How should these elections be interpreted, and what message do they convey?

**Mushaal Hussein Mullick:** The recently concluded elections in Indian Illegally Occupied Jammu and Kashmir took place after a gap of 10 years and following the abrogation of Articles 370 and 35-A, which unilaterally altered the region's status. This move, coupled with demographic changes, disrupted a status quo that had been in place for nearly seven decades. These elections, often referred to as "sham elections," have faced criticism not only from external observers but also from candidates who participated. Allegations of engineering the outcomes to manipulate winners and losers evoke comparisons to the controversial 1987 elections, although not identical in scale.

Key political voices, including Farooq Abdullah, Omar Abdullah, Mehbooba Mufti, and others, have highlighted the repression of dissenting voices, with major *Kashmiri* leaders and activists, like Yasin Malik, still imprisoned. Many participants in the elections conveyed a clear message to the current Indian regime: there are limits to the use of brute force and aggression. The actions aimed at erasing Kashmiri identity remain unacceptable to the general public, as reflected in their rejection of the policies imposed by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

Political leaders have pledged to advocate for the release of Hurriyat leaders and to reverse the actions taken post-August 5, 2019. However, governance in the region remains under a governor with overarching powers, operating more as a viceroy, with little regard for democratic processes. This is compounded by the broader environment in India under the RSS-dominated regime, characterised by anti-minority policies, targeted violence, and oppressive laws such as those related to *"love jihad"* and *"ghar wapsi."* 

For any path forward, the clock must be turned back to August 4, 2019. Confidence Building Measures (CBMs), including the release of *Kashmiri* prisoners and restoring the region's status, are essential for

#### Question and Answer Session

initiating a structured dialogue. These elections, despite their limitations, send a resounding message that the people of Kashmir reject the measures imposed by the current regime, and their identity and rights cannot be erased through unilateral actions.

#### **Question from Fahd Husain:**

Mr Bespalov, you discussed Russia and South Asia. If Donald Trump follows through on his stated intention to end the conflict in Ukraine, what would be the key differences between Russia before and after the conflict? What changes should be expected in Russia's global position and policies post-conflict, especially if the resolution does not align with European expectations?

**Anton Bespalov:** First, it is unlikely that Trump would be willing to end the Ukraine conflict quickly. While many believe he may push for a resolution, the US has benefited greatly from the ongoing conflict, both directly and indirectly. The US has strengthened its role within Western alliances, particularly by exploiting European dependencies on American energy and technology. Additionally, the military-industrial complex profits from the continuation of the war, and Trump's business interests are likely to influence his stance.

Many around the world, except for President Zelensky, hope for a resolution, but it remains to be seen if Trump will follow through on his promises. His track record suggests he may not fully act on his words.

As for Russia's behaviour before and after the Ukraine conflict, it is difficult to predict, as the parameters of a post-conflict Europe are still uncertain. Russia has expressed its willingness to cooperate and engage in dialogue, rather than confrontation. In fact, Putin's speeches, at the Valdai Club, indicate a strong pro-dialogue stance, emphasising cooperation over antagonism. The West, however, has largely rejected dialogue with Russia, particularly regarding the

security architecture in Europe. If the conflict ends, there may be an opportunity for dialogue to resume, and President Trump might be open to discussing a new strategic framework for Europe, though this remains uncertain.

Question from Tayyaba Khurshid, Research Officer, Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS), Azad Jammu and Kashmir:

The United States' Integrated Country Strategy aims to strengthen India's position in the Asia-Pacific region. Given the turbulent nature of the region, as highlighted by Praveen Sawhney, how does this strategy align with India's aspirations to become a net security provider? What impact will this strategy have on strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific, and how will it affect Pakistan's position in the region?

**Pravin Sawhney:** The Asia-Pacific region, particularly West Asia, is experiencing intense security competition, though war remains unlikely for several reasons. One key factor is the presence of nuclear weapons, which deters conflict, and the concept of war control, where starting a war without the ability to control it would defeat its objectives. The trend in modern warfare is shifting towards grey zone operations, reflecting the changing nature of security dynamics.

Regarding the Indian Ocean region, two developments are particularly notable. First, India has signed all the major US military foundation agreements and is now part of the US Indo-Pacific Command network, with a focus on Intelligence, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities, including the acquisition of drones. India is expected to take on combat patrol roles as part of this defence collaboration. The second development is the QUAD and AUKUS which aims to ensure the compatibility of defence networks and secure supply lines. They play a strategic role in the region's security architecture.

#### Question and Answer Session

In the next five years, as the People's Liberation Army (PLA) expands beyond the First Island Chain into the Indian Ocean region, the US aims to prepare India to take on a combat role as a net security provider. This shift highlights the need for stabilisation in certain areas, particularly as SAARC becomes less relevant in the current global order. The regional security framework may need to evolve, possibly adopting a new acronym to reflect the changing geopolitical landscape, incorporating China as a full member and Russia as an observer. This evolution could reshape the security dynamics of the region in the coming years.

Question from Wajahat Ali, PhD Researcher from Minhaj University, Lahore:

In both India and Pakistan, there is a large youth bulge, while the middle class is shrinking. However, unlike in ASEAN countries, where youth are actively involved in politics and the economy, this engagement seems lacking in both the nations. What strategies or approaches would you suggest to improve youth involvement in politics and the economy in India and Pakistan?

**Pravin Sawhney:** ASEAN today stands as China's number one trading partner, with trade close to a trillion dollars, making any comparison difficult. Regarding the situation in Pakistan, two key suggestions emerge: first, disengage from India temporarily. When political changes occur, the possibility for improvement may arise. In the meantime, Pakistan has taken a step forward with its National Security Policy, prioritising development. A focus on development, including education and employment, should be the primary goal. Connectivity, both internal and external, is crucial for long-term progress. In five years, significant changes can be made if a clear blueprint is presented to the government. Additionally, Pakistan possesses key advantages such as geography, credible military power, and a highly capable workforce, all of which can support this

Margalla Dialogue 2024

vision. Despite India's actions contributing to instability in South Asia, an opportunity exists for Pakistan to take the initiative and stabilise the region, which would positively impact the broader Asia Pacific.

Question from Dr. Khurram Abbas, Director India Study Centre, Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI):

India and China are engaged in various forms of competition, not only in South Asia but also in other regions. Recently, India has positioned itself as the leader of the Global South. Is a leadership role necessary for the Global South in this context, and if so, why should China not be considered for this leadership?

Pravin Sawhney: The competition between a US\$ 19 trillion economy and a US\$ 4 trillion economy seems unclear, especially when one is based on manufacturing and the other on services. In this context, China stands as a great power, and its influence has significantly shaped global geopolitics. As for the Global South, it does not necessarily require a leader. The idea that India could act as a bridge between the Global North and South is questionable – why would the Global North need to engage with the Global South in such a way? Industrialised nations will likely work to prevent the strengthening of new institutions like BRICS, the BRICS Bank, and the SCO. Instead, the focus should be on how nations, especially those with large populations, unemployment, and poverty, can better identify with the Global South. The world has changed, and foreign policy no longer hinges solely on geography, national power, and history. There is now an opportunity in global geopolitics, but are nations fully leveraging it for their national interests?

#### Question and Answer Session

Question from Major General Muhammad Raza Aizad, Director General Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University, Islamabad:

In the framework of competition versus cooperation, where the US promotes competition, and Russia and China advocate cooperation, how would a potential Ukraine ceasefire, hypothetically brokered by Trump, affect the US strategy? Would this represent a tactical shift or a broader strategic realignment?

Could such a ceasefire also signal US efforts to draw Russia closer to the Western bloc, reviving the post-Cold War idea of integrating Russia and potentially creating a US-Russia-India coalition to counterbalance China?

In South Asia, India's dual approach of aligning with the West while maintaining strategic autonomy through BRICS, Russia ties, and trade with China raises questions about consistency. How does this balance between autonomy and alignment influence regional stability, development, and progress amid global competition and conflict?

**Pravin Sawhney:** The terms of peace in the Ukraine conflict appear to be largely predefined, as articulated by Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov. Key points include: Ukraine's exclusion from NATO, the recognition of Crimea as Russian territory, and potential negotiations over the four contested oblasts. However, whether President Putin would agree to concessions remains uncertain, suggesting any peace agreement would likely be temporary and not resolve NATO's broader strategic positioning in the region.

In the broader context of global politics, the dynamics between competition and cooperation become critical. Historically, the US strategy has been anchored in balance-of-power politics, leveraging its military strength and the dominance of the US dollar in

international trade. This zero-sum approach contrasts sharply with the cooperative development model proposed by Russia and China, which emphasises joint progress and mutual benefits. Despite its potential advantages, the cooperative model remains underutilised, largely due to entrenched Western resistance to systemic change.

The concept of strategic autonomy, often emphasised by emerging powers, is more rhetoric than reality. True autonomy is a defining feature of great powers, those that can influence global events without external interference or coercion. For countries reliant on external technologies, such as in e-commerce or digital infrastructure, dependence constrains their freedom to act independently. This dependence becomes even more pronounced as technology shapes geopolitics in the coming years.

At the heart of global competition lies the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution,' which represents the new frontier of power. The race to lead in deploying revolutionary technologies and integrating them globally will determine future dominance. While the West struggles to accept China's innovation capabilities, China's advancements in setting technological standards, particularly for the Global South, pose a direct challenge to Western hegemony. The ultimate competition centres on which side, China or the US can successfully implement and standardise these innovations globally, especially within emerging economies. Victory in this race will redefine the balance of global power.

Anton Bespalov: The US uniquely seeks global dominance while projecting its ambitions onto others, portraying them as rivals. In contrast, Russia and China do not pursue hegemony but rather seek a fair share in the global economy and politics. Whether this American mindset will ever change is uncertain. It might shift only when the US leadership realises that such ambitions are unsustainable. A safer world could emerge if the US functioned as one of the great powers rather than as a superpower.■

# SPECIAL FORUM PAKISTAN'S ECONOMIC SECURITY THROUGH REGIONAL TRADE



















### Dr Aneel Salman Chair, Economic Security IPRI, Pakistan

Pakistan is at a critical juncture, with its consumption-driven growth model failing to address the underlying issues the economy is grappling with. Rising inflation, dwindling savings, and increasing economic pressures indicate that such outmoded models are no longer sufficient. Pakistan, however, needs a strategic, homegrown plan to tackle these issues. Nonetheless, the challenges Pakistan faces today are unprecedented; however, thev are not insurmountable. Below are several key propositions that are crucial for reshaping Pakistan's approach to economic security and addressing the challenges the economy is facing today.

**Moving Beyond Consumption-Driven Growth**: Over the years, Pakistan has been following a consumption-based model of development. However, the country is now facing challenges that undermine this model. The labour market remains tight, and the tailwinds that previously supported growth are gradually fading. In the past, savings were abundant, but they are now on the decline. As a result, with rising unemployment and diminishing savings, consumption is no longer as strong as it once was.

**Capitalising on Lower Inflation:** As inflation starts to decline, Pakistan has a unique opportunity to implement growth-oriented policies without the fear of overheating the economy. This is the

time to focus on long-term reforms that strengthen the supply side rather than short-term fixes.

**Projections are Not Destiny:** Economic forecasts are not set in stone. Pakistan can change its economic trajectory through proactive and adaptive policies. Rather than being bound by predictions, it needs a mindset that embraces change and drives growth through strategic planning.

**Focusing on Productive Investments**: Investment is important, but not every investment is good. A good investment is an investment that increases Pakistan's productivity levels.

Adopting New Ways of Doing Business: The traditional way of conducting business and governance is no longer sufficient. Policymakers must innovate to stay relevant in today's global economy. Embracing new technologies, modernising industries, and promoting a culture of innovation are crucial to achieving sustainable growth.

**Generating Homegrown Ideas**: In Pakistan, there is a failure to manufacture homegrown ideas, so even thoughts are imported instead of domestically produced, which is the central reason for Pakistan's economic failures.

**Bridging the Supply-Demand Gap**: There is a mismatch between demand and supply. There is a rising demand for the resources that Pakistan needs to tackle climate change, improving health and education, trade and connectivity. There is a rise in demand for good ideas for good governance and good policies. However, there is no obvious market to repair this mismatch.

**Restoring Trust in the Public Sector:** The narrative that the public sector sucks all the nation's money into a black hole of corruption and inefficiency and is incapable of delivering the most rudimentary

#### Special Forum on Economy

services fails to restore trust in the public sector. It is essential to ensure trust in the public sector, as the private sector cannot produce and provide all goods and services.

**Power of Economic Geography:** Pakistan's strategic location, connecting South Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, is a key advantage that remains underutilised. By investing in better infrastructure, improving trade routes, and strengthening regional partnerships. The country can be transformed into a trade and logistics hub. Pakistan's economic geography should not just be seen as a passive asset but actively be used to boost regional trade and secure economic growth.■



**Professor Ahsan Iqbal** Federal Minister for Planning, Development & Special Initiatives, Government of Pakistan

Pakistan is at a precarious crossroads, grappling with significant development challenges. Despite ambitious visions such as Vision 2010 and Vision 2025, the nation has faced obstacles in achieving sustainable growth. Recurring issues of policy discontinuity, political instability, and vulnerability to external shocks have repeatedly hindered economic progress. Notwithstanding its comparable starting conditions to other regional economies that have successfully charted their development paths, Pakistan currently lags behind its regional counterparts on the path of development.

Countries like China and Bangladesh have moved ahead, driven by consistent headship and reform-oriented agendas. The success of these economies was not coincidental. They built on four foundational attributes. Peace remains a prerequisite for any developmental progress in these countries, as conflict only perpetuates unproductivity and stagnation. Political stability ensured policy continuity, enabling these nations to stay on the path of economic prosperity. Moreover, they stuck to policy consistency while avoiding abrupt shifts that could disrupt economic momentum. Lastly, a steadfast commitment to reform allowed them to make bold decisions that shaped their paths toward sustainable development.

In Pakistan, periods of political turmoil, and external pressures such as international financial constraints and geopolitical tensions, resulted in repeated setbacks. Projects like CPEC, anticipated as transformational for regional connectivity and economic growth, faced problems due to policy discontinuity. By 2018, instead of building on earlier achievements, the focus was sidetracked from the development path, and Pakistan's economic progress slowed down. This lack of continuity contrasts with other nations that have built economies on stable foundations, reformist initiatives, and continuous policies. Despite these challenges, there are reasons to remain optimistic, as recent economic indicators suggest signs of recovery. Inflation has dropped significantly, remittances have surged, and investor's confidence is gradually returning, reflected in the record stock market performance. While these improvements are promising, sustainable progress further requires addressing the structural issues that have long impeded growth. For this, the government of Pakistan has proposed a long-term progress path named the 5E framework.

The First 'E' of this framework focuses on the export sector. Exportled growth should be prioritised by modernising key sectors like agriculture and manufacturing. This requires increasing productivity in the dairy sector. Currently, the per-animal milk yield in Pakistan is 1,500 liters, while the global average is 6,000 to 8,000 liters.

The Second 'E' emphasises enhancing the digital economy by enabling digital infrastructure. This will spur economic productivity and citizen empowerment.

The Third 'E' discusses Pakistan's environmental and climate change issues. For the survival of Pakistan, the early identification of disasters based on an efficient management system is important. Several initiatives have been launched focusing on climate readiness.

#### Special Forum on Economy

The Fourth 'E' centres on energy and infrastructure. Only efficiency can bring affordability by reducing transmission losses in the energy sector. Infrastructure development should be encouraged to improve connectivity with regional and global markets. CPEC and its trade corridors can play an important role in this regard.

Finally, the Fifth 'E' focuses on equity and empowerment. For this, investment in education with equal access is critical for developing the human capital necessary for long-term economic resilience and women's participation empowerment.

The experiences of Pakistan's regional partners have demonstrated that transformative change in a country is possible only when there is an unwavering commitment to reforms. Pakistan's geographical position offers a unique opportunity for sustainable development. However, realising this potential requires a stable political environment, consistent policies, and an unwavering commitment to reforms.■
# Driving Economic Stability through Trade and Investment Initiatives Ehsan Malik Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Pakistan Business Council, Pakistan



Over the years, Pakistan's economic narrative has revolved around the interplay between policy predictability, structural challenges, and growth potential. As a business advocacy entity, the Pakistan Business Council (PBC) focuses on proposing policy frameworks to drive sustainable development rather than merely representing specific sectors. Unlike nations that leveraged consistent and forward-looking strategies to foster economic progress, Pakistan often exercised and experienced sudden policy shifts and misaligned priorities. As a result of such policies, Pakistan is coping with an investment conundrum. In Pakistan, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is often considered a panacea. However, not all FDI yields long-term benefits. Foreign or domestic investment only contributes meaningfully when it enhances labour productivity and directly supports export-oriented sectors.

For a nation with a population growth rate of 2.5 per cent annually, generating meaningful employment for millions entering the workforce each year remains a fundamental challenge. Economic security, intrinsically tied to national security, centres around export competitiveness. However, Pakistan has struggled to identify sectors where a comparative advantage can support substantial investments.

Unfortunately, the country's unpredictable policies, unaffordable energy costs, and constrained access to capital have hindered private-sector growth. These challenges are particularly pronounced

in energy-intensive industries, where Pakistan's costs are significantly higher than those of its regional and global competitors. Moreover, the government's crowding out of private-sector credit has further impeded the growth trajectory of its economy.

Agriculture, however, remains a sector with immense potential. With a diverse scope encompassing crops, horticulture, livestock, and fisheries, it could be the cornerstone of economic growth. Yet, inefficiencies such as poor water management and low crop yields continue to plague this sector. Despite having similar climatic conditions, Pakistan's per-acre yield for major crops remains far below global benchmarks. The nation lags significantly behind neighbouring countries. Addressing these inefficiencies through modern practices and efficient resource utilisation could unlock substantial growth opportunities.

In summary, Pakistan's path to sustainable growth lies in fostering local investment, ensuring policy stability, and prioritising sectors with inherent advantages, such as agriculture. With untapped potential, the agriculture sector presents a viable opportunity to drive prosperity. However, structural barriers need to be addressed with consistency and vision. Attracting foreign investment becomes futile without a focus on domestic investors and an enabling business environment.

# Economic Security in the New Era Zafar Masud Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Bank of Punjab, Pakistan



Pakistan's economic security faces a critical challenge in the form of external debt. Addressing this challenge is integral to the nation's broader economic strategy. The trade policies are the foundation for mitigating domestic and international debt. Export-driven trade in particular ought to be competitive and productive to reduce debt levels and alleviate poverty. This has been demonstrated in countries like Vietnam, where a surge in exports has directly correlated with an increase in FDI which in turn supports economic growth.

Pakistan's trade relations with its neighbouring countries remain underdeveloped due to various factors, particularly security and geopolitical challenges. Trade relations within regions like Latin America and the EU highlight the benefits of regional trade integration. Studies indicate that a modest increase in trade openness could substantially reduce arms conflicts within a region. Pakistan's trade potential with its neighbours is immense, but lack of cooperation and conflict-driven policies have hindered its growth.

Furthermore, the situation is worsened by a protectionist stance towards imports, leading to an imbalance in trade deficit. This is compounded by the fact that tariffs and taxes are used as source of revenue, thereby constraining the country's export competitiveness. Pakistan's reliance on a few trading partners, such as the EU, China, Afghanistan, and the USA, has resulted in an export market that is both narrow and low-tech.

Establishing free trade agreements, such as the one with China, is a step in the right direction but requires a more balanced and nuanced approach. It needs to take into account the broader business and environmental concerns. Climate change, as exemplified by smog contributions from neighbouring countries, also highlights the need for regional cooperation in addressing economic and environmental challenges. A comprehensive homegrown strategy that integrates economic policy, trade liberalisation, and climate considerations could lay the foundation for sustainable development.

Ultimately, integrating trade with regional neighbours, supported by a comprehensive implementation plan, will be crucial in reducing debt and advancing economic growth. Nonetheless, the path is long and requires careful management; the recent reduction in the external debt-to-GDP ratio offers a glimmer of hope that with the right strategies, Pakistan can steer its economy toward a more secure and prosperous future.

# **Dr Aqdas Afzal** Economic Advisor, Ministry of Finance, The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)



The global economic paradigm has altered fundamentally, with trade and innovation increasingly intertwined with national security. The rise of new economic powers such as China and the growing interconnectedness between trade policies and geopolitical strategies have worked as a primary catalyst behind this alteration.

For many years, the global economic order was shaped by free trade principles, primarily under the Washington Consensus, which advocated for deregulation, market openness, and the liberalisation of global commerce. However, recent geopolitical developments, such as the rise of China and the introduction of cutting-edge technologies, have prompted a reevaluation of these assumptions. This has resulted in significant policy shifts, particularly in the United States, which has adopted an "America-first" economic policy.

This shift reflects a broader trend where trade is increasingly viewed through the lens of national security. Pakistan also needs to transition from free trade policies to strategic trade policies. Such policies can not only improve economic growth but also enhance national security.

One of the critical tools in this new economic landscape is tariffs. Tariffs have historically been treated with suspicion. However, tariffs can play a strategic role, especially in countries like Pakistan, which

Margalla Dialogue 2024 97

face the challenge of trade deficits. In these economies, tariffs can help boost domestic savings. These savings can be reinvested into critical infrastructure and foster economic growth without increasing debt. This approach to tariffs is increasingly seen as a way to strategically strengthen national economies while avoiding the pitfalls of excessive borrowing.

Pakistan, in particular, faces both challenges and opportunities in this global shift from free trade to strategic trade. It is unrealistic to assume that trade alone can lead to lasting peace between nations like Pakistan and India. The historical context of trade between these two countries reveals a significant trade imbalance, with Pakistan's exports covering only a fraction of its imports from India.

Pakistan must focus on strengthening its industrial base and fostering innovation. Rather than relying solely on free trade agreements. It should prioritise policies that enhance its competitive edge, such as those that promote research and development, technological innovation, and the creation of high-value industries. The goal should be to move beyond reliance on traditional exports and embrace new sectors like IT, agriculture, and mining.

In conclusion, Pakistan's response to the evolving global trade environment must balance economic growth with national security considerations. Initiatives like the 5E framework and the second phase of the CPEC, can help to create new trade opportunities, particularly in Central Asia and the Middle East. However, it must also reconsider its trade policies, de-linking them from the pursuit of peace and instead focusing on fostering innovation, competitiveness, and strategic trade policies that can drive long-term economic prosperity.

# **Question & Answer Session**

#### Question by Dr Aneel Salman:

Given your experience in leading multinational corporations, what policy changes would you prioritise to make Pakistan a more attractive destination for corporate investments, especially in non-traditional sectors like technology, manufacturing, and agribusiness?

**Dr Ehsan Malik:** First of all, the Pakistan Business Council is not obsessed with multinational investments. It focuses more on uplifting local industries. However, in the investment sector, there is a lot of fragmentation.

In Pakistan, there is no such thing as a fiscal policy. There is only a fiscal regime. The fiscal regime tries to extract, often in a very predatory manner, the most it can from the existing taxpayers. If that continues, why would the existing investor invest more and a new investor come to invest? This approach, however, discourages local and foreign investors from committing to long-term projects. Pakistan's investment landscape remains uncertain and unattractive without a strategic and well-defined fiscal policy.

Pakistan also lacks a clear industrial policy. The policy, unfortunately, does not identify sectors with comparative advantages and directs resources, accordingly. Hence, investments fail to yield significant economic returns due to the presence of such structural inefficiencies. Challenges such as high energy costs, policy unpredictability, and constrained capital access further exacerbate the issue. These factors collectively deter industrial growth and innovation, particularly in technology, manufacturing, and agribusiness.

For multinational investors, the primary concern is profit repatriation. Transparent and reliable mechanisms for remitting profits, royalties, and technical fees are essential to attract and retain FDI. However, Pakistan's heavy reliance on imported raw materials diminishes the overall economic benefits of FDI. Many industries consume imported inputs, reducing the net positive impact on the external account. This structural imbalance must be addressed to stimulate investments while ensuring their meaningful contributions to the economy.

Regional trade also plays a crucial role in enhancing economic stability. Despite close economic ties with China, the trade balance remains heavily skewed. Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) have not delivered the expected benefits. For instance, Pakistan's FTA with China provides duty-free access to 45 per cent of product lines, but after accounting for items not produced domestically or not imported by China, this figure drops to a mere 14.5 per cent. In contrast, Bangladesh has secured 96 per cent access to its products without an FTA.

Moreover, proximity-based regional trade with countries like India and Iran could offer significant advantages. Trade with India, in particular, holds substantial potential due to geographic proximity and cost-efficiency. However, political considerations have often overshadowed economic pragmatism, and this prevents Pakistan from mutually beneficial trade relations.

Aligning fiscal, trade, industrial, and energy policies is essential for ensuring Pakistan's more attractive investment environment. For this, a more holistic approach, focused on long-term structural reforms and regional trade optimisation, can help sustainable economic development.

#### Question by Engineer Waseem Abbasi:

faces Pakistan's energy sector significant structural inefficiencies that demand targeted and strategic reforms. One critical issue is the adoption of solar energy by the domestic sector. This has reduced electricity demand in Pakistan as well as created a policy challenge. The energy infrastructure now underutilisation, leading to idle faces capacity. The government must craft a comprehensive strategy to ensure that existing energy assets remain productive. Meanwhile managing the financial burden of maintaining unused capacity. In essence, how can balancing the growth of renewable energy with the efficient utilisation of traditional energy infrastructure be ensured by the government?

**Professor Ahsan Iqbal:** Globally, countries like China, South Korea, Singapore, and Malaysia have developed economic models that are suited to their specific conditions. A common characteristic among these models is their focus on export-led growth. Like Pakistan, these nations started with low-cost, labour-intensive industries to gain a competitive edge in global markets. Over the years, they introduced structural reforms, strategic investments, and innovation. Likewise, Pakistan should produce a model that aligns with its unique challenges and opportunities, to ensure sustainable development.

One of Pakistan's critical challenges is its current account deficit. Economic growth has historically been based on imports. Without a corresponding increase in export capacity or foreign reserves/dollar earnings. Addressing this issue requires enhancing dollar inflows through exports, export-driven FDI, and maximising remittance potential. Pakistan also holds an untapped potential in its natural resources. For example, the vast mineral reserves of Balochistan remain underutilised. Recent developments such as Barrick Gold's return signal progress in this area.

Margalla Dialogue 2024 101

Thar coal presents another opportunity. The Coal reserves are sufficient to meet Pakistan's energy demand for the next 500 years. Investments under the CPEC initiative have facilitated the development of this resource as well as led to cheaper and more sustainable power generation.

Energy sector inefficiencies, however, remain a significant barrier. Seasonal demand fluctuations result in idle capacity during winter. Because electricity consumption drops while capacity payments continue. To address this, the government has introduced targeted subsidies to encourage electricity usage during low-demand periods. Here the focus is on industrial and agricultural production.

Distribution inefficiencies further exacerbate the problem. Four major distribution companies viz. Islamabad Electric Supply Company (IESCO), Gujranwala Electric Power Company (GEPCO), Faisalabad Electric Supply Company (PESCO), and Lahore Electric Supply Company (LESCO), swallow the financial burden of covering losses from underperforming entities like Karachi Electric, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Quetta, and Peshawar supply companies. In such loss making entities, losses can reach up to 50 per cent. Privatisation of the distribution companies (DISCOs) is being considered as a solution to improve efficiency and reduce systemic distortions. Additionally, provincial governments have been invited to take ownership of DISCOs, allowing them to manage electricity supply within their jurisdictions.

The transition toward renewable energy remains a long-term goal, but it centers on achieving efficiency and affordability in the current system. Minimising distribution losses, introducing smart technologies to address leakage, and fostering a culture of payment compliance are critical in stabilising the energy sector. These measures will indeed create the fiscal space and infrastructure readiness needed for a larger shift toward renewable energy sources.■

# **FORUM C** AGE OF TECHNOLOGY: EXPLORING NEW HORIZONS

















### **Dr Basit Raza** AI Entrepreneur, Former Adviser to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on IT & Telecommunication

We stand on the brink of history with two of our time's most advanced technological shifts. These are AI and Blockchain backed digital securities like Bitcoin. These technological advancements represent an opportunity worth trillions of dollars. One of the reports suggests that AI by 2030 would represent an opportunity of \$2 trillion. Bitcoin is now the world's eighth largest (by market capitalisation) asset. The pertinent question for Pakistan and the emerging nations is whether they will be watching these advanced technologies from outside, as they have been doing, or will they have an active role in them?

The choice is between being users of this technology and becoming innovators. During the dot-com boom, Pakistan was nowhere in the picture. The .com burst / bubble created some of the greatest companies like Google, Netflix, and Amazon. A few years later, mobile broadband was spreading all across the US and in the developed nations, while many emerging nations were still catching up to that. The mobile broadband proliferation led to social media companies which have become inevitable today. Instagram, Facebook, Snapchat, TikTok are part and parcel of this social media or mobile broadband proliferation. The developing nations lagged even then.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

Now, AI represents an amazing opportunity as the most democratised technology in the longest of times. It is the most democratised technology because some of the large language models which would otherwise have required hundreds of millions of dollars and years of research and data gathering, are now available free of cost as open- source models. Meta is an open source, some of its finest models like Lama 3.2 are as powerful as the latest models by open AI. So, anyone, any student, or any builder who wants to build a great application with AI just needs a laptop and a cloud connection.

Some of these models could be really memory intensive, requiring a lot of computer sources but they can start building amazing applications out of that. The AI has a good, bad, and an ugly side to it. The good side of AI is that it is going to transform everything in the visible limits today. For instance, AI could be used in the optimisation of cancer therapy treatments. As part of the optimisation process data points from patients can help efficiently figure out what worked and what did not work using the AI tools. Extraction of data from tens of thousands of fields requires data analysis and three to four months. It also requires hundreds of data engineers to pour over this massive trove of data. So, AI comes in handy to help optimise the entire process. AI can process this data within a few minutes without taking up the huge resources. In this case, AI is going to save roughly three to four million dollars; it is going to cut down the time of research by at least 3-4 months. A cancer-free world will be built on the shoulders of AI and it is an extremely powerful use of AI.

Vinod Khosla, one of the earliest investors in Meta, has made a lot of predictions about AI. One of his predictions is that AI will eventually lead to everyone having their personalised tutor, doctor, and healthcare facilities. These are some of the developments associated with AI and will contribute to improved living. Meanwhile, with AI a new way of living will emerge. In particular, massive job

#### Forum C

displacements will create economic challenges. The latest AI voice technologies signal that the days for the call-center industry might be numbered. This is a big concern because Pakistan, India, and many emerging nations have made the most out of these industries.

Jensen Haung, the CEO of Nvidia, was at the AI Summit in India. He said that while one needs to be concerned about the job displacements, in the beginning, one will not be losing one's job to AI, instead jobs will be lost to someone with better knowledge and use of the AI. Hence, it is also extremely important that people are ready to have the skill sets required to cope with the undergoing technological shift.

According to Elon Musk, AI is that sort of a technology whose impact is going to be cross-sectional, cross-industries, and crossvertical. In the AI-led world, humanity might be rendered as waste and needless. In the words of Andrew Ng, one of the leading voices on AI, the impact of AI will be greater than that of electricity and internet combined.

People have never taken Bitcoin seriously but it has been slowly and gradually catching the attention of the world. However, what it represents is not just an opportunity for some quick money. Rather, Bitcoin represents the greatest hedge against inflation.

As technologies and AI continue to advance, the real world remains deeply intertwined with politics. We are witnessing the emergence of a new world order. Just a few decades ago, there were no semiconductor wars. Today, China has become a hub for producing cutting-edge devices, from assembling iPhones to driving innovation. However, the ongoing US-China competition, including the semiconductor and AI wars, raises critical questions: how will this battle for dominance over the technology empire shape the future of the world?

Lastly, there is a world where there is a question mark on the collective conscience of the world: the Israel-Gaza War. In these modern times, 40,000 plus kids have been killed, yet there has been a deafening silence all around. Are people concerned about a world where there is no concern about the lives of the children? Would technology or can technology play a role in that? Will AI have an impact on warfare? These are some of the questions that need to be addressed.





# Alex Gladstein Chief Strategy Officer, Human Rights Foundation, USA

Bitcoin is here to stay; it is an almost US\$ 2 trillion asset that was at one point worth zero. It is an open-source software network owned by nobody that continues to grow because of its scarcity. There will be over 21 million Bitcoin and that makes it a very valuable commodity in today's world. It is the only scarce digital asset. Every other digital currency that exists whether it be other crypto tokens, traditional digital fiat currencies, the stuff in bank account, or online all of this stuff can be essentially printed except for Bitcoin.

Regarding the global trade systems, the US dollar dominates global trade. If a country like Pakistan, Ghana, or Argentina wants to industrialise, it cannot use its own currency to buy what it needs. Pakistan cannot print rupees to buy oil or buy planes or fertiliser. The companies that sell the aircraft and oil do not accept rupees, so countries have to get dollars. The dollar can be procured through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) at high interest rates and with structural adjustment conditions. IMF loan leads to a debt-trap where a country like Pakistan cannot just print rupees to buy dollars because that would mean hyperinflation. To procure dollars, countries tend to sell things to America or its allies that they want instead of making things that these countries themselves require. That is how the current global trade system works and it is very unfair. It does not allow much room for change. It usually forces governments to impose structural adjustment and to lower the living standards of people who live in these countries. That is obviously

Margalla Dialogue 2024 111

what is happening in Pakistan now and in many other places like Egypt, Nigeria, Argentina, and many other important countries. Consequently, it is very prohibitive for progress and growth.

A few decades down the line, maybe there will be a world where Bitcoin continues to grow and becomes more dominant in the world economy. There is a world where there is one open neutral currency for the world. Today, it is the dollar, and the American debt powers the world. It is quite possible to live in a world where Bitcoin is the open neutral decentralised trade asset for the world. If companies selling industrial equipment, fertilisers, oil, machinery, and technology; the essentials for countries to progress and advance civilisation, start accepting Bitcoin, it could lead to fascinating developments. This is particularly significant as most countries possess vast renewable energy resources. The renewable energy might be solar, wind, hydro, or geothermal. So, stranded energy resources can be turned into a currency that can buy anything in the world, can be traded 24/7, and multiplied over time. Some countries have started to do this: Ethiopia, Kenya, Bhutan, Oman, and Argentina are examples of the countries that have started to mine Bitcoin. Soon, every single country will mine Bitcoin whether it be in the private sector, public sector, or public-private partnership. A mine in Paraguay was so impressive, it was created by a teacher who wanted to raise money for the Academy. They ended up creating a 100-megawatt mine. That is an unbelievable amount of energy, and it runs off the Itaipu dam, which is the world's third largest dam. They are taking this energy that used to be sold to Brazil not helping Paraguay at all; now they are bringing that energy to Paraguay and to create jobs and bring capital to Paraguay. Anywhere where there is hydroelectric, solar, wind, or geothermal power, they are either wasting energy or have excess energy. A news story in the BBC claims that Bitcoin wastes as much energy as the country of Argentina. However, in reality, Bitcoin saves as much energy as the country of Argentina. So, Bitcoin, when combined with technology like Starlink, is that it can go in and it buys. It buys 100 per cent of

#### Forum C

what is not in use so it saves all of that wasted energy and it converts that to capital for the local country to do whatever it wants.

What is Bitcoin going to do for countries over the next 10 to 20 years? It would mean that any country could buy oil, industrial equipment, fertiliser, weapons, or whatever it needs. Any country can buy whatever it wants without enriching or paying rent to a foreign power that is half a world away. It means countries can trade and hire seamlessly with no middlemen taking a cut. What if Pakistan wants to buy something from some country nearby? Why should it have to get US dollars? Why should Pakistan have to pay rent to the US government in the form of driving up demand for the debt of the US if it wants to buy something from Egypt, China or Russia? It makes no sense. It is the way the system is today but it is not going to be this way forever. This idea of having this open neutral reserve asset on the internet is going to be extremely powerful.



# Emerging Technologies and their Impact on National Security & Economy Daniel Castro Vice President, Information Technology and Innovation Foundation (ITIF), USA



Looking at the digital economy, Pakistan has had massive success over the last 20 years. It has created this multi-billion dollar export industry. It has trained hundreds of thousands of leading IT professionals through some of the best universities in the world. It is currently investing in creating incubators and accelerators that will create and scale digital start-ups in the future.

Most countries are thinking about their position in the digital economy today. They are envious of Pakistan and would gladly trade with it. Recent advances have shaken up the status quo in the digital economy. The countries that lead in the digital economy tomorrow would not necessarily be the countries that are leading today. At the moment, with AI and other emerging technologies, it is so important because it is not about everything done up to this point, it is about what will be done now and would be done next.

AI requires new skills and new data and it also requires new infrastructure. The global leaders in the economy of tomorrow will be those who rapidly adopt AI and apply the technology to actually make their traded sectors more competitive globally. This strategy is already being deployed in many countries.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

115

One of the reasons for so much focus on this geopolitical rivalry between the US and China is because both the countries are trying to do this right. Both recognise that the only way out is to be a leader in advanced technology sectors having all types of manufacturing, quantum computing, advanced clean energy technologies etc. The only way to achieve this is by taking the lead in AI utilisation, not just in its development but also in its practical application.

Every country really needs to be looking at the use of AI and its deployment. What should Pakistan do against this backdrop?

There are three main points of emphasis. First, flatly accelerate the adoption of AI. There are a lot of analogies to other technologies of the past; businesses that use electricity are more productive than businesses that did not use electricity; businesses that adopted the internet and computers were more productive than those that did not. The same will be true for businesses that use AI. They are going to be much more productive than those that do not. Hence, the goal of policymakers should be to promote widespread adoption of AI. To do this investing in creating data that can unlock value domestically is vital. Data, such as language data, geospatial data, health data etc. Everything that can allow AI to be widely deployed within the domestic context.

Secondly, there is a need to invest in AI skills and computing infrastructure, including data centers and processors. AI's deployment in the public sectors like education, transportation, healthcare, etc. will improve these areas.

The building of a pro-innovation AI ecosystem is important to rule out the fears surrounding the AI-related developments. The top fear for many countries is about the impact AI and automation will have on jobs. These countries resort to using regulation to hold back the adoption of AI. The biggest risk for most countries is not going to be

#### Forum C

short-term job disruption. Rather, the biggest risk is going to be the long-term potential losses of economic competitiveness for not adopting AI. Countries have to be focused on what is in the longterm interest and focus on investing in those areas. Digital transformation remains key to improving productivity. It is the key to improving productivity, increasing wages and boosting GDP and the overall quality of life. The success in the AI economy will translate into benefits. At the societal level, the economic stability will encourage the young professionals to stay in the country and pursue careers. This will reduce the brain drain, and will eventually make the national economy more stable. A country with a strong economy will have more political say at regional and global fronts.

The third factor is the open and stable digital infrastructure that Pakistan needs to concentrate on. This means an open internet, an internet freedom for people to be able to go online, connect, speak, innovate, and use the internet without restrictions. Internet freedom has had enormous economic value. Many studies have been able to quantify that more internet freedom leads to higher GDP and more trade in services including IT services. There is more export of products because the internet connects buyers and sellers around the world. It increases productivity, leads to higher levels of employment and fosters innovation.

In Pakistan, so many more freelancers are coming out of universities and working remote digital jobs. They cannot do that if they cannot get online and make it to their meetings. This connectivity is critical at the personal level. When countries shut down the internet or block major online services, they impose massive economic costs on their workforce and businesses. It can ultimately damage their global reputations. It is important in the emerging technology space as AI firms are looking all around the world trying to decide where to invest and put the jobs of the future. Countries should be striving to do everything they can to be attractive investment destinations. This means not only getting some of these fundamental rights such as

Margalla Dialogue 2024

#### 117

talent, which Pakistan has in abundance, but also not creating unnecessary obstacles. For instance, limiting access to data, blocking online services or censoring AI models, or anything that could deter future AI investment. One cannot compete in tomorrow's economy with yesterday's restrictions.

Moving forward, the decisions countries make in the next few years around AI are going to have a massive impact on their economy and on their National Security. Accelerating AI adoption, creating a proinnovation AI ecosystem and fostering open and secure and reliable digital infrastructure is what Pakistan can do to set itself up for continued success in the rapidly evolving digital economy.

Lastly, when it comes to the energy costs around AI, a lot of the headlines have been misleading just like some of the headlines were misleading on the early days around Bitcoin. When AI is deployed it becomes significantly more efficient, so, early models were hugely inefficient but will be more efficient once they go forward.■

# Impact of technology on warfare Brig (R) Dr Raashid Wali Janjua Director Research and Analysis, IPRI, Pakistan



The warfare has been continually evolving but there is a big difference from the warfare trends experienced hitherto-fore. In the past every technological watershed altered the grammar of war leaving its character pristine and unaltered. The Clausewitz defined his concept of war as "continuation of policy by other means." War being an instrument of policy to achieve the policy objectives could therefore not be de-coupled from the national policy which was the logic whereas the conduct was the grammar of war.

The nature of war, however, according to Clausewitz comprised an immutable trinity i.e Reason, Violence, and Chance. Violence is the primordial force of hatred/domination while reason is related to policy. The chance or the probability is related to the military and the art of warfare. According to Clausewitz war is a rational choice or extension of policy but can also be driven by irrationality of violence. Since the trinity is rooted in social dynamics the social context influences the three elements of the trinity which if connected to society become people, government and the military. The passion or the violent desire of people represented by the government's rational policies is translated into war by the military employing strategy that essentially is a function of chance. (Better use of elements of strategy i.e ends, ways and means could reduce the element of chance however and vice versa).

Margalla Dialogue 2024 119

The modern technology (IT revolution driven by the Artificial Intelligence) is upending the whole Clauzewitzean paradigm of war. The element of chance represented by the strategy and its military practitioners is giving way to an AI driven uncertainty where the human will might lose its agency against the AI driven munitions.

#### The current warfare landscape features three kinds of warfare:-

- Conventional
- Nuclear
- Unconventional/Asymmetric

The astounding advances in technologies like Artificial Intelligence and Quantum Computing however are transforming warfare, wherein the entire grammar and logic of the war is changing. For the first time in human history the human agency is being taken out of the loop, upending the whole nature of the war. The Clausewitz's trinity of war is no longer the ruling war paradigm as the non-state actors and emerging technologies like Lethal Autonomous Weapons, Space Warfare, AI enabled weapons, and Brain-Computer Interface are increasing the tempo of warfare is beyond human control. The world therefore needs to bring IHL in sync with AI warfare and to evolve a global consensus for an AI arms control treaty.

#### What is Technology Doing?

- Increasing the Tempo of warfare
- Increasing Lethality
- Increased precision
- Increased Transparency (Everything will be seen and whatever is seen would be hit
- Non-Contact Warfare
- Information Dominance (Electromagnetic Spectrum, whosoever dominates the EMS would carry the day on modern battlefield
- Jointness and Net centricity (Multidomain network warfare)

#### Forum C

Future warfare belongs to AI enabled Multi Domain Networked Warfare (MDNW). RMA in the past was an umbrella term for the modern warfare, having elements like dominant manoeuvre, precision warfare, focused logistics and information warfare. The aim was to dominate the battle space through the fast tempo of operations, complete domination of the information loop, precision targeting, and speed of manoeuvre, enhanced through technology enabled precise logistics. The dominance of the battle space and the Observe, Orient, Decide, Act (OODA) loop were the logical concomitants of the RMA driven warfare.

Domination of OODA loop has emerged as an important battle winning factor on modern battlefield where command, control, communications and computer, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISR) capabilities have come to define the flavour of the warfare and the length of OODA loop. The networked battles pace of modern battlefields gave rise to the enhancement of electronic bandwidth, increased processing speed, and improved data fusion capability. The human limitation in information processing and data fusion was first addressed by semi-automated systems and is being done now through fully automated AI systems, capable of processing data as well as taking independent decisions to modify battlefield tactics. The age of AI has started ushering in a post RMA revolution.

AI driven platforms that can select targets independently and attack free of human control are killers sans human agency. When the human being is taken out of the decision loop the humanity is also taken out of the same loop. The "Martens Clause", a binding rule of International Humanitarian Law (IHL), and the "Hague Convention's Article IV" requires the application of the principle of humanity and human agency in a combat situation.

The mankind would need new rules for International Humanitarian Law (IHL) in order to wage war with the help of AI. The capability of

Margalla Dialogue 2024 121

reining in the AI driven munitions through a "Kill Switch" mechanism needs to be developed by human beings before letting loose the AI on the battlefield.

In non-contact warfare strategies, the use of AI to deny services and degradation of economic potential of an adversary might be the preferred objectives. These could be achieved through AI enabled espionage, subversion and cyber-attacks. Modern cyber-attacks follow "Cyber Kill Chain" process, a term coined by Lockheed Martin that includes phases like reconnaissance, weaponisation, delivery, exploitation, installation, control and counter action. Pakistan has had an experience of hacking into its Microsoft software i.e Hyper V that was used by FBR and was hacked leading to theft of data as well as crashing of website. Imagine an AI driven hacker penetrating into our cyber defences to hack our communications, aviation control or energy systems. If a hacker could reverse our turbines' movement in the power plants those would be shut causing a ripple effect on the country wide electricity transmission systems.

Countries like USA are also using AI for the development of Autonomous Weapon Systems (AWS) and stealth platforms to target their adversaries using non-contact strategies without risks of losing human lives. Programmes like Pegasus are being used to develop autonomous aircrafts capable of operating without human help. Weapon systems with better battlespace awareness and an ability to modify strategies to cause optimum damage are being developed, embedding AI into their operations. US Army is using "Ask Sage", an AI Generative platform for military tasks as is China through the use of "Baidu GPT" system. A foretaste of the above was the use of AI-enabled Lavender system, originally mooted as an idea in a book by Israeli Brigadier General YS, titled, "The Human Machine: How to Create Synergy Between Human and Artificial Intelligence that Will Revolutionise Warfare." The idea was to generate kill lists by marking human targets out of intelligence data fed to AI and then allowing strikes with minimal human control.

#### Forum C

Israeli soldiers using these systems according to Yuval Abraham would only take 20 seconds to scrutinise the targets before giving go ahead to these AI generated targets.

According to sources the IDF had decided that to kill a junior Hamas operative through AI driven Lavender system, 15-20 civilian casualties would be permissible. In case of senior Hamas commanders, the killing of 100 civilians as collateral damage was permitted. The draconian decision resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties. Under a directive the human target term was used for Hamas military cadre's members who were cleared for an attack to die inside their homes along with their entire families. The originator of the idea was the commander of the elite Israeli unit "8200" in the current Gaza conflict. A similar use of AI was made in another system called "Where's Daddy?" which was used to track and identify the potential Hamas and Islamic Jihad leaders.

#### **Emerging Technologies**

- Lethal Autonomous Weapon Systems
  - UCAVs
  - Loitering Munitions
  - Swarm Drones
  - Unmanned Armoured Vehicles
- Spaced Based Systems
  - Surveillance
  - Navigation
  - Cyber Attacks
  - Anti Satellite Weapons (ASAT)
  - Directed Energy Weapons

#### • Robotics

- UGVs
- Mine Breaching Robots
- Exo-skeletal suits

Margalla Dialogue 2024



# • Quantum Computing

- Increased information processing enables an adversary to dominate the decision loop to achieve operational advantage upon the adversary
- Increased data processing speed to handle information overload, multiply combat power and generate operational options.

## • Brain-Computer Interface (BCI)

- Neural Link developing BCI that would improve memory, learning and communication.
- Directed Energy Weapons
  - High Energy Lasers
  - High Powered Microwaves.
- Hypersonic missiles.
- Advanced Defense Equipment.
- Internet of Military Things (IoMT).
- Immersive Technologies.

#### **Outcome of Revolution in Technology**

- **Demassification**. In future lean, agile, highly lethal, and networked forces instead of mass formations of industrial age warfare would dominate the battlefield.
- **Decentralisation**. The network-centric warfare of future would rely on decentralisation of command and directive control rather than direct control. Soldiers with palm-sized devices shall leverage the digital connectivity and improved communication means to use multiple platforms for gaining information as well as targeting the enemy without referring to the higher decision-making tier at every step.

#### Forum C

- **Centrality of Networks and Data**. Digitised communication networks and data would determine the efficacy of military response on future battlefield.
- **Interface between AI and human agency**. AI would both be "in the loop" as well as "on the loop" challenging as well as facilitating the human agency.

#### Areas of Concern/Risks

- High Cost.
- Bandwidth dependency.
- Information overload.
- Risks of controlling dual use AI enabled technologies-misuse by terrorists.
- Flash War Risks due to unpredictability of AI enabled weapons.
- Ethics of warfare-How to regulate AI driven weapons.

#### Conclusions

- Introduction of non-human logic to military systems and processes will transform military strategies.
- New age of AI driven warfare would require a common definition of restraint along with mutual restraint regime to keep the risks of uncontrolled escalation at bay.
- Non-hierarchical and decentralised military combat units.
- Need for highly skilled yet physically robust soldiers.
- Multi Domain Network Centric Warfare demands jointness and synergy in land, air, sea and space components of the military.
- Data centers, communication means and the protection of the sensor-shooter-decision makers grid to be the pearl of high price on future battlefield.
- Amendments in IHL to incorporate new rules of engagement for AI enabled weapons to ensure human control over their use.■

Margalla Dialogue 2024 125

# Developing Emerging Technologies and the Role of East Prof. Dr Gao Xudong, School of Economics and Management, Tsinghua University, China



China, like other countries, is doing something similar in AI as the previous speakers reiterated. However, China is a developing country so there is some difference. At least, two points need noticing: one, there seems to be a consensus that AI today is not mature. It is still at the very early stage of development, such as in the domains of language processing, and there is still a long way to go. Secondly, in China, many companies and research institutes believe in application-driven or context-driven AI. Probably, in the short term, it is more important. These are the two observations for AI.

The important thing about innovation in China is that it is a developing country, a huge country, so it does not focus only on digital technology and AI. It has a much more comprehensive strategy, and even in mature technology it takes a lot of time and effort. That is another characteristic because China is huge, the market is big, and also the population. It has some advantages, for example, the skilled economy is obvious; for almost any product, the productivity and the efficiency are much higher than the cost. It also enjoys the economy of scope. Companies, research institutes and universities can simultaneously explore different technologies. That is another advantage of that economy. A lot of iteration can be done here but it is better to move to the main agenda now.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

127

The following three achievements will be discussed. Achievements of China's innovation and key factors in the transformation of the society. Also, the key issues and challenges will be discussed.

The achievements of China are pretty obvious looking at its industries. China is leading the world. One example is the new energy vehicles. Last year, China produced more than 60 per cent of new energy vehicles. This year, a similar or higher number of electric vehicles were made by China. It has become the number one automobile exporter in the world. Looking at digital technology, from the third generation, China has become a major player in the world and is leading in 5G and is planning for 6G.

Last year, China produced almost 10 million new energy vehicles. The penetration rate of new energy vehicles in China this year will be around 50 per cent. One out of two vehicles sold in China now is a new energy vehicle. In terms of telecom, China has been number one for many years.

High-speed rail is another significant achievement of China that merits discussion. Traveling from Beijing to a province about 500 kilometres to the south now takes approximately two hours, showcasing the convenience of this mode of transport. For instance, the journey from Beijing to Shanghai, spanning around 1,200 kilometres, can be completed in about four hours on the fastest trains, emphasising the efficiency of the system. By the year 2023, China had developed approximately 45,000 kilometres of high-speed rail, accounting for about 70 per cent of the global high-speed rail network. This development highlights China's rapid progress in this domain.

China is also making notable advancements in space exploration, including active efforts to explore the moon and other simultaneous scientific endeavours. Alongside economic development, China has
#### Forum C

realised the importance of enhancing military capabilities, emphasising that these advancements are intended for defensive purposes rather than aggression against other countries.

Another noteworthy phenomenon is the emergence of a new generation of entrepreneurs in China. Over a decade ago, most hightech startups in the country drew inspiration from established centres of innovation such as Silicon Valley, Boston and other science and technology centres. However, recent trends indicate that an increasing number of Chinese start-ups now develop technologies that are globally leading from the outset, reflecting rapid changes in the innovation landscape.

Several examples highlight China's progress in various industries. One example is the drum manufacturing sector, where Chinese companies have captured more than 70% of the global market share. Another example is the largest genome sequencing company in the world, which has made significant contributions to science, technology, and medical treatment across various domains.

In the field of heavy equipment manufacturing, ZPMC (Shanghai Zhenhua Heavy Industries Company Limited.) stands out as a notable company. Established in 1992, it now holds approximately 80 per cent of the global market share. The company was founded by a graduate of Tsinghua University at the age of 59, demonstrating that success is not bound by age. This serves as an inspiration for younger entrepreneurs with the potential to establish their ventures.

Another remarkable company, founded in 1988 by alumni of the Harbin Institute of Technology (a leading engineering and technology university in China) has revolutionised the construction industry. For instance, it showcased its technology by constructing a 57-story building in 19 days. Initially, the company could construct three stories per day, but recent advancements have increased this capability to six to eight stories per day, significantly transforming

construction practices. These are the key factors facilitating this kind of transformation and innovation at both macro and micro levels.

Lastly, the government in China plays a significant role, often implementing large-scale programmes to develop technological capabilities. This approach involves three strategies: transferring and buying technology from other countries, focusing on emerging technologies such as 3G, 4G, 5G, and 6G, and reinventing mature technologies. For example, while high-speed is a mature technology, China has become a global leader by reinventing and enhancing it.

The importance of higher education is another critical factor. Each year, approximately 10 million students in China enter college, and a similar number graduate, contributing to the talent pool driving innovation and entrepreneurship. This emphasis on education serves as a cornerstone of China's development.

China's economy is characterised by the coexistence of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) and private companies, both of which have demonstrated high levels of innovation. Contrary to some scholarly arguments that SOEs lack efficiency and innovation, substantial evidence shows that large SOEs in China are actively innovating and contributing significantly to the country's progress.

An example of China's openness to innovation is the city of Shenzhen in Guangdong Province. A foreign entrepreneur established a company there, citing Shenzhen as the ideal place for starting a business due to its abundance of talent, suppliers, and companies. This reflects the city's appeal as a global hub for entrepreneurship and innovation. One notable example is Huawei, a significant Chinese company established in 1987.

In 2018 and 2019, Huawei faced challenges, including technology bans and sanctions from the US government. Despite these hurdles, the company has continued to thrive. Its resilience can be attributed

#### Forum C

to its focus on innovation, attracting talent, and substantial investment in research and development. For instance, Huawei invested approximately 170 billion RMB in Research and Development (R&D) last year, a substantial amount contributing to its ability to develop new technologies.

Looking ahead, challenges remain, particularly in the context of China-US relations. Concerns are there and this potential division could force countries to make difficult choices. While such a scenario is undesirable, it remains a possibility given current global dynamics.

The case of Huawei underscores the complexities of these dynamics. During the period of sanctions, the company's founder's daughter was arrested in Canada, highlighting the geopolitical challenges faced by the company. However, Huawei's perseverance led to the successful launch of a mobile phone last year, demonstrating that technological blockades, particularly in integrated circuits, were ineffective in curbing its progress. Today, China's export of integrated circuits exceeds its automobile exports, reflecting the rapid development in this sector. This story emphasises the need to rethink the international economic order and consider strategies for navigating these evolving challenges effectively.■



# AI Regulations/ Autonomous Weapons Iva Gumnishka Founder, Humans in the Loop, Czech Republic

The shift towards large language models, and the demand for data annotation has significantly declined. As a result, the organisation, *Humans in the Loop*, is at a pivotal stage, exploring new directions to continue achieving its primary goal of creating jobs. Currently, it is investigating ways to integrate humans and AI systems to provide more productive services, such as database building and lead generation. This transition aligns with broader themes of human-inthe-loop and human-on-the-loop AI systems.

Dr Raashid (Janjua) discussed the use of AI in the ongoing conflict in Gaza, highlighting how AI technologies have become pervasive, making it nearly impossible to avoid their influence. I would like to share my interest in exploring the potential of these technologies to achieve social impact. Rather than focusing solely on the development of AI for its own sake or contributing to the surrounding hype, it is relevant to advocate for identifying specific practical ways in which AI can be genuinely helpful.

One challenge that needs to be identified is the limited commercial and business use of cases for large language models. Despite significant investments, such as Open-AI raising over \$6 billion for its activities, these systems are not yet generating substantial economic returns. While they consume enormous amounts of energy and dominate public relations narratives, their profitability

remains low, positioning them as more of a hype cycle than a transformative commercial solution, at least in their current state.

It is also interesting to observe how large language models evolve towards a more productive and stable phase. For example Xudong, where systems are in their early developmental stages, even if attempts are made to market them as being on par with or smarter than humans.

A noticeable concentration of power and resources is in the hands of AI companies, particularly those based in Silicon Valley. These companies are receiving significant investments, utilising vast computing resources, and sourcing data from across the globe, often scraping the entire internet. Despite having already amassed considerable data, these companies continue to seek additional sources worldwide. This has led to a growing disparity, with an increasing concentration of energy, resources, and investment in a few US-based firms, although other countries, such as China, are also making impressive investments in AI and related technologies.

While regions like the EU are proactively discussing frameworks such as the European AI Act and establishing safeguards for AI systems, many other nations are reluctant to impose regulations for fear of stifling innovation. This leaves countries vulnerable to exploitation by companies that may misuse citizen's data or sell AI systems that are more harmful. The speaker noted that this creates an interesting tension in the global landscape of AI development and regulation.

# Question & Answer Session

#### Question by Dr Basit Raza:

# Will AI lead to more disparity in the world and how can developing nations catch up with that and what is the social impact of AI?

**Iva Gumnishka:** AI companies, particularly those based in Silicon Valley are receiving significant investments, utilising vast computing resources, and sourcing data from across the globe, often scraping the entire internet. Despite having already amassed considerable data, these companies continue to seek additional sources worldwide. This has led to a growing disparity, with an increasing concentration of energy, resources, and investment in a few US-based firms, although other countries, such as China, are also making impressive investments in AI and related technologies.

Regions like the EU are proactively discussing frameworks such as the European AI Act and establishing safeguards for AI systems, while many countries are reluctant to impose regulations for fear of stifling innovation.

#### **Questions by Pravin Sawhney:**

What has been the impact of the dual circulation policy on the new productive forces? How have the restrictions on the advanced chips impacted the progress of the industrial internet in China?

**Dr Gao Xudong:** It is essential not only for China but also for the entire world as mentioned by President Xi Jinping. To have sustainable development and to achieve environmental goals,

technological prowess is essential. Innovation is central to China's development, and the Chinese government has introduced numerous policies to support this such as, open innovation, and global collaboration as central to technological advancements. Advanced chips are a highly contentious issue, particularly in the context of the ongoing tensions between China and the US. However, this is a global issue, not just a bilateral one. The key question is how a country leading in a particular technology chooses to use that technology: whether for its national interests or to benefit humanity at large. There is no choice for China but to develop its advanced integrated circuits, and progress in this area rapidly.

**Dr Basit Raza:** Despite challenges such as sanctions, new chip development design standards, such as RISC-V, which originated from the University of Berkeley, is being adopted worldwide. Despite the complications, the world will ultimately converge on a unified standard. While chip fabrication units may remain separate, the goal is to maintain consistent standards to avoid unnecessary complexity.

#### Questions by Major General (R) Inam ul Haque

Is there a likelihood of machines writing their own codes in future and if so happens, will the machines not take over then, and humans will become secondary in the universe? Is there any effort to regulate AI internationally?

**Dr Basit Raza:** Machines are, in fact, already writing code. For example, Google's COO has mentioned that 25 per cent of the latest code is written by AI. This highlights the growing power of AI, even in software companies. The moderator shared a personal anecdote from their own company, noting that ChatGPT has proven to be an invaluable co-pilot in coding. It can help write beautiful code, significantly reducing the time needed for such tasks. A particular application that would have otherwise taken a month to plan,

#### Question and Answer Session

develop, and deploy was completed in just two days with the help of ChatGPT.

Regarding the future of machines writing code, it is suggested that AI will only continue to write better code, and the need for regulation will become more pressing.

**Iva Gumnishka:** Governments must take a proactive role in regulating AI systems. However, whether current regulations are moving towards addressing superintelligence or the more dystopian visions often imagined about the future of AI, machines are becoming smarter than humans. The focus should be on regulating the more immediate and tangible harms posed by AI systems today.

**Dr Raashid Wali Janjua:** There are three key initiatives related to AI regulation. The first initiative is the European Union's AI Act, which categorises AI use into three groups: certain uses that should be entirely banned, those requiring human oversight and control, and those allowed with specific parameters. This Act has been enacted within the EU, and discussions are ongoing among 30 other nations.

The second initiative involves a global compact on AI. AI is seen as a great leveler, capable of allowing any nation to gain significant power, making regulation essential. However, only 30 nations have agreed to regulate AI with human oversight so far, including China, but excluding key global players like Russia, the US, and Israel. This could resemble the failure of the Ottawa Convention, where a similar treaty was signed by 100 nations, but the major powers, including the United States and Russia, did not participate.

The third initiative is a proposal from the US Department of State through the Group of Government Experts (GGE), which has outlined guidelines to ensure that lethal autonomous weapon systems have human oversight. The importance of human involvement in AI systems, as discussed earlier regarding being "out

of the loop" or "on the loop," remains central. These regulatory initiatives are still evolving, as the technology itself continues to advance.

**Daniel Castro:** In terms of global solutions, there is a lack of unity among nations, with countries focused on their digital sovereignty. As mentioned earlier, many countries do not wish to be passive recipients of regulations but rather active rule makers, as seen in the EU's approach. Addressing these complex problems often leads to a tendency to turn to regulation as the first response. However, it is crucial to recognise that the future is uncertain, and the unintended consequences of making the wrong regulatory decisions must be considered.

Instead of jumping directly into regulation, it may be more beneficial to explore alternatives such as soft law, standard setting, and shifting societal norms. Increased R&D efforts could provide more insight into the implications of these rapidly evolving technologies. In the short term, fostering collaborative research and discussion between countries may be more effective than attempting to establish global rules, which is challenging due to differing national interests and willingness to cooperate.

#### Questions by Muhammad Hussain Baqeri:

Is it possible to witness a fully decentralised financial system, given the US and the Federal Reserve's focus on centralised systems for maintaining financial discipline and preventing issues like money-laundering and terrorism financing?

How can countries around the world, especially those in regions like Pakistan, Iran, and Afghanistan, prevent the US from using its dominance in the international financial system and AI technologies as a tool for sanctions and bargaining?

#### Question and Answer Session

**Dr Basit Raza:** The current financial system has failed, particularly in managing inflation, which has led to political instability and unusual decisions in leadership. Bitcoin started from zero and reached up to \$90,000 due to global acceptance. Initially, only a million users engaged with Bitcoin, but now over 200-300 million people worldwide use it. With increasing adoption, central banks may eventually have no choice but to work with it, creating a system where traditional financial institutions and cryptocurrency collaborate in the foreseeable future. However, this is a long-term struggle with no quick resolution.

**Daniel Castro**: The key difference lies in the openness of systems. Similar to the internet, which was designed to be a global, open platform, AI too has both closed and open systems. The message is not to promote American AI systems specifically, but to encourage using AI in general, as there are numerous alternatives. Chinese companies, as well as platforms from the Middle East and France, provide open AI systems. These systems offer freedom to innovate without being bound by control points, allowing creators to develop products without interference or demands for payment.

**Dr Basit Raza:** Some of these models, which once would have cost hundreds of millions of dollars, are now available for free. This highlights the power of innovation, where the building blocks of technology have become so accessible and affordable, empowering more people to create and innovate without the need for massive financial resources.

#### Question by Dr Basit Raza:

#### How the US used technology to control the world?

**Dr Gao Xudong:** At the firm level, companies investing in innovation, research, and development should certainly benefit from their efforts, ensuring a good return on investment. However, at the national and international levels, it is crucial to recognise that

technology and innovation should be shared responsibly. As a scholar studying innovation, it is clear that no single country should leverage its technological power to prevent other nations or companies from developing. Innovation should be a collaborative effort, fostering global progress rather than hindering it.

#### Question by Sidra Iqbal:

How does the principle of predictability in conflict, particularly in the context of the AI arms race, change when one side believes it has a first-strike advantage? In traditional arms races, the threat of mass destruction acted as a deterrent, but could AI conflict dynamics challenge this by potentially reducing the risk of retaliation, making predictability less certain?

**Dr Raashid Wali Janjua:** Military and civilian strategists, along with scholars, have expressed concerns over the rise of AI, highlighting the need for greater statesmanship in addressing its global impact. AI, emerging as a potential menace, cannot be controlled by any single nation or bloc and requires a global approach. Currently, only 30 countries have agreed to limit AI's use and ensure human oversight, with China being the only P5 nation part of this agreement. However, even China has not fully committed to ceasing the development of AI weapons, agreeing only to the oversight provisions. There is a growing consensus that the risk of unintended escalation and conflict is increasing, which calls for a global compact to manage AI's impact on warfare and avoid potential conflicts. This creates a significant challenge for global statesmanship.

#### Question by Ambassador Asif Durrani

What are the risks associated with Bitcoin, is it not similar to gambling, given the lack of sovereign guarantees and the potential for significant losses?

#### Question and Answer Session

**Dr Basit Raza:** The value of any currency, including Bitcoin, is derived from its acceptance by society. As Harari discusses in *Sapiens*, value is created when a society collectively agrees to treat something as a medium of exchange. Gold has value because it is scarce, and similarly, Bitcoin's value stems from its widespread acceptance. At the moment, 200 to 300 million people have traded in Bitcoin, and this number is steadily growing, which helps establish its value. While Bitcoin's price has experienced volatility, its overall trend has been upward, and it is seen by many as a strong store of value and a hedge against inflation.■



# FORUM D REFORMING GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY IN PAKISTAN





har

























### Jam Kamal Khan Federal Minister for Commerce, Pakistan

To effectively address issues and plan for the future, it is essential to delve deeply into society at a grassroots level. Without such focused engagement, meaningful progress becomes difficult. Sitting in a comfortable zone like Islamabad, with presentable venues and wellmanaged events, creates disconnect from the challenges faced in underrepresented regions like Balochistan.

Balochistan has been very unfortunate especially because of a few reasons: -

First, it has limited political representation. The province lacks significant influence in the national political sphere due to its small number of representatives in the National Assembly. In Pakistan, numbers have often dictated political strength. Balochistan's limited representation diminishes its ability to advocate for its needs, resulting in inadequate attention and resources.

Balochistan, covering 44 per cent of Pakistan's land area, is the largest province with a challenging mountainous terrain, where only 20 per cent consists of plains. Unlike the relatively flat landscapes of Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Balochistan's rugged geography and 70 per cent share of Pakistan's coastline adds to its complexity. The terrain exacerbates issues of accessibility, governance, service delivery, leaving the population and underserved.

Compounding these difficulties is the province's political structure, which heavily relies on coalition governments made up of multiple small parties, often with minimal representation. This fragmentation leads to unstable governments focused on appeasing individual constituencies rather than implementing broad, consistent policies. A stark example is when nearly the entire provincial assembly of around 62 members held ministerial or additional portfolios, highlighting the compromises made to maintain political stability rather than addressing governance challenges.

The fourth issue lies in the personal focus of politicians on individual benefits rather than provincial welfare. Over time, ministers prioritise their constituencies instead of creating policies to address the broader needs of Balochistan, impacting sectors such as education, health, infrastructure, and social welfare. While a few exceptions exist, their efforts are minimal compared to the overall neglect.

Decades of such practices, coupled with the province's challenging terrain, have fostered widespread deprivation. Despite receiving resources, governments and parliamentarians fail to deliver effectively, leaving administrative systems dysfunctional. This lack of governance exacerbates insecurity, as citizens feel unsafe due to inadequate state presence and services.

The challenges faced by Balochistan are reflected in its governance structure, where provincial units often fail to function effectively. Ideally, ensuring efficient governance at the district level, with qualified officials like deputy commissioners, police heads, and department heads, would lead to better outcomes for the people. However, appointments in these positions are often based on political favouritism rather than merit, driven by the preferences of parliamentarians.

#### Forum D

In Balochistan, unlike Sindh, Punjab, or KP, parliamentarians often secure their positions with as few as 7,000 to 8,000 votes due to the region's isolation. This limited voter base makes it easier for them to manage constituencies and maintain influence. Over time, the absence of state-provided services has led to individuals stepping in to meet basic needs, allowing them to consolidate power and influence. This dynamic has reached the parliamentary level, where many politicians prioritise self-interest over public service.

In addition, the focus on personal gains over public welfare fosters a system where governance prioritises self-interest, leading to the erosion of institutional trust and the deprivation of essential services. Consistent policies, when directed at benefitting a select few, further entrench these practices, enabling the same individuals to retain power repeatedly. This stagnation has left Balochistan with persistent deprivation, law and order, unemployment, and socioeconomic underdevelopment. The province remains burdened with systemic challenges, making it more entrenched in hardships than any other province in Pakistan.

To truly understand and address the challenges in Balochistan, a holistic ecosystem approach is needed- similar to how the Amazon functions as a cohesive structure rather than isolated elements. Revitalising governance, human security, integrity, and socioeconomic development requires rebuilding the systems that have deteriorated over the years.

However, a pressing question arises: who will take the responsibility? Without the active involvement and willingness of the local population, progress becomes unlikely. It is crucial to sensitise people and encourage their participation in the electoral system, which has seen a decline over time. As voter engagement wanes, the resulting apathy fosters a negative cycle that continues to hinder development and governance in Balochistan.

In a nutshell, the only concern is what kind of governance is going to be in Balochistan in future. There's not enough time for gradual changes over the next five or ten years. The world has changed, digitisation has increased, and things have become socio-economic. There's a lot of social media influence. People have access to all information. People are very much aware of what is exactly happening globally and within Pakistan. Their sense of decision-making is being made very efficient and quick. However, that same awareness, if provided to them in a manner that destabilised things, can be very disastrous.

# Governance and Bureaucratic Reforms Shakil Durrani Executive Director, Society for the Promotion of Engineering Science and Technology (SOPREST), Pakistan



The government is responsible for fulfilling the basic needs of its people, including provision of education. In tribal areas, the literacy rate among girls was once as low as 3 per cent, with the region largely underserved. Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto actively sought to address this, visiting tribal agencies and pushing for schools, including girls' schools, despite local resistance. His efforts underscored the importance of education and the accountability of officials in advancing progress.

The Chinese government successfully lifted 800 million people out of poverty, demonstrating the vital role of state responsibility, rather than reliance on private-public partnerships. Similarly, Pakistan's Constitution, under Article 25-A, mandates compulsory and free education for every child. Yet, with over 26 million children out of school, neither the Supreme Court nor successive governments have taken sufficient action, failing to uphold this constitutional obligation.

There is a clear linkage between governance and human security, as human security relies on a reformed governance system. Governance entails competently performing duties under the law, without fear or favour. However, in recent decades, governance in Pakistan has deteriorated, with even the constitution subject to conflicting

interpretations, contributing to poor political, economic, and security conditions.

Human security extends beyond physical safety to include the security of life, property, education, employment, and access to basic needs. By these measures, Pakistan's performance is dismal. The declared literacy rate of 60 per cent drops to less than 30 per cent under objective criteria. Maternal mortality stands at 185 deaths per 100,000 live births compared to 85 in Bangladesh. Additionally, 40 per cent of children in Pakistan are undernourished and stunted.

The government and its departments have performed poorly, operating at only 20-25 per cent efficiency. Niall Ferguson's concept of social legitimacy, which binds nations, is severely lacking in Pakistan. Family planning, once championed during Ayub Khan's era, has been largely neglected. The last Prime Minister to attend Population Welfare Day was Shaukat Aziz, almost 18 years ago. Media campaigns addressing population growth are virtually non-existent, while alarming numbers of girls remain out of school: 68 per cent in Balochistan, 58 per cent in Sindh, and 47 per cent in KP.

Governance and bureaucratic reforms are also in disarray. Reforms often worsen conditions by granting excessive discretion to ruling parties. Globally, Pakistan's parliamentary and political executive ranks 108 out of 167 countries, while the judiciary fares even worse at 129 out of 140. Such performance metrics paint a bleak picture of Pakistan's future.

Curbing corruption and improving governance in Pakistan requires more than bureaucratic reforms, as previous efforts by leaders such as President Ayub Khan and General Pervez Musharraf have yielded limited success. True progress demands significant improvements in the performance of political leadership and the judiciary, both of which currently operate at deficient levels. Deep-rooted issues like bribery, kickbacks, commissions, and nepotism remain pervasive in

#### Forum D

Pakistan's political culture. Effective accountability must extend beyond bureaucrats to political and judicial actors, whose influence critically shapes governance outcomes.

In November 2024, Pakistan witnessed its largest-ever corruption scandal, with the FBR implicated in the misappropriation of Rs520 billion over two decades,- nearly half of the military's budget; but, the scandal was not traced. Transparency International reported that within a five-year period, Rs8.5 trillion were lost due to corruption, tax evasion, and poor governance. These staggering figures underscore systemic corruption not only within the bureaucracy but also across other institutions, highlighting Pakistan's failure to achieve meaningful reforms.

The organ most responsible for governance failures is the political leadership, as it wields the greatest power yet operates with minimal accountability. Politicians often appoint favourite bureaucrats, such as DPOs, Deputy Commissioners, or SHOs, to key positions, with some of these individuals even reaching the level of Chief Secretary. favouritism This undermines governance and obstructs improvement. In contrast, working under military governments was reportedly more open, with leaders like General Zia-ul-Haq and General Musharraf being patient listeners, allowing disagreements without repercussions. However, this is rare in political leaders today, where dissent is often dismissed. Bureaucrats have increasingly become pawns in a master-servant dynamic, an unfortunate and detrimental trend for effective governance.

Flawed decisions have lasting consequences. The 1994 Independent Power Policies (IPPs), developed by the government and criticised by the World Bank and the US, was aimed to address a 2,500 megawatt (MW) power shortage but have left the power sector with a staggering debt of Rs3 trillion. This year alone, Rs2.1 trillion will be paid in capacity charges, while DISCOs face annual losses of Rs500 billion.

Similarly, the judiciary has failed to uphold its responsibilities, with 2.2 million cases pending. Court inefficiencies are rampant, with frequent adjournments due to the absence of presiding officers or lawyers, turning the judicial system into a farce. As Niall Ferguson warns, without social legitimacy - earned through effective governance and justice - a society risks collapse. All these things can be improved through three suggestions which are already a part of law, but are not being followed. First, the Civil Servants Act; Second, the Rules of Business; and Third, the Efficiency and Discipline Rules.

The Constitution of Pakistan is not being followed, and there is a lack of accountability for politicians. Security of tenure, outlined in the rules of business, is routinely ignored. Innovative, out-of-the-box thinking is urgently needed to address these governance issues. One proposal is to establish a committee of 99 individuals, representing all walks of life, to make recommendations for key appointments such as judges of the Supreme and High Courts, the Chief Election Commissioner, the NAB chairman, vice-chancellors, chief secretaries. and IGPs. Drawing inspiration from Thailand's Committee of 101, which successfully advises its government, such a body in Pakistan could provide valuable recommendations to improve governance and accountability.■

# Health and Social Security Prof. Dr. Shahzad Ali Khan Dean and Vice Chancellor Health Services Academy, Pakistan



Pakistan's health system suffers from a mixed syndrome, characterised by a dual structure of public and private sectors. The public sector has extensive infrastructure but is underutilised and of low quality, while the private sector is even larger and operates more efficiently. Although this duality offers potential for improvement, it remains poorly managed. A significant issue is the high out-of-pocket spending, accounting for 89 per cent of healthcare costs. Even in government hospitals, patients frequently rely on private labs for tests and pharmacies for medicines. Pharmacies and private labs are often located near government hospitals, reflecting the inadequacy of truly free services.

For example, major government hospitals like DHQ, PIMS, Holy Family, and Polyclinic are surrounded by private pharmacies and labs, highlighting the public sector's shortcomings in providing comprehensive care. Private hospitals and clinics in Pakistan are often located near government hospitals because many government doctors practice privately in the evenings -- a moonlighting phenomenon. These doctors, serving as professors or senior consultants in public hospitals during the day, attract patients who later visit them privately. This practice, largely unregulated in Pakistan, is prohibited in many other countries.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

Additionally, Pakistan faces a double burden of disease, with unresolved infectious diseases and rising non-communicable diseases like heart attack, stroke, and diabetes. Currently, 33 million Pakistanis suffer from diabetes and 36 million from hypertension, often with comorbidities. Addressing this requires public health interventions focused on lifestyle modifications, awareness campaigns, and preventive measures rather than solely relying on hospital-based care. Comprehensive public and private sector support is essential to tackle the health burden and ensure social health protection.

Most lifestyle-related risk factors for diseases in Pakistan are modifiable or preventable, as demonstrated by other countries. For example, Finland launched the North Karelia Health Promotion Project in 1971, significantly improving its health indicators within a decade. Similarly, Scandinavian and other European welfare economies, once struggling with poor health metrics, achieved substantial progress through targeted interventions.

Pakistan, however, faces some of the worst nutrition indicators globally, including the highest prevalence of stunting, vitamin D deficiency, iron deficiency, and anemia during pregnancy. These issues reflect widespread food insecurity, a critical social determinant of health. While poor dietary habits and deficiencies are present even among wealthy groups in Pakistan, nearly 100 per cent of the poor population suffers from these conditions. The combination of a high disease burden and severe poverty further exacerbates the country's health crisis.

The critical issue behind Pakistan's health crisis is inadequate financing. Pakistan remains one of the worst-performing countries globally in health financing. Federal government expenditure on health stands at only 9.7 per cent, while total public sector spending, including provincial contributions, is 34 per cent. Out-of-pocket expenses account for a staggering 89 per cent. Contrary to

#### Forum D

misconceptions, Pakistan is not donor-dependent, as only 2 per cent of total health expenditure comes from donors, with 98 per cent funded by the population or the government.

Looking at the figures, per capita health expenditure in Pakistan is \$45- \$46 annually, far below regional counterparts. Sri Lanka spends \$127 per person, India \$75, and even Afghanistan \$50. Health spending as a percentage of GDP is equally dismal at 0.7 per cent, indicating 70 paisa out of Rs.100 are spent on health. In contrast, Afghanistan allocates 9.7 per cent, India 3.6 per cent, Sri Lanka 3.8 per cent, and Bangladesh 2.4 per cent.

The health system is: -

**Pro-urban:** the health system is only in the cities. There is no proper health system in the village.

**Pro-curative:** it is only for the treatment of diseases, not for prevention.

**Pro-rich:** if someone is rich, they can have a Scandinavian-American intervention in Pakistan by a private hospital. If money is available, the best health system is available in the country. If there is no money, it's the worst.

Socio-economic deprivation and poor economic conditions create a vicious cycle, where unrest hinders the security environment, and insecurity further obstructs economic development. Poor health indicators are tied to this cycle, as inadequate health, education, and livelihoods contribute to worsening security, which, in turn, hampers improvements in health. Multidimensional poverty indicators reveal that health is closely linked to these issues. Population management is critical in this regard. To enhance security and socio-economic conditions, addressing social determinants of health, social security, and social health protection is essential. A community-focused approach is required, rather than simply building more hospitals or acquiring more ventilators, as

seen during COVID-19, where prevention and protection proved far more effective than treatment.

Furthermore, there is a need for a holistic approach, emphasising awareness and educational efforts to strengthen the country's health system by the Ministry of Health. In addition, economic stability must be prioritised to enable social health protection, allowing people to allocate resources to education and other necessities. Moreover, factors such as the built environment, waste management, sanitation, hygiene, and education play vital roles in fostering better health and socio-economic outcomes. A system should be established where the poor receive free treatment, while others contribute, in line with state and global principles.

This system requires pooling, prepayment mechanisms, and a structure where individuals can visit any healthcare provider, with the government reimbursing the poor or providing free services, while the wealthy contribute. Developed countries have effective mechanisms for pooling funds from all sources and purchasing services from the most cost-effective providers. If expanding taxation is not feasible due to a limited tax base, protecting the poor through such a system is essential. The Prime Minister's National Health Insurance Programme, established in 2013, was designed to offer social health protection for the poor. However, when the new government took over, they extended the programme to everyone, diluting its focus on the poor.

The government's role in the health sector is not to directly provide health services or create hospitals. Instead, the government should ensure free health services for the poor. There are essentially 11 public health functions defined and described by the World Bank.

#### Forum D

The role of the government in health should be:

- Policy and planning; legislation/laws;
- Setting standards and levels of care;
- Rules, regulations, and procedures for the implementation of law;
- Registration/licensing/accreditation / reviews for HCE;
- Implementation of existing laws, rules, procedures, governance;
- Ensuring quality assurance;
- Direct provision of some services;
- Health financing:
- Setting mandates-limits-incentives and ensuring equity; and
- Human resource development in all domains of healthcare.

When the government focuses on recruiting doctors, managing transfers and postings for incentives, or building new infrastructure without addressing the core health system issues, others step in. Donors, with only 2 per cent contribution, end up shaping policies and legislation, handling the majority of the responsibilities. To improve the effectiveness of state functions, proper governance and stewardship are essential. However, these functions are often overlooked, with the focus instead on power, money, and control over hiring, firing, and the privileges enjoyed by government officials in hospitals.

Looking forward, solving issues like the polio programme and others may require a public-private partnership. In this model, the government would serve as the steward, overseeing governance, rulemaking, and enforcement of regulations, while the private sector would act as the service provider, subject to inspection and disgualification if standards are not met.

# Political Economy Sakib Sherani CEO, Macro Economic Insights, Pakistan



Pakistan is not in a good place and is currently considered the "sick man of South Asia." It has shifted from stagnation to a state of secular decline across economic, social, and institutional indicators. According to the Human Development Index, Pakistan ranks 164 out of 193 countries, positioned just below Rwanda, Togo, and Mauritania, and slightly above Côte d'Ivoire, Tanzania, and Lesotho.

Pakistan's ranking of 164<sup>th</sup> on the Human Development Index places it among countries it ideally should not compare with, such as Comoros, Lesotho, and Benin, while being below Botswana, Malawi, and Iraq. On the World Bank's Human Capital Index, Pakistan ranks 144<sup>th</sup> out of 173. Within South Asia, Pakistan records the lowest exports-to-GDP ratio, the slowest structural transformation, the slowest decline in fertility rates, the lowest productivity growth, the lowest life expectancy (excluding Afghanistan), the lowest savings and investment rates, the highest proportion of stunted children under five, and the highest number of out-of-school children.

Looking at the economic scorecard, Pakistan is the longest user of IMF resources, participating in IMF programmes for 36 years with 25 programmes -- the highest globally, surpassing Argentina, Egypt, and Ukraine. It is the fourth-largest borrower from the IMF. In terms of governance indicators, Pakistan ranks in the 23<sup>rd</sup> percentile for

control of corruption (worse than 77 per cent of countries) and the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile for the rule of law.

This is not a recent phenomenon; it has been occurring over several decades. This raises questions that need to be addressed: what explains Pakistan's failure over such a long period of time? What explains Pakistan's persistent failure to improve its socioeconomic indicators? Why has this underdevelopment persisted across all types of governments:- military, civilian, and hybrid?

The approach to understanding this issue in the past has been based on an incomplete framework. Discussions have focused on insufficient tax collection, weak human capital development, low exports, and absent regional connectivity. These factors, however, address symptoms rather than the root cause. The root cause is that these underdevelopment indicators are emblematic of strong elite capture. The observations of Darren Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson, now Nobel laureates, provide valuable insight. Their work, as summarised by the Nobel Prize Committee, states:

"Societies with a poor rule of law and institutions that exploit the population do not generate growth or change for the better."

This encapsulates the crux of the issue. While better governance can be hoped for, achieving meaningful progress requires identifying and addressing key elements necessary for the road to prosperity. This involves politicians but extends beyond them.

Elite capture in Pakistan is characterised by a unified elite class, where the civilian and military elites operate in a symbiotic manner, rather than existing as separate or opposing entities. For a meaningful change and a growth take-off, the first essential element is an elite realisation - acknowledgment by the elites that a fundamental course correction is necessary.

#### Forum D

The second key element is abandoning reliance on a "man on horseback" to solve the nation's challenges. The transformative experiences of developing nations demonstrate that visionary politicians, rather than technocrats or authoritarian figures, have driven progress. Examples include Narasimha Rao in India, who created the space for reformers like Manmohan Singh and Montek Singh Ahluwalia; Turgut Ozal in Turkey, both a visionary leader and a reformer; President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brazil; Mahathir Mohamad in Malaysia; Lee Kuan Yew in Singapore; and Carlos Menem in Argentina.

Finally, a whole-of-nation approach is vital. Denying political rights undermines the foundation for socioeconomic development. Political rights are essential building blocks for establishing wellfunctioning governance systems and a thriving economy, whether in Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, or the rest of Pakistan.

In Balochistan, the province serves as a microcosm of the broader issues faced by the rest of Pakistan. These challenges are not unique to Balochistan, but the region illustrates a larger systemic issue. While the terrain is challenging, it does not justify the abdication of responsibility by the elites in providing essential services to the people of Balochistan. However, there has been a clear abdication of these responsibilities in the region. For the last three years, there has been a denial of political representation to the people of Balochistan, a trend now extending to the rest of Pakistan. This issue stems from inheriting a colonial governance structure, which has been converted into a post-colonial model for governing Balochistan. These familiar with the region recognise this systemic flaw. The imposition of this governance template across Pakistan is likely to yield similarly unfavourable results.■
# Climate Security Dr Claudia Milena Adler Lecturer, International Humanitarian Affairs, University of York, UK



The issue at the moment is a lack of sensitivity. When policy is dictated, underdevelopment is often understood from a statistical perspective. For example, when considering the 28 million children currently out of school, deeper questions about their experiences and the daily decisions affecting their lives are not asked. Particularly in the context of the climate crisis, research focuses on the ground realities for these communities. In discussions on human development, human security, and climate security, there is a need to incorporate a lens of sensitivity that is currently missing from general dialogues. Discussions on climate security and climate change often highlight lack of funding.

Two concepts of peace can be understood: passive peace and active peace. Current dialogues tend to align more with passivity, as significant resources are allocated to military arsenals and defense spending. This focus detracts from the ideal funding needed to enhance education systems and healthcare. Climate security is currently perceived largely as an anticipation of threat rather than a proactive engagement. Due to inclement weather and climate instability, and because of the rising greenhouse gas emissions, the current disruptions to our economic, social, and political environments are being undermined.

At present, efforts are predominantly operating within the first phase, which is the emergency response phase. There is no meaningful planning for climate change being incorporated into different sectors. A panel moderated by Dr Aneel, held the previous day, mentioned climate change and referred to the 5E frameworks, where the environment and climate crisis are integrated. A question arises about what it would look like if all sectors, both at the national level and within the international sphere, planned for the climate crisis, considering trade within planetary boundaries that have not been respected.

The elephant in the room is also these globalised extractive economic models that cannot be escaped without having meaningful conversations about the climate crisis. The problem is not a lack of policy since international frameworks are already in place. The issue lies in fostering a shift in mind-set. Currently, there are 56 active conflicts, and while Pakistan has positively improved its peace index by 0.025 in the last year, the challenge is sustaining and building on this progress. Global military expenditure has risen for the ninth consecutive year to \$2,443 billion across all five geographical regions. Solely relying on security solutions risks overlooking the concept of protection, particularly for the planet and the most vulnerable populations.

The focus should be on meaningful investments that can bring about reforms. To manage the shockwaves of the climate crisis amidst an already fragile peace and security landscape, addressing inequality within the current status quo is crucial. This approach forms the core of climate security discussions, emphasising the need to tackle inequalities to move beyond the existing status quo.

# Population Dr Sabina Imran Durrani Director General, National Emergency Health Services, Pakistan



Population is the major cause of all issues in Pakistan, whether it is climate change, education, health, or economy. Population is a cross-cutting issue, and unfortunately, is limited to contraceptives, family planning, and reproductive health. Population has a much wider angle, and has not been able to manage its population like other countries, such as Bangladesh, and India. Most of our policies are still pro-natalist.<sup>1</sup>

On one hand, large family norms are being promoted; for instance, through the Sehat Sehulat Programme and all other social protection programmes, the government is providing incentives because it is based on poverty. The more children you have, the poorer you are, and then there are more incentives. Thus, instead of incentivising small family norms, Pakistan is promoting large family sizes.

Another issue is the NFC award. In the NFC award, 90 per cent of the weightage is given to the population. Then how come it is possible for the provinces to reduce population? Reducing population means reducing political seats, civil servant share, and resources, which is not possible. Population can be your asset if you use it properly. Otherwise, it will be a disaster for you, like it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pro-natalist policies are policies which are designed with the purpose of increasing the birth rate / fertility rate of an area.

already mentioned in the national security policy. It is a security threat if you cannot utilise this segment of population (youth population, especially).

When Pakistan came into being, the size of population was not different from that of Bangladesh and from all other South Asian countries. But what happened? There was a population explosion in Pakistan, but its neighbouring countries managed to control it. However, Pakistan's economic growth was slow as compared to population.

With the intervention of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, a National Action Plan was developed. The Plan is, however, focused on the operational side. There is a need to reconsider the policies. There is a need to revisit the pro-natalist policies, the NFC, and to avoid the duplication of activities.

In medicine, there are two types of treatment; either curative or preventive. Prevention is always better than the curative one. The main issue of Pakistan is now population, which it has failed to manage and is very slow in its management. If we manage it, this can be our asset. Without a job, education, security, financial and social, the youth will not be beneficial to the country.

Another thing is education. Education is very important alongside health. Nelson Mandela said that in countries where education and health become profitable businesses, no power in the world can save them from destruction. The situation in Pakistan is similar: both health and education have become very profitable businesses in Pakistan.

Coming to climate change, undoubtedly, we have a shortage of funds. Natural calamities are occurring everywhere, not only in Pakistan. The basic issue is overgrowth or population size. Likewise,

#### Forum D

there is no doubt that there is a shortage of resources but the major issue is the misuse of resources. ■



# Question & Answer Session

#### Question by Sidra Iqbal:

### What is your view on the comparison between political will and competence, both of politicians and bureaucrats, as key ingredients for effective governance?

**Jam Kamal Khan:** The core issue of Pakistan is literacy. The capacity of the people whether politicians, army personnel, bureaucrats, civil servants, or members of the judiciary, they shape systems. If the quality of the people declines over decades, it is reflected on the systems. The pool of competent individuals was better 60 years ago but has diminished since.

This is not just one person's responsibility; as a nation, Pakistan faces a challenge of literacy. In developed countries, even workers at petrol stations or fast-food chains possess a basic level of competence, education, and awareness of global events. In contrast, Pakistan has a stark contrast between the competent and the rest of the population, creating a significant gap in competency.

The recovery of a nation is also impacted by three key factors: the Brain, the Heart, and Health (BHH). Once these are lost, recovery is difficult. Pakistan faces a brain drain, declining literacy, and poor health outcomes, particularly from birth to childhood, which leaves people prone to serious diseases like cancer in adulthood. Loss of hope in the system also weakens recovery.

To improve, there is a need to invest in the people of Pakistan. Infrastructure can be built quickly, but nation-building takes longer. Focusing on literacy, education, and people should be prioritised, as everything else will follow.

Margalla Dialogue 2024

### What lessons can Pakistan learn from Saudi Arabia's cultural and economic transformation, and how does this compare to differing views on the effectiveness of military, civil, or hybrid governments in driving progress?

Shakil Durrani: In Saudi Arabia, one person holds significant power, and whatever he says happens. In contrast, consensus is required in Pakistan, which is the bedrock of this discussion. For example, Rs160 billion were spent on a metro project in Peshawar, when Pervez Khattak was the chief minister. This metro serves 150,000 people daily, but it has worsened road congestion in the city. That same Rs160 billion could have been used to put all 26 million out-of-school children back in school and fund it for the next 10 years. This highlights the misaligned priorities. One person decided to build a metro, despite the pressing need for literacy. No country has developed without full literacy. For instance, Kerala's communist government ensured 95 per cent of children were in school within the first five years after India's Independence. In Pakistan, the claimed literacy rate of 60 per cent is misleading; the actual rate is closer to 30 per cent. The need is to build consensus, as seen in a conference on CPEC, where Mir Hasil Bizenjo noted that nothing had been done in Balochistan regarding CPEC, since there was lack of consensus in the process.

#### Do you see the elite realisation and visionary leadership emerging in Pakistan to ensure policy continuity and drive transformative progress?

**Saqib Sherani:** Politicians have legitimacy because they are elected by the people and have grassroots support. Five years ago, I was in a different position, chairing the Musharraf Court in 1999, but that perspective has since changed. Politicians are considered the 'B team' of the establishment. Their performance reflects the people who choose them; when they do poorly, it is a failure of the establishment as well.

#### Question and Answer Session

Regarding elite realisation, Stephen Duggan's concept of an elite bargain is noted, but the argument is made that Pakistan differs in that there is a unified elite, not competing ones. In such a system, elites are co-opted by the establishment, including technocrats and others. Elite realisation is more important in Pakistan because of the lack of competition among elites to improve the system. The status quo is maintained due to this co-optation. The real issue is not external factors like climate change, population, or hostilities, but internal matters and what can be done within Pakistan. Elite realisation is necessary for change; without it, nothing will improve.

#### What went wrong in the last term of the democratic government in Pakistan, despite having a visionary prime minister and elite realising the need for change?

**Saqib Sherani:** What went wrong was that the establishment was not truly supportive of the government. From the start, they worked against its interests because the real ruling elites, whether in suits or boots, do not want disruption in the status quo. When they see a potential disruptor, they align against it, which is why the disruptor finds itself isolated, with everyone else opposing it.

#### Question by Muhammad Hussain Baqeri:

#### Do you believe that the Balochistan issue in both Iran and Pakistan stems from transferring power from tribal leaders to corrupt parliamentarians in Pakistan or to *Maulvis* in Iran?

**Jam Kamal Khan:** The main concept is the transformation to democracy. Democracy works best when people can understand it, as seen in the West. The 30-40 years of transition we went through were insufficient; there was inconsistency, and Pakistan was involved in many international conflicts. One war in particular played a significant role, especially in Balochistan and KP. It brought a cultural shift, as 50 years ago, people in Quetta wore English suits, and 20-30 years ago, wearing trousers would be laughed at. The

point is, our ancestors used to be modern people, they were educated people, and the next generation just stepped down. The war led to the influx of guns, illegitimate money, and non-civil people into Pakistan, which reshaped the society. This change is still felt.

Regarding the question of leadership, the focus should be on outcomes, not individuals. The process should be more like the corporate world, but in Pakistan, it is difficult to implement. Local governments are key in producing politicians and leaders who address core issues. Local leaders should focus on basic services, not on larger national tasks. The power should be decentralised, and this will lead to the rise of right people at the helm of affairs. The quality of leadership has declined, as seen with the example of Hassan Khan, a prominent politician whose type is no longer found in his party.

The question remains: who will deliver, a military government or a political one? The solution lies in a consensus. Pakistan needs an economic consensus first, followed by strengthening institutions and ensuring consistency in policies. Whether it is IPPs, economic reform, or political reform, the lack of consistency is a major issue. To answer the question, the key is having good people in leadership.

There is rising terrorism in Balochistan, and the concerning thing is mostly educated youth are involved in it. How do you think reforming governance structures will address this issue and take youth out of it?

**Jam Kamal Khan:** When I was the Chief Minister, there was a programme where students were shown institutes and parliament in Islamabad, Lahore, Peshawar, and Karachi. I told stakeholders to stop this, as it exacerbated hatred. Instead, take them to rural areas of Punjab, Sindh, and KP, and places in Balochistan, like Turbat city, which is better planned than many areas in Punjab and Sindh.

#### Question and Answer Session

We have a youth that is educated, radicalised, and very smart in their thinking. They measure what they have versus what they don't. When things go wrong, especially in a kinetic war, there is a collective damage to the society, which needs compensation. This is where local governance comes in, to provide services and address issues. If that compensation isn't happening, the youth will grow more frustrated.

Also, the memory of youth is short compared to older generations who have witnessed Pakistan's highs and lows. The youth are influenced by digital media but don't know the full history. We need to sensitise them and address their needs- both current and future -and focus more on Balochistan's youth. This is a crucial time. I advocate for strong governance structures at the provincial level. The provincial and federal governments must build a consensus to act quickly. For the first time, we are seeing suicide bombers from Balochistan, which is alarming. Both males and females are involved, and this issue must be addressed seriously.

#### Question by Faisal Khan Jamali:

There is a prevalent mistrust among Baloch youth on the national political process. As we have seen in recent elections, the lowest vote bank ratio was just 41%, which was lower than other provinces. So how can the government address this issue to restore the faith of youth in the political process?

**Jam Kamal Khan:** I believe people need to participate in their electoral structure, especially in Balochistan. It's crucial for Balochistan and the rest of Pakistan. The people who truly represent the region, whether good or bad, should come in, as responsibility can change everything. I have seen that parties like the National Party and BNP, when not in power, criticised the federal government. But once in power, they failed to deliver for Balochistan.

There needs to be more participation to create coherence. People feel that the needs of Balochistan are not being addressed by the provincial and federal governments, as nothing changes on the ground. If youth in Balochistan see tangible changes, they will shift their mind-set. A major issue is jobs being sold, a common phenomenon in Balochistan but not elsewhere in Pakistan. If legislators themselves are selling jobs, it undermines trust in the government. The solution is to give space to capable people from local areas -- those who are popular, socially active, and genuinely work for their communities. Political leaders from local areas would represent Balochistan more effectively, as those with strong local support have the potential to make a real change.

How can the lack of effective representation across politicians, civil service, and policing, which resonates beyond Balochistan to regions like Sindh, be addressed to better understand and resolve youth grievances?

In the name of social security schemes, different cards are being distributed. Some are giving income support cards, some are giving health cards, and some are giving farmer's cards. Is there any benefit to this?

**Dr. Shahzad Khan:** One major mistake we made was during the Ayub Khan era with the concept of Basic Democracy, followed by the non-party elections of Zia-ul-Haq in 1985, and the Musharraf Local Government Ordinance of 2001. These policies blurred the distinction between legislators in the parliament and the local government. The result was that legislators, who should have been focusing on law-making and policy, became involved in local government work, such as sanitation and infrastructure projects, leading to corruption. Some ministers in Musharraf's era resigned to become Nazims of their districts. Why? Because we had blurred the lines between political and administrative responsibilities, making the position of Nazim more lucrative than ministerial roles. This corruption extends to the election process as well. During election

#### Question and Answer Session

seasons, politicians disburse millions, buying votes with things like biryani or cash hand-outs. This undermines the integrity of the democratic process.

Allama Iqbal's poem, quoted over 150 years ago, speaks of the importance of authority and discipline in nation-building. The stick, symbolising authority, has been misapplied in Pakistan. Instead of focusing on politicians, it should be directed towards bureaucrats. While 90 per cent of bureaucrats do their work, only 10 per cent may be influenced by politicians. Civil administrators should have clear targets, tenure security, and performance indicators to ensure accountability.

Targeting individuals by providing them with Rs1500 has never solved poverty. Giving a fish doesn't end poverty; teaching someone to fish does. I am strongly against targeting. However, in healthcare, I believe in providing free health services to the poor. Everyone else should pay for healthcare. In civil administration, there must be checks and balances. Universities should be run independently by their vice-chancellors, who must rely on student fees rather than government funding. This is the corporate mentality that needs to be applied. Similarly, in government, secretaries and directors-general should be given clear targets. Once they are appointed, they must fulfil the required goals, even if it means pushing through recommendations or managing finances.



# SPECIAL FORUM INTERNATIONAL LAW: SELECTIVE COMPLIANCE IN A MULTIPOLAR WORLD













## **Maham Naweed** Chair, International Law IPRI, Pakistan

This panel will discuss a critical issue facing the international community: "Selective Compliance with International Law in an Increasingly Multi-Polar World."

As global power dynamics shift, we must ask ourselves: how do we uphold the rule of law in the international arena when adherence to these laws varies so significantly among states? This is an issue that deeply impacts international relations, particularly in a world that is becoming more multi-polar.

International Law, in its modern form, emerged during the colonial era. Because of this, many countries in the Global South view certain aspects of International Law as a continuation of colonial structures, which they argue disproportionately favour the Global North. This historical context shapes their scepticism towards certain norms and has fueled calls for reform within the existing legal framework.

Originally designed to promote cooperation, peace, and human rights, International Law today faces significant challenges. In our increasingly multi-polar world, compliance with International Law is highly contentious. Many states follow certain laws based on their national interests, diplomatic priorities, and geopolitical considerations, and the strength or lack of enforcement mechanisms plays a major role.

One glaring example of selective compliance is how many countries advocate for human rights on the global stage but fail to uphold these principles within their own borders. This hypocrisy breeds cynicism and weakens international norms, making accountability increasingly difficult. The ongoing genocide in Palestine, Israel's disregard for International Law, the Russia-Ukraine conflict, and human rights abuses in Jammu and Kashmir are just a few examples that highlight the growing divide in compliance with International Law.

Climate change is another area where selective compliance is evident. While many nations commit to reducing carbon emissions, some of the world's largest polluters fail to meet their international commitments. This highlights the dangers of prioritising national economic interests over global environmental responsibilities, with consequences that are felt worldwide.

These issues have led to growing calls for reform. The goal is to develop a more inclusive international legal system that considers the perspectives, needs, and historical contexts of all states. A reformed system would aim to address the disparities between the Global North and the Global South, enhancing representation and respecting developmental priorities. This shift could lead to a more equitable global governance framework that acknowledges past injustices.

At the heart of international cooperation is a shared commitment to global peace, security, and sustainable development. With this in mind, today's forum will explore how the international community can better understand and address issues of compliance within a system based on sovereign equality and consent.

Our panel today features two distinguished International Law experts, both of whom have been strong advocates for a stronger

**182**Margalla Dialogue 2024

#### Special Forum on Law

relationship between the Global South and the development of International Law.

First, we are honoured to welcome Professor Makane Moise Mbengue, a Professor of International Law at the University of Geneva. He is also the Director of the Department of International Law and International Organisations there. Professor Mbengue is a leading figure in the African Society of International Law and serves as an expert for organisations such as the African Union, the World Health Organisation, the World Bank, and the International Labour Organisation. He has also acted as counsel in international disputes, including providing legal expertise for the African Union in proceedings before the International Court of Justice regarding Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory.

Ahmer Bilal Soofi, on our panel, is a distinguished international lawyer and former Federal Law Minister of Pakistan. He is currently a member of the International Chamber of Commerce Court of Arbitration and regularly advises the Pakistani government on international treaties, sanctions, UN resolutions, and more.

Soofi has represented Pakistan before the International Court of Justice and chaired the Advisory Council on Human Rights in Geneva. He is also the founding partner of the law firm ABS & Co. and the founder of the Research Society of International Law, Pakistan's first think tank dedicated to the development of International Law.

# Global Implications of Selective Compliance by the West Prof. Makane Moise Mbengue Faculty of Law, University of Geneva, Switzerland



The issue of selective compliance with International Law by Western countries has profound implications for the global legal system. Selective compliance refers to the tendency of certain countries, particularly from the Global North, to pick and choose which International Laws they will apply, often based on their own political or economic interests, rather than adhering to the principles of universal applicability that should govern International Law.

One form of selective compliance is the "à la carte" approach to International Law, where Western countries decide which aspects of the law they wish to enforce. This approach often involves a process of "cherry-picking," where states apply International Law selectively based on what suits their national interests. A contemporary example of this is seen in discussions on cyberspace and technology, where Western states, particularly the US and the UK, attempt to reinterpret International Law to fit their interests, such as questioning well-established principles like "due diligence" in cyberspace.

Another manifestation is "differentiation-based International Law," which grants immunity to specific states. This form of selective compliance has been evident in cases like those involving Israel, where Western states, notably the UK and Germany, have taken

measures to shield Israel from international legal scrutiny, such as attempting to block arrest warrants from the International Criminal Court (ICC) or intervening in cases at the International Court of Justice (ICJ). This approach perpetuates inequality within the international legal system by offering certain states immunity from accountability.

"Double standards-based International Law" is another significant issue, where similar situations are treated with different standards. For instance, the international community's response to Russia's actions in Ukraine contrasts starkly with its reaction to Israel's actions in Gaza and Lebanon. While Russia faces strong calls to comply with International Law, Israel is largely exempted from similar scrutiny. This selective enforcement leads to an unequal application of legal standards, undermining the credibility of International Law.

"Self-judging International Law" is another dangerous trend where states claim the power to unilaterally interpret and apply International Law without external oversight. This is particularly evident in the approach of the US, particularly during the Trump administration, where the country withdrew from international treaties and applied interpretations of International Law in a way that suited its national security concerns, often bypassing the scrutiny of international bodies.

A further complication arises with the notion of a "power-based international legal system," where powerful states, especially in the West, dictate the timing and manner of International Law's application. This is seen in issues such as the decolonisation of territories like the Chagos Archipelago, where the UK resisted international rulings for years due to its political and economic power, showing how International Law can be manipulated by powerful states to avoid legal obligations.

#### Special Forum on Law

"Coercive International Law" is another tool used by the West, often disguised as sanctions or countermeasures. These actions, while framed as responses to violations, often amount to unlawful interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, violating international legal norms. The use of coercion through sanctions further exemplifies selective compliance, as these measures are not applied universally, but rather in a targeted manner, often to punish or influence states that do not align with Western interests.

The "deinstitutionalisation of the international legal system" is another troubling trend, as Western countries attack multilateral organisations meant to enforce International Law. The weakening of institutions like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) undermines the ability of the international legal system to function properly, allowing states to act unilaterally without oversight.

"Fragmented International Law" refers to the trend of Western countries presenting different areas of International Law as isolated from one another. This fragmentation allows states to selectively comply with certain legal principles while disregarding others. This is evident in areas such as the conduct of hostilities, where International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights Law are sometimes seen as separate, leading to inconsistencies in their application.

Another form of selective compliance is the "softening of International Law," where binding legal norms are watered down into non-binding "soft law." This is seen in the way some countries, such as Israel, interpret the right to self-defense, often beyond the conditions set by International Law, without facing legal repercussions.

Finally, "value-oriented International Law" highlights the issue of subjective values shaping International Law. When a small group of powerful nations imposes their values on the global legal system, it

undermines the universality of International Law. These states apply International Law selectively based on their own values, which are often at odds with the norms accepted by the broader international community.

The global implications of selective compliance are manifold. Structurally, selective compliance challenges the foundation of International Law by eroding trust in its fairness and consistency. It distorts Customary International Law and risks contaminating the Global South with similar practices, undermining the integrity of the legal system worldwide. Conjuncturally, it contributes to the crisis of multilateralism, as states increasingly distrust global mechanisms designed to foster cooperation. It also leads to a legitimacy crisis, particularly in the Global South, where countries view International Law as biased and serving the interests of the powerful. Moreover, there is an authority crisis, as institutions like the United Nations lose their ability to maintain peace and security due to selective enforcement by major powers.

Systemically, selective compliance shakes the core principles of International Law, such as the peaceful settlement of disputes, the prohibition of the use of force, and the principle of sovereign equality. These fundamental principles are increasingly questioned, putting the very survival of International Law in jeopardy. The selective application of International Law by powerful nations threatens the global legal order and calls into question the future of international cooperation and the rule of law.

# Regional Dynamics Influencing Selective Compliance Ahmer Bilal Soofi Founder Research Society of International Law (RSIL), Pakistan



Professor Makane's overview of International Law, with its various shades, provides an excellent summary of its current status. I would like to add one more shade—the deemphasising of International Law at appropriate times.

Consider the situation with UN Security Council resolutions. These resolutions remain in place, not rescinded, not recalled, not sidelined, nor even implicitly repealed by the Security Council. They simply stand, yet their relevance is deemphasised. This is a form of selective use of International Law.

A case in point is Kashmir. The issue of Jammu and Kashmir has over a dozen UN Security Council resolutions—some under Chapter VI and some under Chapter VII—that directly address the resolution of the Kashmir dispute, the self-determination of the people of Kashmir, and the overall legal framework concerning Kashmir. These resolutions, laid down by the Security Council, are simply deemphasised today. They exist on paper, and the international platform, but no one talks about them. This is a prime example of selective compliance.

With this in mind, the shades of compliance that you discussed paint a rather bleak picture of the future of International Law, especially for young lawyers. Does that mean International Law is doomed? Well, partly yes—this is a difficult situation, a time when

International Law is being selectively applied, especially in the context of the Global North's influence over the South.

However, from the perspective of the Global South, I believe that the existence of an international system—no matter how flawed or damaged it may seem—is still crucial. Despite the current challenges, its existence remains necessary. The mere fact that there are so many multilateral instruments regulating international affairs is important.

The global system is not perfect, especially in public international law issues, but there are functioning international institutions, organisations, and legal regimes. Even if the functioning is not flawless in the public domain, there is a different story when we look at private International Law.

For example, private International Law operates quite seamlessly between the North and South. Despite political crises, global trade and legal cooperation continue largely without disruption. Institutions like the International Chamber of Commerce, the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), and UNIDROIT continue to function effectively.

The various international conventions that regulate global trade such as those governing bills of lading, shipping documentation, and letters of credit—are operating smoothly. These frameworks, supported by various banks and institutions, ensure that global trade continues to flow, largely unaffected by the geopolitical issues that might dominate the public International Law discourse.

So, when we talk about the impact of selective compliance, it is important to consider two levels of discussion. The first is the impact on public International Law, where issues like selective compliance and deemphasising certain resolutions are creating challenges for the Global South. The second is the ongoing success

#### Special Forum on Law

in the realm of private International Law, where global trade and cooperation continue despite political differences.

The first tier is public International Law, about which Professor Makane talked in depth, including the ten shades of selective compliance, and I added an eleventh one. But then, there is a second tier of International Law—private International Law matters. Despite the challenges and disputes, this area has been functioning quite smoothly, as I mentioned earlier.

Despite the complexities in public International Law, it is important to acknowledge that these private International Law mechanisms have been operating effectively. This brings me to a critical point: before we make a judgment that there is no need for International Law, I urge you to consider the importance of these international institutions. For countries in the Global South, including countries like ours, Africa, and South America, these standards, however, they are shaped, negotiated, or written—are incredibly important.

These standards provide us with a framework to build our arguments and state positions. Even if certain aspects of the law are sidelined or selectively applied, the fact that these frameworks exist gives us a legal compass to navigate international affairs. For instance, if there is a Human Rights Convention on record, such as the provisions formulated in 1966, whether in the ICCPR or the Geneva Conventions, we have clear standards to measure the conduct of states.

This gives us the ability to say, for example, that "Israel is violating Geneva Convention 4, Article 3, Article 4," and so on. Despite the selective compliance, this narrative holds power. It opens doors to institutions like the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and many other venues where we can seek justice. Therefore, I believe it is essential for the Global South to recognise and strengthen these

institutions, particularly in the context of our long-term strategic interests.

There is also a consistent need for us to come together at the table on issues of common concern. As an example, there are three key areas where the Global North showed little interest, but the Global South was highly invested and contributed significantly to shaping international conventions. One of those areas is the Law of the Sea Convention.

Despite strong opposition from the US — the most powerful country in the Global North — the countries of the South came together to negotiate and eventually hammer out the Law of the Sea Convention. This convention, which governs maritime law today, extended boundaries in the sea from three nautical miles to twelve, establishing exclusive economic zones of up to 200 nautical miles. The US strongly opposed this and did not even join the 1982 convention. Nevertheless, the South prevailed.

Likewise, the creation of the International Criminal Court through the Rome Statute in 1993, faced strong opposition from the US and several other Northern countries. However, once again, it was the developing countries that came together to lead this initiative. This movement, supported by influential figures such as Professor Sharif Bani from Chicago University and other international lawyers from the Global South, pushed forward the establishment of the ICC.

Today, the ICC may face challenges in fully executing its mandates, but it has still made significant strides. It has identified what constitutes crimes against humanity and provided a platform to process these cases. Even though it has not fully achieved its objectives, the fact that the ICC exists and is making a difference is a testament to the South's collective strength and initiative.

#### Special Forum on Law

So, despite the challenges, I firmly believe that the South still has numerous opportunities in many areas. We have proven time and again that when the South comes together, we can shape the future of International Law and ensure that our voices are heard on the global stage.

We just heard a session earlier today discussing climate justice, where the Global South is coming together to make its voice heard. This collective action has led to the establishment of a US\$ 100 million fund, which now provides an opportunity for us to make a meaningful impact. While issues like Gaza, Kashmir, and the ongoing Ukraine-Russia conflict highlight the disconnection in International Law, the international order, despite its flaws, still holds some relevance.

International Law stands diminished—its influence is weakened, selectively applied, and at times sidelined. But even with these challenges, International Law continues to be a framework that we, in the Global South, must engage with and advocate for. The cost of selective use of International Law is visible to everyone. People on the streets, fellow lawyers, and practitioners often ask me, "Where is the International Law you've been talking about for 30 years? Look at Gaza, look at Kashmir." And I must admit, it is a difficult question to answer.

That said, we are operating in an environment that needs rebuilding. Despite the dissonance in some regions, we are witnessing an interesting development: an alternative legal framework emerging through platforms like BRICS and the SCO. These new regional arrangements are becoming key players in International Law, and I believe they will play a significant role in reshaping global legal norms.

Instead of weakening the law, these regional frameworks are adding another tier, one that could help redefine International Law in a way

that reflects more diverse global perspectives. This tier will be crucial in navigating complex international issues and could provide a new balance between regional and global legal structures.

Take, for example, the WTO. China has skillfully leveraged the WTO framework to its advantage since the 1990s. Chinese lawyers read the treaties and realised that the WTO provided an immense opportunity for them. By realigning their economic policies to match the provisions of the WTO, China gained a significant edge in global trade, using this international treaty to ensure that legitimate trade flows could not be hindered.

This strategic advantage has prompted some countries to question or deemphasise the WTO in certain ways, as its original framework increasingly serves those who are adept at exploiting it. This shift highlights the changing dynamics in global law, where new regional frameworks may soon have a greater role to play.

# Question & Answer Session

#### Question by Maham Naweed:

In this era of selective compliance, and considering the 10 shades you spoke about and their impact on geopolitics, do you think there is a space within the international legal domain for the Global South to reform the international legal order, especially considering the situation in Palestine and how Israel has reacted to International Law?

Professor Makane Mbengue: I see this era of selective compliance as an opportunity for the Global South – a moment for renewal in its participation and contribution to the making of International Law. Historically, International Law has been criticised as Eurocentric, originating from European heritage and events like the Peace of Westphalia. Now that the West itself is departing from International Law, this provides an opportunity for the Global South to propose and shape the rules and institutions that should govern the international order. For instance, the right to development has long been a declaration, but countries like Pakistan have been active in trying to make it a binding right. This is one area where the Global South can reshape International Law. The priorities of the Global South - development, security, and environmental issues - should guide our efforts, regardless of the West's selective compliance. Even if the West is uninterested, we must push forward with frameworks that reflect our needs. The US and the EU, for example, often avoid certain UN meetings that do not align with their interests. However, this should not prevent us from moving forward and shaping International Law in a way that benefits the Global South.

195

#### What do you think the role of international stakeholders, international organisations, and international civil society should be in ensuring the reform of the international legal order, one that reflects the realities of the Global South?

Ahmer Bilal Soofi: International organisations and civil society can significantly influence global lawmaking. For example, organisations like the African Society of International Law, the Afro-Asian Committee, and the Research Society of International Law, although separate from states, can influence policies and shape how international organisations approach issues. These accredited international organisations have the power to influence state delegates, making it possible for their views to align with those of the Global South.

One way to amplify the influence of the Global South is by increasing participation in these forums and coordinating efforts between societies like the African Society of International Law and The Hague Academy of International Law. Capacity-building initiatives and collaborative workshops could be key to strengthening our presence in International Law.

Additionally, young lawyers can play a crucial role by working in the legal divisions of international organisations, such as the UN. These divisions hold significant influence over the policies of organisations. For example, two lawyers from the International Atomic Energy Agency's legal division rose to become director generals: Mr Al-Baradi and Mr Hans Blix.

**Professor Makane Mbengue:** The role of civil society should not be passive. In today's international diplomacy, expert diplomacy has become crucial—experts are highly influential in the making, interpretation, and application of International Law. Western countries have often imposed selective compliance by claiming to have the best experts. The Global South needs to ensure that its own experts are involved in shaping International Law, especially in

#### Question and Answer Session

important meetings like those of the UN's Sixth Committee or the UNIDROIT Working Group, where major legal reforms are being discussed. South-South cooperation must be about using our experts effectively, ensuring that they are present and assertive in these discussions.

Governments in the Global South should engage more deeply with expert diplomacy. When representatives from the Global South speak up, they should be equipped with expertise that matches or surpasses that of their Western counterparts, ensuring that their interests are defended in the global legal order.

# Question from Nader Al Turk, Deputy Head of the Palestinian Mission:

I have some concerns about Gaza, where we are witnessing genocide, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity. This situation reveals the failure of International Law and organisations, especially in the UN. How can we protect humanity from such crimes in the face of the failure of international organisations? South-South cooperation and reforms to the UN are not enough – what can we do? How can we punish countries that commit crimes when supported by powerful nations, like Israel, backed by the US and other Western nations? Finally, how can we ensure that future generations are protected from such crimes?

**Professor Makane Mbengue:** International Law, at its core, is a tool meant to build a better world and strengthen cooperation between nations. However, it is important to recognise that International Law is ultimately based on state consent. It is often an overly optimistic view to expect International Law to solve all complex international issues, as the system is driven by state sovereignty.

Regarding Gaza, many countries from the Global South continue to assert that the situation there is contrary to International Law. Even within the Global North, divisions are emerging over Israel's actions. Countries like Norway are preparing legal actions to challenge Israel's policies. However, political factors often overshadow the application of International Law. In these situations, International Law cannot always fully address the underlying political and geopolitical dynamics.

Ahmer Bilal Soofi: Under the Genocide Convention, all state parties have a duty to prevent genocide. The failure to prevent the genocide in Gaza is a failure of all member states of the Genocide Convention. The international community, especially the UN, needs to recognise the urgency of addressing this situation. Furthermore, the expansionist policies of Israel threaten not just Palestine, but several neighbouring states. This creates a legal urgency to address Israel's actions.

The international community must recognise this as not only a humanitarian issue but a legal one with consequences for regional stability and peace.

## Do you see any parallels between Israel's actions in Palestine and India's actions in Kashmir, especially regarding their respective territorial claims and international relations?

Ahmer Bilal Soofi: Yes, there are clear parallels. Both Israel and India have territorial expansion plans based on historic claims. Israel seeks to expand its territory in the Middle East, and India has similarly pursued territorial claims in Kashmir, disregarding international treaties and agreements. This could set a dangerous precedence if other countries start using historic titles to justify territorial expansion.

#### Question and Answer Session

India's actions in Kashmir, particularly since 2019, have raised concerns because they challenge existing international agreements, such as the Indus Waters Treaty. This form of selective compliance is becoming dangerous, as it risks destabilising international relations and could prompt similar actions by other nations, especially in the Global South.

#### Question by Muhammad Umar Faruk:

Is it possible to develop a separate International Law for the Global South, or should we continue with the existing system that often favours the Global North? If not, what alternatives exist?

**Professor Makane Mbengue:** I would not advocate for a completely separate International Law. However, the Global South should explore alternative legal frameworks that respond to inequalities within the current system. These frameworks can complement International Law, pushing for fairer processes and more equitable representation. This can help address the imbalances in the current global legal order.

#### **Question by Taimur Abbar:**

If UN member states themselves, particularly the P5, obstruct the process of law enforcement, what can be done to address these barriers to International Law?

**Professor Makane Mbengue:** The issue with the UN system is its structure—particularly the veto power held by the P<sub>5</sub>. To address this, there needs to be a shift toward more equitable representation, ensuring that all regions have a permanent and fair seat at the table. This could improve the enforcement of International Law and help address the power imbalances that hinder its application.

The international legal system needs restructuring to better address contemporary challenges, especially those faced by the Global South. The existing system, based on state sovereignty, often fails to provide equitable solutions. While the Global South has an important role in shaping International Law, true reform will require consensus and collaboration, even in the face of opposition from powerful states.


## **CLOSING SESSION**







#### Ambassador Inamul Haq Chairman BOG, IPRI

Distinguished participants, I have been assigned the task of concluding the Margalla Dialogue on the theme of "Emerging Global Realities, Challenges and Response" and also to touch upon the salient takeaways that can be drawn from the intense discussions spread over the last two days.

So, let's begin by saying that we are living through very uncertain times. It has been described variously as the Age of Chaos, the Age of Conflict, and the Age of Anger by analysts. It is confronted with various challenges and difficulties. There is war in Ukraine, genocide in Gaza, attempts at occupation of the West Bank, part of which is already under settlers' occupation, and attacks on Lebanon, Yemen, and Iran by Israel. Then, there are raging civil conflicts in Sudan and other parts of Africa, and it has been said that the world today is in greater danger of war than at any time since 1945.

To add to the problems, international relations today are marked by increasing rivalry and competition between the US and the West on the one hand, and China on the other and this conflict or competition is going on in the strategic, political, economic, technological, and all other fields. Our region, South Asia is riven with problems, both political and economic, as well as those relating to climate change. There is also the desire on the part of the largest country of South Asia, India, to assume the role of a regional

Margalla Dialogue 2024 203

hegemon. Right-wing populism is gaining grounds almost everywhere in Europe, in the US, in parts of Asia, and other countries. Anti-immigration sentiments are on the rise, particularly in the US and Europe against immigration, either from Latin America, in the case of the US, and from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and other troubled areas into Europe.

International trade regimes are also under assault. WTO lies dormant, and instead of liberalising trade, the major players, led by the US, are moving rapidly towards building high tariff walls, adopting protectionist policies, and offering heavy subsidies to their manufacturers and producers. Bilateral, sub-regional, and at best regional agreements, trade arrangements are taking shape. So, the free-market economies which brought in the concept of globalisation are reneging upon that concept when the rest of the world is ready to globalise and take a share, the rightful share of the world economy. We may well be entering an era of trade wars, which bodes ill for vulnerable economies like Pakistan and other developing countries. Economic relations are also being weaponised by Western countries through the denial of technology, imposition of sanctions, embargoes, tariffs, and assistance to developing countries riddled with conditionalities and other means of economic coercion.

Multilateralism is in retreat. The United Nations Security Council is becoming ineffective in the face of growing differences and disputes between veto-wielding powers. In the last session, a question was asked about the issue of veto. Pakistan's position is that veto is a power assumed by the victor states of the Second World War unilaterally, without consultation with the countries which had not yet emerged as independent states and it is an anti-democratic practice, and the best thing would be to abolish the veto of the existing permanent members of the UN instead of creating new pockets of power by giving a veto to some other countries that are desirous of acquiring permanent membership and veto power. These

#### Closing Session

include, of course, India, Japan, Germany, Brazil, and others. The continent of Africa does not have any permanent member, and therefore we believe that perhaps even the permanent category needs a revision. These issues have been discussed at the UN for almost three decades now without a resolution.

On climate change, unfortunately, the US policies are due for a change. President Donald Trump calls climate change a hoax and has vowed to end the green economy in the US, and also intends to enhance drilling for oil and gas in the US. The world has witnessed the hottest year on record and the 1.5° increase in temperature since the Industrial Revolution, considered to be the limit, has already been reached. It is projected that by the end of this century, the rise in temperature may well be 3.1°, which would certainly mean disaster for many areas of the world, particularly for countries like Pakistan. The glaciers are already melting, and there will be floods. There will be extreme weather events, and then these areas will become arid. And the way we are adding to our population which is expected to grow to almost 400 million by 2050, there will not be enough water to provide for all the people living in this area.

And let's be quite clear that unless we adopt corrective measures to control the population and make the best use of water available to us, this area will be in for great trouble. Migration will start with no place to go, because the people of this area will not be able to migrate anywhere else which could result in civil conflict, in breakdown of law and order and in further weakening of state power.

Disruptive technologies are also being developed which have a great potential to cause harm to mankind but the role of controlling such technologies is still to be charted. AI can be a force for good or for evil for the international community and we are still taking baby steps towards a code of conduct and a set of principles governing the future developments and direction of AI. The world is also

Margalla Dialogue 2024 205

confronted with health emergencies, weather events, and the danger of a nuclear holocaust either because of an accident, human error, or deliberate use.

International Law today, as you heard from the last forum, is honoured more in its breach than its observance. The powerful countries impose their will on the weaker nations and peoples and deny them their fundamental rights. They are also the loudest in their accusations against the weaker nations of violations of human rights to serve the ends of the powerful states.

In this international scenario, what measures can be pursued by Pakistan to safeguard its national interests? The first thing that we need to do is to put our house in order. This is easier said than done because it needs drastic and multi-layered policy prescriptions in almost every field. Broadly, our leadership must learn to work together; first, to eliminate political instability, adopt the necessary and harsh fiscal and monetary policies to overcome our major deficits and the need to resort to ever-increasing borrowing. Real estate, taxes on real estate, on the agricultural sector, on the retail sector, and on the corporate sectors are essential. Instead, we are subsidising several sectors.

For about six or seven years, the UN undertook a study of the elite capture of Pakistan by different sectors of Pakistan's economy. The study concluded that the elite capture was complete and the elite was provided with subsidies of almost three trillion rupees. And what were these sectors? The subsidies were given to namely corporate, real estate, retailers, agriculture, and the military. There was a recent report about the tax loopholes being provided in 2024, where we want to collect Rs13 trillion of taxes from the people and only Rs3.8 trillion from the elite of this country. If this trend continues, there is no way that we can emerge from the debt trap which is closing around us.

#### Closing Session

There are certain basic things that we need to do. The first thing is to control the rise of our population. Pakistan cannot sustain the rate of growth of our population today. The second essential thing is to improve our educational system and enroll more than 25 million children that remain out-of-schools, and impart vocational skills to enhance the productivity of the labour. The third thing is to base your decision-making in foreign affairs on cold logic and not on emotional reactions.

We should know the limits of our power and act within its bounds. We know what needs to be done but our leadership lacks the resolve to make difficult decisions required to move towards a better future instead of sliding down into oblivion.

Distinguished participants, I would now like to conclude this edition of Margalla Dialogue by thanking the distinguished moderators and eminent speakers from Pakistan and from abroad, who spoke at the various forums and who have honoured us with their presence, and enriched our understanding of the issues that we discussed. We deeply appreciate and are grateful to them for their participation and their contribution to the success of this Dialogue. I would also like to thank the President of IPRI, the directors, the fellows, senior and junior researchers, the administrative officers, and officials of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) who worked tirelessly to make this Dialogue so successful. And finally, our deep thanks to the audience who participated in the Dialogue by asking questions.

To our foreign guests, we bid them a safe journey back home and hope to see them at some future international event organised by IPRI. The Margalla Dialogue 2024 stands adjourned.

Thank you very much!



## **SPECIAL SESSION** PAKISTAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE AND STABILITY







### General Syed Asim Munir, Nishan-e-Imtiaz (Military) Chief of Army Staff

It is an honour for me to address this esteemed audience.

In recent years, the world has witnessed major shocks. Pandemics like COVID-19, as well as technological advancements, have impacted the political order. At present, the world order is led by unprecedented changes in economics, military capabilities, and technology.

The global power contestation is defined in terms of economic transition and technological advancements. While technology has played a crucial role in the dissemination of information, it has also facilitated the spread of misinformation. The spread of misleading and false narratives is undermining trust and stability across societies, thus exacerbating the already existing issues. The unrestricted freedom of speech is contributing to the degradation of moral values across societies. Inequality, intolerance, and division along religious, sectarian, and ethnic lines are increasing on a global scale. This is a serious concern and is a threat to the foundational principles of harmony and peaceful coexistence globally. On account of corrective measures, there needs to be comprehensive laws, rules, and regulations to counter misinformation and hate speech.

211

Another major challenge to world peace is terrorism. Violent nonstate actors and state-sponsored terrorism are a threat to traditional governance and state sovereignty. *Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan* (TTP) is the umbrella organisation for various outfits. Terrorism can be defeated through corrective peace efforts on regional and global fronts. The countries need to step up efforts toward regional peace and economic connectivity.

Pakistan's resolve in the fight against terrorism remains unwavering. "*Azm-e-Istahkam*" is a critical part of the National Action Plan (NAP), aimed at eradicating terrorism and extremism. A comprehensive border management regime has been established to secure our western borders. "*Fitnatul Khawaraj*" has started attracting several terrorist organisations and their proxies from all over the world. Pakistan expects the Afghan Interim Government (AIG) to prevent the use of Afghan territory for terrorist activities and take robust measures in this regard. The AIG should meaningfully engage with Pakistan.

South Asia is one of the least integrated regions economically. The region is volatile owing to the conflictual regional approaches and long-standing disputes. Pakistan's nuclear deterrence is a key component of stability in the region.

South Asia's economic growth is largely dependent on collective peace efforts. India's aggressive pursuits in the region are a threat to regional connectivity. The arrest of Kulbhushan Yadav from Balochistan on account of espionage and sabotage testifies to India's destabilising role in the region. Pakistan has shown restraint against India. The capture of Wing Commander Abhinandan Varthaman by the Pakistan Army and later handing him over to India was a gesture towards peace. Pakistan wants peace with India. However, the onus of peace is on India.

#### Special Session

India's aggressive pursuits and extremist ideology are not only a threat to the minorities living in India. It has also cast a negative shadow on the lives of minorities living abroad, in the US, UK, and Canada. The Indian minorities in foreign countries are victims of *Hindutva*-driven extremist ideology. The oppression in IIOJK is also a continuation of *Hindutva* ideology. The way India has suppressed the right of self-determination of *Kashmiris* by violating the United Nations Security Council resolutions and by abrogating Articles 370 and 35A reflects extremism. These inhumane actions by India need condemnation internationally. The solution to the issue of illegally occupied Jammu and Kashmir should be in accordance with the UN resolutions. The right of self-determination and the aspirations of the *Kashmiri* people need to be addressed.

Pakistan calls for a ceasefire in Gaza and Lebanon. Pakistan has sent humanitarian aid to Gaza and Lebanon multiple times. It has always insisted on the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

In the Russia-Ukraine war, Pakistan fully supports the UN resolution's call to respect the principle of sovereignty, sovereign equality, territorial integrity of states, and non-acquisition of territory by the threat or use of force.

Pakistan will not become part of any global conflict. It will continue to contribute to global peace and stability. To date, 235,000 Pakistani soldiers have served in the UN peacekeeping missions, and 181 Pakistani soldiers have sacrificed their lives for global peace.

Pakistan, with a population of 240 million, has nearly 63 percent of its population under the age of 30. With this unique age dividend of the population, Pakistan offers many economic opportunities. Pakistan is also the second-largest freelancer globally, generating over \$1 billion annually, while this potential can be maximised up to \$11 billion.

Margalla Dialogue 2024 213

Pakistan is rich in several natural resources. It is home to the second-largest coal and seventh-largest copper reserves. Pakistan has also emerged as a major country in agricultural production. Due to its vast resources, unique geographical location, and maritime seaports, Pakistan holds immense importance for trade in Europe, Central Asia, and the Middle East.

Pakistan will continue to play its positive role in fostering a safe and more secure global environment. Combating climate change, eradicating terrorism, and ensuring global health security are all global challenges and require concerted efforts.

One phrase is hope, resilience, and belief in the people of Pakistan. We look towards the future with optimism.■

## **BIOGRAPHIES**

#### Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry

Ambassador Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry has served in the Foreign Service of Pakistan for 37 years, including stints as Foreign Secretary and the Ambassador of Pakistan to the US. He also served as Additional Secretary for UN and Disarmament and Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the UN. Presently, he is Chairman of Sanober Institute Islamabad. He has authored three books and numerous research and opinion articles, including his memoir 'Diplomatic Footprint.

#### Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed is a former Federal minister of information who has also served as Chairman, Senate Defence Committee. During 2015-2018, he served as Chairman, Parliamentary Committee on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). He has been awarded the prestigious Practitioner-in-Residence at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Washington, DC for the academic year 2023-24. China's President Xi Jinping personally conferred on him the prestigious 'Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence Friendship Award' at Islamabad on April 20, 2015. He has the distinction of being the youngest editor of a leading English daily besides being an accomplished author.

#### Dr. Vali Nasr

Dr Vali Nasr is the Majid Khadduri Professor of International Affairs and Middle East Studies at Johns Hopkins-SAIS and Non-Resident



Senior Fellow at Atlantic Council's South Asia Center. He is the author of several books including, Iran's Grand Strategy; How Sanctions Work; and The Dispensable Nation. He is the recipient of Carnegie Scholar Award, and the Frank Guggenheim (p: Googgan-haym), and MacArthur Foundation research fellowships. He is a member of World Economic Forum's Global Action Council.

#### Dr Igor Panarin Nikolaevich

He is presently serving as a full member of the Academy of Military Sciences of Russia. He is author of more than 20 books including famous ones like "Information War and Power", "information war and diplomacy" and "The Collapse of the Dollar and the Disintegration of the USA." In 2009, he proposed creating a new world currency in the SCO format based on the Ruble and Yuan. In 2019, he proposed the SEVEN D Doctrine – a world without wars and conflicts.

#### Victor Zhikai Gao

Victor GAO is Chair Professor of Soochow University; Chairman of China Energy Security Institute; Vice President of the Center for China and Globalization; and Chairman of Yale Law School Association of China. Mr. Victor Gao has extensive experience in government, diplomacy and securities regulation. He was Deng Xiaoping's English interpreter in the 1980s. He is a licensed attorneyat-law in the State of New York.

#### Fahd Husain

Fahd Husain did his Bachelors from Ohio Wesleyan University USA and Masters in Television Journalism from Columbia University in New York. He has more than 34 years of journalism experience. He also served as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Strategic Communications. In 2002, he worked as a producer with the leading

American TV channel CBS News in New York. Fahd worked as Executive Director News at Express News TV as well as Executive Editor of Daily The Express Tribune. At present, he is President of Aik News Channel.

#### **Steve Coll**

Steve Coll is currently an editor at the Economist. He is an author of multiple books and a two-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize. He also remained a senior editor at the Washington Post. His 2008 book, "The Bin Ladens: An Arabian Family in the American Century," won the PEN/John Kenneth Galbraith Award for Nonfiction in 2009. His book "Private Empire" won the Financial Times/Goldman Sachs Award as the best business book of 2012. His book 'Directorate S', a follow-up to 'Ghost Wars', received the 2018 National Book Critics Circle Award for Nonfiction.

#### **Pravin Sawhney**

Pravin Sawhney is author of four books. A former Army officer, who has been a visiting fellow at Royal United Services Institute, UK and a visiting scholar at Cooperative Monitoring Centre, Albuquerque, New Mexico. He has been the South Asia Editor for Jane's Information Group, UK. Since 2003, he has been editor of Force Newsmagazine, India.

#### Ambassador Asif Durrani

Amb. Asif Durrani did his MA (International Studies & Diplomacy) from School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He joined Foreign Service in 1986, held various diplomatic assignments in New Delhi, Tehran, New York, Kabul, and London; and Permanent Representative at International Renewal Energy Agency, and the Economic Cooperation Organization. He is the

Margalla Dialogue 2024 219

author of several books including: "Turmoil—Events in Afghanistan, South Asia, Middle East, Ukraine and Pakistan". He has also served asPakistan's Special Representative for Afghanistan from May 2023 to September 2024.

#### Mushaal Hussein Mullick

Ms Mushaal Hussein Mullick is an artist, craft revivalist, human rights activist, freedom fighter, Chairperson Peace and Culture Organisation, former State minister Human rights and Women Empowerment. She's wife of Jailed Kashmiri Hurriyat Leader Mohammad Yasin Malik.

#### Anton Bespalov

Anton Bespalov is an expert in international relations and journalist based in Moscow. He graduated from the Moscow State Linguistic University and took a postgraduate course at the Warsaw University, Poland. In 2008, he defended a thesis on Poland's eastern policy since 1989 at the State Academic University for the Humanities in Moscow. He has worked in a number of Russian media outlets. Since 2016, he is Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the Valdai Discussion Club.

#### Dr. Basit Riaz

Dr. Basit Riaz is an AI entrepreneur with a Ph.D. in Computer Engineering from Cornell University and over a decade of experience in executive roles across high-tech sectors like telecom, media, and AI. Previously, he advised Pakistan's Prime Minister on IT and Telecom, and as CEO of the Universal Services Fund Company, he was recognized among the 100 most influential Pakistanis in 2013. Dr. Basit has founded successful ventures, including Capital TV and InstaWorld. He leads Forloops, an AI software company delivering innovative AI solutions in telecom, fintech, and healthcare. His

Cornell research earned patents and recognition at the Turing Award Centennial.

#### Alex Gladstein

Alex Gladstein is the Chief Strategy Officer at the Human Rights Foundation and has served as VP of Strategy for the Oslo Freedom Forum since its inception in 2009. In his role, he connects dissidents and civil society groups with influential leaders, technologists, and journalists to promote open societies. His views on human rights and technology have appeared in major media outlets worldwide. He regularly speaks at institutions like MIT and Stanford, and at global forums, including the European Parliament. His books include \*The Little Bitcoin Book\* (2019), \*Check Your Financial Privilege\* (2022), and \*Hidden Repression\* (2023), which critiques IMF and World Bank policies.

#### Dr. Gao, Xudong

Dr. Xudong Gao is a Professor at Tsinghua University's School of Economics and Management (SEM), Chief Professor at Schwarzman College, and Vice Director of the Tsinghua Research Center for Technological Innovation. He is on China's Information and Telecom Economy Expert Committee. Holding a Ph.D. from MIT, Dr. Gao teaches Technology Strategy and High-Tech Entrepreneurship. His research focuses on technology strategy, innovation management, and strategic management. With 18 English papers in top journals and over 50 in Chinese, he authored \*Indigenous Innovation at Firms\* (2007), one of China's pioneering books on managing indigenous innovation.

#### Brig Dr. Raashid Wali Janjua (Retd)

Dr Raashid Wali Janjua is a PhD from NUST and is also a graduate of Royal Military College Canada, from where he obtained Masters in Security and Defence Management. As a career military professional, he has 32 years of experience in important command staff and instructional assignments including stints at Pakistan Military Academy and Command and Staff College Quetta. He is an alumnus of Command and Staff College Quetta as well as National Defence University from where he did his armed forces war course in 2004-5. He is a regular contributor to national and international publications and is presently serving as Director Research IPRI.

#### Iva Gumnishka

Iva Gumnishka is an award-winning social entrepreneur, activist, and founder of Humans in the Loop, a B Corp providing AI training data and work for over 1,000 conflict-affected individuals across Europe and the Middle East. She consults for UNHCR on a Refugee Employment Platform and supports the One Democratic State Initiative. Previously, she co-founded the International Olympiad in Artificial Intelligence and served on ForHumanity's board, advocating for AI audits. Passionate about social justice, international development, and technology, Gumnishka's work empowers communities and promotes a narrative of inclusivity.

#### Daniel Castro

222

Daniel Castro is Vice President at the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation (ITIF) and Director of ITIF's Center for Data Innovation. He writes and speaks on IT and internet policy, covering privacy, security, intellectual property, and accessibility. His insights have been cited in major outlets like \*The Washington Post\* and \*The Wall Street Journal\*. Named a "top 25 most influential under 40" by

FedScoop in 2013, Castro served on the Commerce Data Advisory Council in 2015. He has prior experience as an IT analyst for the GAO and as a visiting scientist at Carnegie Mellon's Software Engineering Institute. Castro holds a B.S. from Georgetown and an M.S. from Carnegie Mellon.

#### Sidra Iqbal

Sidra Iqbal is an internationally acclaimed journalist and infopreneur, PR Practitioner, Brand Activist, and Youth Development Advocate. She is a graduate of Beaconhouse Gulshan Campus in Karachi. She has worked at the British Council, ARY and Ogilvy & Mather, and has hosted and produced talk shows for television and radio. Currently, she runs her own PR firm.

#### Jam Kamal Khan

Jam Mir Kamal Khan is a renowned politician who is currently serving as Federal Minister of Commerce. Previously, he has also served as Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Resources and the 16th Chief Minister of Balochistan.

#### Shakeel Durrani

Shakil Durrani belongs to the Pakistan Administrative Service having topped the CSS exam in 1971. He has served extensively in the KP and the Tribal Areas. He has remained Chief Secretary KP, Sindh, AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan. Mr Durrani also served as Chairman Wapda and Chairman Pakistan Railways. Presently he is Executive Director of Ghulam Ishaq Khan Institute.

#### Prof. Dr. Shahzad Ali Khan

Prof. Dr. Shahzad Ali Khan is the Dean and Vice Chancellor of the Health Services Academy, Islamabad. He is one of the few medical



doctors with a PhD in Management Sciences in Pakistan. He also holds Fellowship of Faculty of Public Health from Royal College of Physicians London, and Fellowship of The Royal Society for Public Health, London, UK. Dr. Shahzad has 28 years of Public Health related work experience ranging from peripheral level administration to management of tertiary care health facilities.

#### Sakib Sherani

Mr. Sherani has wide ranging experience in public policy, the financial sector, international capital markets, at the corporate board-level, and in the development sector as well as with non-profit organizations and initiatives. He has served on the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council (EAC) and its variants on several occasions. He has also served as the Principal Economic Advisor to the Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, and was a member of the Panel of Economists of the Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan. He was also member, Revenue Advisory Council of FBR.

#### Dr. Claudia Adler

Claudia is a lecturer in International Humanitarian Affairs at the University of York and Deputy Programme Leader. Her research critically examines learning approaches that empower girls and women from marginalised and rural backgrounds in South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. Currently, Claudia is engaging with ancient wisdom from the Global South to learn solutions to modern challenges, including climate change.

#### Sabeena Durrani

Dr. Sabina Imran Durrani, is an experienced medical doctor & public health leader, currently serving as the Chief, Population and Social Planning Section, Ministry of Planning, Development and Special



Initiatives. She has held various leadership roles in M/o Population Welfare (MoPW), Mother Neonatal Child Health Program of Health (MNCH M/o Health), Establishment Division (MSW), National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA), and National Counter Terrorism Authority (NACTA).

#### **Dr Aneel Salman**

Dr. Aneel Salman holds the OGDCL-IPRI Chair of Economic Security at the Islamabad Policy Research Institute in Pakistan. He is also the Chair for Pakistan's National Artificial Intelligence Policy Committee. As a dynamic academician, his impactful work has shaped strategic planning across various sectors. Internationally, Dr. Salman has been affiliated with several prestigious institutions, including Harvard University-USA and Cambridge University-UK. Beyond academia, he serves as a Master Trainer, sharing his expertise with bureaucrats, law enforcement agencies, diplomats, and other key stakeholders.

#### Prof. Ahsan Iqbal

Prof. Ahsan Iqbal currently serves as the Federal Minister for Planning, Development & Special Initiatives for the Government of Pakistan. He holds an MBA from The Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. He has also attended executive programs at Georgetown University and Oxford University. Prof. Iqbal also served as a Professor of Management at M. A. Jinnah University-Islamabad. Previously, he also served as Senior Advisor for the Al-Madinah Al Monawarah Digital Economy Project. Recently, he spearheaded the development of the Five Es framework to make Pakistan a trillion-dollar economy by 2035. In 2024, Prof. Iqbal received the prestigious APO Meritorious and Distinguished Award for his inspiring contributions.



#### Ehsan A Malilk

Ehsan A. Malik is the CEO of the Pakistan Business Council, the country's premier largest business advocacy body. With over 24 years of experience at Unilever, including 14 years as CEO in Sri Lanka and Pakistan, he has driven significant business growth. Ehsan also serves as Chairman and Non-Executive Director in Abbott Laboratories and Standard Chartered Bank. He holds qualifications from Harvard and Wharton Business Schools and is a Chartered Accountant from the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales.

#### Zafar Masud

Zafar Masud is the President & CEO of Bank of Punjab, and a development and social impact focused banker having 30 years of worthy experience in Banking, Energy and Corporate Governance. He has been in top positions in multinational banks, including American Express Bank, Citigroup, Dubai Islamic Bank, and Barclays Bank, where he had served as Regional Managing Director & CEO for Southern Africa. He is also appointed as the Chairman of the Pakistan Banks' Association in April 2024.

#### Dr. Aqdas Afzal, Economist

Dr. Aqdas Afzal is a seasoned economist and Economic Advisor within the Ministry of Finance in the GCC region, where he applies strategic thinking to macroeconomic policies. With a Ph.D. in Economics from the USA, completed on a prestigious Fulbright scholarship, Dr. Afzal combines academic expertise with policy experience. A prolific writer, he contributes regularly to DAWN and Arab News Pakistan, while his economic insights have been featured on Al Jazeera English and the BBC. Dr. Afzal's research and publications explore critical economic issues on regional and global challenges.

#### Maham Naweed

Ms. Maham Naweed, is an international lawyer who completed her Master of Laws from Yale Law School. Previously, she was working as a Consultant at the International Dispute Unit of the Office of the Attorney-General for Pakistan. She has been a part of the team that has represented the Federal Government of Pakistan in historic international legal cases such as the Karkey arbitration and Reko Diq Arbitration. She has also worked at the Paris office of the international law firm, Shearman & Sterling LLP in the public international law and international arbitration group.

#### Makane Moise Mbengue

Makane Moïse Mbengue is an Associate Professor within the Faculty of Law of the University of Geneva. He has been a legal expert for the World Bank, International Labor Organization, World Health Organization and Green Cross International. He has also served as a Lead Expert for the African Union and acts as counsel with advisory proceedings taken before the International Court of Justice including the ongoing case addressing Israel's acts of genocide in Palestine. Professor Mbengue holds a PhD in Public International Law from the University of Geneva.

#### Ahmer Bilal Soofi

Ahmer Bilal Soofi is a well-known international lawyer from South Asia and former federal law minister of Pakistan. He is currently a Member of the ICC Court of Arbitration, Paris. He has represented before ICJ and other international judicial forums. He chaired the Advisory Council of Human Rights in Geneva. He also remained President of WWF Pakistan. Mr. Soofi leads a globally ranked law firm, ABS & Co. He founded a leading think tank, the Research Society of International Law that emphasizes the necessity of understanding international law.



# ANNEXURES

Annexure I IGOR PANARIN, Professor, PhD in Political Science

(Islamabad, 13.11.2024) YALTA-2: A New Redivision of the Universe - A World Without Wars and Conflicts Professor, PhD in Political Science IGOR PANARIN VouTube Channel - Professor Igor Panarin https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCIGc10BftQoxIEJy4snWodA Telegram - Professor Igor Panarin https://t.me/Igor\_Panarin

## Pakistan – Indus Civilization Mohenjo-Daro





## **PEACE - 2024**

- 1. A Pivotal Era. The Beginning of the Collapse of the Parasite Empires
- 2. New Centers of Influence and Power. (SCO, BRICS)
- 3. Transition from a British project of global governance (war) to a Russian one (peace)
- 4. World Transformation: from Monopolar to Polycentric (Multipolar)
- 5. YALTA-2 Ahead: A New Redivision of the Universe - A World Without Wars and Conflicts



### First Redivision of the Universe

(After the Ascension of Alexander the Great)





## Second Redivision of the Universe

First Roman Emperor Augustus Octavianus (bust at the Trump residence)







## Third Redivision of the Universe

Augustus, Alexander the Great, Ivan the Fourth



## Monopolar World – Dark World Project

After the seizure of political power in England by the Venetians and the establishment of the East India Company in 1600, the process of empire-parasite formation and the era of wars and conflicts began

As part of the Dark World Project, the Anglo-Saxons and the West have built a parasitic pyramid, established themselves on its top, and given themselves great powers.

Margalla Dialogue 2024 235

## **British Project – Project of War**

The British Empire imposed World War I on the world in order to destroy its main geopolitical competitors - the Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires. The British then brought Hitler to power in Germany and organized World War II to destroy Stalin's USSR.

## Who Controls the Monopolar World

- 1. Venetians in London (globalists) main control center of the Dark World Project.
- 2. Bank of England as the founder of the U.S. Federal Reserve System and the Basel Bank for International Settlements.
- 3. Main London's instruments:
- A. U.S. Federal Reserve System, B. U.S. Deep State, C. Petrodollar.

<u>Reserve control center of</u> the Dark World Project – India (Delhi – Modi, Mumbai - Ambani).








U.S. Presidential Election November 5, 2024

# **TRUMP - HARRIS**

A different system of views

Patriot - Globalist Peace - War Order - Migrant Infestation Family with children - Nothing





# 2024 U.S. Presidential Election's Timeline

- 1. Trump Vs. Biden debate (Trump's victory). June 27
- 2. Assassination attempt on Trump, July 13 (Pennsylvania).
- 3. Venice wedding of the oligarch Ambani in India (Hillary Clinton, Gates, Schwab, Modi) July 12-14
- 4. Biden's withdrawal from the election and his replacement with Harris July 14. Trump called it a coup.
- 5. Trump vs. Harris debate- September 10 (Trump's victory, microphones in Harris' ears).
- 6. Second assassination attempt on Trump, Florida, September 15
- 7. Vance Vs. Walz debate October 2 (Vance wins)
- 8. Florida: the taming of Hurricane Milton October 10

Margalla Dialogue 2024

239

# **Trump's Main Enemies**

- U.S. Federal Reserve System (established in 1913 by a group of individuals from London – Morgans, etc.)
- 2. U.S. "Deep State" (established by Churchill in Great Britain in 1944).
- 3. Globalists and Venetians: Hillary Clinton, Soros, Nuland-Nudelman, Gates, Schwab, Cheney clan, Ambani clan, Modi

#### What to Do

- Global stability and security can be ensured today through Yalta 2025, based on the principles of the First Peace Conference convened in The Hague 125 years ago at the initiative of Russian Emperor Nicholas II.
- The historic victory of Donald Trump in the U.S. presidential election on November 5, 2024, paved the way for Yalta-2 in Minsk. President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko was the first world leader to publicly announce Trump's victory. And then he warmly congratulated him on his victory.



#### **XVI BRICS Summit Kazan Declaration**

The spirit of BRICS is mutual respect and understanding. Cooperation in 3 main areas politics and security, economy and finance, cultural and humanitarian ties, as well as strengthening the strategic partnership for the benefit of the citizens of our countries by promoting peace, a more representative and just international order.



Ideology of Peace based on Seven Basic Principles (Idea by Professor Igor Panarin)

# Dialogue, Diplomacy, Dignity, Friendship, Spirituality, Goodness, Prosperity.







#### Geoprojects: YALTA 2 in Minsk

The geopolitical core of the Dark World Project, the empire parasites today is Great Britain - the main organizer of all wars and conflicts of the last centuries. Therefore, the main topic of discussion of the participants of Yalta-2 in Minsk: world leaders and heads of major international organizations (UN, OSCE, SCO, BRICS, etc.), is the formation of a new model of positive future - the system of strategic geopolitical projects.

Geoprojects will be the realization of the Russian way, the way of peace. As a result of the implementation of geoprojects, London, as the main control center of the Dark World Project, will lose all control and will be exhausted.

Geoprojects will neutralize the negative aspirations of the Venetians and block wars and conflicts. The reformatting of the U.S. Federal Reserve System will begin on the basis of the Texas Red Dollar (the idea of U.S. President John Kennedy).





# Frankonia

# Geopolitical alliance:

- France
- Spain
- Belgium
- Scotland

# **Balkan Confederation**

# **Geopolitical alliance:**

- Former Yugoslavia
- Hungary
- Romania
- Bulgaria
- Albania and Greece

# Eastern Alliance (Ariana)

- Iran

- Turkey

- Saudi Arabia

- Qatar
- United Arab Emirates

- Iraq

- Bahrain

- Oman

#### Slavic Confederation (Great Moravia – Bratislava as its Capital)

- Bohemia
- Moravia
- Slovakia
- Polonia
- Pomerania
- Prussia,
- Warsaw Voivodeship
- Podkarpackie Rus



# New United States of America

- USA (excluding Alaska, which will return to Russia)

- Canada

- United Ireland (after the unification of Ireland and Northern Ireland)



#### International Expert Council (IEC) (Islamabad, Pakistan)

#### The IEC at the Forum could include:

- prominent state and public figures,

- heads of analytical entities (public and private),
- world's leading scientists, researchers, and analysts.
- **IEC main goal** preparation of annual public analytical reports .



#### Annexure II

Anton Bespalov, Senior Research Fellow, Valdai Discussion Club, Russian Federation











249

# Lunch with the FT: John Bolton



Bolton continues: "The foreign service ought to be advocates for American interests, not apologists. This problem is not unique to the US but neither is it necessarily the rule everywhere else." So which foreign services do serve their national interests? I ask. "The Russians," he says. Then he pauses for a while before adding, "And the French." Formidable, I think. "And the Indians and especially the Pakistanis."

© Financial Times

By Edward Luce OCTOBER 19 2007



#### Annexure III

Professor Xudong Gao, School of Economics and Management, Tsinghua University















#### Margalla Dialogue 2024 253













Our flying and camera stabilization systems redefine camera placement and motion.

DJI products are redefining industries. Professionals in filmmaking, agriculture, conservation, search and rescue, energy infrastructure, and more trust DJI to bring new perspectives to their work and help them accomplish feats safer, faster, and with greater efficiency than ever before.



#### ZPMC

- Shanghai Zhenhua Port Machinery Co., Ltd. (ZPMC), was established in 1992 by Mr. Guan, Tongxian at the age of 59 with \$1 million.
- The largest large-size port container crane maker in the world, and captures more than 70% of the world market.
- One of the leaders making spiral bevel gears, making it well positioned in the ocean engineering equipment industry







### Sustainable building

3 stories/day; 57 stories/19 days

Now, 6~8 stories/day





- Multiple strategies
- Macro level factors
- Micro level factors
- Using large-scale programs to help develop technological capabilities





Margalla Dialogue 2024 259





# Typical examples of U. startups

- Tsinghua U.
  - Tsinghua Solar, Visionox, etc.
- Harbin Institute of Technology
  - Robotics, Laser communication, NLP
- CAS
  - HPC, IC

# Micro level factors

- Technological capability
  - R&D investment
  - Talented people
  - NOT only technology transfer and manufacturing
- Clear understanding of advantages and disadvantages
  - Latecomer disadvantage
  - Low cost + differentiation strategy
- Complementary capabilities
- Early globalization
- Work harder than competitors MNEs

Margalla Dialogue 2024

261



Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
(I): Sales Revenue	149	185	204	220	239	288	395	522
(II):R&D Spending	13.3	16.6	23.7	30.1	30.7	40.8	59.6	76.4
(11)/ (1) (%)	8.9	8.9	11.6	13.7	12.8	14.2	15.1	14.6

Margalla Dialogue 2024

262

#### Looking forward and Challenges

- China and US relationships
- The Huawei case



- Two systems
- Compete and collaborate
- Other countries



#### The story of Huawei: May 2019 Technology blockade; Economic sanctions; etc.



# Huge challenge and hardship











# What does the Huawei story tell us

- Fundamental theories and practices of world economy and international trade
  - Free trade based on division of labor and comparative advantage
  - International innovation system, based on national innovation systems, regional innovations systems, sectoral innovations systems, and innovation studies at firm level (Ernst, 2002; Ernst & Kim, 2002).
- Theory changed
  - Samuelson, P.A. 2004. Where Ricardo and Mill Rebut and Confirm Arguments of Mainstream Economists Supporting Globalization. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Volume 18, Number 3: 135-146.
- · Government policy and firm strategy are changing, dramatically
  - US, China, Japan, etc.

#### Annexure IV Brig (R) Dr Raashid Wali Janjua, Director Research and Analysis, IPRI, Pakistan









IPRI INCREASING TEMPO	OF WARFARE
<ul> <li>It has come into prominence after US Army's spectacular successes in Gulf War 1991 and Operation Iraqi Freedom 2003</li> <li>The attack on Saddam Hussein during Operation Iraqi Freedom where the operation was launched within ten minutes of his location</li> <li>The same kind of operation took hours in first Gulf War</li> </ul>	Sensor Grid Decision Support Centre Shooter Grid
Impact of Technology of	n Warfare











# IPRI

Act

OODA

#### OODA LOOP

Orient

Decide



 Domination of OODA loop has emerged as an important battle winning factor on modern battlefield where command, control, communications and computer, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISR) capabilities have come to define the flavour of the warfare and the length of OODA loop

 The networked battlespace of modern battlefields gave rise to the enhancement of electronic bandwidth, increased processing speed and improved data fusion capability

#### Impact of Technology on Warfare
























# IPRI

### ISRAEL'S USE OF AI





- A foretaste of the above was the use of Al enabled Lavender system & Where's Daddy, originally mooted as an idea in a book by Israeli Brigadier General Yossie Sariel, titled, "The Human Machine: How to Create Synergy Between Human and Artificial Intelligence that Will Revolutionize Warfare."
- The idea was to generate kill lists by marking human targets out of intelligence data fed to AI and then allowing strikes with minimal human control. Israeli soldiers using these systems according to Yuval Abraham would only take 20 seconds to scrutinize the targets before giving go ahead to these AI generated targets

Impact of Technology on Warfare



### ISRAEL'S USE OF AI





- The IDF had decided that to kill a junior Hamas operative through AI driven Lavender system, 15-20 civilian casualties would be permissible
- In case of senior Hamas commanders, the killing of 100 civilians as collateral damage was permitted. The draconian decision resulted in hundreds of civilian casualties
- Under a directive the human target term was used for Hamas military cadre's members who were cleared for an attack to die inside their homes along with their entire families

Impact of Technology on Warfare









































	Start-up	Purpose	
	GOVRED (US)	Enables VR-based Training	
	Red-6 (US)	Develops Airborne Tactical Augmented Reality System	
	Geofabrica (US)	Enables Point-of-need Manufacturing	
	Raven Space Systems (US)	Employs 3D Printing Technologies	
	Q-CTRL (Australia)	Advances Quantum Computing	
	Delfox (France)	Provides Predictive Technology	
	Niral Networks (India)	Builds Private 5G Infrastructure	
	WIGL (US)	Provides Wireless Electric Charging	
	Taekion (US)	Enables Military Data Protection	
	Slovakian (Slovakia)	Provides Blockchain Process Management	























### Annexure V

## Prof. Dr. Shahzad Ali Khan, Health Services Academy, Islamabad

### HEALTH SYSTEM IN PAKISTAN

### • A MIXED HEALTH SYSTEM SYNDROME

• Public Sector has Large network with low coverage

290,000 doctors,126,000 beds,108,000 CHWs,16000 HFs

- Private Sector is Very Huge; Largely Un-regulated
- Population accessing health services:
  - 20% use Government sector
  - 70% access Private Sector;
  - Pure Private Sector ??? Very Little
  - Out of pocket spending: Approx. 89%
- % deaths due to Communicable disease: 36%, and
- % deaths due to NCDs: 56%; "The Double burden"

### DISEASES & LIFESTYLE RISK FACTORS: VERY HIGH IN PAKISTAN

- In children under 5 yrs, Diarrhoea is 21%; Pneumonia is 6%
- Over 16% population has Diabetes; most don't know
- Over 25% >18Yr, 36% >40Yr HTN; most do not know
- Approx. 9% have Hep-C; and 4% with Hep-B
- 32% men and 6% women: Use Tobacco in any form
- 65% urban and 79% in rural take less than one serving of fruit a day
- 90% of population consumes less than 2 servings of vegetables/day.
- In leisure domain, 90% population is: Inactive.
- 28.4% urban, 23.3% rural population: Overweight
- 20% between 15-40Yrs have Hypercholestrolaemia
- Anemia in Pregnant women is above 44%
- Highest Neonatal mortality; 3<sup>rd</sup> largest maternal deaths and 5<sup>th</sup> highest in TB

### **Pakistan's Nutrition Indicators**

- NNS-2018 Indicators of Under-5 children, show
  - Stunting (41%) ; Underweight (29%); Wasting (18%)
  - Anemia 48%; Zinc Deficiency (19%)
  - Appropriate Complementary Feeding 36%
  - Min. Dietary Diversity 14%
  - Min Acceptable Diet 3.6%
  - Coverage of Deworming is 13%
  - Functional Disabilities in any Domain 13%
- Anemia in Women 44%
- Vit. D Deficiency 79%

## Health Financing in Pakistan

- Pakistan is 160<sup>th</sup> in HDI 189 countries. *Health key indicator*
- General Govt Health expend: 9.7% of Total Govt Exp.
  - 34% health expenditure is by Govt; 64.4% by private
  - 89.9 % is Out of Pocket (OOPS)
- Donors: 1.7% share in expenditure
- Per capita health expenditure in Pakistan is 45 US\$.
  - 127 US\$ in Sri Lanka, 75 US\$ in India, 50 US\$ in Afghanistan
- Health expenditure as % GDP: 1.1% last year
  - 9.7% Afghanistan, 3.6% India, 3.8% in Sri Lanka 2.4% in Bangladesh
- Pakistan Health System is Pro-Urban; Pro Curative & so Pro-Rich
- Acute Health is Inelastic and Public Health (elective) is Elastic







### 292

### Why Social Protection?

- Little change in prevalence of malnutrition despite more food availability and overall increase in caloric intake per capita. Purchasing power is decreasing.
- Average Pakistani household spends 50.8% monthly income on food (India 35%)
- Any shock like job loss, high food prices, floods, economic recession and population displacement exacerbates this situation.
- Highest incidence of poverty (56%) in Pakistan is due to Health Shock (disease)
- In Global Food Security Index (GFSI) Pakistan is 77th amongst 109 countries
- UNICEF & World Bank data, malnutrition in poorest is twice than in richest
- Pakistan's Nutrition Indictors are Poorer than Global and South Asia
- Child Malnutrition did not improve with Economic & Social Indicators

#### MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY INDICATOR; DOMAINS ALL ARE SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH

- 1. Food & Nutrition Security,
- 2. Domestic Water Supply,
- 3. Health & Healthcare,
- 4. Sanitation & Hygiene,
- 5. Housing & Energy,
- 6. Education status,
- 7. Agricultural Assets,
- 8. Non-agricultural Assets,
- 9. Exposure and Resilience to Shocks, and
- 10.Gender Equality









### ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN HEALTH

- 1. POLICY & PLANNING
- 2. LEGISLATION / LAWS
- 3. SETTING STANDARDS AND LEVELS OF CARE
- 4. RULES/REGULATIONS/PROCEDURES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF LAWS
- 5. REGISTRATION / LICENSING/ ACCREDITATION/ REVIEWS FOR HCE
- 6. IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING LAWS/POLICIES/REGULATIONS/GOVERNANCE
- 7. ENSURING QUALITY ASSURANCE/REGULATING /GOVERNANCE
- 8. DIRECT PROVISION OF SOME SERVICES (e.g. PREVENTIVE) [NOT ALL SERVICES]
- 9. HEALTH FINANCING/FUNDING
- 10. SETTING MANDATES-LIMITS-INCENTIVES-ENSURING EQUITY
- 11. HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN ALL DOMAINS OF HEALTHCARE
- **12. DISASTER MANAGEMENT**

Margalla Dialogue 2024 295

# **IPRI PUBLICATIONS**

# **IPRI** Publications

# IPRI Journal

The IPRI Journal is a biannual triple-blind-peer reviewed journal enjoying wide circulation in Pakistan and abroad. It is being published since 2001. The Higher Education Commission ranks it as the only social sciences Journal in 'X' category. It consists of research articles that build interdisciplinary understanding of today's global interconnectedness. complexities, and events of international/regional importance. It helps strengthen the knowledge-base information, primarily from Pakistan and the Global South and North on areas related to international affairs, geopolitics, diplomacy, security, political economy, conflict, International Law, economy, defence and strategic affairs, terrorism and governance. Book reviews of latest publications on similar subjects are also published.

The *IPRI Journal* is recognised by Clarivate Analytics (formerly the Intellectual Property & Science Business of Thomson Reuters) and indexed and abstracted in the Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI); ProQuest (International Bibliography of Social Sciences; Worldwide Political Science Abstracts); Web of Sciences, CrossRef; GoogleScholar; OCLC WorldCat; Heidelberg University OLC South Asia Online Contents; Ibero-American Institute, Berlin; Europa Regional Surveys of the World; Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals; Asianet-Pakistan; and ResearchBib.

# IPRI Books

The Institute organises annual national and international conferences on strategic and international relations topics. The



### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

working papers, thought pieces and essays presented by renowned scholars and subject experts from South Asia, the Asia-Pacific, North America, Europe, United Kingdom, and Central Asia (amongst others) are published in the *IPRI Books*. Over the years, the *following anthologies, books and working papers have been published*:

- Pakistan's Energy Sector: Need for Strategic and Commercial Storages (Oil and Gas) (2025)
- Impact of Social Media on Political Polarisation in Pakistan (2025)
- Margalla Dialogue'23: "Evolving World Environment: Charting the Course for Our Future" (2024)
- Grand National Dialogue (GND) 2024
- Recrudescence of TTP Violence its Causes and Possible Remedies (2024)
- Akhand Bharat: A Threat to Regional Peace (2024)
- The Issue of Jammu and Kashmir & The Simla Agreement (2024)
- India under FATF Lens Layers of AML/CTF Exposed (2024)
- Persecution of the Indian Minorities (2023)
- Causes of Gender-Based & Religiously Motivated Crimes in Punjab: An Empirical Analysis of Prison-Inmates' Criminal Behaviour (2023)
- Margalla Dialogue'22: "Navigating the Great Power Competition:
- A Developing World Perspective" (2023)
- Assessment of Traffic Congestion and Management Issues in Islamabad Capital Territory: Management with Holistic Interventions (2022)
- Margalla Dialogue'21: "Breaking Past, Entering Future" (2022)
- Hindutva: A Threat to Regional Stability (2021) Dr Raashid Wali Janjua & Dr Khurram Abbas
- Civil-Military Relations: Role of Armed Forces in National Development and its Impact on Civil-Military Relations (2021)

### IPRI Publications

- Margalla Dialogue'19: Peace and Development in South Asia, Middle East, Central Asia – a chronicle of papers & analysis (2021)
- Conflict and Cooperation in South Asia: Role of Major Powers (2019)
- Irritants in Pakistan-US Relations and the Way Forward (2019)
- *Regional Dynamics and Strategic Concerns in South Asia* (2018)
- Changing Security Situation in South Asia and Development of CPEC (2018)
- CPEC: Macro and Micro Economic Dividends for Pakistan and the Region (2017); reprint ed. (2018)
- Achieving Peace in Afghanistan: Challenges and Prospects (2017)
- Strengthening Peace and Cooperation in South Asia: Incentives and Constraints (2017)
- Emerging Security Order in Asia Pacific: Impact on South Asia (2017)
- Evolving Situation in Afghanistan: Role of Major Powers and Regional Countries (2016)
- Policy Approaches of South Asian Countries: Impact on the Region (2016)
- Building Knowledge-Based Economy in Pakistan: Learning from Best Practices (2016)
- Solutions for Energy Crisis in Pakistan Volume II (2015)
- Major Powers' Interests in Indian Ocean: Challenges and Options for Pakistan (2015)
- Roadmap for Economic Growth of Pakistan (2015)
- Pakistan's Strategic Environment Post-2014 (2014)
- Future of Economic Cooperation in SAARC Countries (2014)
- SCO's Role in Regional Stability and Prospects of its Expansion (2013)
- Potential and Prospects of Pakistani Diaspora (2013)
- Rights of Religious Minorities in South Asia: Learning from Mutual Experiences (2013)
- Transition in Afghanistan: Post-Exit Scenarios (2013)



### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

- Solutions for Energy Crisis in Pakistan [Volume I) (2013)
- Eighteenth Amendment Revisited (2012)
- Islam and State: Practice and Perceptions in Pakistan and the Contemporary Muslim World (2012)
- Stabilising Afghanistan Regional Perspectives and Prospects (2011)
- De-radicalisation and Engagement of Youth in Pakistan (2011)
- Balochistan: Rationalisation of Centre-Province Relations (2010)
- Pakistan India Peace Process: The Way Forward (2010)
- Regional Cooperation in Asia: Options for Pakistan (2009)
- Political Role of Religious Communities in Pakistan (2008)
- Pakistan and Changing Scenario: Regional and Global (2008)
- Quest for Energy Security in Asia (2007)
- Problems and Politics of Water Sharing and Management in Pakistan (2007)
- Ballistic Missiles and South Asian Security (2007)
- Political Violence and Terrorism in South Asia (2006)
- Problems and Politics of Federalism in Pakistan (2006)
- The Kashmir Imbroglio: Looking Towards the Future (2005)
- Tribal Areas of Pakistan: Challenges and Responses (2005)
- RAW: Global and Regional Ambitions (2005)
- Arms Race and Nuclear Developments in South Asia (2004)
- Conflict Resolution and Regional Cooperation in South Asia (2004)
- The State of Migration and Multiculturalism in Pakistan (2003)

# IPRI Papers (Monograph Series)

Through the *IPRI Paper (Monograph Series),* Senior Research Fellows, Research Fellows and other experts contribute on a broad range of critical contemporary issues facing Pakistan and the international community. These monographs are self-contained single-volume works contribute to on-going scholarship in a particular discipline by offering original insight into their subjects, explore complex foreign policy, geoeconomic and geopolitical issues, present the latest data, analysis, and propose practical policy

### IPRI Publications

recommendations. Some of the monographs published to date include:

- IPRI Paper 2022, Ukraine Crisis: Implications for the developing countries in a dividing world – Amb. (R) Asif Durrani (2021)
- IPRI Paper 2021, What Next? Post-Withdrawal Taliban Rule in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan and Beyond
   Amb. (R) Asif Durrani (2021)
- Kashmir Factsheet 1947-2021: The Indisputable Facts (2021)
- IPRI Paper 2021, US Pullout from Afghanistan: Concerns of Civil War, Implications for Pakistan and the Region
   Amb. (R) Asif Durrani (2021)
- Kashmir Factsheet 1947-2020: The Indisputable Facts (2020)
- IPRI Paper 19, India's Defence Budget and Armed Forces Modernisation: An Analysis – Sobia Saeed Paracha (2017)
- IPRI Paper 18, Management of Pakistan-India Relations: Resolution of Disputes – Dr Noor ul Haq (2017)
- IPRI Paper 17, Challenge of Identity and Governance Quaid's Vision: The Way Forward – Dr Noor ul Haq (2013)
- IPRI Paper 16, Bharat Mein Mazhabi Janoon Ka Zafrani Rukh Asghar Ali Shad (2012)
- IPRI Paper 15, Genesis and Growth of Naxalite Movement in India Asghar Ali Shad [Trnsl Mushir Anwar] (2011)
- IPRI Paper 14, Naxal Tehreek: Ibtida aur Farogh
  Asghar Ali Shad (2011)
- IPRI Paper 13, China's Peaceful Rise and South Asia
  Dr Maqbool Ahmad Bhatty (2008)
- IPRI Paper 12, The Ummah and Global Challenges: Re-organising the OIC – Dr Muhammad Ahsan (2006)
- IPRI Paper 11, Pakistan's Vision East Asia: Pursuing Economic Diplomacy in the Age of Globalisation in East Asia and Beyond
   Dr Ahmad Rashid Malik (2006)
- IPRI Paper 10, Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan

Margalla Dialogue 2024

303

Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

– Dr Noor ul Haq, Dr Rashid Ahmed Khan and Dr Maqsudul Hasan Nuri (2005)

- IPRI Paper 9, India-Pakistan Nuclear Rivalry: Perceptions, Misperceptions, and Mutual Deterrence
   Dr Zulfqar Khan (2005)
- IPRI Paper 8, An Evaluation of Pre-emption in Iraq
  Ahmed Ijaz Malik (2004)
- IPRI Paper 7, Rise of Extremism in South Asia Sadia Nasir (2004)
- IPRI Paper 6, Ballistic Missile Defence-China and South Asia Dr Maqbool A. Bhatty (2003)
- IPRI Paper 5, Pakistan and the New Great Game Asma Shakir Khawaja (2003)
- IPRI Paper 4, Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia
  Dr Abdul Majid, Lieutenant General (R) Kamal Matinuddin, Dr Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema and Mazhar Hussain Shah (2002)
- IPRI Paper 3, Pak-U.S. Strategic Dialogue (2002)
- IPRI Paper 2, Bharat Mein Intehapasand Hindu Nazriyat ka Farogh – Asghar Ali Shad (2001)
- IPRI Paper 1, *Terrorism* Rafiuddin Ahmed with Fasahat H. Syed, Zafar N. Jaspal, Ahmed Ijaz Malik, Faisal S. Cheema and Huma A. Shah (2001).

# **IPRI Policy Briefs**

- Pakistan's Connectivity and Central Asia through Wakhan Corridor: Challenges and Opportunities
- Taliban Regime in Afghanistan: Prospects of Pakistan's Connectivity and Energy Projects with Central Asia
- Quantum communication
- Indian Intrusions in Nepal
- Russia-Ukraine War and India's Neutral Stance
- Consensus Building on National Security

### IPRI Publications

- IIOJK: Indian State Sponsored Cleansing of Kashmiris/Grave Human Rights Abuses
- New Anti-Globalisation Consensus: Impact on Developing Countries
- Detection Methodologies of Deep Fake Content
- Role of Masajid in Social Reconstruction of Pakistan Society
- Comparison of Prospects for Religious Minorities in Pakistan and India
- Reko Diq and Its Dividends for Balochistan
- Impact and Consequences of Crypto Currency on Pakistan's Economy
- BRICS in Global Geo-political Contestation
- Kashmiris Right to Self-determination under UNSC Resolutions
- Implications of AUKUS, 12U2 and BRICS for Pakistan
- Improving Pak-Afghanistan Relations
- Indian Inquisition of Muslims: Islamophobia and Hindu Terrorism
- Saudi-Iran Rapprochement and its Impact on Pakistan
- Weaponisation of Artificial Intelligence
- The Evolving Dynamics of the Israel-Hamas Conflict
- Evolving Gaza and West Bank Crisis
- Pakistan's Africa Engagement Policy, Its Implications and Way Forward to Improve Economic Opportunities
- Looming large turmoil in East African region: Options for Pakistan
- Analysis of "House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) Hearing on Pakistan" on 20 March 2024
- Lawfare Options for Kashmir Dispute
- US Presidential Election: Impact on Pakistan and Way Forward
- Building National Cyber Security Institutional Framework and Cyber Emergency Response Team (CERT) Systems
- How to Neutralize the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement by Addressing Grievances

Margalla Dialogue 2024 305

### Emerging Global Realities: Challenges and Response

- Developing Forensic Science Analysis Infrastructure for Better Policing and Investigations: Recommendations for Policy Makers
- Sino-India Influence in Bangladesh and Possibilities for Pakistan
- The Role of Teachers and Teaching Methodologies in Meeting the Objectives of the Single National Curriculum
- Water Storage Challenge of Pakistan: Reviving Kalabagh Dam Project
- Using Artificial Intelligence for Traffic Policing: Developing a Framework for the Future
- Biden Presidency and Pakistan
- India-France-Japan Interest in Indo-Pacific
- Analysis of the Indian Chronicles
- Emerging Scenarios and Threats to Strategic Stability in South Asia
- Lal Masjid as a Case Study: Recommendations to Eradicate Extremism
- Rise of Barelvi Extremism: Policy Options for Pakistan
- Possibility of an Asian NATO Under the Purview of Quad: Concerns for Pakistan
- How to Counter the Impact of Climate Change on Pakistan's Food Security?
- Use of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in Air Defence Systems and Unmanned Aerial Vehicle Drone Platforms: Identifying Areas of Improvement
- Neutralizing secessionist tendencies in Balochistan, way forward 2021
- Appraisal of Pakistan's approach towards cyber security: Case for CERTs, Cyber Security Agency and Cyber Command
- Afghanistan: The Various Dimensions
- Taliban's Transition to Governance: Implications of Sanction Regimes and Challenges to Recognition
- Prospects of Conflict Resolution in the midst of Ceasefire Violations on the Line of Control

### IPRI Publications

- China-India Border Tensions
- Analysis of Indian Comprehensive National Power under BJP Government
- Entry of ASEAN's New Dialogue Partners: Status of Pakistan's Request
- Exploring Possible Avenues at the UN Forum for Pakistan to Highlight Kashmir Issue for a Tangible Outcome
- Challenge of a Two Front War with India
- Future Prospects of Pakistan's Recognition of Armenia in view of Turkey-Armenia Rapprochement
- AUKUS- Futuristic military unfolding in Indo-Pacific region: Implications on regional and extra regional security conclusions and implications for Pakistan
- Prospects of Tourism under CPEC
- The Sri Lanka's Economic Fallout: Lessons for Pakistan
- Pakistan's Alternative and Renewable Energy Policy-Step towards Energy Security
- Taxation Post 18th Amendment
- External Debt and Growth Nexus –A Case Study for Pakistan
- Quantum Computing and Post-Quantum Cryptography
- Balochistan: Blend of Unique Culture and Unity in Diversity
- Measuring the Economic Security of Pakistan: A South Asian Perspective
- Crypto Currency Regulatory Challenges and Opportunities
- Promoting Pakistan as a Young and Digital Nation
- The IMF Stabilization Program and Macroeconomic Analysis for Pakistan
- Indus Waters Treaty, 1960- A Legal Controversy
- Buzzword Dictionary Web 3.0
- National Cohesion and Human Security
- CPEC: Dividends for Balochistan (A Critical Analysis)
- Pakistan's Catastrophic 2022 Flood: A Challenge for National Food Security



- Web 3.0 Advocacy Brief 2022
- Fundamental Rights to be Forgotten: A Critical Examination of Pakistan's Legal System and Lessons from Foreign Jurisprudence
- The Way Forward in the Jadhav Dispute: Going Back to the International Court of Justice
- Debt-for-Nature Swap: Options, Challenges and Way Forward for Pakistan
- Role of Carbon Taxation in Mitigation of GHG Emissions in the Energy Sector of Pakistan
- A Comparison of the SAARC Renewable Energy Policies: Analytical Approach
- Termination of the Indus Waters Treaty 1960: An Option for India?
- Grant of Provisional Province Status to Gilgit Baltistan
- Absence of Dichotomy between ICESCR And ICCPR within International Human Rights Law
- Fixing the Trade Imbalance: Policy Recommendations
- Right to Education of Girls in Pakistan A Legal Examination from the Perspective of Low – Income Households
- Economic Diplomacy and Pakistan's Quest for Economic Security
- Jehad Post-Soviet Invasion/War on Terror: Impact on Pakistan
- Blue Finance: What is it and why does it matter for Pakistan?
- International Criminal Court's Investigation in Afghanistan: Implications for Pakistan
- The Role of the World Bank Under the Indus Waters Treaty 1960
- Curbing the Growing Circular Debt in Pakistan's Power Sector
- Pakistan's Trade Potential with Turkiye
- Understanding Water-Security Nexus
- Long-term Policy Options for Reducing Dependence and Improving Core of National Economy
- Potential Problems in Pakistan's Value Added Tax System

Note: All IPRI publications are available for free download online.■




























Emerging Global Realines. Challenges and Response













































































