

### **Online International Conference Report**

### "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World"



Organized by Center for Global & Strategic Studies, Islamabad on 31st March, 2021



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### **CONCEPT NOTE**

The Covid-19 pandemic has marked the beginning of a new era which has seen major shift in the security paradigm of the states. The emergence of new security challenges and geostrategic dynamics have put solemn challenges to the existing world order. Resultantly, the transforming world order is characterized with emerging security alignments, realignments and challenges from state and non-state actors. Hence, it is important to analyze the incipient geopolitical and geo-economics trends in the realm of emerging security concerns specifically in the Eurasian region. In such an era of chaos, crisis and uncertainty, there is a dire need to analyze the prospects for devising a comprehensive roadmap for the states in order to become secure and capable of coping with the changing security paradigms. Moreover, on the onset of these major changes in post-pandemic era, it is imperative to examine the global, regional and national implications for Pakistan.

Furthermore, the Covid-19 pandemic has impelled the states to further focus their policies on non-traditional threats such as climate change, bioterrorism, cyber-security, etc. Therefore, it is imperative to revisit the principles of international security in post-pandemic world. The pandemic is certainly set to change the social, political, economic and strategic dynamics of the world. It has not only challenged the efficacy of national and international institutions but engulfed the states in an unprecedented geopolitical quagmire.



### **BRIEF OF THE CONFERENCE**

On 31<sup>st</sup> March 2021, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad organized an Online International Conference titled "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World". The conference aimed to discuss the transforming security paradigm in the context of new challenges of global security in the post-pandemic world. It will focus on the policy options at both the regional and the international levels to address the universal security threats including the non-traditional as well as the traditional threats.

Renowned subject experts from Pakistan, China, Turkey and Indonesia participated and the Conference was attended by 100 participants including regional experts, members of academia, and students of International Relations and related fields.

The conference was also viewed live on various social media platforms by 200 viewers.



### PROFILES OF SPEAKERS

## Mr. Tolga Sakman, Chairman, Center for Diplomatic Affairs and Political Studies (DIPAM), Istanbul, Turkey

### <u>Topic of Speech: Revaluating the International Security Architecture in Post-Covid-</u> <u>19 era: Potential Areas and Policy Options for Eurasia</u>



Mr. Tolga Sakman, graduated from Kocaeli University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration in 2010 and started the International Relations Master Program of the War Academies Command (newly National Defense University) Strategic Research Institute (SAREN) in the same year. He is currently continuing his

doctorate studies at Istanbul University, Department of Political Science and International Relations. He started his work as the Assistant Specialist at the Turkish-Asian Center for Strategic Research (TASAM) in 2012, and later continued as a Director at the National Defense and Security Institute, which was established within the institution until July 2018. Mr. Sakman started his career in 2016 at Nişantaşı University as the Rectorate Coordinator and instructor in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration. He continued his duties until May 2018. He has prepared about 20 paper works and 8 books/book chapters especially on security and European politics and coordinate nearly 20 projects at home and abroad.

## <u>Prof. Dr. Iram Khalid, Chairperson, Department of Political Science & IR, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan</u>

### **Topic of Speech: The Impact of COVID-19 on Security Dynamics of Asia**



Prof. Dr. Iram Khalid is Chairperson of Department of Political Science and IR at University of the Punjab, Lahore. She also obtained her Ph.D. on "Crisis Decision Making: A Case Study of Pakistan-India Conflicts (1950-1999)" with having an experience 23years. She did M.Phil in International Relations (Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad, 1994) and an M.A. in Political Science (University of the Punjab, Lahore, 1989). She has published almost



70 research papers in reputed national and international journals. She is the author of 3 books, and 4 edited books. The most recent books are "Revisiting Pakistan's National Security Dilemma" and "Insurgency-Counter Insurgency Challenge to State Security Stability Prosperity" She has completed projects titled on "Impact Of River Diversions; People's Perception And Water Management" Funded by International Organization Action Aid, Islamabad and "Urban Security: A case study of Lahore, Rawalpindi and Bahawalpur" funded by HEC Govt. of Pakistan. Her area of interest include National Security, Water Politics in South Asia, Nuclear Politics, Pakistan's Diplomatic Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics of Pakistan.

## <u>Dr. Shafiah F Muhibat, Director of International Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, Indonesia</u>

### Topic of Speech: Security Challenges and Alignments in East Asia



Dr. Shafiah Muhibat is the Head of Department of International Relations, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) Indonesia. She was recently a Senior Fellow at the Maritime Security Programme, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) Singapore from January to December 2017. She has done and taken part in extensive research projects on politics and

regional security in Southeast Asia and the Asia Pacific since 2000. She has special interest in issues of regional security in East Asia, maritime security, Indonesia's foreign policy, and regional cooperation. In addition to her interest in security issues, in the recent years she has also looked into issues related to development cooperation. She was the Chief Editor of The Indonesian Quarterly, a quarterly academic journal published by CSIS, from 2013 to 2016. She was also a lecturer at two private universities in Jakarta from 2005 to 2009. She obtained a Masters degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hamburg.



## <u>Dr. Aiysha Safdar, Head of International Relations Department, Kinnaird College</u> <u>For Women University, Lahore, Pakistan</u>

### **Topic of Speech: Redefining National Security in Context of Pakistan**



Dr Aiysha Safdar has a PhD in International Relations from Punjab University, Lahore. She completed her MPhil in International Relations from Kinnaird College, Lahore and B.A (Hons) from Kinnaird College as well. Her doctoral thesis is on "Power politics in Indian Ocean: Impact on regional stability (2001-2011)". She is researcher and a teacher and her area of interest include Security

studies, South Asian politics, Strategic and Defense Studies and Regional Affairs. Prior joining Kinnaird, she was associated with Pakistan Navy War College where she worked as Directing Staff Research. She was the Chief Editor of their multiple annual publications, Research Compendium, Research Treasure and The Beacon. She supervised mid-career Naval Officers doing their Staff Course for their research reports and service papers. She herself contributes in various journals. Her earlier work has been published in Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Journal of Indian Studies University of the Punjab and IPRI Journal from Islamabad Policy Research Institute. Currently, she is working in Kinnaird College as Assistant Professor and serving as the Head of Department.

## <u>Prof. Dr. Adam Saud, Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bahria University, Islamabad</u>

### <u>Topic: Shifting of Focus from War on Terror towards the Strategic Competition</u> <u>between US, China and Russia</u>



Prof. Dr. Adam Saud is Dean of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bahria University, Islamabad. He has done his PHD in International Relations from Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad. His research areas include Central Asia and Foreign Policy. He has 20 national and international publications in renowned journals.



## Mr. Shakeel Ahmed Ramay, Director, China Study Center, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad, Pakistan

### **Topic: Covid-19 Pandemic Reshaping the China-US Competition**



Mr. Shakeel Ahmad has a strong background in, global governance, diplomacy, political economy, development economic, CPEC, BRI, stakeholder engagement, climate change security and diplomacy, climate change, UNFCCC negotiation working with parliamentarian, environment, food security, carbon financing and economic studies, Disaster Risk Management. He has strong and effective leadership skills. He

has a keen insight into the needs of developing countries in today's world. He is a member of different parliamentary and government committees including foreign relation committee, Defence Committee, Human right committee, Ministry of Foreign affairs, Human Rights etc. He also teaches negotiation skills, conflict transformation and digital diplomacy at Foreign Service Academy of Pakistan.

## <u>Dr. Naheed S. Goraya, Assistant Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies,</u> <u>University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan</u>

## <u>Topic: Collaborative Approach Worldwide to Counter Non-Traditional Security</u> <u>Threats</u>



Dr. Naheed S. Goraya, did her Post-Doctorate from V-Dem/ Deptt. of Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Currently she works as Assistant Professor at Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS), University of the Punjab, Lahore-Punjab, Pakistan. Her research project was published (as book) from Sweden "NATO Drawdown from Afghanistan: Political Implications for Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA)-

Pakistan". Her research interests are, Security Studies, Terrorism and Governance issues in South Asia. She has published 27 research articles, published in various research journals of international repute and 6 books on different contemporary/security and political issues.



## Prof. Sun Lu, Associate Professor, School of Government & Public Affairs, Communication University of China, Beijing, China

## <u>Topic of Speech: China's Approach in the Context of Rising Multi-Polarity and the Emerging Geopolitical Environment</u>



Prof. Sun Lu is Associate Professor of School of Government & Public Affairs at Communication University of China, Beijing. She is also the Deputy Director of Center of Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and World Affairs at Communication University of China, Beijing, China.



# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY, ANALYSIS**& KEY TAKEAWAYS



## Executive Summary, Analysis & Key-Takeaways (Based on the speeches of respective panelists)

### a. Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-Covid World

- The Covid-19 pandemic has marked the beginning of a new era that has seen a
  major shift in states' security paradigm. The emergence of new security
  challenges and geo-strategic dynamics have put grave challenges to the
  existing world order.
- Consequently, the transforming world order is characterized by emerging security alignments, realignments and threats from state and non-state actors.
   Moreover, with the onset of these major changes in the post-pandemic era, it is imperative to examine the global, regional and national implications for Pakistan.
- The Covid-19 pandemic has impelled the states to further focus on nontraditional security threats such as climate change, bioterrorism, cybersecurity, etc. Therefore, it is imperative to revisit the principles of international security in the post-pandemic world.
- The pandemic is certainly set to change the world's social, political, economic and strategic dynamics. It has challenged national and international institutions' efficacy of and engulfed the states in geopolitical risk.
- The Covid-19 pandemic has changed the patterns of cooperation and connectivity. In this aspect, the role of technology is vital to discuss. The technological transformation has also led to experience many changes.

## b. Revaluating the International Security Architecture in Post Covid-19 Era: Potential Areas and Policy Options for Eurasia

- In recent time, Eurasia- the West space stretching from Eastern Europe to Central and East Asia and from the Baltic Sea to the Indian Ocean, has become the crucial geo-economic chessboard of the 21st century.
- In this macro-region, Russia and China have been laying the foundation for an alternative post-liberal political and economic order. Due to the impacts of the



- Coronavirus, most states might redefine their approach towards connectivity across Eurasia in general and relations with China and Russia in particular.
- The Covid- 19 pandemic has accelerated digitalization in almost all aspects of society and the economy. Technological transformation and digitalization have increased productivity and represents a key component to future success and growth.
- In this aspect, more than 90% of firms have increased remote work, and 60% increased their online purchasing and services. Likewise, another important aspect is the global supply chain.
- The industries with strong global supply chains, such as aerospace, is an
  evaluation and are more resilient. Advanced companies from the world economic
  firm's and global lighthouse networks that are driving innovative business
  models, demonstrate a productivity improvement to create sustainable profitable
  growth.
- The transformation towards a sustainable economy seems possible but still requires massive commitment and action from all stakeholders. In this regard, a global partnership and cooperation are needed.
- In recent times, the world is moving towards multilateral cooperation. The global vaccine campaign has led many states to cooperate across the border in managing this common challenge and building resilience.

### c. The Covid-19 Pandemic: Reshaping the China-US Competition

- The pandemic has introduced two major challenges to the world. It has forced the
  countries to go for the lock-downs or the closedown of business, economic and
  industrial activities. Moreover, the lack of mobility of people has caused a
  slowdown in many industries including worldwide supply chains.
- However, technology has emerged as a solution for the stagnated economies and less mobility. The countries which are equipped with better technology-based supply chains have recovered quickly from the impacts of the Coronavirus.
- In this aspect, China is the first country that has emerged quickly out of pandemic's shocks with a rising economy. In 2020, it had a positive Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate.



- Technology is imperative in this era, where direct functioning of human beings is limited and everything is shifted to the digital/online system. Presently, new markets are being established for technological advancement and advanced setups.
- In coming times, technology would be a major element of competition between China and the U.S. and among other countries. Both countries lead the technological front, thereby the competition is likely to happen in more diverse fields.
- Technological transformation through Artificial Intelligence (AI) is perceived by many experts as a competitor for human beings. Human dependence on AI and Algorithms would replace its place in the market.
- Future conflicts with AI are expected in space because of the AI's policies allocating resources to compete in outer space or military space as a new dimension to the competition.
- America is using AI in the military capacity. The technological competition between China and U.S will lead to different blocks, forming division in human society due to their support of either country.
- Threat such as the pandemics, technological development and climate change have impacted every state. No country is immune from the implication of the common global challenges. Therefore, cooperation is vital and needed in every field to tackle common global threats.

### d. Security Challenges and Alignments in East Asia

- In recent times, there are four main challenges in East Asia. First are the non-traditional security issues (the maritime security issue and transnational organized crime). Maritime security will remain one of the most critical challenges to the security of maritime Southeast Asia.
- The NTS challenges are being focused on within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) frameworks. The Southeast Asian countries have introduced measures to enhance maritime safety and security in areas under their national jurisdiction.



- These measures include improving operational coordination among the navies and coast guards, creating information-sharing networks and accepting capacity building support from non-regional or littoral states.
- The second challenge is the humanitarian crisis. Southeast Asia has been
  preoccupied with the Myanmar post-coup sphere of conflict. Over 520 casualties,
  including, children and the suppressive military movements have reached the
  ethnic armed groups. They have declared support for the civil disobedience
  movement and the shadow government.
- Myanmar has been an extreme concern for Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia, and
  what was interesting though countries have reacted differently to the coup. In this
  regard, the drastic measures which have been only to impose targeted sanctions
  against some assets of Myanmar's military parts and suspension of diplomatic and
  trade engagements.
- If Myanmar becomes an arena for civil war, the risk of it being a failed state would be high. It will impose serious security challenges to regional stability.
- The third issue is security-related challenges of regional power politics. For example, the South China sea dispute, North Korea and the Taiwan Strait. These conflicts are the main concerning points in the perspective of Southeast Asia.
- The fourth issue is Covid-19 generated challenges. The vaccine supplies are becoming a competition rather than cooperation. This has grabbed much attention, especially with the countries aligning with other states to procure vaccine supply.
- Vaccine diplomacy, politicizing the global vaccine campaign and the great power politics are the major concerns for East Asia.
- ASEAN frameworks provide many opportunities to tackle the regional issues and move towards regional alignment. It provides an integrated platform to enhance cooperation with all regional or non-regional powers.
- The ASEAN outlook is also introduced in the concept of Indo-pacific. This is also creating a new pattern of cooperation and extended alignment. Moreover, it is more focused on the regional security architecture, where ASEAN is incorporating the paradigm that what Indo-pacific should be.



- In future, Southeast Asia will play a more prominent role in the regional political and security agenda. That is why ASEAN framework of cooperation has become a top priority for the balance of power and alignments.
- **e.** The great power politics and dominance would have strong implications for Southeast Asia. In this regard, the trust deficit should be curtailed, and through a wider regional alliance, countries should join hands to tackle common challenges.

### f. Redefining National Security in Context of Pakistan

- The economic, social and environmental vulnerabilities are directly related to national security. In this aspect, any course of events can pose a threat to the government, sovereignty or people's welfare.
- A complex crisis like natural disasters, violent conflicts, persistent poverty, health pandemics, international terrorism and sudden economic and financial downturns, impose hardships on a country's sustainable development, peace and prosperity.
- In this regard, three National Security challenges to Pakistan are Governance and Federal-Provincial discord, Human security and education. Their interconnection can pose severe problems in the future.
- The challenges between the federal-provincial were observed during the Covid-19 pandemic. A unified approach, integration of all institutions, and centralized and national response are the essential factors to tackle the challenge.
- The pandemic has made the human security situation very critical. There is a rise in the unemployment rate from 4.5% to 5.1% in 2021. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of -0.4% for the fiscal year of 2019-20 are serious threats surfacing in the past seven decades. A unified strategy is of utmost requirement to curb all the social and economic aspects of the pandemic.
- The education sector has also faced many challenges in recent times. The major reason for this has been the connectivity issues during online learning. The higher education system suffered the most.
- Moreover, on primary and secondary educational levels, there are also certain gaps that need to be filled by the government and academic institutions' efforts.



- There is a need to introduce a new support mechanism to tackle the devastating perils emanating from the pandemic. In this aspect, Pakistan needs to reshape a whole new paradigm of national security.
- The new patterns of cooperation have replaced the dysfunctional and traditional principles. Therefore, an integrated national, regional and international approach in combating the common threats requires more innovative patterns and investments in multiple domains-for example, human security, health infrastructures and increasing employment level.

### g. The Impact of Covid-19 on Security Dynamics of Asia

- Three major components are very significant to understand the security dynamics
  of Asia. First, the compartmentalization or classification of the Asian region. The
  region Asia is the complex portion of the world regarding security-related
  practices.
- The second fundamental aspect is the diversity of conflicts in the region. The region amid many issues and the changing dynamics of security or cooperation is vital to understand.
- The third aspect is the inability of regionalism. In the polarized region of the world, where diversity, instability and economic disparities are peaked, it is not easy to opt for one model of security in Asia.
- The Asiatic perspective to define security is challenging as Asia's security calculus is different in its nature because of the standardization of human security. With the changing bio-politics, the concept of governmentality is under change due to the post-Covid threats.
- The traditional understanding of security was primarily linked to the ability of the state to translate their elements of national power in the traditional paradigm. The idea was simple as long as there is state's ability to protect and preserve its tangible national interest and exercise control over its elements of national power.
- The contemporary understanding of security is built combining traditional and non-traditional security challenges, where tangible or intangible elements of power are essential to understand.



- The conventional ways need to be replaced by more modern and integrated approaches to counter the menaces of the Non-traditional security (NTS) threats.
   The NTS threats are impacting the major pillars of the national security of the countries.
- In this regard, the Covid-19 have impacted the human security paradigm of the states. Therefore, this era calls for vigilant policies and cooperation at a broader level to build resilience and formulate a robust framework to resolve the regional conflicts jointly.
- Interconnectivity is much needed for a revised security approach in Asia. There should be a strong architecture of security approach. Moreover, the regional challenges should be resolved via negotiations and alignment of regional partners by bridging the gap and enhancing mutual trust.
- The orthodox paradigm of security needs revision to meet new challenges and promote connectivity to move towards the grand vision of a community with shared future for mankind.



### ANNEXURE 1: TRANSCRIPT'S OF THE SPEECHES

### **Opening Remarks by**

## <u>Dr. Mehmood Ul Hassan Khan, Member Board of Experts, Centre for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad & Regional Geopolitical Analyst</u>

Thank you very much. Good afternoon and maybe early evening to some part of the world. On behalf of Centre for Global and Strategic Studies (CGSS), I welcome all my higher echelons and international strategic partners from China, Turkey, Indonesia, all the valuable participants and the mass media people on the today international webinar, title "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post Covid World." It my great pleasure and honour to personally welcome Mr. Shakeel Ahmad Ramay, whose articles have been inspiring for me and professor Dr. Iram Khalid, chairman of political science University of Punjab with which I have very profound memories. All the valuable participant, distinguished speakers and mass media, the global security has entered a phase of heightened and extended volatility with increased threat of civil unrest and a steady rise in instability across the globe. The COVID-19 condemning's has further disordered or disorganized existing global challenges further exposing the underlying causes of insecurity, social and economic inequality with overturn of racial tension and nationalism. Violent extremist group in shape of ISIS, TTP and many other international organization and organized crime gangs have exploited the pandemic in most regions around the globe. Dear friends and our strategic partners, the post COVID-19 period during 2020 and 2021 caused unprecedented security challenges which have further evolved with shifting geo-politics, complex and complicated armed conflict, large-scale public health emergencies, economic stresses, debt crisis, climate shocks deepening social and economic inequality, food security, mass immigration, populism and xenophobia, growing nationalism, disinformation and cybersecurity. Right from the beginning of this ongoing saga of Covid, CGSS has been highlighting deep concerns on the strategic disrespect of international humanitarian activities, exercise plans and human rights at regional as well as international levels through conducting meaningful and interactive conferences, webinars, seminars and publishing research paper on regular basis. To conclude the hierarchy of powers has changed and will continue to evolve. The world is not necessarily more dangerous but it has become more unstable and



unforeseeable. Knowledge grantees our autonomy in the decision making and enables our collective survival on earth. It is knowledge which must be provided as soon as possible to the decision makers to charge of internal and civil security in order to go from forecast to informed actions. We hope that today international webinar with all our strategic partners from China, Turkey and Indonesia will be a great grand success in terms of dissemination of information action suggestions and concrete plans to tackle the emerging security challenges in the days to come. Thankyou.

### Speaker 1

## Mr. Tolga Sakman, Chairman, Center for Diplomatic Affairs and Political Studies (DIPAM), Istanbul, Turkey.

## <u>Topic: Revaluating the International Security Architecture in Post-Covid-19 era:</u> <u>Potential Areas and Policy Options for Eurasia</u>

First of all, thank you for inviting me to this meaningful event i hope these days when we start talking about the post Covid era, will quickly carry us to good times. The security architecture in post covid-19 era is so large issue but I would like to say something about this and i hope at the end of my speech i will carry on something to you about this. As you know, in recent years Eurasia- the West space stretching from Eastern Europe to Central and East Asia and from the Baltic Sea to the Indian Ocean has become the crucial geoeconomic chessboard of the 21st century. In this macro region Russia and China have been laying the foundation for an alternative post-liberal political and economic order. Now, due to the impact of the Corona virus pandemic the most of the states might need to dramatically redefine its approach to connectivity across Eurasia in general as well as its relations with China and Russia in particular. The subject i want to talk about here today it has two pillars. First of all, for the post-Covid security architecture we now need to update what we understand when it comes to security. I will very briefly explain the development and steps to be anticipated and link the subject to Eurasia from here and first of all rising of digitalization. The Covid- 19 pandemic has to a passive acceleration of digitalization in all aspects of society and economy, which increases productivity and represents a key component to future success and growth. More than 90 percent of firms have increased remote work and 60 percent increased their online purchasing and or



services. Many executives reported that they moved 20 or 25 times faster than they could possibly before the crisis on things including building supply chain redundancies, improving data security and increasing the use of advanced technologies and operations. The second one is a global supply chain. The industries with truly global supply chain such as aerospace is an evaluation and a more resilient setup as part of their recovery efforts. Advanced companies from the world economic firm's global lighthouse network are demonstrating how digitally infused operations go beyond a productivity improvement to create sustainable profitable growth. They have engaged stable technology that supports business schools which is now a requirement to become an industrial leading digital organization. Their imagination of operation is leading to a return on their investment in a resilience as they find themselves capable of matching supply to demand amid continued system shocks and the third one is climate natural economy and private sectors. The risk report shows environmental risks including extreme weather, climate action failure and human environmental demand damage among the top risks in terms of likelihood and impact showing the need for action. McKenzie and company analyzers suggest that cost saving could offset the investment required and a net zero emission economy could yield a net gain of 5 million jobs across Europe. The transformation towards the sustainable economy does seems possible but still requires massive commitment and action from all stakeholders. The fourth one: "New skills, new jobs for future". The pandemic has both relevant and deepened social inequality in areas such as health and education with millions of the most vulnerable at risk of being left behind. In response to the economic consequences of the pandemic governments across Europe and Eurasia have announced unprecedented official packages as a reaction to the Covid-19 crisis. They are exceeding a 1, 350 billion Euros which is a sum that worth the support during the financial crisis. In addition, there must be a widespread effort to up and re-skill people to enable generation of the workers and employees to benefit adequate from growth areas in sustainability and digital. According to the World Economic Forums future jobs report 2020, an accelerated pace of automotion could disrupt 85 million jobs by 2025. Yet, 97 million jobs of the future could emerge with a new dimension of the labor between humans, machines and algorithms. The fifth and the last one: "A global partnership and cooperation". Covid- 19 has created a movement that could either increase fractures or reinforce multilateral collaboration. The crisis management over the past one year has made the challenges of uncoordinated



local and national approaches. All world has championed multilateral cooperation and Covid-19 response and demonstrated in the same way that global cooperation is another important agent of change. With vaccines becoming available at scale, it is up to the leaders in government and the private sectors across Europe and Asia to take the leap of the faith and the move even more from managing a crisis to shaping the new normal in order to become more resilient to future global sharks.

Now, that I have to come to topic of global situation and international cooperation, I can start talking about post-Covid security architecture specifically in Eurasia. In a world increasing the frame by great power rivalry, deepening ties between Moscow and Beijing have been one of the most salient features of the Eurasian and global politics in recent years. Yet, as the Corona virus pandemic unfolds, two competing views have emerged about state of Sino-Russian relations. The first content that the pandemic stands to strengthen China's grip on Eurasia, the persistence of Western sanctions against Russia, the investment generated by Chinese state driving economy, the acceleration of trends towards great power rivalry together suggests that Russia and Central Asia will continue to drift further into Beijing's orbit. Even in the realm of technology where Moscow has traditionally remained sensitive to preserving its sovereignty, the Kremlin has demonstrated an openness to Huawei's 5G network suggesting that an emerging patience at the heart of Eurasia could extend beyond geopolitics and economic into the digital realm as well. By contrast other observed that Moscow in an effort to preserve its status as an independent great power and return the degree of equilibrium to its foreign policy has begun to distance itself somewhat from Beijing. Supporters of this perspective contend that excessive dependence on China in the context of an emerging Sino-American Cold War trade into sideline Russia from the top tier of global powers, relegating Moscow to junior partner's statue in its relations with Beijing. Accordingly, they saw it as evidence Moscow's recent decision to skip a ministerial level dialogue on the Belt and Road Initiative chaired by Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, sending an ambassadorial level representative in the place of Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov. Both perspectives contain elements of truth. Claims that Russia's increasing economic dependence on China will lead to farmer's westernization are likely exaggerated. Although the economic component of Sino-Russian ties is a useful barometer for measuring the advancement of their strategic partnership, economic ties are not necessarily determinative of political relations. That said given Chinese rising power and continuous tension in Russia-West



relations, Moscow has little option but to enter its foreign policy in its intent with Beijing. This fact should inform Europe's engagement with Russia if it wishes to play a constructive role in stabilizing a global order in a transition. Geopolitically, Russia possibly stands to lose the most from Chinese rights particularly in its Central Asian backyard however Russia's persistence cultural ties to Eurasia and the Chinese Russian partnership elevates this concern. Later it is likely to remain stable in the medium turn as the two alike allies and jointly opposed to U.S liberal international order. China appears willing to take into account Russian sensitivities and its self-perception as a great power. As such, no new great game occurring in Eurasia. In the long run however as China becomes even more powerful and capable the asymmetry of their partnership and cultural differences will exacerbate tensions. Eurasia has been an early focus of Chinese outreach it serves as laboratory for Chinese new more outward looking foreign policy in general and the BRI specifically. In that regard, Europe should watch Chinese conduct in Eurasia closely. China will not copy and paste policies but its experience in Eurasia will undoubtedly inform Chinese approach to other regions of the world including Europe. Through the Chinese investments trade and economic weight, the geopolitical landscape in Eurasia is tilting towards China. BRI has been geopolitical all along the provides China with options should the confrontation with the U.S ever occur. The EU, the U.S and Japan are likely to retain their limited collective influence in Central Asia and as well as their considerable influence in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. To date, China has not treated the existing pecking order or multilateral institution but the AIIB, the SCO and future formats may increasingly do so. While China has established the basis for more active role in Eurasia it is still hesitant to be too heavy-handed at exerting influence with Chinese characteristics. However, with domestic cause to the more assertive and the necessary leverage to do so, China will be increasingly likely to explore its position to create a favorable political environment and to secure its investments. In the future, China based on the foundation late now Chinese competitive advantage may be further cemented and its political lobbying could lead to an increasing number of tendencies of Chinese companies. Through platform like the SCO and additional support at the UN through BRI states votes, China will increasingly try to shape norms and concepts on the global level. Moreover, the use of its currency and technology including for surveillance are expected to increase around the world. The political risk associated with the BRI especially in the eyes of Western vision not limited with this. While its goal to foster



stability sounds positive China and its state-centric approach is strengthening the incumbent regimes. Furthermore, China is often unwilling to acknowledge that sustainability and long-term growth in Eurasia require institutional reforms. China's security presence in Eurasia is also likely to rise particularly so it treats to stability and security most. Many states in Eurasia may increasingly look to Beijing to mediate or exert pressure in cases of tension over trade orders on water. In the event where China's immediate neighborhood becomes unstable and the border grows, China will be increasingly likely to act. Though China military measures would likely to be consultation with Russia the opening of the first official permanent military base in Eurasia will be evidence of Chinese increased assertiveness and a serious test for Chinese Russian relations. Prompted by the newly established eco-politics system outside actors like the EU, US and Japan have increased their visits and investments despite circular prioritizing only energy and security in the region. Moreover, all but lacking a vision and brand as catchy as the Belt, it pushes these actors to make their effort more visible and to emphasize the advantage of their approaches namely sustainability, quality of infrastructure and transparency. As such, the BRI has had put Eurasia on the map as more than an in between. So, what kind of environment does the West Russia-China-based development which started before the pandemic in Eurasia and continued by gaining different layers during the pandemic prepare for the post-pandemic era? I will underline three points for this. First connectivity across Eurasia will presently be less Sino centric and less driven by Chinese BRI supply and value chain will be more really regionally diversified and local sized. Despite this development China will never give up on the BRI nor reduce its scope. In the long-term China will be much more focused on digital green high value added and low carbon manufacturing. In the short term to mid-term, however, Chinese image as a supplier of crucial industrial goods, parts and components will suffer. Domestic economic difficulties of Eurasia can force Beijing to reassess its investment priorities. Secondly, the Corona virus crisis will not change the Kremlin's general foreign policy attitude towards Beijing, nor will it cause Moscow to concede much to the EU's normative model. Moscow will try to further prioritize economic, industrial and geostrategic sovereignty both at the national and regional level. Weakened by the combined effect of collapsing oil prices, reduce energy demand in Europe and the economic lockdown, Russia might however become even more technologically, economically and infrastructural dependent on China. More than in the past, it will



probably carefully consider the need to diversify its economic and diplomatic relations both within Asia and towards Europe. Amid the Corona virus pandemic, the Russian government is indeed concluding that it is not only losing maneuvering space with his Beijing but also that its economic dependence on China particularly in strategic technologies like 5G is growing. Meanwhile Beijing's ability to leverage its position and technologies is growing as well. Thirdly, the coupling production network as the global level will lead to re-coupling at the regional level and competition with China over supply value chains in the third market in Europe, Asia and Africa will increase. Decoupling their production network among China the U.S and potentially the EU will more likely lead to regional near shoring rather than a simply re-nationalization of production. In the long term, Europe will no longer be able to discuss its industrial autography as strategic autonomy. In fact, growth, technological innovation, industrial development green energy generation and consumer markets will still gravitate around the macro regional Eastern Eurasia and the Asia Pacific and eventually along the nexus of Southeast Asia, India, West Asia and Africa. Competition with China over supply and value chain markets and technologies as well as connectivity initiatives will increase along with the EU's need to increase external engagements. As my last sentences, in Eurasia, Central Asian Turkic republics are starting to act with a new vision and belief in this new situation which can be described as new steps for globalization or environment created by a pandemic. The proper positioning for the economic politics and sociology depends on all the powers that are active in the region especially Russia and China and their strategic activities. This new multi-actor era will be subject to the fury and worry of the current lead actors in the region. Thank you for your patience, attentions and listen.



### Speaker2

# Prof. Dr. Iram Khalid, Chairperson, Department of Political Science & IR, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan Topic: The Impact of COVID-19 on Security Dynamics of Asia

Thank you so much for giving me the opportunity to share my perspective with all of you. When I want to talk about this topic. There is basic three major components regarding to understand the security dynamics of Asia. Firstly, to understand compartmentalization of the region in Asia because Asia is really the complex portion of the world regarding the concept and regarding the practices related to the security. The second fundamental point regarding Asia is the diversity of conflicts in this region because there are variety of conflicts and to handle and to talk about those all conflicts. It is really very challenging and to talk about the changing dynamics of security. Definitely, when you have to talk about the compartmentalization of the region and when you have to link the diversity of conflict. Number third point is the inability of regionalism in this specific region. Although there are examples of regionalism in the Asian region but still, we must keep in mind that Asia is not a very good example or representation of the regionalism regarding to deal with the security threats whether they are traditional or whether even now they are mainly the non-traditional security threats in this region. The Asiatic perspective to define security is very challenging as the security calculus of Asia is very different in its nature because standardization of human security is difficult in this region as human security is citizen friendly concept. In this polarized region of the world, where diversity, instability and economic disparities are on its peak, hence it is very difficult to opt one model of security and even now the human security in Asia. In the presence of traditional framework of security to practice non-traditional security model is very challenging for the policymakers. The densest region of the world is having lots of conventional, territorial, military, ethno-based conflicts, extremism regime, instability with economic disparities pose challenges not only for the governments, but as well as for the state apparatus also. With the changing bio-politics the concept of governmentality is under change and the challenges of post-Covid world. Still as we are facing in Pakistan the critical phase of third wave of Covid in Pakistan. Now, we are suffering from it and we are losing so many lives on daily basis, the concept of



governmentality is under critical change. To develop a link between the governmentality and security is a biggest challenge for the academia and for the policy makers specifically. In the end definitely I want to add some of my conclusion or suggestion regarding this perspective. For today's discussion, i have divided my presentation on the basis of four questions. Firstly, that how security is different for states now? Second, what is the paradigm shift in Asia regarding security nowadays? Third, what is the future of security situation in Asia? In the end, I want to conclude my whole debate with giving some proper suggestions or some proper recommendations. Firstly, I want to highlight that how security is different for states now? Traditional understanding of security was primarily linked to how states were able to translate their elements of national power in the traditional paradigm. The idea was simple as long as there is ability of a state to protect and preserve its tangible national interest and exercise control over its elements of national power it was deemed to be secure. Contemporary understanding is built around a combination of traditional and non-traditional security challenges where, intangible or non-tangible security challenges end up compromising tangible interests by manipulating elements of national power beyond their classical understanding. Now threat calculus is also exceptionally diverse ranging from stock markets to speculative trade fluctuations, from cyber vulnerabilities to space competition and from unmanned military assets to artificial intelligence. Security has opted to assume a more commercial role where governments alone cannot ensure all manners of securitization and require private sector to take lead in some cases. My second question is that what were the major challenges of security in Asia during past decade? Since, Asia has witnessed major challenges in the past decades, polarization of ethnocentric orientation in the Middle East causing exaggeration of sectarianism and ethnic conflicts, principle among them being Yemen, Syria intensification of polarization between Palestine-Israel and then the civil disturbances in many parts of Middle East and then the heightened tensions between us Iran and Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, in the introduction of intensified kinetic operations in South Asia these compensates re-emergence of violence in Afghanistan during negotiation phase, surgical strikes and border violations between Pakistan and India. Also, China-India territorial conflicts flaring up of tensions. Then the China-U.S security calculus of South Asia through their strategic partnerships and their actions. These all were the major challenges in the last decade. Southeast Asia has also experienced the transformation of militarization of territories and then the enhancement of nuclear



threats from North Korea with their reliance on a US extend deterrence receives a shocks from Donald Trump's administration and then the original security calculus has been unable to evolve the sufficient scales of equivalent . Having this baggage of conflicts and larger tense situation under the COVID-19, adds to the additional layer to traditional and contemporary understanding of human security. Now, it requires states to constantly maintain vigilance over implemented SOPs and to ensure that where common freedoms were usually unrestricted, they are now regulated. This not only has a tendency to allow social institutions to opt for more resistance, it also compels states to choose a more authoritarian control. Pandemic also allows frequency of violent confrontations to surge due to the compartmentalization of social groups based on regulating safe environment in exchange of sacrificing opportunities of employment and livelihood. Where economically strong important nations might end up offering recess and relief packages as in the case of US and European Union. Financially weaker states would have to imply more strict regulations of civic life. This may get turned into the social unrest specifically in some of the Asian states those are financially not in a good position. Now the question is that what is paradigm shift in Asia regarding security? Human security specifically integration is a desired reapproach in the post Covid-19 environment can build within the overall security metrics of Asia. Housing a significantly large population coupled with exceptional development challenges, Asian understanding of security is fast becoming compartmentalized due to how each region, Middle East, Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia interpret the indigenous concept of traditional and non-traditional security in comparison to how they adhere to standards set by global stakeholders like US, China and Russia. But actually, they are thinking about the future security concerns of Asia. The human security despite being an emergent threat perception in Asia has yet to receive some degree of attention with respect to being part of the security architecture of this region. Now the question arises that what is future of security situation in Asia? If current trends and choices are kept in due consideration to be the standard of understanding of security in Asia, a very volatile and vulnerable premises can be imagined. Nuclear flashpoints, civil disturbances, environmental degradation, demographic challenges, ethnocentric right-wing tendencies and ideological conflicts are some of the non-traditional threat perceptions connecting directly to traditional, economic, political and territorial issues causing immense amalgamation of the two. Maintaining a conventional conservative security metrics would allow socio-political or



socio-economic melt downs and implosions leading to challenges in maintaining even the least degree of human security. While concluding my perspective regarding the situation of security specifically in context of Asia, I want to say that Asia is in the effort of evolving shift from traditional to non-traditional security model. Interconnectivity is much needed for a revised security approach. No general architecture security approach is there in Asia because of the polarization and compartmentalization of issues. Regimes have to perform for equality and equity of their citizens. Priorities may be redefined by Asia the regimes and the policy makers specifically in the developing parts of this region. Asia needs a citizen friendly human security model for humanity but it is still a long way to get the success. In this complex situation the model of governmentality must be changed. The orthodox paradigm of security needs revision to match new challenges of geo-economic and geo-strategic changes to promote connectivity and for the sake of shared future of community. Thank you.

### Speaker3

## <u>Dr. Adam Saud, Dean, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Bahria University, Islamabad, Pakistan</u>

## <u>Topic: Shifting of Focus from War on Terror towards the Strategic Competition</u> <u>between US, China and Russia</u>

I am grateful to the CGSS for providing me this opportunity to talk about this very important issue. I am really grateful that you have invited so many important speakers on this important conference. I would start with the post-cold war international global political scenario. We know that after the culmination of this cold war, the unipolar moment it began, and the US it became a de facto in charge of all the global affairs. But we have seen that a paradigm shift, happened after the 9/11 attacks and it proved to be detrimental to the US prestige and for the very first time after the post-cold war US supremacy was challenged in fact. Now, this situation forced the US hand as it had to act to restore its prestige and retreat its global might. Thus, the US launched operation enduring freedom initiating the global war on terrorism now where powers across the



globe supported the US invasion in Afghanistan. However, we see that right after two years when America invaded Iraq at that time most of the countries in the world did not support the American invasion into Iraq. Henceforth, after this Iraq war we have seen that there have been you know numerous operations which were conducted throughout the Middle East and we know that still there are crises which are going on. However, we see that after 2008 the war on terrorism, it dominated the global politics and you know that the US it was basically leading the war on terrorism and it was in the limelight till 2008 and there is no doubt that the war on terrorism it tarnished the image of the US as a world leader. But still as there cease to exist viable alternatives to the US, the states across the world they put their faith in the US leadership. However, the 2008's credit crunch crisis they turned out to be a watershed moment for the US supremacy as then the US was forced to resolve its domestic economic problems at the expense of its global role. Now this situation in turn it gave way to other powers particularly China which greatly capitalized by filling the wide created in the geo-economic realm at that time. Now, China had moreover emerged as the bigger partner in the geo-economics realm which in turn brought it immense geopolitical capital recently. Resultantly, a threat to the US hegemony it emerged now giving way to the confrontational great power competition between US and China. Now you know under such circumstances and the global political development at that time Russia also took advantage of the relatively weak US position and it started to exert its dominance in its periphery especially, the East European continent. This in turn reinvigorated hostilities among the US and Russia because historically Europe is considered as closest ally to the US. In a nutshell, as the world entered into a second decade of the 21st century. As far as geopolitics is concerned, the war on terrorism was now relatively redundant and the major focus it was shifted towards the global power competition among primarily US and China. But obviously you know Russia also had a role into it. Now if you look at the pre-2008 financial crisis most of the US policy makers they had firm belief that China will eventually join US led liberal world order and emerge as a statistical power willing to work under the leadership of the US. The massive engagement was witnessed between America and China at that time. But to the surprise so far US was concerned when the opportunity it presented itself to China, we see that in post 2008 crisis China for went it's passive geopolitical and geostrategic posture and adopted a far aggressive or offensive or proactive stance which openly defied many core principles of the US promulgated order. In its quest to attain this status, basically it was



all in the quest to obtain the status of a great power. Now you know the situation it made US realize its miscalculation vis-à-vis China. Now it forced American policy makers to devise a new strategy primarily that was a more aggressive strategy to contain the Chinese rise and prolong its dream as a sole superpower. So, keeping in view this situation which emerged after the 2008 financial crunch there were certain important strategies which the US policy makers the launch in order to contain the rise of China or the threat of China. The most important at that time was the favour to Asia policy which was launched in 2011 by Obama administration. It was considered as the first comprehensive US foreign policy initiative to contain Chinese rise and influence in the whole region particularly the Asian region. Now the major objective of this policy was to substantially enhance US influence in the Asia-Pacific region especially in the context of ever-increasing regional power and influence of China. If you look at the main components of this policy, they included increasing US military footprints in the region then enhancing the economic ties with the region why initiatives such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation as well as increased engagement in the region through bilateral ties and with regional organizations especially the ASEAN and then the East Asia summit. Then you know another important initiative under the pivot to Asia policy that was the military rebalancing and if we look at this policy though, we can see that the military balancing policy is primarily focused upon strengthening cooperation with the traditional allies of the US. They also wanted to establish new military partnerships in the Asia Pacific region. We know that at that time US not only decided to station more troops in this Asia-Pacific Region but it also readjusted the existing military deployments. Similarly, you know the military strategy report that was announced in 2012, the department which released at that time it said that the US at that time decided to position 60 percent of its naval assets within the next decade under the US pacific command and to improve its troops combating capabilities. Obviously, you know in this Asia-Pacific region. It also says that USA shall invest 12 billion dollars to upgrade the Guam military base as well as speedily construct other several surrounding military bases. This intensified its cooperation with South Korea especially when the North Korea conducted its nuclear test in 2013. In addition to these initiatives and developments the US solidified its military relation with Japan by the forward deployment of military assets and then you know deploying the Osprey aircraft to Okinawa and including the Senkaku islands in the US-Japan security agreement. Similarly,



the American president Obama at that time he announced not only to include the network war into the joint defense treaty with Australia but also reinforce Darwin by developing 200 to 250 US marines. Moreover, the US increased the number of troops and surveillance aircrafts in the Philippines as well as deployed four top-notch combat ships in Singapore. The second important initiative under that strategy was the trans-pacific partnership. Now the Obama administration you know he established a US centric economic mechanism for the Asia-Pacific region which significantly threatened China's influence or it challenged China's influence in the form of this trans-pacific partnership. It was February 2016 when this Trans- Pacific Partnership a free trade kind of treaty it was signed amongst the 12 states. These states they included Canada, Brunei, Australia, Peru, Malaysia, Singapore, Chile, Japan, Vietnam, New Zealand, Mexico and obviously the United States. Basically, this treaty it was designed with the objective of developing a framework that will greatly economically integrate the Asia-Pacific region and so far, China is concerned you know it had a pessimist view of this treaty. It considered it to be a US counter balancing mechanism for the Chinese influence within the region and to curb or to contain the Chinese peaceful economic development. Now, Chinese fears they were kind of legitimized when the American president Obama he stated that we cannot let states such as China to write the rules of the world economy. That was you know an initiative. The third you know important initiative under this initiative was diplomatic maneuvering. When Obama administration particularly focused upon diplomatically rebalancing the Asia-Pacific region which could have favored the US. So, what happened that the US proactively engaged in the already existing Asia-Pacific regional multilateral mechanisms? For example, since the US had signed the treaty of enmity and cooperation with ASEAN in 2009, it had adopted a wide range of strategies to expand its presence in the region and it intensified its engagement with the regional organizations by creating you know other forums like the ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asia Summit. The US by participating into the regional institutions not only guaranteed cooperation and matters like you know disaster management and nuclear non-proliferation but it also ensured its domination in setting the agenda of these institutes and manipulating these institutes or these organizations or initiatives to attain its political goals as well. Then we see that a trade war that started between America and China. We know that for a long period of time you know maybe since the last two decades the American policy makers, they have been raising certain concerns even publicly about the Chinese trade Policies.



The Washington basically it has frequently criticized China's high tariff rates on selected import items especially automobiles and auto parts. These high tariffs like 25 tariffs on automobiles which were later reduced to 15 percent were enforced to lessen the imports of the country. In turn obviously they ensure no trade impedance. Furthermore, China is also far more restrictive to foreign direct investment as compared to any other developed country in the world. It only allows those foreign investors to invest in China whom are willing to join ventures instead of doing their autonomous or independent businesses. As in this way the foreign investors are compelled to transfer technology that is beneficial for China's industry in the long run. Also, the US repeatedly has criticized China to go out of the way to provide favorable atmosphere for its state-owned enterprises, even at the cost of hindering the rules of a free market. All these you know aforementioned Chinese policies and strategies have escalated tension in the global economy generally and the US china economic relations particularly. The continuous discriminatory economic and investment policies which America thinks by China forced America to reconsider and evaluate its trade relations with China as US faced as a very trade deficit with China that is approximately that is around 400 billion dollars you know in 2018. It is kind of all-time high trade deficit so for America and China bilateral trade relations are concerned. Now in response to these exploitative economic policies and to even the playing field in 2018, the Trump administration it divides hefty tariffs on the Chinese imports. Initially there were 30 percent tariffs on certain you know commodities like washing machines and solar panels. But later in March 2018, it imposed 25 tariffs on Chinese imports of approximately 50 billion dollars particularly on electronic items. Furthermore, we know that the Huawei Company that is a Chinese telecom giant, there had been certain problems where this company was. I mean the American you know policy makers and the people they say that there had been certain frauds, certain problems which were created by Huawei. But you know basically what happened that the contracts or which were signed between Huawei and America and its allied they were terminated especially regarding the 5g network. Then ZTE that is another Chinese telecom firm it was also penalized by the US and it had to pay one billion dollars as a fine to continue its operations. Now, you know all these economic crisis and problems, forced we see that president Trump basically tried to force China to comply and give in to the demands which were raised by America. If you look at a little back, a little bit background passed the key reason behind constant failure of US economic diplomacy towards China was due



to lack of consensus on its objectives. But this time you know when these this trade war it started, not only the Trump administration has put forward a comprehensive list of demands to China, especially you know the policy reforms, but it also forced China to completely submit to conclude a fair-trade deal with America as well. China terms all these policies and initiatives as highly unrealistic to completely change its trade system with the US within such a short span of time and in retaliation China has also implemented 180 billion Tariffs on imports from China. If you look at the recent report by Moody's, it depicted that in the fiscal year 2019 and 2020, China's economy faced tremendous pressures as tensions with the US grow. The Chinese economy grew by six percent a little less that was predicted that was six-point seven percent during all these times. Then another important initiative is the national security strategy that was charted out by America in 2017 and this strategy for the very first time, it declared that China is a revisionist power and it is opposing the US vision of free and open Indo-pacific. Then in 2019 the national defense strategy, it was also initiated by America and it says that China is a strategic competitor using predatory economics to intimidate its neighbors while militarizing features in the South China Sea. Moreover, it also says that Russia has violated the borders of nearby nations and pursues veto power over the economic diplomatic and security decisions of its neighbors. Then we see that you know China also initiated certain policies to challenge or to counter the American initiatives and we know that the most important out of these initiatives is the Belt and Road Initiative actually that was the One Belt and One Road initiative that was started in 2013 and we know that around 100 trillion dollars is the estimate of this initiative and it connects know almost the whole world. Basically, this Belt and Road Initiative it tries to connect China with almost all the important trade markets. It also has given you know positive vibes and positive reactions in the whole world where we see that the countries in Asia, Africa and even you know in the European continent they are more receptive towards this BRI project. Under this BRI project the next initiative was the establishment of Asian infrastructure and investment bank. The analysts they say that the Chinese initiative to start AIIB is actually to counter or to challenge the Bretton Woods System that regulates the international economy and trade. In the post second world war world and we know that under this Asian infrastructure investment bank, loans have been given to many countries which are part and parcel of the BRI project. Then in order to counter in order to balance the American global hegemony or global emissions we see that the strengthening of Shanghai



Cooperation Organization also started and we know that China and Russia both are the key members of this Shanghai Cooperation Organization. We know that India and Pakistan they have been given full-fledged membership and they have been brought into the orbit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. So, this is also one of the initiatives because in the Western academia and in the western you know policy makers, they think that shanghai cooperation organization is a kind of counter organization to NATO. But we know that it is not the case. But again, in expanding this affair of Shanghai Cooperation Organization and further strengthening it, is obviously to you know balance the American global supremacy. Then we see that the last year a very important initiative that was taken that was the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, where more than dozen countries of the Asia Pacific region has it has you know invited even the traditional allies of America for example Australia, New Zealand, Philippines and South Korea especially. Now they have also joined their hands under this umbrella and we know that around 30 percent of world population it lives in this particular RCEP and it is the world's largest free trade regime. Then another important initiative is the BRICS where again China and Russia both are there. There are certain demands um from the forum of BRICS where you know one of the most important demands is the multipolarity in international politics. For Russia's concern, Russia has also you know taken certain steps, i would quickly go through, to you know to challenge the American supremacy particularly in the European continent. We know that the Russians they militarily intervene into Georgia in 2008 and they also intervened militarily in Ukraine in 2014 and we know that in case of Ukraine they were successful to annex Crimea with Russia. Ukraine was supported by America and its allies but Russia came out as a success and victor out of these crises. Then the Eurasian Economic Union is one of the important initiatives that has been taken by Russia in order to integrate the ex-soviet space economically. Obviously, we know that the America and European Union they are also very much proactive to integrate the exsoviet space into their economic and economic order in fact. So, Eurasian Economic Union it was also launched and the last one is we have seen that what happened in Syria. The Russian authorities sent their forces to help out Assad regime in Syria and we know that although if we say you know the Russian, they were not successful, we can also say that they did not lose as well because Assad regime is still over there and kind of stability it has been attained in Syria. If conclude I would say that yes, the world is in transition and we have seen that the American supremacy, it has been challenged not only by China but



Russia and certain other powers as well and we see that in a decade time or so things would be clearer and we would be in a better position to understand which kind of international political structure is going to happen in future. Thank you very much.

### Speaker 4

## <u>Dr. Shafiah F Muhibat, Director of International Relations, Center for Strategic and</u> <u>International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, Indonesia</u>

### **Topic: Security Challenges and Alignments in East Asia**

A very good afternoon to everyone. Thank you for the invitation for me to join this forum. I have been enjoying all the remarks given by the previous speakers and i think that this forum is very important in raising very important issues related to security in many regions in the world. I have been asked to discuss about the regional security challenges and alignment in East Asia but I need to make a disclaimer that most of the views, I will present will mainly come with a Southeast Asian perspective because you know security issues in the Northeast part of Asia and then the Southeast part of Asia, even though we are sharing the same, East Asian region are very much distinct in nature. Thus, the challenges and patterns of alignment would also be different. Most of the views that present would be mostly from Southeast Asian perspective. I will begin with making a list of some of the current regional security challenges in East Asia. There are many of course, we have heard about you know the various security challenges in other parts of Asia and i do think that we share some of this security challenges but I would like to point out for today four issues that I think at this point in time would remain as the top priority for a lot of countries in East Asia.

The first one is still non-traditional security issues with this I would like to highlight the maritime security and transnational organized crime. The second one is humanitarian crisis. The third one is security issues related to great power politics and the fourth one is Covid- 19 related security issues. Let's go one by one of these four issues. First on maritime security. Maritime security will remain one of the most critical challenges to the security of maritime Southeast Asia. In general, non-traditional security issues have been the focus of regional cooperation so we have heard a lot of the previous speakers



mentioning about ASEAN and security cooperation within the ASEAN frameworks. Non-traditional security has generally been the focus of this, nonetheless there are of course the more traditional security issues, territorial disputes, major power competition including over maritime space have also brought maritime security to the center of regional affairs. Most importantly non-traditional maritime security issues are also expected to become more complex in the coming years despite regional efforts which I will describe in a moment.

Despite regional efforts to combat criminal acts at sea the issue is far from being eliminated and seems to return. We have to admit that much actually has been achieved in the fight against maritime security threats in particularly in Southeast Asia over the past few decades. Since the early 2000s, Southeast Asian countries have introduced measures to enhance maritime safety and security in areas under their national jurisdiction including improving operational coordination among the navy's and coast guards, creating information sharing networks and accepting capacity building support from non-regional states. If you see the statistics, there used to be an increase in the number of reported incidents throughout the 1990s but by the mid of 2000s the numbers have gone down due to a lot of efforts from the from the littoral states with the assistance of also non-regional states. Now, however since 2010 until now some of the numbers are increasing again. So, since 2010 the number of reported incidents of armed robbery at sea in some areas of Southeast Asia has steadily rise again. The number of attacks has increased, the number of incidents has increased. While at the same time actually the number of incidents globally have decreased. So, one decade ago this was an interesting development and we saw it as a very worrying trend. Even though the majority of the incidents are comparatively minor, since 2013 there was an increase in hijackings and kidnappings which was a very worrying trend at that moment. Fast forward until now attacks continue to occur, at some stage around 2016-2017, it was moving at a more alarming rate so the littoral states had to come up with new alternatives and new initiatives in combating these problems. In some parts of Southeast Asia some of the issues have been moderately handled. At present time you will also see a number of incidents in particular in the South China Sea. We will discuss more on the South China Sea later on but at this point it is one of the main concerns in the modern time Southeast Asia and South China Sea will remain to be one of the hot spots.



On the second set of security challenge, I mentioned about the humanitarian crisis and right now since the first of February, Southeast Asia has been preoccupied with the Myanmar post-coup Sphere of conflict. Up until yesterday, there have been over 520 casualties including children and the military suppressive movements have reached to some of the ethnic armed groups who have declared support for the civil disobedience movement and the shadow government. Myanmar has been a very strong concern of all of us in both Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia and what was interesting though countries have reacted differently to the coup. Some chose to stay silent; others offer sympathy to the people and condemnation to the acts of violence but some have also offering very strong condemnation to the acts of violence. As of now the most drastic measures taken has only been to impose targeted sanctions against some assets of the parts of the Myanmar's military, suspension of diplomatic and trade engagement. These are among the most drastic measures but of course seeing the spiral downwards trend happening in Myanmar, |I think a lot more measures need to be taken. The medium to long-term challenge basically this is an instability to Southeast Asia, if Myanmar becomes an arena for civil war and there is also the risk of it being a failed state, there is a serious challenge to the stability of the region.

Next on the list is security issues related to great power politics and to this I can name at least three. I mentioned South China Sea of course and then there is always of course North Korea and also lately there is an increased tension in the Taiwan Strait. Even though these are some of them very long running in history issues, the three of these issues it is still a great concern for us especially if you are looking at it from the perspective Southeast Asia. We depend greatly on the stability of the region so if any of these three issues are increasing in terms of tension it will have great implications to Southeast Asia as well and then so we are all in this region very much concerned about what goes on in South China sea, in North Korea and then tensions in the Taiwan straits. The last one on my list in the security challenges is Covid-19 related security issues and i can pinpoint two issues here but all related to still the uncertainty of the global vaccine supplies. There is a strong sense that at first when Covid-19 happened all countries are scrambling towards creating the suitable response towards the pandemic. What is now worrying i think at least again from the viewpoint of Southeast Asia is that vaccine supplies are becoming more of a competition rather than cooperation and this has created a lot of attention especially of course with the countries aligning with certain



countries in terms of procuring vaccine supply and so on. With this in mind vaccine is not only a health issue, it is not only a pandemic related issue but it is also related to a lot of other matters when it comes to great power politics as well and that is I think a concern for us in East Asia.

Now looking at these four lists of security challenges and then the question that i was asked also to answer what the security alliance alignments are. Looking at the whole of East Asia; I would like to point out basically four issues. First is back to the great power politics, U.S-China is dominating security issues in the region that is for sure but what is interesting is that some Southeast Asian states are U.S allies that is true. Some are leaning towards China but in general as whole countries in Southeast Asia tend to refuse to choose sides. If you look at there is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the ASEAN, continues to point out that we are basically neutral in terms of the great power politics. We are not choosing sides between the US and China but then you have to admit that you know within the individual countries in ASEAN there are tendencies to leaning towards one of the major powers. The second point I would like to highlight is emphasizing on the ASEAN frameworks. ASEAN frameworks basically forging cooperation with all external powers so again back to still related to my first point is basically that Southeast Asian states instead of # claiming alliance with a particular major power. It seems that we are more inclined to creating our own arena for dialogue and engaging all major powers. That is why ASEAN has the various frameworks, I think it has been mentioned here and there you know by the previous speakers as well there is the ASEAN plus three, the East Asia summit, the ASEAN regional forum and so on. Basically, these are efforts from Southeast Asian countries to forge cooperation with all external partners. By choosing not to create a specific alliance with one major power we choose to actually create an arena for dialogue and forum for dialogue for all countries interested. In this way we are trying to exercise the convening power to invite all external powers into joining you know our efforts in Southeast Asia.

The third point I would like to raise is the concept of Indo-Pacific. This has been interesting since I think at least 2017 when the U.S first introduced their Indo-pacific strategy. It has been the buzz word throughout what we used to call the Asia Pacific. Everybody is using Indo-pacific now one way or the other. The US introduced their Indo-pacific strategy and then the quad of course. Japan has their own free and open Indo-pacific. Australia has been using Indo-pacific even longer than in their documents and



they have their own understanding of what Indo-pacific is. India would have its own strategy and security and growth for all the in the region. China is with still with their BRI and then ASEAN decided that we basically we are concerned about the Indo-pacific being an arena for security competition. So, we decided to introduce our own ASEAN outlook on Indo-pacific. So, this buzzword is also creating a new pattern like you can call it an alignment but you can also call it sort of like security architecture in the region where ASEAN is trying to create its own understanding of what Indo-pacific should be.

Now, I think my last point here should be what are the general expectation of countries in East Asia or to be more specific from my point of view would be you know general expectation of countries in Southeast Asia. Basically, what is interesting is that like I said even though great power politics is still very much dominating security in the region. There are of course expectations that Southeast Asia would be able to play a bigger role actually in deciding the security agenda in the region. So, the expectation is actually for the major powers to actually include countries in Southeast Asia into being in charge in some of the more important security issues in the region. What exists is that for us there is also an attempt to define domestic needs into foreign policy objectives. That is what countries in ASEAN have been doing but I think on the top of it all Southeast Asian countries have a strategic interest to balance its engagement with major powers. Currently, there are priorities that these countries have but basically having a say in the future of the regional order is on top of our priorities. Lastly, I think also on the agenda is we would like to use this as an opportunity to recover trust and dependability because the ongoing mistrust like I said a great power politics have strong implications for Southeast Asia. Building back the pace of relations, recovering trust among states is very important and I think these are one of the strategies in responding to some of the challenges that exist in the region. I will stop here and thank you so much for the opportunity.



### Speaker 5

## <u>Dr Aiysha Safdar, Head of International Relations Department, Kinnaird College</u> <u>for Women University, Lahore, Pakistan</u>

#### **Topic: Redefining National Security in Context of Pakistan**

First of all, my appreciation to the Centre for Global and Strategic Studies, Islamabad for organizing the conference on this amazing topic which is," Evolving Global Security Challenges in Post-Covid World." Secondly, I would like to say thank you for inviting me today and |I am really honored and humbled to be a part this extraordinary, illustrious panel. We all had some amazing wonderful discourses by Mr. Toga Sakman, our very own Dr. Khalid, Dr. Adam Saud and Dr. Shafia. Today the topic of my discussion is, "Re-thinking National Security in Context of Pakistan: Post Covid-Scenario." Ladies and gentleman, decades of thinking have led mainstream scholars to think that a National Security is an activity, phenomenon, or course of events that poses a danger to either the existence of a form of government or the welfare of the people of a sovereign state'. This why the political elites, even in the developing countries, did not perceive the military threats to be the only real and significant challenges to national security. There is an eventual realization that economic, social and environmental vulnerabilities that are directly related to national security.

Here I will be quoting "Human Security Handbook" of the United Nations. It says that: 'For many people, today's world is an insecure place, full of threats on many fronts. Natural disasters, violent conflicts, chronic and persistent poverty, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns imposed significant hardships and undercut prospects for sustainable development, peace and stability." It says, "Such crises are complex, entailing multiple forms of human insecurity. When insecurities overlap, they can grow exponentially, spilling into all aspects of people's lives, destroying entire communities and crossing national borders. My talk today will focus on only three of the most significant National Security challenges that amongst several others could well define future contours of National Security in Pakistan. The first one is; Governance and Federal Provincial discord. The second one; Human Security. The third one is; Education. It is necessary to say that the three cannot be taken as an exhaustive list of challenges. There are interconnected and overlapping areas but,



in my reckoning, if combined together, these pose serious threat and could snowball into larger problem. So, we can say that Covid-19 has exposed vulnerabilities in these areas most conspicuously. So, we will discuss one by one now all these three national security challenges that I have just highlighted. The first is governance and federal provincial discord. Crisis on the scale of Covid-19 usually require a centralised and national response and also a unified approach to deal with. But what has happened is a fact that there was a huge gulf observed between Federations-Provincial authorities in terms of their approaches. Political statements, blame and counter blame aggravated the situation. Instead of harmony and a consensual approach, a wide discord between the federation and federating units was witnessed, at least in the initial phases of the pandemic. The first confirmed case of Covid emerged in Karachi on 26 February 2020. The pandemic quickly spread to the rest of the country. Following the first confirmed case and its aftermath, the common denominator the travel and return of these patients from neighbouring Iran after pilgrimage. The border quarantine arrangements in Baluchistan were reportedly slack and many pilgrims evaded or dispersed to native cities within Pakistan. They did this without screening or test. It had negative impact and reflected poor quarantine and administrative arrangements. By end of second week of March 2020, the number of Covid infected persons had soared to hundreds. Without a Federally driven approach, Covid imperilled the lives health workers, led to increase in cases, and filled the hospitals to capacity. More worrisome fact is that most of the people who are currently in corridors of power were themselves disregarding the basic SOPs. There was no centrally driven media campaign either. As a consequence, the issue became politicised. The country was rife with conspiracy theories of all kinds as many refused to accept Covid as a fatal disease. As morgues started filling up and health infrastructure came under extreme strain, only then NCOC (National Command and Operation Centre) came into being. With third wave now raging across Pakistan, the total toll of deaths, number of infected people are very high and disappointing.

This takes me to the second point which is human security. There are few statistics that I would like to quote to augment my point. In April 2020, IMF predicted the country's unemployment rate to rise to 5.1 percent in 2021 which earlier was 4.5 percent in 2020 due to Covid. Last year, World Bank predicted the country's overseas remittances are expected to decline by 23 percent. Per capita income fell from US\$ 1625 to US\$ 1325. The



GDP growth rate for fiscal year 2019- 20, has reached -0.4%. It was very alarming that it fell negative in seven decades the first time in Pakistan's history. You see that all these indicators are very alarming a country like us where it is being considered already as a struggling economy. It adds to grievances of the unemployment rate and poverty figures. The house holds who had been relying on daily wages faced a serious blow. In all these instances IMF had predicted that last year 40% Pakistani people would be living below the poverty line after the pandemic stuck. A few more statistics that I want to quote here to make my case strong with respect to human security parameters is that over the past two years or so, the price of wheat flour has gone up from Rs 35 a kilo to Rs 75 a kilo, sugar from Rs 55 a kilo to Rs 90 a kilo and electricity from Rs. 11 a unit to Rs. 28 a unit and all these matter to common household. The most worrisome is the number of people falling below poverty line, from 69 million in 2018 and now almost 87 million.

Covid- 19 is a sharp wakeup call because it has pushed millions of people in Pakistan into unemployment and consequently poverty. There is an urgent need for a unified strategy that can curb the social and economic aspect of pandemic. There is a need to have an improved health care system as well. When pandemic struck, Pakistan did not have an Operational Infection Prevention and Control Program. Even NCOC (National Command and Operation Centre) formation itself was a delayed step taken. I will not be taking enough time which is why I am shifting to point number three which is education. Next is the education sector, especially the higher education sector which suffered the most. The primary and secondary education was already in poor state, an estimated 20 million children out of school in Pakistan did not augur well on United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Also, in the urban centres' there were business with higher education. Despite the fact that there was a quick switch to online systems, there was connectivity issues, internet accessibility, availability, connection error issues. Then the conduct of examination became an issue, teaching methodology became an issue, cheating cases became an issue. So, there was a long list of grievances that we had to deal with respect to education sector. In a nutshell, what we can say is from disruption in a supply chain to production, to these new forms of working and learning, our lives are shifting to a new normal despite the fact that shift to online learning is welcoming, but it is very slow. This is why according to UNICEF Pakistan; the pandemic has created a learning crisis.



I would briefly allude to impact of Covid on Militaries as well. In terms of national security, although militaries continued to discharge their operational and other duties, the manpower or the personnel are not completely immune. In case of United States and France, major combatants like aircraft carriers had to abandon their deployment in order to disembark infected crew. So, these are the kind of grievances that we and the future generations will have to face. We need a good support mechanism to deal with this situation. This brings me to the conclusion and I would conclude by saying that as and when it recedes, Covid will leave a legacy or it will in its wake a deadly trail of death and destruction in the world. It has adversely affected the mankind on planet forever. It will never be the same again. Those who thought this to be some conspiracy of the West or ignored initial warnings did a great disservice to the nation. What we can do now is that for developing countries like Pakistan, will have to reinvent a whole new paradigm of national security. In this model geo-economics will have to trump the long followed traditional notion of geo-strategy. Improved relations with neighbouring countries, a regional approach to combat pandemic, more investment in human security, health infrastructure and creating employment opportunities will have to be given top priority. Thank you so much.

### Speaker 6

## Mr. Shakeel Ahmed Ramay, Director, China Study Centre, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad, Pakistan

#### **Topic: Covid-19 Pandemic Reshaping the China-US Competition**

Thank you for the invitation. I will try to be brief as much I can. First of all, when we look and talk about what there is a future change in competition, so what are the elements? What difference we can say that a pandemic has introduced which we can say there is a new competition? If we talk about the existing thing, we can talk about the issues are already here. We can talk about American's acquisition of China. We can say issues already here but the thing is Americans they are accusing China on the basis of human rights, democracy or something, their self-assumed criteria's. China is already under acquisition. But when we talk about pandemic what pandemic has brought different



thing? We have to keep in mind two things before moving forward. Number one pandemic introduced two challenges which human history never have been seen or witnessed. Number one, closures of economy. Pandemic has forced the countries to go for lock down or the close down of business economic activities and industries. So, that means one issue which human have never witnessed that was the closest of economy. Second, check on mobility and you know that across the world and there was a lockdown so more than seven billion people they were forced to go for lack of mobility, they were confined in their own homes at their own places that again was a different thing we never witnessed. These are important in the present day because if you talk about the present-day globalization process, they are talking about two very important thing one is the mobility. They are talking about we can be mobile and we can have the means to be mobile so quickly from one side of the world to the other side of the world. But due to covid that mobility gone. You have seen the tourism industry; they have witnessed a huge loss. You can see so there was an introduction in the interaction of people which was considered essential for the business. So, mobility was down. Second on the mobility front as somebody has earlier speaker, they also spoke about it, the supply chains. Worldwide supply chains are interconnected and most of you can say the trade of what is happening to the supply chain, I think it was a rough estimate more than 80 percent trade across the world is happening to the supply chains. There are run by the different actors but due to the Covid we have witnessed a check to larger extent. Why? Because the supply chains were dominated by the human interaction or the human control especially in the developing part of the world. If we look at the statistics, they were talking about the supply chain in the developing countries and the countries like Pakistan, 85 percent of the transactions happening through the supply chains by engaging human. When you are engaging human that's when there is a huge potential of the spread of Covid. So briefly two things happen, closures of economy and mobility. What came as a result of that? What came a new in this scenario? Technology emerged as a solution. If we look at today, we are sitting on a webinar, and we are connecting here by zoom meetings. Before this we were not expecting like these meetings, if somebody would say to have something just like these meetings, we would say what will not be happen because people will not like to join these meetings. But look at today. This is the only reliable or you can say the available option to go for meeting. So, that's mean technology is coming between and if you look at that those countries which had better mechanize you can say the technology-



based supply chains, other industrial functions they were better off. They did not lose much like China. China was the only major country where we have witnessed you can say the positive GDP growth in 2020. The rest of the world we can see the major and emerging economies were suffering. There was a huge decline in their GDP growth rate. There is also another point when we are making different points like the comparing the different economies. Like in Pakistan people try to compare Pakistan GDP growth in 2021 and Indian GDP in 2021. If you look at the decline in 2020 there was a major decline in India not in Pakistan. While the decline GDP is not so much, so our growth would be corresponding to that negative growth. Its growth will not be like very huge. But in the case of India when they were going down sharply and the tremendously in a huge way. So that's when their growth will reborn. It is simple calculation when you have the more negative growth next year if cover that negative part that's when you are growing that much. So that is we also have to keep in mind. Coming back to the topic, the technology. Technology would be a key area of competition in coming days not only between China and the U.S. but also in among other countries. But being the two leading countries on a technological front so that's when there will be a new field for competition between China and U.S. When i will be talking about the new competition please keep in mind i am just focusing on technology right now because that would be the new area. Otherwise, we can talk a lot of stuff if we start to talk about from trade, if we can start to talk about human rights democracy, climate change etc. We can talk many things but it will take time and that is not a focus of my presentation today. So, technology is a new area where the competition would be. We have seen the glimpse of that competition in this area even before the Covid-19. When we see it that all the Chinese or the USA was behaving towards the Chinese companies like Huawei, ZTE and other. They launched a smear campaign and the anti-Huawei campaign just to take them out from the market. If you look at the other Former Foreign Minister of USA, he himself was traveling to country the country to convincing to not go for the 5g of the Huawei. This competition can be summarized by one state by President Donald Trump when he was asked as some press conference at the White House, he categorically said we cannot allow any country to outpace or you can say beat USA to avail the benefit or new emerging tools of technology or the development. They were very clear at that time. So, they do not want to allow china to grow in the field of technology and they were putting barriers in front of China by the one name or another name. We have seen that otherwise some colleagues already have spoken so they put



hurdles in front of the technology companies. But in the post Covid-19 world this competition will be accelerated because world need technology to run understeer. When you have to minimize the interaction how you have to ensure the sustainability of functions, like the in the presence of unknown of pandemic or the climate change because your focus will be to save humans, especially in the case of pandemic when this is can spread by interacting with the people you need technology. That means there would be a new market for technology and new market mean new avenues of revenue and the profit. Definitely they will be good. Second, on the when there will be check on mobility so technology would be the only way where you can connect to the people and definitely when you have only technology to connect the people that there will be a new market for that and the new normal like i gave example of the zoom. So, if you look at a value of zoom before, the pre Covid-19 era and then during the covid. I am not using the word the post Covid because we are still going through the covid. So, you can check their value at the stock exchange or the other their shares so how it started to rise? So that means there will be another area. Here comes the competition and for that comes benefit from that Americans, they have convinced themselves at this point of time. So, they will not able to compete China in the technology development with the pace they are going in especially a 5G or 6G. So, what is an option to oppose them? To oppose that they are going to use the smoke screens. One of the smoke screens is such as some colleague has already talked about is that somebody is spying on if you are using their technology. If that is the case that means what was the happening what was the doing of different other big companies across the world? So, if you look at their data, analytical data they used for different campaigns or something for different stuff, they were stealing the data of ordinary people to get benefit from the market. So, they can sell that data of people. But in case of China, we cannot find any precedent. They are very strict on that. Then they fabricate no they are doing it for the communist party that is in any other joke. So, China has openly asked U. K, we have installed infrastructure you can do independent analysis of our infrastructure which we have installed. And other infrastructure they also offer to other countries across the world when they are installing the infrastructure not only 5g and other telecom or digital Infrastructure. They can analyze and come up if there is any backdoor or there is any other evidence that the China is doing the spying. Till today, nobody is able to find their such back door. In the lack of the evidence, they are still continuing to go for blaming China, one thing. Secondly, technology is very interesting



thing because technology as this point of time we are looking it as a facilitator or a solution. Whenever we talk about climate change or pandemic, we say oh technology is here we will do something, technology will help. But we also have to keep in mind two very important things. In history every innovation in technology always helps human to go for more efficiency or they always remain subordinate to the human. But this time technology is changing itself like the artificial intelligence. Now it was until introducing decision making by the technology which was never been case in our history. Human was the decision maker; they installed the program and then the stuff happened. But now through the artificial intelligence, technology is coming as a competitor to you because in human they have the edge due to their decision-making ability. But when the machines will have their own mechanisms to make decisions that means we will have competitors. It is not that you can see this as the conspiracy, you can see like we think tank, we claim we make a policy on the basis of data analysis but the data analysis which we collect from the field. But if the Facebook they are collecting the information without telling the people from each and every person. So, they can develop a software to make an analysis. Nobody need a think tank because they are getting the data, they are getting the analysis. For example, if we have to go higher think time to do an analysis it will at least take two-three months but a big company like Facebook, WhatsApp or other companies they already have the data. They have to run only one function which will take only seconds to tell you what the result is. So that means we have a competitor. So that is also a scary picture and unfortunately that also has become the you can say the part of competition or the conflict because it is has given rise to two things, one the countries want to deploy it as a weapon. If you look at that recently, Eric Smith work with what they are doing in the USA. They are working on military side for the artificial. If you think there will be a robot fighting in a war what will be the future? Can you talk about the sympathy, empathy or something like that when you are applying it to them that to kill the human. So where is the human right? Human rights will be gone and you cannot punish at a robot or an artificial intelligence machine to make a wrong decision. You can't say they made a decision; they made or commit a mistake out of proportion or out of emotions. Machines are not emotions. They follow instructions that means there will be a new dimension to the security. Second, we will see accelerated conflict in outer space. The glimpse is already here. Trump has started the process and the Biden administration is taking to there. They are trying to allocate resources for the artificial intelligence to compete in our outer space



or in the military space. So that means when we need to be you can say prepare ourselves there will be a new dimension to the competition. But the unfortunate part of this competition would be these different countries and developing countries will suffer more because one way and other way we as a country, like developing and the least developed countries import technology infrastructure or software otherwise other sophisticated stuff from these two countries. One is China, other is US. The ban on one product from one country to other country will create a hell of risk like that when the US was saying that android software will not be provided to the Huawei and other something like that. So, what was the option? The person who was buying a mobile from the Huawei he will lose that part of android or something like that, the facilities which they were enjoying. That means due to this technological competition maybe if it did not control here, we will find a division in human, in society. There would be the blocks because some people they are using American technology they cannot access the Chinese technology. People who are using the Chinese technology they cannot assess the American technology. If the competition continues with the spirit of the conflict that will happen. In these circumstances what we need? I think the pandemic and the technology development they have given us two lessons very clearly. Number one in term of the vulnerability to these challenges are these threats everyone is equal. If we include climate change it becomes stronger. Everyone is equal. They don't make a difference of color, ethnicity or something like. They can do it. Second, solution is cooperation. Except cooperation you cannot do anything. If we don't learn to cooperate, we need to prepare for the self-destruction as it was said for the nuclear arena and the 1670 'mutually assured destruction'. If we are not going for the cooperation, we need to be ready to go for the mutually assured destruction. Only solution is the cooperation but for that purpose we need leadership with imagination because the challenges which has been emerged from the pandemic. Nobody could predict before the pandemic. That means if there is any other pandemic in the future, we will not know what will happen. So, we need a leader with imagination who can imagine so that can be happening. Like usually i give a sentence whenever talking about in a 9/11 commission report, they highlighted many things but they highlighted one very important lesson they said the biggest mistake was the US government policy for infrastructure, military and intelligence. They were living in a cold war era. They could not imagine that terrorism can take a new shape. So, lack of imagination was one of the key reasons and so 9/11 happened according to that report. We need leadership with



imagination. Second thing as the two or three days back i was talking about the 'dialogue among the civilization'. We also need to initiate the dialogue between the business community and the business models because you can see the real reason of this, you can say the conflict is a business economy. If we are not able to solve the economic problems, if we are not able to create some cooperation mechanism among the economic place, we should have the least you can say expectation that something will come. So, i will conclude here by saying technology would be a new era of competition and China and US will be fighting here. So, technology will have the wide spread angles, it has a military angle economic angle, it has a society angle. So, competition will be very tough and if there is no cooperation that means we need to be ready to suffer. Even as a common citizen we need to really be suffering that's why we hope both countries will learn to cooperate. Thank you so much.

#### Speaker 7

## <u>Dr. Naheed S. Goraya, Assistant Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies,</u> <u>University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan</u>

### <u>Topic: Collaborative Approach Worldwide to Counter Non-Traditional Security</u> <u>Threats</u>

Thank you very much for having me. I have been told about the collaborative approach worldwide to counter non-traditional security threats where I have chosen the topic to discuss about the countering growing threat of Islamophobia. So, to start with I would say dear friends, colleagues and those who I have never met, it is time to get involved in the transnational responses on the coherent and sustainable approach because we all have a shared future. No one is immune to common threats. I shall borrow the quotes of the Swedish Prime Minister, Stephen Löfvén that, "every decision we make in our daily life it makes a difference. It counts, everyone's behavior, everyone negligence, it matters so." Based on the diverse trends in the international security in the post-cold war era there has been the phenomenal rise of the non-traditional threats. The prevalent ones consisted of the non-state armed groups and terrorism. Of course, with the rising trend of globalization as the world kept on getting interconnected, these threats went beyond state systems. The concept of Orientalism is the deep roots of the idea of Islamophobia



which is much used, yet less understood. This has created the cultural fault lines on the global scale. In search of remedies our ideas should be clear about that whether extremism is faith based or a kind of structural racism or the result of lack of knowledge between what is known and what is understood? In my opinion, nothing in this aspect can replace the importance of inter-cultural and inter-faith relationship aspect. We need to have interfaith exchanges, not the intellectual exchange of mind. This would establish better growth instead of judgements. Culture and art can play a very important role on the grounds to change the idea of Islamophobia, including the positive impacts of diaspora. Furthermore, structural racism needs to be understood because of the structurally embedded inequities in societies are needed to be dealt with to talk about securitization. We need to know factors that drive the Islamophobia industry, the Western society, the Muslims and the symbiotic relationship between radicals and the Islamophobes. Muslims can do two important things in my opinion. First, they need to work with the global organizations like Amnesty International to rally support. Second, it is not justified always to blame the West. Muslims have equal responsibility to tackle the idea of radical Islam by presenting Muslim theologies. This would positively bridge the East-West gap. There is need for content engage and the theological presence via research and publishing to explain Islamophobia from an academic level. This would take attention from governments, push to policy building and somehow legal petition because Islamophobia thrives between unknowability and unintelligibility. I wish everybody a new normal to be a better normal. Thank you.



#### Speaker 8

### <u>Professor Sun Lu, Associate Professor, School of Government and Public Affairs,</u> <u>Communication University of China, Beijing.</u>

## Topic: China's Approach in the Context of Rising Multi-Polarity and the Emerging Geopolitical Environment

First of all, thank you to the organizer for inviting me to this very important and significant international conferences and also today I am also very honored to be here to meet so many distinguished and very excellent scholar here. Today's my topic is a very big topic so I just want to focus on the splitting world after the post-Covid era because today's the aim of this conferences is to discuss the transforming security of paradigms in the context of the new challenges of global security in the post-pandemic world. As we know the global security environment has entered a very bad or a freeze of heightened and extended volatility and instability and also with increased threats of civil arrests and a steady rise of instability across the globe. Actually, we are facing now a changing, a divided and perhaps more dangerous world besides that the sudden a Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 is still a very big test of global governance capabilities. As a result, it has exposed the lack of capability of many countries not only in the domestic government but also the international coordination and cooperation and also highlighted that global order is very imperfect in the face of the reality of the 21th century. Although human beings now have reached a peak in the science and the technology but we are still very vulnerable in the face of sudden public health crisis. So, today I don't want to talk about a very general terms and instead I want to just talk about splitting. What we are facing in the current world. I just want to talk about that into three aspects the first is the splitting civilization or the clash of civilization. The second is splitting religions more major powers and the thirdly is splitting of globalization. If we see the from the civilization perspective, I think all that most of you will know that 20 years ago that I have Huntington they have the very famous book, this is a Clash of Civilization also he has predicted that in the post-Cold War world the basic source of a conflict is no longer ideology about cultural differences because some scholars before me also focus this kind of topic for the Muslim and also some of the contradictions between Muslim and the Christians and also other. The clash of civilization is now is dominant to the world especially now in the post Covid-19 era. After reviewing the books more than 20 years ago we found that the development of



international politics is surprisingly similar to Huntington's prediction more than 20 years ago and many of the predictions in the book have been fulfilled. The clash of civilization paradigm can accurately explain the violent conflict in the early 21st century such as 9/11, such as the Iran- Iraq war, the Arab Spring, also the Islamic state and also the Syrian war. It also can help to understand the forces that emerged in the recent years for example the Sino-US trade dispute and also the European Muslim immigration dispute. Now after the post- pandemic era we know the countries have the borders but the virus has no borders so this epidemic has launched a very serious and the full coverage of attack on countries in the world of which has become another major setback in the history of the human civilization. History will prove that areas without the pandemic are extremely rare but the pandemic like Covid epidemic, so virus have always will accompany the development of the human society and also, we must to know maybe in future we still mainly can always fight against it. A different from the form of the world war epidemic has fully demonstrated the power and the destructive power of nontraditional security issue. The impact of the epidemic has made countless people feel extremely unfamiliar with the sudden change of lifestyle and the rhythm some of which may become permanent forever. Perhaps human civilization should be renewed and enriched form including slowing down the pace, reflecting on the fast-growing globalization and the developmental model and the testing the government governance capability. Also, the political, the most important thing is the political prejudice and the arrogant of some western politicians has become some kind of the political virus, dragging down and entering the effective development and the international antidynamic cooperation. So, ironically when the ideology and the clash of civilization creates the division and the mistrust of the world. We must pay attention to the splitting of civilization just like Huntington predicted, maybe in the post Covid era this will be a big problem.

The second is the splitting the relations between the big power because from the realistic and geopolitical perspective especially on most things we also focus on the Sino-US relations. Our world is very quickly splitting into the geopolitical groups because the downward of the Sino-US relations makes international multilateral cooperation like strong support from the major powers and also that we know that the US election have finished but if we judging from the abundance of the policy speech all along, we can judge that we will think of the Sino-US relations more rationally and also advocate that the US



will actively in participate in international affairs. We cannot judge very optimistically because the Sino-US relationship cannot easily turn to the track of the cooperation, perhaps the US under the Biden leadership will see the challenges posed by China more comprehensively and severely will pay more attention to compete with China. They will take China as a competitor and not the coordinator so China must defend a way to resolve the differences. Other countries in the world especially the in ASEAN country don't want Sino-US conflict to cause the world to split. We must also pay attention to the mentioned multilateralism and global cooperation still very important and also China now know that the US administration attempts to united alliance and the west to form an alliance against China and also in implement the Indo-Pacific strategy that excludes China and they target China and the four nation alliance. Nowadays we kind of see that the world is in the rise of the East and the decline of the West so a lot also want to split the world into the West and into the East and also use the thinking ways of the Cold War for the new Cold War coming. This is also the very important splitting the phenomena because this is the Sino-US relations and also the West – East alliance under the countries.

The second is the splitting of globalization. We know because since the 1990s, the globalization has been dominated by the West. The Western country is launch country of the globalization because while the rapid expansion of globalization, nowadays they also encountered strong resistance mainly manifest in anti-globalization. We can know that the greatest impact on the world after the Cold War is the development of globalization but now also has been criticized because the loss of the jobs and the polarization of region per in some countries and many anti-globalization voices have appeared in the world. Abundant globalization will also lead to the split and the more chaos of the world. The mainstream of the voice is continued to promote improved and perfect globalization, so this also required the stable cooperation between China and the US and other major countries. I think for China's perspective globalizing have two aspects, one is from the political perspective because obviously the development route of the globalization is not completely consistent with the original intention of the designers and promoters such as the United States and Europe. They pursue not only the globalization of market economy but also the global westernization of political system. Obviously, it was not realized nowadays and the political differences between China and the United States that the political change has been the cited as the cause of tension between the two countries. The US is very disappointed that the political change that now happened during the China's



economic growth and the actual problem is that US intention to incorporate political values into globalization is totally wrong. Also, the heavy cost of transforming Afghanistan and Iraq has made political globalization lose its momentum. In future, the unrealistic political goals must be addressed when the globalization is promoted. China also needs to improve its persuasive capability so that the international community can better understand and understand the China system under China's achievements and also better promote the tense of the community of shared future for mankind build the consensus of each other. The second one the Chinese embrace economic globalization and the way country's building and the social life have undergone the earth-shaking changes however the US and other countries feels uneasy about Chinese achievements, believing China is taking advantage of it, complaining that China does not have fair competition so it is also a big problem. In my opinion, I think we need to look at the importance of human society from the global perspective and attach importance to the integrity of all human beings and international relations to incorporate social, environmental, economic and soft and hard power security into an overall framework. The primary goal is to ensure the survival and the prosperity of all the mankind. Thank you so much.



#### ANNEXURE 2: PRESS RELEASE

On 31st March 2021, an Online International Conference on "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World" was organized by the Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad.

The conference commenced with the opening remarks of Dr. Mehmood Ul Hassan Khan, Member Board of Experts, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad & Regional Geopolitical Analyst. He stated that the COVID 19 pandemic has further disorganized existing global challenges, further exposing the underlying causes of insecurity, social and economic inequality with overtones of racial tension and nationalism. Furthermore, it is the knowledge that must be provided to decision-makers in-charge of internal and civil security to shift from forecasts to informed actions.

Mr. Tolga Sakman, Chairman, Center for Diplomatic Affairs and Political Studies (DIPAM), Istanbul, Turkey discussed re-evaluating the international security architecture in the Post-Covid-19 era, potential areas, and policy options for Eurasia.

He further highlighted that the post-covid era has altered the security architecture. In recent years central Asia, East Asia, and the Baltic sea have become crucial as Russia and China work on post-liberal political and economic arenas. Post covid security architecture has resulted in new consequences as the global supply chains have high effects on how democratic establishments can rescale peoples' employment. He mentioned the idea of Global Partnership Cooperation to be the most essential ingredient for this new change.

**Prof. Dr. Iram Khalid, Chairperson, Department of Political Science & IR, Univesity of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan** emphasized the impact of COVID-19 on the security dynamics of Asia

According to Dr. Irum, there are three major components to security dynamics that first and foremost include compartment reservation of Asia. It has become challenging to practice nontraditional security power. She emphasized the contemporary concepts where national security depends greatly upon the tangible and non-tangible interests and elements. Furthermore, keeping in view the concept of commonality on an international scale, paradigms of new discussions have opened for foreign policymakers. She also mentioned that interconnectivity has altered the designs of traditional security into non-traditional security. Therefore, orthodox paradigms need revision to facilitate the worldwide new connections.

**Dr. Adam Saud, Dean, Faculty of Humanities & Social Sciences, Bahria University, Islamabad, Pakistan** discussed the shifting of focus from the War on terror towards the strategic competition between the US, China, and Russia.

He further commented that the post-cold war political scenario changed as the US wanted to establish its global might. War on terrorism dominated global politics previously but post 2008, as the US underwent an economic crisis China began to revitalize the geoeconomics realm. He emphasized that on the creation of geopolitical capital there is a gap to know who is the great power coefficient of the future? According to Dr. Adam Saud, the economic crisis and problems arising from lack of consensus can be tackled if the US recognizes China's strategic competitiveness. Furthermore, in the contemporary era, the position holders will be visible as per their positive role.



# Dr. Shafiah F Muhibat, Director of International Relations, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Jakarta, Indonesia discussed the Security Challenges and Alighmnets in East Asia.

She further elaborated some major areas to illustrate the regional security challenges; maritime security, great power politics, humanitarian challenges, and challenges posed by Covid-19. She believed that further assistance and cooperation of regional states can enhance Maritime security. Dr. Shafiah further added to the discussion by signifying the cooperative role of hyper-potential countries like Korea in peacefully settling clashes. She also emphasized that despite the great power politics and tensions South Asia carries huge potential to smoothen the scenario by setting regional order as the top priority. This can be done by establishing trust and covering relations by efficiently responding to the challenges.

# **Dr. Aiysha Safdar, Head of International Relations Department, Kinnaird College For Women University, Lahore, Pakistan** shared her views on redefining national security in the context of Pakistan

She also discussed that the arrival of Covid-19 has exposed the vulnerabilities on several fronts. Human security is a huge part of the national security caused by poverty, terrorism, economic downturns, etc. As the insecurities overlap they expand and take roots in several domains of societal strata. Highlighting the issues faced by the educational institutions she mentioned that the education sector has suffered due to lacking sustainable developmental goals as traditional learning shifted to online learning. Hence, the heavy long-term changes and challenges to mankind require a reinvention of new paradigms of national security and geo-strategies and heavy investments in human health.

## Mr. Shakeel Ahmed Ramay, Director, China Study Center, Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI), Islamabad, Pakistan highlighted how the Covid-19 pandemic is reshaping the China-US competition

He also discussed that given the global pandemic, future changes are introducing new competitions in two major areas i.e. in the economy and the mobility capacity. In the present-day globalization process, technological emergence leads to competition in the better mechanized technological supply chains. Thus, having technology as the key area there is serious increasing competitiveness between China and the US. Therefore, the advantage can only be gained by countering the negative impacts of this growth and securing positive productive outcomes.

# **Dr. Naheed S. Goraya, Assistant Professor, Centre for South Asian Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan** discussed the collaborative approach worldwide to counter Non-Traditional Security Threats.

She further discussed that keeping in view rising Islamophobia it is important to give rise to cohesion and economic cooperation. We have to understand that the lack of knowledge is hindering integration and resulting in a rise to the vulnerability of isolation. If the issue is not addressed in time it will generate identity-based extremism because of politicizing of religion. We have to understand the main drivers of Islamophobias and its relation with radicalism. To counter this symbiotic relation, Muslim leaders must actively promote Islamic theologies, to create trust and understanding. This would create harmony on inter-cultural grounds.



**Prof. Sun Lu, Associate Professor, School of Government & Public Affairs, Communication University of China, Beijing, China** discussed China's approach in the context of rising Multi-polarity and the Emerging geopolitical environment

She also highlighted that from the historic content of almost a hundred years ago, it can be seen that the various wars like the Iraq war and the Syrian war are the practical depiction of the Clash of Civilizations approach. In the past pandemic times and changing world dynamics, Sino-US relations are splitting the world into geopolitical groups. Therefore, China in efforts of introducing the new ideals aims to resolve this potential division. She further mentioned the idea of a community with a shared future and the potential positive impacts on the global community.

The conference was moderated by Ms. Laraib Fatima Hassan, Communication & Coordination Manager, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad, and was attended by 100 participants including regional experts, members of academia, and students of International Relations and related fields.

The conference was also viewed live on various social media platforms by 200 viewers.



### ANNEXURE 3: MEDIA COVERAGE

### **Diplomatic News Desk**

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### **DND News**

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### CGSS Organises Online Conference on 'Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World'

By Mati Ullah - March 31, 2021

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan: An Online International Conference on "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World" was organized by the Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS) in Islamabad on Wednesday.

In his remarks at the Conference, the Member Board of Experts at CGSS and Regional Geopolitical Analyst Dr. Mehmood Ul Hassan Khan said that the COVID-19 pandemic has further disorganized existing global challenges, further exposing the underlying causes of insecurity, social and economic inequality with overtones of racial tension and nationalism.



### **Daily Islamabad Post**

https://islamabadpost.com.pk/cgss-organizes-conference-onevolving-global-security-challenges-in-the-post-covid-world/



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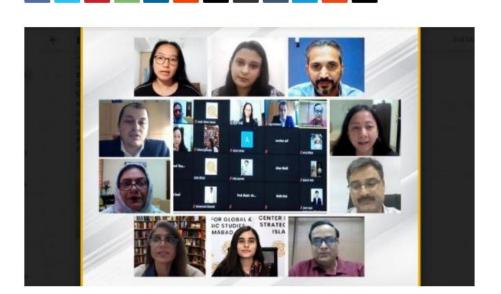
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PAKISTAN WORLD NEWS

HOME

### CGSS ORGANIZES CONFERENCE ON "EVOLVING GLOBAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE POST-COVID WORLD"

March 31, 2021



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### **Pakistan Economic Net**

### https://pakistaneconomicnet.com/story/17105/



Home > Latest News > Online International Conference on, "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World" organized by Cen

Online International Conference on, "Evolving Global Security Challenges in the Post-COVID World" organized by Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad



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### **Daily Spokesman**

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### **National Herald Tribune**

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### INTERNATIONAL

National Herald Tribune

ONLINE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON "EVOLVING GLOBAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE POST-COVID WORLD" ORGANISED BY CENTER FOR GLOBAL & STRATEGIC STUDIES (CGSS), ISLAMABAD

### Post-covid era has altered the security architecture: Mr. Tolga Sakman

INTER-CONNECTIVITY HAS ALTERED THE DESIGNS OF TRADITIONAL SECURITY INTO NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY: PROF. DR. IRAM KHALID

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IN THE PAST PANDEMIC TIMES AND CHANGING WORLD DYNAMICS, SINO-U.S RELATIONS ARE SPLITTING THE WORLD INTO GEO-POLITICAL GROUPS: PROF. SUN LU

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### **Dailymail**

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### Virtual conference on Evolving Global Challenges in the Post-COVID World held

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Pakistan WORLD NEWS

### CGSS ORGANIZES CONFERENCE ON "EVOLVING GLOBAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN THE POST-COVID WORLD"

By admin - March 31, 2021 ● 10 ■ 0





### **ANNEXURE 4: VIDEO COVERAGE**

### **CGSS Youtube Channel**

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GwGGv01lHCs&list=PLgN02gSrV2D0531Ivz vac7ftsCLErftPn&index=43

