



**ISLAMABAD INSTITUTE OF
CONFLICT RESOLUTION - IICR**

POST-CONFERENCE REPORT

**RUSSIA - UKRAINE CRISIS & REGIONAL SECURITY
APPARATUS**

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ABOUT IICR

Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution – IICR is Islamabad based independent and nonpartisan research institute (think-tank) ardent to being a source of impartial research for the government officials, scholars, journalists, young researchers, activists, and academicians. It deems to work on regional and global security issues in an unbiased manner and initiate discourses on conflict and conflict resolution.

To strengthen the debate on peaceful coexistence, geo-political to geo-economic shift, and to avert the future crisis, IICR works with governments, think-tanks, universities, journalists, field experts, policy makers, and civil societies. IICR is on mission to link research and policy through analysis and youth training to comprehend the state policies and global affairs. IICR aims to conduct in-depth research to propose sound solutions and policy recommendations to deal with humanitarian and security challenges of Pakistan and the region.

CONCEPT NOTE

The Year 2022 brought the crisis which engulfed whole world into it. Russia-Ukraine crisis might appease few countries as internal matter of respective states but its effects are had global reach. With many countries already walking on a tight rope of socio-economic security, the crisis has roughened up their path more. The foremost remains commodities crisis in terms of oil and gas which fuel nations' economy has also put significant effect. While Russia-Ukraine crisis have global effects its regional effects are far more severe. It not only has affected global politics but has also put regional politics in more intricacies. Regional countries are finding ways not to join any camp whereas with each passing day the global politics is pushing them to join one.

Furthermore, the proximity to the conflict zone has also made choices difficult for the regional countries. Moreover, with changing international security environment, the regional security apparatus is going through the toughest time, India – America joint military exercises at the China border area is alarming not only for China but Pakistan too. America is trying to strengthen India with an intent to set the ground for another conflict in this very region. Already, the region suffered due to Afghanistan. The Russia – Ukraine crisis might be a conflict between two countries but it is political war between global powers, East vs West and in its global as well as regional security has put at stake. In order to explore challenges to regional security apparatus Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR) is organizing round-table titled “Russia-Ukraine Crisis & Regional Security Apparatus” on September 19th 2022.

SPEAKERS' PROFILE



PROF DR RIFAAT HUSSIAN

Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain is a professor, analyst, former anchor and radio personality who served at Quaid-i-Azam University for 36 years. He is currently a professor and Chairman in the Department of Government Policy and Public Administration at Pakistan's National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST). From 2003–2005, he served at National Defense University, Islamabad. He also served as the executive director at Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) from 2005–2008 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. In addition, Rifaat Hussain had been serving as a visiting professor at the Center for Intl. Security and Cooperation at Stanford University. He was a visiting professor at CISAC, Stanford University for the 2012– 2013 academic year. He also served as a visiting professor at the Foreign Service Academy.



PROF DR AZHAR AHMAD

Prof Dr Azhar Ahmad is the pioneer PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies in Pakistan. He has authored a book titled, "Gwadar: Balance in Transition" which is published in English and Chinese languages and well received internationally. Currently, Prof Azhar is teaching International Relations and Geopolitics at Bahria University, Islamabad. He is awarded the honour of "Distinguished Researcher" by Asia-Africa Development and Exchange Society of China, Beijing, besides association with various other local and international think tanks. He has a number of conference papers and research publications, both national and international, to his credit. He is invited to speak at various universities and think tanks. Prof Azhar has traveled extensively and his interests include China, Indian Ocean, and maritime. In addition, keeps an eye on contemporary issues of national and regional importance.

SPEAKERS' PROFILE



DR SHABANA FAYYAZ

Dr Shabana is Associate Professor & Chairperson of Department of Defence & Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. She has authored a book titled Pakistan's Response to Terrorism: A Case Study of Musharraf Era, 2020. Dr Shabana is a member of the Aman-o-Nisa (National Women collision for Women Role in Peace and Security. And an editorial board member of Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI). Also an Advisory Member, ACDC (Arms control and disarmament center). She has a number of publications in international journals at her credit such as "Anti-terror Laws in Pakistan"; "Towards a Durable Peace in Waziristan"; "Terrorism: A Human Security Challenge in South Asia"; "Trends in Pakistan's Security policy - Post 9/11 phase", "Religious extremism and militancy in South Asia", and; "India-Pakistan: Joint Anti-Terrorism Mechanism - Perspective from Pakistan"; "Women Moderating Extremism in Pakistan, and; "Women Role in Post-conflict Reconstruction And Rehabilitation in Pakistan".



ADVOCATE NASIR QADRI

Mr. Nasir Qadri has more than 10 years' experience working as Human Rights Lawyer in occupied Kashmir and has been Executive Member of High Court Bar Association Kashmir (HCBA) till 2018. He is also Founder and Executive Director Legal Forum for Kashmir (LFK).

Mr. Qadri is visiting faculty in Department of Law IIUI & pursuing his PhD in Law of Armed Conflict. He has presented papers in international and national conferences (both virtual and physical conferences) and authored number of situational reports on Kashmir.

Mr. Qadri has authored two books: (i) Dynamics of Prisonology: A Study of Prison System in Indian occupied Jammu Kashmir, and (ii) English-Urdu Dictionary of Legal Words.

Prior to joining the LFK in 2019, he has worked in various capacities as a Legal practitioner. He has been Legal advisor for University of Kashmir & various pharmaceutical companies. He holds his B.A LLB Hon's from Kashmir, LLM Human Rights Law from International Islamic University Islamabad with specialization on Kashmir & International Humanitarian Law and a short course on Non-International Armed Conflict (NIAC) Geneva Academy.

SPEAKERS' PROFILE



MR. SHAHID RAZA

Mr. Raza is strategic communications specialist, currently working for the Government of Pakistan. He has significant prior experience in the I/O domain, has presented report on EU Disinformation labs report about Indian ops. He has a deep understanding of how Indian I/Os operate.

MODERATOR



MS. SABAH ASLAM

Ms. Sabah Aslam is the Founder and Executive Director of IICR. She is security analyst and Human Rights Activist. She served as research fellow at Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad. She also served as professional trainer at CDA Training Academy. She regularly writes for national & international print media. She has served as visiting Lecturer at Quaid i Azam University and National University of Modern Languages. She has presented papers and have participated in many national and international conferences and workshops & seminars in Pakistan and abroad. She is EUVP Alumni. She is working with Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir Affairs, Government of Pakistan as Advisor on Research and Kashmir Youth Ambassadors program.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

- Beijing's Tilt Towards Russia: Ukraine Crisis' Wider Implications, Affecting the Asia-Pacific Region by Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain
- Global Economy and Trade Under the Shadow of The Russia- Ukraine Crisis by Prof Dr Azhar Ahmad
- Russia-Ukraine v/s China-Taiwan Conflict Dynamics by Dr Shabana Fayyaz
- NATO Expansion to Eastern Europe and Its Implications on The Rising Tensions Between the US and China by Mr. Nasir Qadri
- Russia-Pakistan Rapprochement and Pakistan's Sandwiching in The Great Power Competition by Mr. Shahid Raza

Role of Geography

“Ukraine is a large country in the middle of Eastern Europe, neighbours' to Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, Moldova, and Belarus, as well as Russia, with a population of some 45 million. The territory has long been contested, and its history is one of regular fragmentation and unsettled borders, with the western and eastern parts often separated. The area north of the Black Sea, sometimes known as “Novorossiya,” with Odessa to the south, Kharkov to the north, and Donetsk to the east, was taken from the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century and colonized aggressively by Catherine the Great.”

During the nineteenth century a Ukrainian nationalist movement took root. As a result of the short-lived Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918 between Russia and Germany, Ukraine gained independence.

Its borders were then contested after the end of the Great War. After 1919, Western Ukraine, which had not been part of the Russian Empire, was divided up among a number of countries, although most of it was incorporated into Poland. It was then joined with the rest of Ukraine following the Soviet Union's invasion in 1939— and then again after the German forces that had invaded in 1941 were expelled in 1945. Nikita Khrushchev, who eventually took power.

After Stalin's death in 1953, sought to improve Russian-Ukrainian relations (he had served as first secretary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from 1948 to 1949). In 1954 he arranged for Crimea, which had been in Russia, to be transferred to Ukraine. As one of the largest republics and with its leadership fully Sovietized after the purges, Ukraine was integrated into the Soviet Union. It was the location for vital defense industries and military facilities. Many Ukrainians held important positions. Yet still a distinctive Ukraine national identity developed over time, with its own political culture, and was recognized by Ukrainian communists. As soon as it became clear that the Soviet Union was headed for dissolution, Ukraine asserted its sovereignty. On December 1, 1991, three weeks before the demise of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian people supported independence in a referendum (by 90 percent) and elected the chairman of parliament, Leonid Kravchuk, as the first president.

Color revolutions a threat to Moscow

Lawrence Freedman: In Putin's mind there was a close link between the so-called color revolutions and NATO expansion. A Western leaning regime was a natural preliminary to membership in NATO, which would then consolidate the new regime's position.

Against the idea of a unipolar world

In March 2007 to a largely NATO audience in Munich Putin said: “The idea of a unipolar world, was pernicious as it allowed the dominant power to show “disdain for the basic principles of international law.” NATO expansion represented “a serious provocation,” reducing the level of mutual trust.”

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Sino-Russian Ties

In the post-cold war period, relations between China and Russia have gradually moved towards a rapprochement especially after China’s peaceful rise in the first decade of the twenty first century. Both countries settled their territorial differences along their long border and have committed themselves to pursuing cooperative security.

Both countries have shown their willingness to work together to promote a “multipolar” world order based on multilateralism and collective security. Both have espoused the promotion of the principles of non-interference, respect for territorial integrity and opposition to hegemonic behavior.

The first is that the Sino-Russian relationship is best understood as a limited strategic partnership aimed at accelerating the emergence of a multipolar order to reduce American hegemony.

The second is that Russia’s invasion of Ukraine is simultaneously a challenge and an opportunity for China. Challenges include a potential blow to China’s credibility as a champion of sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference, and the possibility Russia’s poor performance will leave it unable to act as a pole in the emerging multipolar order.

On the other hand, China has the opportunity to reorient pressure on itself by providing relief to developing countries impacted by the economic sanctions leveled by America and its allies. Furthermore, Russia’s isolation due to sanctions provides China with greater leverage in its bilateral relations.

One area of converging interest was their mutual support for a multipolar order which became “a joint cause in many of their statements, declarations, and treaties.” This goal was first encapsulated in the 1997 “Joint Russian-Chinese Declaration about a Multipolar World and the Formation of a New World Order.” This declaration was followed by the regional Shanghai Cooperation Organization agreement, where China and Russia were the senior partners involved in more in-depth multilateral military exercises than the various eras of the Treaty of Friendship.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization regional interactions do not extend to deep mutual expectations or obligations. Its charter from 2002 referenced the members’ historical ties and a desire for regional coordination and stability in an “environment of developing political multipolarity.” Their interaction through the organization increased coordination in the Central Asian region and competition.

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, many diplomatic statements from China and Russia have broadly stressed support for a multipolar order. For example, during a visit to China on March 30, 2022, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov indicated Russia's actions would clarify the international situation.

Specifically, he claimed that with like-minded partners, the world would "move towards a multipolar, equitable, and democratic world order." In his response, Wang Yi stated, "our striving for peace has no limits, our upholding of security has no limits, our opposition towards hegemony has no limits."

The Ukraine war has not undermined the commitment of both sides to advancing the emergence of a multipolar order. Indeed, the response by the United States and its partners to Russia's aggression has buttressed the Sino-Russian partnership on this issue.

While China and Russia agree on a multipolar international order, they disagree on who its primary members will be: China perceives EU as a partner, while Moscow looks at EU as a threat.

In Chinese view, a multipolar order would result in a dominant position for China in the East Asia region and a key global role in which Beijing has greater capacity to shape international rules and norms.

The commitment problem

Russia and China's shared outlook on the international order does not indicate unity of action. Both sides have expressed support for a multilateral order and criticism of the United States and its partners during the war. China, however, has routinely called for an end to the war without directly criticizing Russia and has avoided direct support for Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In short, the absence of deep commitments means the resulting words and deeds under a system of alliance like NATO are different than the conceptual arrangement between Russia and China. It will not be easy to parse the differences between commitment and non-commitment because all interactions will involve words and deeds that may resemble each other. To move toward significant commitment, Russia or China would incur significant security costs and risks for the other. Currently, they avoid the commitment problem and its side effects.

One should avoid the simplistic perception that Beijing has effectively sided with Moscow. Far from it. While it is true that Beijing has not condemned Moscow's brazen naked aggression against Ukraine nor has it condoned imposition of a plethora of sanctions against Moscow, Beijing has confined itself to lending political and diplomatic support to Russia.

These dynamics are particularly important given the joint statement released on February 4, 2022, at the start of the Beijing Winter Olympics, declaring the friendship between the two states has "no limits," which implies this alignment has been solidified.

Yet I want to argue that Beijing was surprised by the scale and scope of Moscow's aggression against Ukraine. In other words, it is less about China taking sides than it is about China navigating the geopolitical effects of the conflict in ways that secure its interests.

The biggest direct challenge posed by Russian aggression in Ukraine is to the cornerstone of Chinese foreign policy: the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Although not always explicitly mentioned, these principles, embedded in key foreign policy statements by Chinese officials, have been used to generate international support.

For example, Xi Jinping's 2013 speeches announcing the Silk Road Economic Belt in Astana, Kazakhstan, and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road in Jakarta, Indonesia, highlighted the importance of sovereignty and noninterference.²⁷ His 2017 United Nations speech outlining his vision for a "Community of Shared Future for Mankind" also refers to these principles. These principles serve as the basis for presenting China as a non-hegemonic international actor and also allow Beijing to critique implicitly the approach of the United States and its partners to foreign policy. Furthermore, they serve as the basis for Chinese solidarity with the Global South. Thus, it is in China's interest to be seen as a supporter.

Russia's aggression in Ukraine exposes the inherent tension between China's strategic partnership with Russia, which it sees as necessary in a multipolar international order, and its image as a protector of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in the face of American hegemony.

Russia is too important a player that Beijing cannot ignore

Beijing cannot overtly support Russia without undercutting China's reputation as champion of sovereignty and risking secondary sanctions from the United States. Simultaneously, Beijing cannot pressure Moscow and undermine its strategic partnership.

New Narrative

The first area focused on presenting China's position as objective and fair, and on the right side of history."³⁸ In this context, Beijing's narrative contends that its position is balanced and more conducive to promoting a peaceful settlement of the disputes than the United States and its partners, which are operating in a "Cold War mentality." As Foreign Minister Wang Yi indicated, "an enduring solution is to reject the Cold War mentality, refrain from bloc confrontation, and truly build a balanced, effective and sustainable security architecture for the region, so that long-term stability and security in the European continent can be achieved."

The second component of the narrative builds on the first, critiquing Washington's efforts to build a broader coalition of support in the Global South against Russian aggression. Wang Yi has framed this move as a form of coercion and argues "all countries have the right to independently decide their external policies." He contends, "when dealing with complex issues and divergent views, one should not opt for the simplistic approach of "friend or foe" and "black or white," adding that "it is particularly important to resist Cold War mentality."

This statement again reorients the focus away from Beijing's position by casting the United States as a source of instability. Furthermore, it connects directly to Beijing's long-standing narrative on sovereignty and noninterference.

The third and final component of the narrative focuses on the economic effects of the conflict and the sanctions imposed by the United States and its partners.

In a meeting with African leaders in late March, Wang Yi stated the conflict in Ukraine was "spilling over to the world," adding that the "African continent in particular should not be forgotten and should no longer be marginalized."

While these meetings were scheduled before the invasion of Ukraine, Wang Yi capitalized on the economic uncertainty caused by the conflict among developing countries to promote the Belt and Road Initiative and other development programs in the African continent.

Beyond expanding its foothold in the Global South, Beijing will reap the benefits of Moscow's self-inflicted wounds as it has in the past. For example, despite the instability the collapse of the Soviet Union caused China, it allowed Beijing to establish a foothold in Central Asia to secure its western frontier. Furthermore, Moscow's interference in the domestic affairs of Central Asia has prompted these republics to pursue multi vector policies, which facilitated Chinese engagement in the region and allowed it to gain access to hydrocarbon and mineral Resources. These actions eventually led to the construction of the Central Asia Pipeline, which accounts for about 20 percent of China's gas consumption.

In conclusion, I would say China is an instructive example of how to navigate a complex and changing security environment without sacrificing its core interests.

This is not the first or the only armed conflict in the world. We have seen many will continue to see similar conflicts in the future. In our own region we have recently witnessed the War on Terror and the invasion of Afghanistan, and then, not much farther, the wars in the gulf, Libya, Syria, even in Europe e.g. the Nagorno Karabagh or Bosnia Herzegovina (and now some armed conflict is also going on between Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan). All modern day conflicts have political and economic consequences beyond the theatres of actual conflict. However, in my view, the Ukraine war has more far reaching implications. If we look at it merely as an armed conflict between two countries, then its scope and size may not be very formidable- the Russians do not even call it a war, they prefer to call it Special Operations. But in terms of its geopolitical and economic impact it may surpass all recent conflicts.

I am sure we all agree that it's not merely a conflict between Russia and Ukraine, it is in fact a proxy war between the West and Russia and my hypothesis is that though it is not the trigger, it will definitely play, or is already playing, a very important role in the Global Transition of Power- from West to East. And whether China is involved in the conflict or not, being a major trading economy, we cannot understand the economic fallout of this war by isolating it from the actions or policies of China.

According to the UN, the war in Ukraine has led to a cost-of-living crisis. About 1.2 billion humans live in countries severely vulnerable to all three dimensions – food, energy and finance. Whereas, an estimated 1.6 billion people are exposed to at least one of these three dimensions of the crisis.

Trade in food and energy are feeling the most immediate impact of the war. Russia and Ukraine, known as the food basket of the world, rank among the top seven global producers and exporters of wheat, corn, barley, and sunflower (seeds and oil). Russia is also a major supplier of fossil fuels, such as crude oil and natural gas, in addition to fertilizer and agricultural commodities. Disruptions of these supplies are fueling a surge in prices, with negative consequences for global trade and asymmetric effects on exporting and importing countries. Exporters gain from higher commodity prices and increased production and shipments. Whereas, the Importers are hurt twice: They consume these commodities and also use them as inputs to produce other goods and services for export.

Ukraine and Russia together represent roughly a quarter of global wheat exports. For corn and fertilizers, their combined pre-war share was almost 15 percent. Disruptions to supplies of these key commodities are causing prices to surge. The price of wheat, for example, has jumped by more than 40 percent since the beginning of the war in late February. Trade-policy interventions risk making a bad situation worse.

Export restrictions alone have added seven percentage points to the price of wheat and risk igniting a tit-for-tat escalation that could trigger a food crisis. Higher food costs take the biggest toll on net importers—largely low and low-middle income countries—resulting in deepening world poverty.

Similarly, Russia's connections to European ports have been cut, and commodity exports to other destinations have been constrained. Ukraine's Black Sea ports have been blockaded or occupied, leaving the country few routes for its commodity exports. The war brought reciprocal closures of air space between Russia and 36 countries, resulting in longer routes and higher prices for air freight between Europe and East Asia. Rail transit through Russia may as well be slowed by additional procedures to check for sanctions compliance, and further rounds of sanctions could risk bringing it to a halt entirely. The role of rail routes in the movement of mechanical, electronics, automotive, and other goods between Europe and Asia is relatively small but has been growing in response to maritime shipping disruptions during the pandemic. Disruptions to global and regional supply chains have caused input shortages and price hikes.

As Russia and Ukraine are important suppliers of many critical raw materials, the risks of disruption are also high for some supply chains relying heavily on these inputs (e.g. automobile, aeronautics or electronics). Substituting towards alternative sources of supply is particularly difficult for some critical raw materials provided by Russia and Ukraine as these inputs are highly specialized and the market is very concentrated.

There are risks that the war hits trade in raw materials and triggers ripple effects in critical industries. European gross exports of basic metals and fabricated metal products contain almost 10% of value added from raw materials that originate from Russia.

Within metals products, Russia accounted for one-quarter of global palladium exports in 2020. This material is important for many green energy technologies. Its catalytic properties make palladium a central input for the production of emission-control systems in vehicles, with car manufacturers using it to remove toxic emissions from exhaust fumes. Global exports of nickel are also highly concentrated, and Russia together with Ukraine account for one-third of the world export market. Its uses include production of batteries powering electric vehicles. Ukraine is also a key exporter of neon gas, a by-product of steel manufacturing used in the lithography of semiconductors, which is sold to Korea, the United States, China and Chinese Taipei. This collection of potential supply chain disruptions could pose significant risks for the vehicle industry, and especially the production of electric vehicles.

War-related disruptions could also weigh on iron and steel trade. Many products belonging to the broad iron and steel category are dependent on Russian and Ukrainian exports. Russia and Ukraine account for one-quarter of global exports of iron and non-alloy steel semi-finished products, and half of world exports of pig iron. While iron and steel are more easily substitutable than rare metals (such as palladium), their widespread use in multiple downstream industries could trigger cascading consequences in the event of supply disruptions.

Russia is also a major exporter of ferro-alloys, supplying 30% of the global export market for ferro-tungsten, ferro-chromium and ferro-titanium. Stainless steel makers use these ferro-alloys as a stabilizer in the production of low-carbon steels.

Sectors critically dependent on inputs from Ukraine include steel and iron, heavy manufacturing, semiconductors, cars, and software. European markets are the most vulnerable, with Moldova being the most dependent on imports from Ukraine. Within the European Union, Poland and the Czech Republic are most exposed to imports from Ukraine. Elsewhere, Turkey, Arab Gulf countries, Ethiopia, and Nigeria rely on Ukraine as a key supplier for some products, but overall, the exposure of non-European markets appears limited.

Russia stands out as a supplier of primary and intermediate goods and services for other countries' exports at an early stage of production. Transport equipment, machinery, electronics, and agribusiness are especially reliant on imports of Russian metals, chemicals, fertilizers, and other commodities. Supply chain production hubs in China, Germany, and the United States are among Russia's largest trade partners. The largest effects of trade disruptions would be felt by members of the Eurasian Economic Union (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan) and other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Europe is critically dependent on Russian oil and gas. EU leaders agreed at the informal summit in Versailles (March) to bolster European economic resilience, radically reduce energy imports from Russia and move ahead with a serious strengthening of European defence. Rhetoric aside, can they actually do it? They are trying to diversify through Israel and Egypt, and looking at other options, but that is going to take a while to materialize. In the meantime, winter is on the heels and that will be the test of the resilience of Europe.

The war's direct impact on global FDI is likely to be muted because Russia and Ukraine play a limited role in global FDI networks. However, some countries like Armenia, Moldova, and the Kyrgyz Republic —where more than 20 percent of inward FDI is from Russia —could suffer from shrinking inflows of FDI. European countries including Finland, Germany, and Norway have large investments in Russia's energy sector, and Europe is highly dependent on Russian oil and gas. Indirect effects could prove more profound and far-reaching as elevated uncertainty and geopolitical risks damp investor confidence.

The refugee flows caused by the war will result in additional public expenditure in the short term in host countries, although this will be offset over time as refugees enter the labour force, helping to alleviate some labour market pressures. The number of people who have already fled Ukraine since the start of the war is several times greater than the annual flow of asylum-seekers into Europe at the height of the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015-16.

Supporting the refugees from Ukraine involves upfront spending on housing, food, medical assistance and childcare and schooling, along with assistance to help those who stay to enter the labour market. The scale of the spending challenge is difficult to predict due to uncertainty about the number of refugees, the length of time they will stay, and which country they may move too. An illustrative estimate, using current support for refugees, points to a minimum expenditure in European Union (EU) countries of around 0.2% of EU GDP.

Russia and Ukraine account for a large number of tourists in developing countries (ranked 6th and 38th globally in tourism expenditure). Countries including Georgia, Moldova, Montenegro, and Turkey are highly dependent on tourists from Russia and Ukraine. The effects will also be felt outside the region. Countries that attracted large shares of tourists from Russia and Ukraine during the pandemic include Egypt, Tunisia, Thailand, Cuba, the Maldives, and Tanzania. A decline in global tourism will at least temporarily stall the industry's post-pandemic recovery, as scheduled flights are disrupted and consumers await more certainty before booking.

Recently US pledged another \$600 Million Weapons Package for Ukraine. The package brings the total military aid pledged to Ukraine since Russia's invasion to 15.1 billion dollars.

And we are already feeling the effects:

The single biggest outcome of the past week's happenings is that the conflict has assumed the nature of a full-fledged war. So far Russia has been calling it a Special Operation. But last week Western Media reported Ukrainians were able to regain some territory in a counteroffensive.

"Now its war between Russia and NATO and a war is fundamentally different from a special operation. A special operation is something you announce – and something you can choose to put an end to. A war is something you can't stop even if you want to. You have to fight to the end. War has two possible outcomes: victory or defeat." (Zyagunov, Member of the State Duma).

And then the recent phone calls to Putin in quick succession by French President and German Chancellor , after an interlude of months, signals that an exigency may have arisen to re-engage the Kremlin leader. So you can feel the heat on both sides.

Contrary to the expectations or endeavours of the West, it is Europe which is hurting the most... It may be a blessing in disguise for Russia, or in fact, for the entire world except the so-called West.

The war has serious implications for Russia as well, about 1000 international companies reportedly left Russia after the war, the ruble has lost half its value and inflation is soaring. According to Western estimates, Russian economy may shrink up to 15% this year. Russia risks becoming very dependent on China in the future.

China without getting involved in the war has shown solidarity with Russia. The latest statement coming from the Chinese Foreign Office that, "China is willing to work with Russia to take the global order "in a more just and reasonable direction" explains China's intent. If US was thinking of isolating either Russia or China, it must be disappointed after the recent SCO meeting.

China and Russia have agreed to trade in their own currencies not only that it will support the Ruble and offset the effects of sanctions on Russia, it will also strengthen the Yuan further against the dollar. Other countries have also been encouraged to trade with China in Yuan or their local currencies which include one of the closest allies of US, the KSA who have shown interest in selling oil to China in Yuan. Russia has been preparing for this since 2014 when it started reducing its dollar reserves.

Historically, Pakistan has maintained moderate economic relations with both Russia and Ukraine. Russia and Ukraine are our major wheat suppliers whenever we need to e.g. in 2020-21 we imported about 2.1 MT of wheat from these two countries. Now because of the floods, we may need to import more wheat and if we cannot get the same from Ukraine and Russia, then we will have to look for more expensive options.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has also resulted in a record surge in LNG rates as the global supply chain is threatened with disruptions. This has caused immediate issues for Pakistan, as LNG companies have backed out of their contracts with Pakistan to exploit lucrative European markets. Pakistan is now compelled to purchase expensive LNG. Also, Pakistan's imports of fossil fuel – oil, LNG and coal – from Ukraine have come to a halt. So, in the coming months, Pakistanis will be faced with frequent and prolonged power outages, extortionate utility bills and impediments to other services. I hope our government has made arrangements to make this winter bearable for us. Future fuel price hikes as well be detrimental to Pakistan as its forex reserves would deplete further. Reportedly, the PM has also discussed with President Putin, the possibility of purchasing Russian oil at reduced prices.

The construction industry has also taken a hit because Pakistan was importing steel from Ukraine. Also, Pakistani exports to Ukraine have ceased, which will harm local industries and the economy. (Machinery, nuclear reactors, boilers, Wood and articles of wood, wood charcoal, Raw hides and skins (other than furskins), leather, Ores slag and ash= 62m\$ in 2021).

Last year, several European and North American countries pledged to welcome Afghan refugees fleeing the Taliban regime. However, the same countries are now taking in Ukrainian refugees. Afghan refugees in different countries are facing evictions. In such circumstances, Pakistan is experiencing a fresh influx of Afghan refugees. Also the Afghan refugees within Pakistan awaiting visa acceptance from different countries may never get approvals and stay on in Pakistan. This will increase the likelihood of illegal refugee settlements in urban areas, which can cause social unrest and further exhaust the country's resources.

Diplomatically, Pakistan is caught in a complex situation as it wishes to maintain ties with both Russia and China as well as with the West. It may again be faced with a repeat of the Cold War situation by having to pick sides. That would be a tough call.

The war's long-term implications for global trade and investment will largely depend on how governments respond to the changing geopolitical environment.

Ironically, the risk of a fragmented world trade and investment system has suddenly increased, resulting in, perhaps, the reversal of globalization, which has been the engine of economic growth and development in the last 30 years.

In a globalized world order, it is not possible for countries to remain unaffected by modern-day wars. The Russia-Ukraine conflict is just another reminder of the fact that it is the collective responsibility of the international community to promote peace and mitigate conflict.



Russia, Ukraine, and China, Taiwan, something the undercurrents of this sibling conflict that has always been there, an area of differences at time and area of cooperation, and an area of the tensions and according to some alarmists maybe another scene of the US versus China, where the Taiwan will be used as a field of dynamics of the conflictual dynamics in changing the global power politics. Well, my central argument, as has been stated by Professor Rifaat Hussain, first will refer to send that power politics is the game has always been the game of global politics. So where we can say is it's actually the competing national, regional, the global perspectives, because I think this is what is happening, this is nothing new. And it will not be new in the world that we are living and the world that you as the young scholars will witness in the time to come. This is what the history tells us. The power politics, whether at home, in the community at the society or at the largest states has a role that cannot be set aside. Now, both of these cases I feel continue to define and redefine the trajectory of great power politics and their zones of influence, as Professor Azhar has completely very clearly stated that it may be the reversing of the globalization trend. Now if it reversed, the states like Pakistan and the global south are going to be the victims of that, because the interconnectivity the leverage that we were having, despite our slows and difficult economies are going to be more endangered. Why, because if you choose the big the sides of us, you will be in difficult position versus your relationship with China and also in a difficult question whether Russia or many other powers will become dominant in the decades to come.

Basically, I feel that it is what my understanding, I would like to pitch the idea that we have to have a lens of realpolitik combined with a civilian centered approach, that is the human security lens. Why because I feel the people suffer, we have suffered, Indians have suffered Kashmiris are suffering, everybody suffers the impact of conflict and this is not a one day generation, even the partition that has bones on continues to have the deep marks on the psyche of our elder generation.

And because the stories are told, if you look into the oral history projects, they continue to be there and they will be there. So that will really really impact not on the physical, but also the psychological impact of the human beings. Beyond that, there cannot be power politics after all, who are nation states, who are the composite of the nation state, whether in a repressive system in a democratic system or whatever system exists, it is not the animal only it is the people. So that is the human value and the impact of realpolitik is very critical to understand. I know there is a lack of data authenticity, because regarding both issues, if you you know, look into the data, open sources, everybody has its own interpretation. And in the age we are living in the misinformation, the digital age, the cyber bullying and digital, or the hybrid warfare.

This is a natural result, we as the searchers, the young and the one seasoned or the ones like us are always very, very careful how and who to pick for the analysis of a particular conflict that I'm speaking about. So moving on to this, I'm very fond of the picture analysis.

DR. SHABANA FAYYAZ

I think this is very relevant in both the cases, that is an African proverb relevant in both cases, it is said that when the elephants fight, the one that suffers most is the grass, the grass is the people, the grass is the countries like us, the grass is the pitch where the proxy wars are fought, the grass is the sufferers, whether it is the Ukrainian people, it can be Taiwanese or any others in any severe in Central Asia, or whatever the States suffer, Ukraine at point is referred as the state that is being propped up by the West to fight another power, that could have settled through the mediation efforts. So this is how the states backed by greater powers can be used and are used, we have seen in Afghanistan, as the pitch to settle their scores. So this is happening and this can happen anywhere. And the larger interest of the greater powers, in the case of Taiwan, it is not the people that are important us remain and ambiguous about this policy.

So this is what is happening, the psyche of Taiwanese living in fear or in the Shadow of War on both sides, most of the Taiwanese don't believe both sides, So, we have to be careful and I think this is a picture that really defines the whole thing, if you look into the human cost that I have, you know, just briefly touched upon or put on table is that when two elephants fight the grass, this is the human cost. And after all you know, the this is not just the two men and women and you know, it is basically the leaders on both the sides, you can, relate to them, because what is leadership, it is not the paper or the chair, it is the people like me or you who are standing there who are part of policy process, who are the leaders who are the security managers. So it is again the children, that is the generations have to suffer. And I think that is the best picture that can relate to that.

Why and how people are state suffer. This is very important in all the conflicts, why we continue to suffer, why the Ukrainians will suffer, why Syrian suffers, why the Bosnian suffers, why Rwandan suffers? Because either it is the role of the leadership, that is populist that is blinded to the realities that exist on ground being used, and living in a personal advocacy of power, clinging on to the power, especially the medium states or the state where the fight is going on. Where they are backed by either the Westerners or the other parties, or they can be the blinded to the geopolitics, as has been stated, the Russians wider thought process relating to the Ukraine, they feel that their area of influence, you know, that was settled in the post cold war phase is being threatened. The NATO enlargement is seen as a big read by the Russians. And that is a well stated position. That was a position that was used and clearly communicated and agreed to the Western specifically the US.

This is something and then you say the people understanding of the impending cost of the war on the livelihood, physical, economic safety and security are not clear. The people are actually the hostage of the conflict. It is either the Afghanis or the what is happening in Ukraine. They have to run for the life. Yes, some are motivated, but majority of the them want a shelter. They're not clear whose side they are on. An important part on the part of the leadership who are being used as the medium or the smaller status, that absence of plan B, the fallback opportunity, who will support them, whether they're going to live in the ambiguity status, or their plan B is very much here. And believe, as the history shows, the Plan B is crafted by the dominant powers, the Plan B is not crafted or not drafted by the states, medium states who are involved are used as the pitch or the proxies on behalf of the larger actors. So I feel that this is the departure point.

According to one narrative, the Ukraine, the US role in the Russia, they want the pot to be boiling. And you can say for the Ukraine crisis, the Americans, they are feeding more arms into it, they are feeding more aid into it, they want them to go further and further and bleed them. Why, I believe not only for the Ukrainian cause for their own cause, for under using also the European Union who are at times very skeptic or what is happening in that region. The larger border that Ukraine has is with Russia, it is not only the physical borders, it is the supply chain. It is the strategic borders, that according to the Russia matters while dealing with the Ukraine.

So the Ukraine, what is happening there, most of the analysts or the observers agree it is one of the core regions of the world. Why did we see? And I strongly believe it why not? The westerners are not concerned with what is the plight of people suffering in Afghanistan. They had the Doha agreement. The Taliban came in maybe early, they had dealings with Taliban. Now, what is the problem? Number one, they don't want it to settle, number two, they are occupied in the Ukraine. And number three most important is Ukraine is used as a critical element that is more important than Afghanistan and as an excuse, not to clear the mess they have left in Afghanistan. So this is why if it was the very conception of the war in the Europe, something a big hit for the US. So that may be transforming, I believe, is the European security order.

And this is the dynamics I've observed, one can have a bifurcation for the scholarly purposes, although all are interlinked, you can have the bilateral level of analysis with the bilateral dynamics of Russia and Ukraine relations can be considered as a very important dimension. Secondly, regional level with the post cold war, European security order, according to the Westerners, and the observers outside that influence are going to be reordered. So this is another dynamics. And then lastly is the global level, post cold war world order, it has been said, is in a process of change and can be defined, you know, multilateralism, whether by force by economy, or through multiracial engagement with China spreading through economic interconnectivity with the people versus the US area of influence that questions the economic activity of China as a threat as a way to be an aggressor. And other colonial power in the areas where the South Asia are reaching out to Middle East and Africa seen as that element. And the regional level, I feel is the most important dynamic that needs to be understood.

The opposite approach is over Ukraine versus European liberal, we have the European approach, they say, the people and the liberal order in the Ukraine is under question. And then we have the Russian realist approach, as has been well stated by previous speakers that it is that their vital interests are being attacked, and then you have the post cold war and the three economic circles are where you see the Russia and the post Soviet states in the outer world, East and Central Europe in the intermediate and the Western Europe is where the US is very much concerned and stretching it down to the Eastern and then the rest. Russia, we have already discussed the third point EU NATO eastward expansion. And the initial Russian reaction, this is a very critical turning point.

It in similar manner relates to the Poland and other countries going into the NATO fold and want to be in European Union whose membership was resisted because of the economic and other credentials. It may be it is paving their entry into that sphere. And Russia in response to EU and NATO plans for expansion is very aggressive. And according to the Russians, that they have used the term special military operations, we may see more of that in the future as well. So Russia, as I said, the military objectives is basically ultimate aim is to extend Russian territorial control along the entire northern coast of Black Sea.

This is very important. And this is the Western response that is well stated, We are all familiar, we are all affected by that economic sanctions on Russia, and then economic and military support to Ukraine, who are pumping in more of the weapons, committing to more rebuilding reconstruction sources and all everything. And then political and diplomatic isolation of Russia, this is a big question to debate whether the Russia is you know, isolated or not, if the answer is in between the lines, I don't feel they are completely isolated, but I also feel the the reputation is dented across the world. So another factor is that the NATO mobilization in Estonia, Latvia and other Baltic states. Limitations as enlisted by earlier speaker, that you have a lot of impact, whether it is wheat, fossil oils, steel, whether it is the any other manufacturing parts that were readily available from Ukraine and Russia.

Important point is the implications, the Russian economy is not that bad as was initially stated by the Western media, that there's going to be a collapse, no, as we see in the end, there is the ruble is on the rise, and also the reserves, they have kept in have been exposed to the maximum. And similarly, there are countries like as we stated, the Pakistan wants to buy the cheaper oil from Russia, and although we haven't concluded the deal, but we are trying for that, according to some of the state resources, but at the same time, the India is already buying it, so they have not stopped it. So other markets and the black market supply line of oil is always open, whether it has been in case of Iran or other sources, it is a well documented fact.

China Taiwan the another issue I will speak about is very critical. I feel China considers Taiwan to be its territorial part and upholds the principle of reunification. And US by the way, has always maintained its confidence in the One China policy and whenever they change they are using I really feel that Taiwan is again used as a front to appease China whatever critically criticize China whenever it is used. And so, the US interestingly has maintained a strategic ambiguity, I feel that is nothing new. If you look into the US record, whether in Pakistan sphere Indo-Pak wars, if you look into that 1961, and later on crisis is the commitment that Pakistan leadership always thought that US and we being the part of the SEATO and CENTO will always be there, it never came. In fact, they remained aloof and they you know, any in the later crisis the Pakistan has been censured the most. So but it is nothing new. It is a reflection of the great power politics. It is also a reflection of the limitations of a medium state like Pakistan who cannot extract maximum from their dominant or a major partner in the relationship, whether it is US whether it is China or Russia. So one has to be careful what our expectations should be, and can be possible.

So look at the Taiwan, in between US and China. So this is, again, the power politics at play, of course, I will, again add US is not much concerned about the people, they are people of time, they're concerned about the sea lanes of communication, that is the South China Sea. They don't want the blockade, they don't want the expansion of Chinese influence. And other ring of the states is that Japan, Australia, and New Zealand, all unnerved by the Chinese presence and the bases and other enlargements on the Indian Ocean and similarly in South China Sea. And the Chinese are saying it is because of the expansion of energy needs and interconnectivity plan across the board. And most of the other states, they are very nervous about that. And they are worried about the Chinese expansion economically as well. So there is a complete difference between the China and Taiwan people. If you say that Taiwan can confront China, obviously not.

And if you look into the differences on the military strength, Navy, Air Force Reserves, tanks, aircraft, submarines, there is a hell of a difference. Now, can this be met in future? The important point is, if US can pump in aid to Ukraine, will they be willing to do that in Taiwan? I think the question maybe is not true, I feel it may not be the case. Because again, Taiwan is in a different sphere of influence, of course with the South China Sea, and the Ukraine is another sphere of their interest. So US arms sales to Taiwan that is very important. And that is according to the Council for foreign relations, that is the US open source, you can look at it that how it has been increasing under the Biden, so far, not much is registered. But of course, given the trend earlier, it will continue to rise, and during Trump's term was the maximum. Similarly, the reported incursion into the Taiwan's air defense identification zones by the China is also clear, they've always been very calculative in controlling the airspace of the Taiwan. We all know, the visit of the Miss Pelosi created a lot of waves and a lot of aggression, or a lot of tension between the US and China.

And of course, her statement was later on backed off by the Biden administration. Initially the Biden administration's statement was different. But then they said no, we don't believe that we are not going to be militarily coming back to support Taiwan. This is what happened after the Miss Pelosi's visit, the China, they basically controlled and had the military exercises across and around Taiwan. Why Taiwan is important, I already stated it is importantly, it is not only the South China Sea, it is also related with the Taiwan semiconductor manufacturing companies. Even Pakistan is very widely engaged with that, although Pakistan does not recognize it and less than 13 countries in the world, recognize Taiwan. The Taiwanese economic interaction with the world at large is massive. So that is one thing that is very important. We cannot undermine that. And according to the Beijing analysts, they basically believe the more economic thriving, the other part of China is, they say the one stage to system in case of Hong Kong. And similarly, they say that we don't mind, even the political system that we just want the reunification and the re-uniting of the land that was lost. So this is very important when you speak of the public opinion, the almost two thirds disagreed for any war between the two.

DR. SHABANA FAYYAZ

I really believe that Russia Ukraine conflict and China Taiwan tension amplify the never ending great power politics, whereby US remains an active player. And at the core of this strength, I feel as the US attempt to control, influence and manage the world politics at large, strategic sea links of communication in South China Sea.

And another is with the rise of resurgent Russia ever increasing economic and strategic influence of China, US feels challenged and hard to meet the challenge, it can be through diplomatic engagement, it can be through strategic maneuvering, or through backing up of different countries and using them as a proxy to fight and manage China and Russia.

So, again, I began with realism, I end with the realism there is no avoiding war, it can only be postponed to the advantage over others.



He started by stating the very impetus of emergence of NATO's shifting mission. NATO was founded amid cold war in 1949 by North America and European Allies on the basis of Mutual Assistance in the event of aggression against Soviet Union, which had its Warsaw a pact group of allies. Despite dissolution of Soviet Union in 1991, NATO has since undergone five stages of expansion, while engaging in military operation in Balkans, Middle east and Africa.

He said that Russia always remained suspicious about NATO expansion- especially regarding Ukraine. When NATO was negotiating Czech Republic, Poland, it explicitly stated to remain "off-limits" from Ukraine. According to NATO-Ukraine Charter which codified the relationship between the bloc and nation that was always intended to be outside. Several rounds of NATO expansion continued thereafter. In 2008 a new "European security treaty" proposed into which NATO members and Russia could be subsumed. However, the Bush Administration rejected it wholesome.

He further stated the concept of the New NATO. When ten thousand Russian troops started moving towards Ukraine Border late last year, Russian President effectively issued ultimatum "They won't go home until he had concrete agreements prohibiting any future eastward expansion of NATO"

US project power obsession, it took much political maneuvering for newly united Germany to join NATO. The alliance added more eastern bloc countries in lates 90s and early 2000. The Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania on the Northern end of Russia's western border joined NATO in 2005. According to Joshua Shiffron, an international relation scholar at Boston University.

It is a way of incentivizing Liberalization in countries that had been in communist bloc, showing that US still has a mission projecting power and checking alternative system like European Union.

Regarding the Strategic Concept (Madrid), he highlighted the strategic policy. In Madrid a new strategic policy on several global issues such as climate change, cyber security and militarization space. New strategic concept confirmed that Article 5 of NATO did not only apply to overt military kinetic force but also could be invoked for cyber-attacks and attack from space. The priority of Madrid was to end the war in Ukraine and ensure such bloodshed cannot happen again but it followed with invitation to Finland and Sweden to join NATO after Turkey dropped its objection after the two nations agreed to clamp down on the activities of alleged Kurdish separatists operating within its borders. Both nations have significant and powerful militaries. The addition of Finland also adds 830 miles of NATO border to Russia, effectively "making the Baltic Sea a NATO lake," says Stuart Crawford, a defense analyst and former Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army.

Furthermore, he added the broader agenda against Beijing. NATO will continue to refocus its attention on China. The attendance of Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand as observers in Madrid affirms this shifting remit. Beijing's backing of Russia has naturally sharpened a focus on China. That naturally raises the question of how Beijing might retaliate should the U.S. continue drawing its Asian neighbors closer to NATO? At the Shangri-la Dialogue security summit in Singapore on June 11, U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III insisted "we do not seek a new Cold War, an Asian NATO, or a region split into hostile blocs." But when Asian security becomes chiefly about containing China, just like European security became purely about deterring Russia, that is exactly what risks manifesting—that Beijing decides they are so isolated by Western security architecture that they have no choice but to try and destroy it.

At a landmark summit in Madrid on June 28-30, NATO unveiled a new once-in-a-decade Strategic Concept—its broad mission statement—amid a radical beefing up of defenses, raising its Rapid Response Force from 40,000 to more than 300,000 troops. Russia, unsurprisingly, was picked out as "the most significant and direct threat to Allies' security," though China—some 3,700 miles from the Atlantic—was also named as a source of "systemic challenges. Now, the bloc is expanding its remit under U.S. direction to include containing a resurgent China—notably, Japan, South Korea, Australia and New Zealand attended Madrid as observers for the first time. The risk is that past missteps may be repeated yet again. But the new interpretation and exposition addend to Article 5 involving cyber security and space issue tell us that a startup of cold war is beyond threat.

IICR

MR. SHAHID RAZA

I would like to give you a brief presentation on the topic of Russia Ukraine conflict and its implications on regional security apparatus. I will begin my presentation by thanking the Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution, and especially Ms. Sabah, for hosting such an important conversation. The most important question in this conversation is whether it is correct to refer to the Russia – Ukraine crisis as a war.

In my opinion, the current conflict is not to be classified as a war, because the amount of resources which would be associated with the outbreak of full scale war have not been committed by either side. Secondly, it is also important to mention that this war was made inevitable due to many reasons, because the tensions between two sides have been simmering for a long time. One of those reasons, which is probably one of the most important reasons is the expansion of NATO towards the Eastern Europe and all the way to the Russian Russian border. If this happens, Russia sees that as a as a direct threat to its territorial integrity.

From Russia's perspective, it is important to understand whether NATO would be willing to commit directly to such an engagement so to speak, a litmus test of source which has not happened. Obviously, NATO has been providing some support to the Ukrainian government. But it has fallen short of committing directly to the conflict in Ukraine. The European Union is trying its level best to internationalize the conflict. However, at the same time, the European Union remains grossly dependent on Russian gas. They are paying to the tune of \$1 billion a day to the Russians in terms of energy revenues, and it demands that other regions and other countries should attach the same amount of value to the conflict in Ukraine as the European Union does, which has not happened. Another important element here is that the European Union has been aggressively promoting this narrative that the hostilities in Ukraine can spiral out of control and become a Europe wide conflict which would have significant implications for the regional security, which again, is not happening. What we are seeing on the ground is the Russian forces, despite some losses has have managed to take strategic geography in Ukraine, including Luhansk, including all of Crimea and associated regions, and most importantly, strategically important maritime territory, which gives Russia naval access to the open waters.

Moving on to Pakistan. And the question is whether Pakistan Russia, re-approachment is based on solid grounds. If we look at the the past 20 years, Russia and Pakistan have approached their day ties rather methodically, but very carefully. There have been no surprises in the progress of relations between Russia and Pakistan. Obviously, it is pertinent to mention that Russia and Pakistan have had significant differences in the Cold War, and especially during the 10 years of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But since then, Russia and Pakistan have slowly but steadily built up ties, which are based on solid grounds, some of it is mediated by China, most of it is mediated by shared regional interests like energy, like trade, like opening ground lines of communication between Central Asian countries, Russia and Pakistan, which is considered to be one of the worst connected regions in the world. It is not economically connected. It is not geographically connected.

MR. SHAHID RAZA

It is in Russia's advantage, and it is Boggess in Pakistan's advantage to be able to trade through those brown lines of communication and to be able to connect those economies to the Arabian Sea. Many scholars in the Western countries and embarks on have suggested the idea that Pakistan would have to choose between east and west as it finds itself squeezed between the two emerging world orders.

However, in my perspective, most of Pakistan's weaknesses, are economic in nature, and economy is the single biggest reason why Pakistan finds itself squeezed between these two emerging powers, in order to benefit from the great power rivalry because it is not just a crisis, it's also an opportunity. What Agusan in my perspective needs to do is to adopt a dynamic policy of armed neutrality, it must maintain its strategic relevance in the region while working on developing a strong, robust economy, which meets the criteria of Fourth Industrial Revolution.

If we do this successfully, it will become very hard for any global power to squeeze Pakistan into accepting a certain version of global politics, which may or may not be in Pakistan's national interests. According to statistics, Pakistan is the youngest country in the top five countries in the world. This is a historic opportunity, which will last till 2050.

According to the United Nations, if we align our state policy accordingly, which is centered around economics, regional trade, by creating alliances and partnerships with our immediate region, facilitating trade acting as a trade bridge for Central Asia, and other partners in the region, including Russia and China. Boxen will be able to tap into its own inherent natural potential as a geographic interlocutor.

It is this natural role, which Pakistan shall assume, in the Central and South Asian region, act as an enabler of regional trade by enabling ground lines of communication that connect Pakistan Sea lines with Central Asia and beyond. If we do this successfully and my perspective, over the next few years, and decades back, some will emerge as a middle power in the region. And middle powers are generally immune to foreign into interference and core.

Because the core version Pakistan is experiencing today, and is likely to experience in the near future stems directly from our economic problems. It has no relation whatsoever with any other dynamic in Pakistan. If we are successfully able to resolve our economic issues, we are able to cultivate a new economy which meets the Fourth Industrial Revolution criteria.

I could foresee a time in the future where such conversations will no longer be needed to be had in Pakistan with regards to if we need to go to the East or to the west, because choosing either of the international borders might not be in toxins, long term national interests. I would like to thank the Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution again for hosting such an important conversation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What happened in Ukraine as a result of the Russian intervention, military intervention, even though they call it a special operation, was it foretold and more importantly, was the Western response to the Ukraine conflict, also foretold. And my hunch is that not only what happened in Ukraine was foretold because of the process of the expansion of the eastward expansion of NATO, but also, because the West wanted to punish Putin for not listening to them, and not allow them to turn Baltic area into a NATO region.

So, the effort was that we can ignite we can provoke Russia, into moving into Ukraine. And if you read the literature, it tells you that, the Russian buildup on Ukrainian borders, both from south and east was very much part of the game. So, it was only a matter of time, that, you know, Putin would decide to send the Russian forces into the Ukraine, that's the first part. But the important thing is the Western response. Because the NATO was suffering a crisis, in terms of its defense spending in terms of its relationship with the European countries.

And during, particularly Trump's era, he didn't even stay for the conference and he walked out of the meeting. So, when Joe Biden came in, so there was an effort to rethink NATO's role in the European security order. And for that, they needed a Russian intervention in Ukraine as an excuse to solidify the alliance between NATO countries and the European Union. And, France went along, Germany went along, especially when Merkel was voted out. And for the first time the German parliament, agreed to sell arms to the Ukrainian nationalists represented by Zelensky.

So, there is a strong case that can be made that Russia was baited to invade Ukraine. And so, the emerging response of NATO came about, it's also very interesting that the personal chemistry between Putin and Mr. Biden does affect this. And Biden is on record to have said privately that he would like this crisis in Ukraine, to be used as an example, to overthrow Putin's power from Russia, even though they may be far from it, but the recent setbacks that the Russian forces have suffered in Ukraine gives you a certain pause to think about what might be the ultimate end game, the end game seems very, very clear.

To me, Russia, and along with who is not going to go away anytime soon. And the Americans will be caught up in the domestic elections after a couple of years, and Russia's Putin will hold on to power despite the western media's propaganda against him. So, the Putin is not going to go anywhere, and nor are the Russians going to back off from the current deployments in Ukraine, which means that potentially possibility is actually that the Americans have given Ukraine roughly about \$6 billion in military aid. And if you look at the composition of the aid it is very interesting. There are drones, there are long range weapons, there is artillery, and you know, and this is the supply chain of weaponry from the Western European countries led by the United States which is causing a lot of harm. So, the conflict will be there. But the question which is the last point is that does Pakistan have a dog in this fight, the Pakistan does not have a dog in this fight. And having said so, we should try to maintain a relationship of solidarity and cordiality with Russia, as well as we should try to help the Ukrainians remain independent. But their independence is very much in jeopardy.

MEDIA COVERAGE

Around 1.2 billion people vulnerable to food, energy due to Russia, Ukraine war: Experts

Mon, 19 Sep 2022, 7:58 PM

ISLAMABAD, Sep 19 (APP): The speakers in a conference on Monday said that around 1.2 billion people around the world were vulnerable to food and energy crisis as Russia and Ukraine is the food basket of world which is currently burning because of war.

The speakers were addressing a national conference titled "Russia-Ukraine Crisis & Regional Security Apparatus," organized by Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR),

IICR

5:20 PM - SEPTEMBER 19, 2022 (MONDAY) BY MELANGE EDITOR7

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*China has shown readiness to help Russia in order to ensure multipolar world order, Dr. Rifaat



Islamabad (VOM) - Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR) organized a National conference titled "Russia-Ukraine Crisis & Regional Security Apparatus" The eminent speakers included Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain, HOD Governance and Public Policy MUST; Dr. Shabana Fayaz, HOD Department of Defence and Strategic studies QAU; Prof. Dr. Azhar Ahmed, Faculty Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bhabaria University Islamabad; Mr. Nasir Qadri, Executive Director Legal Forum for Kashmir; and Mr. Shahid Raza, Defence Analyst.

The first speaker on the panel was Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain, HOD Department of Governance and Policy MUST, while speaking to the audience Dr. Hussain highlighted the historical and geographical context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and said that Russians were apprehensive of NATO's eastward expansion which is the precursor of Russia-Ukraine crisis. Adding further on geo-political aspect of the conflict Dr. Rifaat said that Sino-Russia strategic partnership is to reduce the US led hegemonic order which has come out in open after China has shown readiness to help Russia in order to ensure multipolar world order. It is important to note that China has also refrained itself from providing military support to Moscow, said Dr. Hussain. In his concluding remarks Dr. Hussain said that sanctions on Russia have enabled Beijing to take foothold of Central Asian states and China can simultaneously support Russia in its aggression and can also carry on with the global economic vision to alter the global order.

The next speaker on the panel was Dr. Azhar Ahmed, Faculty member Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Bhabaria University. Speaking to the audience Dr. Azhar said all conflicts have political and economic consequences and the world is facing one in shape of Russia Ukraine Conflict. Adding further he said that it is in fact a proxy war between Russia and west and an important aspect in global transition from west to east.

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IICR organizes national conference titled 'Russia-Ukraine Crisis & Regional Security Apparatus'

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1.2 billion to face food, energy crisis due to Russia-Ukraine war: Moot

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ISLAMABAD: Speakers at a conference said that around 1.2 billion people around world were vulnerable to food energy as Russia and Ukraine are food basket of world which is currently burning in war.

Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR) organised a national conference titled "Russia-Ukraine Crisis and Regional Security Apparatus" here. Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain Head Department of Governance and Policy MUST said that Russians were apprehensive of NATO's eastward expansion which is precursor of Russia-Ukraine crisis. She said that Sino-Russia strategic partnership is to reduce US led hegemonic order which has come out in open after China has shown readiness to help Russia in order to ensure multipolar world order.

Dr. Azhar Ahmed Faculty member Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Bhabaria University said conflicts have political and economic consequences and world is facing one in shape of Russia Ukraine Conflict. He said that it is in fact a proxy war between Russia and west and an important aspect in global transition from west to east. Around 1.2 billion people are vulnerable to food energy and Russia and Ukraine are food basket of world which is currently burning.

Apart from food resources both Russia and Ukraine are supplier of crude oil and fossil fuels Russia being major one.

Dr. Shabana Fayaz Head Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, QAU said it is human security which is ultimate victim of it. Talking about China-Taiwan issue Dr. Fayaz said that Taiwan appears to be a flashpoint between China and US. Advocate Nasir Qadri Executive

Islamabad POST

PAKISTAN WORLD NEWS

Pak should have ties of solidarity with Ukraine & Russia: Experts

September 19, 2022 75 0



The Spokesman

Muqam for promoting national heritage with world

Robert Adams visits to Special PS-25 hearing centre

Saturday 23, Tuesday, September 20, 2022

IICR organizes national conference on Russia-Ukraine crisis

Speakers highlight historical and geographical context of Russia-Ukraine conflict

ISLAMABAD: Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR) organized a national conference titled "Russia-Ukraine Crisis & Regional Security Apparatus" on Monday. The eminent speakers included Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain, HOD Governance and Public Policy MUST; Dr. Shabana Fayaz, HOD Department of Defence and Strategic Studies QAU; Prof. Dr. Azhar Ahmed, Faculty Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Bhabaria University Islamabad; Nasir Qadri, Executive Director Legal Forum for Kashmir; and Shahid Raza, Defence Analyst.

The first speaker on the panel was Prof. Dr. Rifaat Hussain, HOD Department of Governance and Policy MUST. While speaking to the audience Dr. Rifaat Hussain highlighted the historical and geographical context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and said that Russians were apprehensive of NATO's eastward expansion which is the precursor of Russia-Ukraine crisis. Adding further on geo-political aspect of the conflict Dr. Rifaat said that Sino-Russia strategic partnership is to reduce the US led hegemonic order which has come out in open after China has shown readiness to help Russia in order to ensure multipolar world order. It is important to note that China has also refrained itself from providing military support to Moscow, said Dr. Hussain. In his concluding remarks Dr. Hussain said that sanctions on Russia have enabled

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WORLD Pakistan should have ties of solidarity, cordiality with Ukraine & Russia: Experts

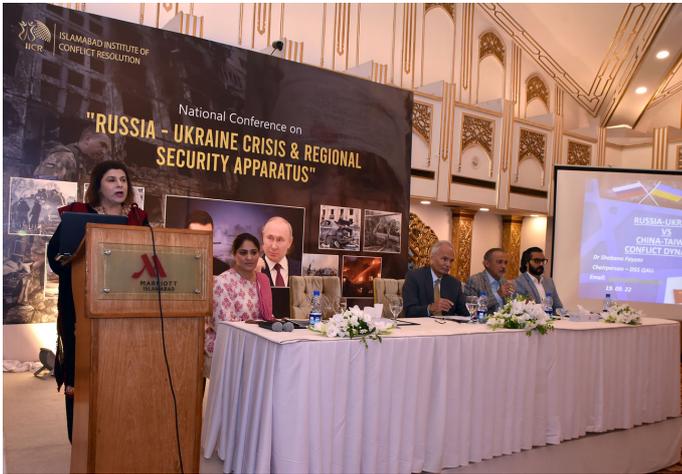


ISLAMABAD: The Experts at the National Conference on "Russia-Ukraine Crisis and Regional Security Apparatus" on Monday said Pakistan should have relations of solidarity and cordiality with both Ukraine and Russia despite the ongoing conflict to ensure neutrality during the ongoing war.

The national conference was organised by Islamabad Institute of Conflict Resolution (IICR) where the Founder and Executive Director IICR Sabah Hassan moderated the session.

Senior Defence Analyst and Political Scientist, Dr. Rifaat Hussain said Ukraine was a large country in the middle of eastern Europe with a history of its borders changing hands several times whenever it was contested. However, the country had developed its independent culture, national posture and identity over time.

GALLERY





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