



## **Islamabad Conclave-2024**

Thematic Focus:

**“Pakistan and the Evolving Global Order”**  
*(The Concept, Speakers, Subthemes, and Program)*

**December 3-4, 2024**



*Hosted by*

**Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)**

## About the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)

The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, established in 1973, is an autonomous, non-profit organization that seeks to provide quality policy inputs through informed research, objective analyses, and dialogue on global and regional issues affecting peace, security, and development of Pakistan and our region.

The Institute is governed by a Board of Governors headed by the Chairman. The Director General is the chief executive officer of the organization.

The Institute houses five Centres of Excellence:

- China-Pakistan Study Centre (CPSC)
- Arms Control & Disarmament Centre (ACDC)
- India Study Centre (ISC)
- Centre for Afghanistan, Middle East & Africa (CAMEA)
- Centre for Strategic Perspectives (CSP)

The outcomes of the ISSI's research are disseminated via a number of online and print publications.

Participants at the ISSI events include government officials, military experts, academics, diplomats, parliamentarians, and activists.

The Institute maintains close contact with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other stakeholders to identify themes on which the Institute provides action-oriented policy inputs.

The Institute is guided by four priorities: quality of the research work; synergy between what we research on and what we dialogue on; relevance of the research work in terms of its importance for Pakistan; and assisting the government in building up narratives around government policies on key foreign and security policies of the country.

The Institute is connected to dozens of national and international think tanks. It is also linked up to several indexing agencies and databases.

The library offers a blend of printed and electronic resources.

The Institute maintains a dynamic website, and is present on most social media platforms.

## The Concept

### Islamabad Conclave-2024

#### Thematic Focus: “Pakistan and the Evolving Global Order”

Historically, the global order has been characterized by multiple power centers, bipolarity, and even unipolarity at times. However, recent decades have seen the emergence of new major powers, especially China, signaling a structural shift. This is propelling the international order towards multipolarity, influenced by several factors, which include China’s growing economic, military, and technological strength; Russia’s resurgence; quest for ‘strategic autonomy’ by some in Europe; and consequential developments in the Middle East and Asia-Pacific. The emergence of a newer order – though still nascent – is changing the global political, economic, and strategic landscape. It entails significant challenges and opportunities, as major powers seek to fortify their political, economic, and military strengths as well as enhance their influence across various regions and the globe. A complex interplay of competition and cooperation is underway. China is assiduously pursuing economic connectivity initiatives like Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and becoming increasingly global in its outreach with Global Development Initiative (GDI), Global Security Initiative (GSI), and Global Cultural Initiative (GCI). The U.S. is trying to maintain its dominance through military power and technological superiority, and by revitalizing old security alliances and stitching up new ones. Russia is reasserting its global role through political, economic, and military means and would be a pivotal factor in any new security architecture in Europe, post-Ukraine.

The major power competition is being witnessed in almost all domains – especially political, economic, technological, military, and information. Military alliances are increasingly shifting toward warfighting doctrines and postures, which could undermine international peace and security as well as regional strategic stability. There has been a sharp increase in nuclear rhetoric and the development of new nuclear weapons, while the established arms control and disarmament regimes continue to face serious erosion. A transformation in established global norms is also discernible while multilateral institutions are coming under increasing stress. Multilateral institutions have been fundamental in helping to maintain global peace and

security, promote economic development, and foster cooperation on critical issues such as health, food security, and climate change. Organizations like the United Nations (UN), World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank were established to promote international cooperation and address shared global challenges. However, the rise of new powers, growing economic disparities, and urgent and mounting non-traditional threats and challenges including climate change and pandemics have prompted many to question the relevance and efficacy of multilateral institutions. A drift towards ‘minilateralism’ – small, issue-based groupings – is palpable.

As the global order undergoes changes, the role of ‘Middle Powers’ and ‘Global South’ is coming under sharper focus as well. Both sets of nations are finding increasing space to maneuver – with ‘Middle Powers’ seeking to prudently navigate the major power competition and collaborate on issues of their common concern. The ‘Global South’ wants to foster South-South cooperation, exchange ideas and solutions, multiply their efforts and resources, and raise a united voice for a multipolar global order.

The major power competition is also impacting regional security dynamics and architecture. Ongoing conflicts and regional tensions are paving the way for more conflicts and accentuating regional instability. The strategic landscape in the Middle East, South Asia, and Asia-Pacific is being altered in fundamental ways.

For Pakistan, the evolving global order presents both challenges and opportunities. As an established middle power, Pakistan has to prudently chart its course in the emerging order. The country finds itself at a crossroads, seeking to balance its security imperatives with its core economic interests. The situation becomes even more complex as Pakistan is expected not only to manage its relations with the competing major powers, i.e. China and the U.S., but also to ensure a balance of power in South Asia at a time when India has been leveraging the global turmoil to win unabated support from the U.S., in maximizing its strategic power. Pakistan’s stance on the Palestinian question and other developments in the Middle East underscores its unwavering commitment to upholding international law. As regional powers recalibrate their relations in response to these developments, Pakistan must reassess its diplomatic posture and outreach to safeguard its core security and economic interests and engage

with all major powers to ensure regional peace and stability. At the same time, Pakistan must work to accentuate its pivot to geo-economics.

With the foregoing in view, the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) is hosting the 4<sup>th</sup> Edition of its flagship dialogue forum, the Islamabad Conclave, on the theme of **“Pakistan and the Evolving Global Order”** on December 3-4, 2024. The Islamabad Conclave is a Track 1.5 initiative that seeks to bring together the high echelons of foreign and Pakistan leadership, policymakers, and members of the academia and research community at a single platform to find innovative solutions to complex political, security, and economic issues, and non-traditional threats, affecting Pakistan, the region, and the globe. The format of the Islamabad Conclave is a high-level interaction among members of the government, academia, and public and private sectors in Plenary and Working Sessions. After the Inaugural Plenary, this year’s Islamabad Conclave is divided into five Working Sessions, followed by a Concluding Plenary. The Working Sessions will cover the following themes:

- i. “Major Power Competition: Emerging Realities” (CPSC)
- ii. “Evolving Strategic Environment: Impact on Order, Institutions, and Norms” (ACDC)
- iii. “Space for Middle Powers ‘Global South’” (ISC)
- iv. “Transforming Regional Dynamics and Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture” (CAMEA)
- v. “Future of Multilateralism” (CSP)





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**Program Day 1**  
**Tuesday December 3, 2024**  
**Venue: ISSI Library Hall**

## Inaugural Plenary

(1030-1110 hrs)

Theme: “Pakistan and the Evolving Global Order”

- 1000 hrs: Arrival of the Guests
- 1015 hrs: Guests to be Seated
- 1030 hrs: Arrival of Chief Guest
- 1035 hrs: National Anthem & Recitation from the Holy Quran
- 1040 hrs: Welcome Remarks by **Ambassador Sohail Mahmood**, Director General, ISSI
- 1050 hrs: **Address by the Chief Guest**
- 1110 hrs: Tea Break/Refreshment

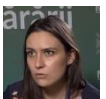


## Working Session-I


(1130-1300 hrs)

Session Theme: “Major Power Competition: Emerging Realities”

- 1130 hrs: Introductory Remarks by **Dr. Talat Shabbir**, Director CPSC
- 1135 hrs: Keynote Address by **Ambassador Tehmina Janjua**, former Foreign Secretary on “**Major Power Competition: Emerging Realities**”
- 1150 hrs: Remarks by **Prof. Dr. Hu Shisheng**, Director, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations on “**China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and its Role in Global Economic Integration**”
- 1200 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Farhan Siddiqui**, Professor, SPIR, QAU on “**Geopolitical Shifts in the Global Order: Implications for Regional Stability**”
- 1210 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Andreea Stoian-Karadeli**, Assistant Professor, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, U.S. on “**U.S.-China Competition: Cooperation or Conflict?**”











- 1220 hrs: Remarks by **Mr. Salman Zaidi**, Director Programs, Jinnah Institute on **“Pakistan’s Strategic Posture: Navigating China-U.S. Competition”** 
- 1230 hrs: Discussion / Q & A Session
- 1250 hrs: Concluding Remarks by Moderator
- 1255 hrs: Presentation of ISSI Mementos by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI
- 1300-1400hrs: Lunch

Working Session-II

(1400-1530 hrs)

Session Theme: “Evolving Strategic Environment: Impact on Order, Institutions and Norms”





- 1400 hrs: Introductory Remarks by **Malik Qasim Mustafa**, Director ACDC, ISSI 
- 1405 hrs: Keynote Address by **General Zubair Mahmood Hayat NI(M) HI(M) (Retd.)**, former Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee on **“Evolving Strategic Environment: Impact on Order, Institutions and Norms”** 
- 1420 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Zamir Akram** on **“Dynamics of Global Strategic Environment”** 
- 1430 hrs: Remarks by **Professor Andrey Pavlov**, Head of the Master Program, Strategic and Arms Control Studies at the Saint Petersburg State University on **“Evolving International Institutions, Norms and Trends”** 
- 1440 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Moonis Ahmar**, Professor, University of Karachi on **“Transformation of World Order and its Implications on Regional Security”** 

- 1450 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Tahir Hussain Andrabi**, Director General (ACDIS) on “**Pakistan’s Perspective**” 
- 1500 hrs: Discussion / Q & A Session
- 1520 hrs: Concluding Remarks by Moderator
- 1525 hrs: Presentation of ISSI Mementos by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI
- 1530 hrs: Tea Break / Refreshment

Working Session-III

(1545-1715 hrs)

Session Theme: “Space for Middle Powers & ‘Global South’”

- 1545 hrs: Introductory Remarks by **Dr. Khurram Abbas**, Director ISC 
- 1550 hrs: Keynote Address by **Dr. Moeed Yusuf**, Vice Chancellor, Beaconhouse National University on “**Space for Middle Powers & ‘Global South’**” 
- 1605 hrs: Remarks by **Prof. Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi**, Dean Faculty of Contemporary Studies, NDU, Islamabad on “**Emerging Debates about Global South in Current International Order**” 
- 1615 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Niu Haibin**, Director of Institute for Foreign Policy, Shanghai Institute for International Studies on “**The Rise of the Global South: A Chinese Perspective**” 
- 1625 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Ali Awadh Asseri**, former Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to Pakistan on “**How are the Middle Powers Responding to International Transformation?**” 
- 1635 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Dr. Major General Raza Muhammad (Retd.)**, President IPRI on “**Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan as a**” 

## **Middle Power and part of the ‘Global South’ Community”**

- 1645 hrs: Discussion / Q & A Session
- 1705 hrs: Concluding Remarks by Moderator
- 1710 hrs: Presentation of ISSI Mementos by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI
- 1715 hrs: Tea Break/Refreshment /(End of Day 1)





**Program Day 2**  
**Wednesday December 4, 2024**  
**Venue: ISSI Library Hall**

## Working Session-IV

(1030-1200 hrs)

### Session Theme: “Transforming Regional Dynamics and Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture”

1030 hrs: Introductory Remarks by **Ms. Amina Khan**, Director  
CAMEA



1035 hrs: Keynote Address by **Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar**,  
former Foreign Minister of Pakistan on  
“**Transforming Regional Dynamics and  
Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture**”



1050 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Asif Durrani**,  
Pakistan’s former Special Representative on  
Afghanistan on “**Sustainable Peace and Security  
in Post-Taliban Afghanistan**”



1100 hrs: Remarks by **Mr. Kawa Hassan**, Non-resident  
Fellow with Stimson's Middle East and North  
Africa (MENA) Program on “**Geopolitical Shifts  
in the Middle East**”



1110 hrs: Remarks by **Mr. Leo Wigger**, Political Scientist,  
Associate Partner, Candid Foundation, Germany on  
“**Enhancing Trade and Connectivity in South  
Asia**”



1120 hrs: Remarks by **Mr. Haroon Sharif**, former Minister  
and Chairman Board of Investment, Government of  
Pakistan on “**Leveraging Economic Connectivity  
in West Asia**”



1130 hrs: **Mr. Michael Kugelman**, Director of the South  
Asia Institute at the Wilson Center, Washington,  
D.C. on “**Non-traditional Threats and  
Challenges**”



1140 hrs: Discussion / Q & A Session

1150 hrs: Concluding Remarks by Moderator

1155 hrs: Presentation of ISSI Mementos by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI

1200 hrs: Tea Break/Refreshment

Working Session-V

(1215-1345 hrs)

Session Theme: “Future of Multilateralism”

1215 hrs: Introductory Remarks by **Dr. Neelum Nigar**, Director CSP



1220 hrs: Keynote Address by **Ambassador Inam Ul Haque**, former Foreign Minister, on “**Future of Multilateralism**”



1235 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Li Junhua**, Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) UN on “**Addressing the Current Challenge of Multilateral Institutions**”



1245 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Ashfaq H. Khan**, Director General, NIPS, NUST, Islamabad on “**Examining the Rise of Regional Blocs such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), ASEAN, and the EU as they Play Increasingly Significant Roles in Addressing Local and Regional Issues**”



1255 hrs: Remarks by **Dr. Salma Malik**, Associate Professor, DSS, QAU, Islamabad on “**Understanding the Shift towards Minilateralism—Smaller, Flexible Coalitions of like-minded Nations with Shared Interests-as a means of Achieving Specific Goals**”



1305 hrs: Remarks by **Ambassador Syed Haider Shah** on “**Identifying the Strategic Challenges and Opportunities for Pakistan within the Evolving Multilateral Order**”



1315 hrs: Discussion / Q & A Session

- 1335 hrs: Concluding Remarks by Moderator
- 1340 hrs: Presentation of ISSI Mementos by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI
- 1345 hrs: Short Stretch Break

Concluding Plenary  
(1355-1440 hrs)

- 1355 hrs: Arrival of Chief Guest
- 1400 hrs: Recitation from the Holy Quran
- 1405 hrs: Presentation of Key Takeaways by **Ambassador Sohail Mahmood**, Director General, ISSI
- 1415 hrs: **Address by the Chief Guest**
- 1435 hrs: Vote of Thanks by **Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman BoG, ISSI
- 1440 hrs: Lunch



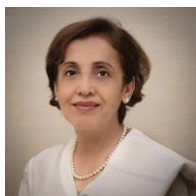


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## **Profiles of Speakers**

## Working Session-I

### Session Theme: “Major Power Competition: Emerging Realities”



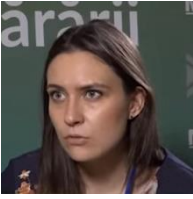
**Ambassador Tehmina Janjua**, a career diplomat who joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1984, served as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary. She has held key diplomatic positions, including Permanent Representative to the United Nations and other international organizations in Geneva (2015-2017), Ambassador to Italy (2011-2015), and Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN in Geneva (2005-2009). Domestically, she has held senior roles at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Director General of Strategic Planning and Spokesperson. Ms. Janjua holds a Master's in International Affairs from Columbia University and a degree in Literature from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.



**Dr. Hu Shisheng** is a Senior Research Fellow and the Director of the Institute for South Asian Studies at the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). Hu received his BA in Hindi and his MA in Sanskrit and Bali languages from Peking University. Hu did his PhD in International Politics & Relations with a focus in Ethnic and Religious issues from CICIR in 2006. Hu's research areas include: the political and security situations in India and Pakistan, ethnic and religious problems in South Asia and the Tibet issue. His most recent research focuses on South Asia—particularly India, Pakistan and Afghanistan security issues.



**Dr. Farhan Hanif Siddiqi** is a Professor in the School of Politics and International Relations. He holds a PhD from the University of Karachi (2010), where his research focused on ethnic politics in post-1971 Pakistan, particularly the Baloch, Sindhi, and Mohajir movements. He also holds a Master's in International Relations from the University of Karachi (1995) and the London School of Economics (1999). He has served as a consultant for various international projects, including those with the Korea Institute for International Economic Policy and the Middle East Research Institute.



**Dr. Andreea Stoian Karadeli** is an Assistant Professor at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley (UTRGV), U.S. in the School of Interdisciplinary Programs and Community Engagement, where she has been teaching since 2021. She holds a PhD in Intelligence and National Security from Academia Nationala de Informatii "Mihai Viteazul" (2019) and an MA in Security, Conflict, and Justice Studies from the University of Exeter (2014). Dr. Stoian Karadeli's research interests focus on major power politics, intelligence, security, and conflict, with a particular emphasis on European intelligence cultures, cognitive warfare, and terrorism. In addition to her academic career, Dr. Stoian Karadeli has extensive professional experience, including work as an independent researcher, mediator, and interpreter.



**Mr. Salman Zaidi** works as Director Programs at Jinnah Institute. He was part of the Institute's founding team in 2010 and leads on multiple thematic areas, particularly Track 2 diplomacy projects, democratic governance, and climate change. Zaidi also consults with international development agencies on improving federal and provincial policy frameworks for security, technology, economic growth, and climate change. He is currently a member of the PM's Advisory Council on Climate Change and has previously been a member of the National Security Advisory Group on Gender. He has authored and edited multiple publications, and holds an MSc in Violence, Conflict and Development from SOAS, UK.

### Working Session-II

Session Theme: **“Evolving Strategic Environment: Impact on Order, Institutions and Norms”**



**General Zubair Mahmood Hayat, NI(M) HI(M) (Retd.)**, joined the Pakistan Army in 1976 and had a distinguished military career spanning over four decades. A graduate of Fort Sill, Oklahoma (USA), the Command and Staff College, Camberley (UK), and the National Defence University, Islamabad, he holds two master's

degrees in War Studies and Military Science. General Hayat has been awarded several prestigious Honors, including the Humanities Gold Medal, Master Gunner Award, and Master War Fighter Award. Throughout his career, General Hayat held key command and staff positions, including commanding an Infantry Division and Corps. He served as Army & Air Adviser to the United Kingdom, Chief of Staff of a Strike Corps, and Director General of Strategic Plans Division, overseeing Pakistan's nuclear program. His final appointment was as the 16th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, a position he held from 2016 to 2019, before retiring after 43 years of service. He is the recipient of several distinguished medals, including Nishan-i-Imtiaz (Military) and Hilal-i-Imtiaz (Military), as well as international Honors such as "The Legion of Merit" (Turkey) and "King Abdul Aziz Medal of Excellence" (Saudi Arabia). Since retiring, he continues to lecture on geo-strategy, national security, defence, and leadership.



**Ambassador Zamir Akram** is a distinguished diplomat and expert in international relations, currently serving as an Advisor to the Strategic Plans Division of the Government of Pakistan. From 2008 to 2015, he served as Pakistan's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the United Nations and other International Organizations in Geneva, where he was instrumental in advancing issues of disarmament, human rights, and humanitarian affairs. In 2015, he was elected as Chair-Rapporteur of the Human Rights Council's Working Group on the Right to Development and was later awarded the Star of Merit by the State of Palestine for his contributions to Palestinian solidarity. Ambassador Akram's earlier career included serving as Additional Foreign Secretary, where he oversaw Pakistan's foreign and security policies. He has held diplomatic assignments in the Soviet Union, India, the United States, and the United Nations. Ambassador Akram holds a master's degree in International Relations from the London School of Economics and has authored "The Security Imperative – Pakistan's Nuclear Deterrence and Diplomacy."



**Professor Andrey Pavlov** is a distinguished academic and expert in strategic studies, holding a PhD in history from Saint-Petersburg University. He is currently a professor at Saint-Petersburg State University and serves as the Chair of the master's program in “Strategic and Arms Control Studies” at the School of International Relations. In his role, he teaches courses on the history of strategy, nuclear strategy, and arms control. His research and publications cover a wide range of topics related to Russian national security, strategic stability, and arms control. Pavlov is also the co-editor of the book “Nuclear Russia: International and Domestic Agendas” (2020), contributing to the ongoing discourse on Russia's nuclear policies and their global implications. His work is a valuable resource for understanding the complexities of modern strategic dynamics, with a particular focus on Russia’s role in the evolving global security landscape.



**Dr. Moonis Ahmar** is a distinguished academic with over 36 years of experience in teaching, research, and project management, specializing in International Relations, conflict, and security studies. He is a Meritorious Professor of International Relations at the University of Karachi and has served as Chairman of the Department of International Relations and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences. Dr. Ahmar has taught and conducted research at various prestigious national and international institutions, including the University of Illinois, London School of Economics, and Nanyang Technological University. His expertise spans South and Central Asia, with significant contributions to terrorism, conflict, and security studies. He has published extensively in renowned international journals and authored several books, including *Conflict Management and Vision for a Secular Pakistan*. Dr. Ahmar has received numerous awards for his teaching and research, including the Best Teacher Award from the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan. His career reflects a commitment to advancing academic excellence and peace studies.



**Ambassador Tahir Hussain Andarabi** is the Director General of the Arms Control & Disarmament (ACDIS) Division in Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With a distinguished career in diplomacy, he previously served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the Republic of Tunisia, concurrently accredited to the Republic of Malta, from 2021 to 2023. Prior to that, he held the position of Ambassador/Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations and other International Organizations in Geneva, Switzerland, from 2017 to 2021. Ambassador Hussain has had significant postings abroad, including the Embassy of Pakistan in Beijing, China, where he served as Second Secretary (2001-05) and Counsellor (2013-15). He also worked at Pakistan's Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York as Counsellor (2009-13). Within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he has held various key roles, including Deputy Director and Director in the Foreign Secretary's Office, Director for India (2015), and Director in the Foreign Minister's Office (2015-17). He also served as Desk Officer/Deputy Director managing Africa, India, and Kashmir Affairs from 1999 to 2006. Ambassador Hussain holds a degree from King Edward Medical University, Lahore, a Fellowship from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, and a Graduate Certification in Chinese Language from Beijing Language and Culture University.

### Working Session-III

Session Theme: **“Space for Middle Powers & ‘Global South’”**



**Dr. Moeed W. Yusuf**, Vice Chancellor of Beaconhouse National University, Pakistan's first not-for-profit liberal arts institution, is a distinguished academic and public intellectual. Previously, he served as Pakistan's youngest National Security Adviser (NSA), advising the Prime Minister on national security and leading the formulation of Pakistan's first-ever National Security Policy. Yusuf's extensive background in policy research includes his role as associate vice president at the U.S. Institute of Peace, and faculty positions at Boston University and George Washington University in the U.S., as well as Lahore University of Management Sciences and Quaid-e-Azam University in Pakistan. He has

consulted for organizations like the UN, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank and has authored several influential books, including *Brokering Peace in Nuclear Environments*. Known for his expertise in South Asian security, Dr. Yusuf is a prominent media contributor on topics of national security, foreign policy, and crisis management.



**Prof. Dr. Arshi Saleem Hashmi** is Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies at National Defence University Islamabad. She is a specialist in religious conflicts, counter-violent extremism, and conflict resolution in South Asia. She has held prestigious fellowships, including the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies, Yale World Fellow, Harvard's Kennedy School, and Rotary International Peace Fellowship. Dr. Arshi is a member of Women without Borders and its “Sisters Against Violent Extremism” project and has spoken at platforms like TEDxWomen. She has collaborated with USIP, Pew Forum, and the Middle East Institute, and frequently appears as a political analyst on media. Additionally, she lectures at military institutions and serves on Pakistan’s National Counter Terrorism Authority's Committee of Experts. She holds degrees in International Peace and Conflict Studies from American University, Johns Hopkins, and Quaid-e-Azam University.



**Dr. Haibin Niu** is a Senior Fellow, Director of Institute for Foreign Policy Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Dr. Niu joined SIIS after receiving his PhD of International Relations at Fudan University in 2006. He is also Deputy Secretary-general of Chinese Association for Latin American Studies. Dr. Niu used to be a visiting scholar at various universities and think tanks in the U.S. Germany, Brazil, South Africa, and Peru.



**Dr. Ali Awadh Asseri** served as Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in Pakistan (2001-09) and Lebanon (2009-16) and is a board member at Rasanah — the International Institute for Iranian Studies in Riyadh. He holds a PhD in economics from Beirut Arab University.



**Ambassador Dr. Major General Raza Muhammad (Retd.)** has held significant command and staff roles in the Pakistan Army and served as Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Defence Production. Post-retirement, he was appointed Ambassador of Pakistan to Mauritius, Madagascar, Seychelles, and Comoros. He has also been Executive Director Services at the Army Welfare Trust, Advisor to the President of National Defence University (NDU), and is currently the President of the Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI). With service in Saudi Arabia and training in Germany and the U.S., he has taught at premier institutions like the Pakistan Military Academy and NDU. Since 2018, he has been on the Faculty of Contemporary Studies at NDU, regularly speaking on CPEC, Kashmir, and regional security. Dr. Raza holds an MPhil on post-2014 Afghanistan and a PhD on CPEC's impact on Pakistan and Afghanistan's societal emancipation.

#### Working Session-IV

Session Theme: **“Transforming Regional Dynamics and Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture”**



**Ms. Hina Rabbani Khar** is currently the Chairperson of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Ms. Khar entered politics in 2002 as an MNA and was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary for Economic Affairs and the Minister of State for Economic Affairs. In 2008 she was elected once again as MNA and in this term she went on to become the first ever woman to be sworn in as Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Since then, she has been representing Pakistan on the world stage in forums like Munich Security Conference, Paris Peace Forum, Davos, and many other regional and international events. Having served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs recently, Ms. Khar has been elected as chairperson of Foreign Relations Committee, and is currently serving in this role.





**Ambassador Asif Durrani** is an accomplished Pakistani diplomat with a distinguished career spanning over 32 years in the Foreign Service. Most recently, he served as Pakistan's Special Representative on Afghanistan, demonstrating his expertise in regional affairs. His prominent assignments include serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Kabul and as Pakistan's Ambassador to Iran and the United Arab Emirates. Additionally, he has also held important positions in places like New Delhi, New York, Kabul, and London. Early in his career, he also served at the United Nations in New York as well. Ambassador Durrani's extensive experience has established him as a respected authority in diplomacy and foreign policy.



**Mr. Kawa Hassan** is a Non-resident Fellow with Stimson's Middle East program. He is also a consultant on Middle East affairs, and an Iraq expert with the NATO Communications and Information Agency. He previously served as Executive Director of Stimson Europe, Director of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Program & Senior Fellow, Vice President of the MENA Program. He has also served as a Director EU Office, East West Institute (EWI) where he led Track 2 diplomacy, policy research, and advocacy initiatives on mediation and conflict resolution. Kawa Hassan is the author and editor of numerous publications, an international speaker, and he regularly provides interviews to global media outlets on MENA affairs. He holds a Master of Science in International Relations, Political Science from the University of Amsterdam, and studied English and German at the Al-Mustansiriya University, Baghdad, Iraq.



**Mr. Leo Wigger** is an editor for Zenith, a Berlin-based foreign policy magazine, where he is focusing on international geopolitics. A political scientist by training, Leo holds an MSc in State, Society and Development from SOAS, University of London and previously received a BA in European Studies from Bremen University. He is an Associate Partner and leads the South Asia and Eurasia programs at the foreign policy think-and-do-tank Candid Foundation, based in Berlin,

Germany. The Candid Foundation is working in the fields of media training, conflict mediation and digital development in international cooperation. In 2022, Leo published his critically acclaimed first book. In the same year, he also became a columnist at the German daily Der Tagesspiegel. His work has appeared in German and international media such as die ZEIT, Welt, Okaz, the Diplomat, Süddeutsche, or Deutschlandfunk.



**Mr. Haroon Sharif** is a globally renowned expert in international development, economic diplomacy, regional cooperation, and development financing. Founder and Senior Fellow of the Sustainable Development Impact Forum, he facilitates strategic partnerships for regional connectivity. He has also served as Pakistan’s Minister of State and Chairman of the Board of Investment. He has a Postgraduate degree in International Business and Development Economics from the London School of Economics and the University of Hawaii.



**Mr. Michael Kugelman** is the Director of the South Asia Institute at the Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. He is also a columnist for Foreign Policy magazine and writes its South Asia Brief, a weekly newsletter of news and analysis from the region. He has managed the South Asia portfolio at the Wilson Center since 2007, and he leads the Center’s programming and research on the region. His recent projects focus on shifting geopolitics in South Asia, U.S.-India security relations, the future of U.S.-Pakistan relations, and the role of strategy during the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan.

### Working Session-V

Session Theme: “**Future of Multilateralism**”



**Ambassador Inam-ul-Haque** is a distinguished Pakistani diplomat with a career spanning several decades. Born on November 10, 1940, he joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1965. Throughout his career, he held pivotal roles, including serving as Pakistan’s Ambassador to Turkey and China, and as Permanent Representative to the

United Nations. In February 2000, he was appointed as the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, the highest position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs from June to November 2002. Notably, he was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the caretaker government from November 2007 to March 2008. Ambassador Inam-ul-Haque's extensive experience and leadership have significantly contributed to shaping Pakistan's foreign policy and diplomatic engagements on the global stage.



**Ambassador Li Junhua** was appointed as the Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs by UNSG António Guterres on 25 July 2022. Prior to his appointment, Mr. Li was Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of China to Italy and San Marino. He brings to the position perspectives and visions on fostering multilateral economic and social cooperation, with a commitment to engage with all parties to further implement the 2030 Agenda including dedication to serve Member States. He has contributed to numerous meetings of the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, as well as other multilateral meetings including the G20, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Asia–Europe Meeting (ASEM), BRICS etc.



**Dr. Ashfaq Hasan Khan** is the Director General of the NUST Institute of Policy Studies (NIPS) in Islamabad and has served as the Principal & Dean of both the NUST Business School and the School of Social Sciences and Humanities for over 15 years. With a PhD in Economics from Johns Hopkins University, he has held significant roles, including Special Secretary Finance and Director General of the Debt Office at Pakistan's Ministry of Finance (1998-2009). Dr. Khan has served on advisory boards like the Asian Development Bank Institute and currently sits on the Academic Committee of the International Finance Forum, Beijing. A distinguished scholar with over 185 publications, he has authored books on global economic challenges. His contributions to economics and public policy earned him Pakistan's Sitara-i-Imtiaz (2005) and the ECO

Excellence Award (2010). Dr. Khan frequently lectures at premier national institutions, sharing his expertise in economic science and policy.



**Dr. Salma Malik** is an Associate Professor and HEC Approved Supervisor in the Department of Defense and Strategic Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Her expertise spans South Asian security, arms control, peace-building, and human security. She serves as a Member of the Senate at the Air War College Institute, Karachi; the Board of Governors at the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad; and the Working Group on Gender, Peace & Security at Pakistan's National Security Division. Dr. Malik is also the editor of Pakistan's Security Problems & Challenges in the Next Decade (2015), a vital contribution to national security discourse. With a PhD from Quaid-i-Azam University, she is a distinguished figure in strategic studies, shaping perspectives on regional stability and development through her research, publications, and policy engagements.



**Ambassador Syed Haider Shah** is currently serving as the Additional Secretary (United Nations and Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan. Previously, he served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Nepal (2020-2022) and as Acting Commissioner at the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi. His extensive career includes significant contributions to UN, legal, and counter-terrorism initiatives, with a focus on Afghanistan and South Asia. Ambassador Shah has held pivotal roles, such as Director for Afghanistan and United Nations Affairs, and Legal Officer at the UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate in New York. Notably, he represented Pakistan at the UN Permanent Mission, negotiating key Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. An alumnus of Harvard Law School (LL.M., 1998) and Khyber Law College (LL.B., 1993), he also holds a postgraduate diploma in International Law from The Hague. A published scholar, Ambassador Shah has co-authored works on UN legislative powers. He is married with three children.

The background features a complex, abstract pattern of overlapping, semi-transparent blue and white geometric shapes, primarily triangles and hexagons, creating a mosaic-like effect. A large, bright white circle is centered on the page, serving as a backdrop for the text.

# **Profiles of Moderators**

## Working Session-I

Session Theme: “**Major Power Competition: Emerging Realities**”



**Dr. Talat Shabbir** is the Director China-Pakistan Study Centre at the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, where he oversees research and advocacy on all facets of Pakistan-China relations. He holds PhD in International Relations from Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He has an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Karachi, a Masters in International Relations from the University of Balochistan, and a Masters in Political Science from the University of Punjab. His research areas are Pakistan, South Asia, the Belt and Road Initiative, CPEC, and Pakistan-China relations. Dr. Talat has been a visiting scholar at Sigur Centre for Asian Studies, George Washington University, USA. He has been on the faculty of the Institute of Strategic Studies Research and Analysis (ISSRA), National Defence University (NDU) where he was assigned to conduct national security workshops and national media workshops. He is the Chief Editor of the Quarterly PIVOT Magazine of the Institute. He regularly contributes to national as well as international newspapers on issues of domestic, regional, and global political issues and participates in panel discussions on various TV channels focusing on issues impacting Pakistan. Dr. Talat Shabbir has authored a book titled “Creating Shared Futures, Pakistan-China: A Journey of Trust and Friendship” and has edited a book titled “Higher than Karakoram: Seven Decades of Pakistan-China Partnership”.

## Working Session-II

Session Theme: “**Evolving Strategic Environment: Impact on Order, Institutions and Norms**”



**Malik Qasim Mustafa** is the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Centre (ACDC) at the ISSI. He is a PhD candidate in the DSS department of QAU Islamabad. He holds an M. Phil (2001) & M.Sc. (1998) degrees in Defence and Strategic Studies, from QAU, Islamabad. He is a Graduate of an Executive Course (2006) from the Asia-Pacific Centre for

Security Studies, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S. He is an International Law Fellow from the Research Society of International Law (2004), Lahore, Pakistan (RSIL). He has done courses on International law (2004) and International Humanitarian Law (2005) from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Islamabad, and from the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and National Law School of India University (NLSIU) Bangalore, India. He has completed many other certificate courses and workshops on issues related to his area of research. He has more than 50 national and international publications including edited book, book chapter, research articles, monographs, Issue Briefs, and special reports. His areas of expertise include Arms Control & Disarmament, Nuclear Issues, Emerging Technologies, and National and Maritime security issues.

### Working Session-III

Session Theme: **“Space for Middle Powers & ‘Global South’”**



**Dr. Khurram Abbas** is serving as the Director of the India Study Centre (ISC) and Editor at the ISSI. Over a decade, he has extensively worked on the Foreign and Defence Policies of the six GCC states, with particular emphasis on Pakistan-Arab relations, China-Arab relations, and India-Arab relations. Dr. Abbas has authored over twenty research publications including book chapters, research articles, and more than two hundred newspaper articles. He earned his PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies from the Centre for International Peace and Stability (CIPS) at the National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST).

### Working Session-IV

Session Theme: **“Transforming Regional Dynamics and Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture”**

**Ms. Amina Khan** is the Director of the Centre for Afghanistan, Middle East & Africa (CAMEA) at the ISSI, where she oversees research and advocacy-related work on all facets of CAMEA. Prior to this, she served as a Research Fellow and a Senior Research Fellow at the ISSI, focusing on Afghanistan and FATA. Over a period of more than 15 years, she has published extensively on



Afghanistan and has presented her research at multiple national and international forums. She is also the author of three edited books, *The Covid Challenge and its Impact on the Middle East and Africa* (2021) and *The Evolving Situation in Afghanistan: International and Regional Perspectives* (2022), *Pakistan's Strategic Frontiers* (2023).

A recipient of OSI/FCO/Chevening Scholarship 2009-2010, Amina has a Masters degree in Democracy, Politics and Governance (DPG) from Royal Holloway University of London. She also has a Masters degree in Defense and Strategic Studies (DSS) from the Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad (2005). She has been a Visiting Fellow at the SWP Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – German Institute for International and Security Affairs (2011). Currently, she is pursuing her doctoral degree from Quaid-e-Azam University.

### Working Session-IV

Session Theme: **“Transforming Regional Dynamics and Architecture: Pakistan’s Posture”**

**Dr. Neelum Nigar** is the Director, Centre for Strategic Perspective (CSP) at the



ISSI where she oversees research and advocacy on Pakistan’s non-traditional security challenges including climate change, poverty, and food insecurity among others. Dr. Nigar holds a PhD in Economics from the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE), Islamabad. She has an M.Phil degree in Economics from PIDE and M.Sc. Economics and Finance from

the International Islamic University Islamabad. Her research focuses on poverty, social protection programs, impact evaluation, and issues of sustainable development in Pakistan. Before joining as Director, CSP, Dr. Nigar was working as Research Fellow at China-Pakistan Study Centre (CPSC) at the ISSI, where she was responsible to carry out research on Pakistan-China economic relations, Belt & Road Initiatives, and CPEC. She has also been on the faculty of the National University of Modern Languages Islamabad (NUML), where she taught economics to graduate and undergraduate students. Dr. Nigar has written several research papers and book chapters.





# **Profiles of ISSI Leadership**



**Ambassador Khalid Mahmood**, Chairman of BOG ISSI is a former Ambassador of Pakistan to Iran, Iraq, China, Saudi Arabia, and Mongolia. He has served as First Secretary and later as Deputy Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, New York. He has worked as Director General (UN), Additional Secretary (United Nations, Asia-Pacific and Africa), and former Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) and the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO).



**Ambassador Sohail Mahmood** is the Director General of the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI). In his 37-year diplomatic career, he held key positions like Pakistan's 30th Foreign Secretary (April 2019-September 2022); High Commissioner to India (2017-2019); Ambassador to Turkiye (2015-2017); and Ambassador to Thailand/Permanent Representative to UNECSAP in Bangkok (2009-2013). He also held senior positions in Pakistan Missions in Washington and New York and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad.

Ambassador Sohail Mahmood has a Master's degree in International Affairs from Columbia University (New York) and a Master's in History from Quaid-e-Azam University (Islamabad).

# **NOTES**



**Acknowledgment:** The Photograph of the Pakistan Monument used in the Islamabad Conclave logo was taken by ZILL NIAZI ([www.instagram.com/zill.niazi](http://www.instagram.com/zill.niazi)) and painted by IRFAN MURTAZA (<http://www.irfanmurtaza.com/>)



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