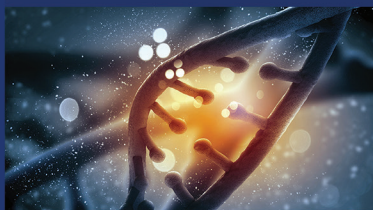




# STRATAGEM

PERCEPTION-COGNITION-VISION-SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

January 2017 | ISSUE - 9



THE RACE FOR GENOME EDITING: FUTURE AND POLITICAL PROSPECTS



FACTIONALISM IN THE BALUCHISTAN INSURGENCY - AN OVERVIEW



INDIAN HEGEMONY: ROOTS OF SOUTH ASIAN CONFLICT



THE ELEMENTS OF EXCEPTIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

## COVER STORY

# THE INCOMING US GOVERNMENT AND ITS CABINET: AN OVERVIEW

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- Info-Graphic: Know Thy Enemy
- Info-Graphic: Balochistan
- Book Review: Not War, Not Peace
- Seminar: Genesis of Kashmir Dispute and Humanitarian Crises ( Special Report)
- Quetta Trip Pictorial View







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# STRATAGEM

January, 2017 | Issue 9

Quarterly Magazine



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# EDITORIAL

By Tayyaba Akhlaq

As a policy research centre, CSCR anticipates to provide a framework for professional expertise, doctrinal wisdom and vision that is crucial for policy formulation and decision-making. This platform is different from the mainstream media. CSCR aims to promote a holistic approach in research on the subjects related to national security challenges like foreign and domestic threats, energy security, socio-economic development, religious issues, environmental degradation/climate change, peace & conflict, role of various ideological elements in the non-kinetic sphere, cultural harmony, constitutional development, protection of human rights, gender and other related issues.

The dynamics of strategic environment, rapid technological developments, emerging new paradigms of statecraft and global competition

require a discreet observation and policy input for the national prospect. CSCR envisions research and policies for strategic national inquest, realizing the significance of traditional and non-traditional security challenges. The institute encourages policy initiatives, reform processes, institutional responsiveness and substantial measures to protect the people's right to life and fundamental freedom. The institute endeavors for institutional development, capacity building, good governance and human resource development.

CSCR focuses on analyzing and predicting events associated with local and international politics, countering militancy and terrorism, and devising geostrategic policy. We aim to inform and educate our readers through neatly divided sections, namely:



- Defense and Security get to the bottom of the issue and thoroughly inspect contemporary local and international affairs.
- Economy Section deals with the ever-changing world economy and how it affects us.
- Issues concerning militancy and terror outfits are addressed in Armed and Dangerous.
- While Environment Section discusses life and the environmental matters surrounding it.
- A fresh perspective is given out in Setting the Record Straight
- Strategic Pulse and Political Landscape provide insight into geopolitical strategy and national political affairs respectively.
- In house Analyses deals with the immediate response and input on developing scenarios and issues.
- Visuals deal with the Web TV shows, v-blogs exclusive photographics and info graphics.
- The detailed analysis from all the analysts is published on monthly basis in stratagem magazine, which is published online. The in house analysis, however, is only published on the website and does not become part of the monthly publication.

The December issue of stratagem features “Factionalism in Balochistan Insurgency” which discusses the growing factionalism among separatist outfits involved in Balochistan insurgency. In addition, the author tries to trace the roots of factionalism and also discuss the impact of the factionalism on the on-going insurgency. Moreover, the article “Roots of Indo-Pak conflict” tries to assert that while different factors such as Hindu-Muslim rivalry and Kashmir issue does cause conflict in the short term, but, in the long term the reason is the anarchical environment of the Subcontinent that makes India pursue hegemonic aims causing Pakistan to fight back. The feature article of this month’s issue “US Government and its Cabinet: An over view on US politics”, outlines whether the “transition of power” will bring Commander-in-Chief Donald Trump to the Oval Office or the Presidential Candidate Donald Trump, emphasizing the characteristics of the designated Cabinet to allow readers to sketch the path the new administration has chosen to “Make America Great Again”. Is the incoming US government and its Cabinet accompanied with ethical baggage and temperamental flaws or will the new White House successfully Drain the Swamp in Washington DC and beyond?

# IN FOCUS

by Moniba Mehboob

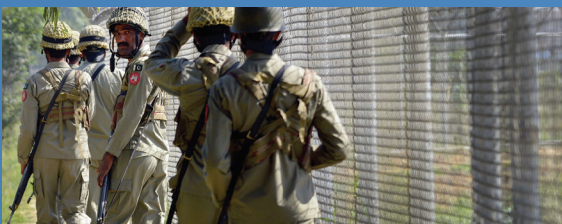


## ESCALATING TENSIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Tension between arch-rivals India and Pakistan has increased over the past few months. After the Uri attacks and India's alleged surgical strikes, aggression on the Line of Control has continued; unprovoked firing from small arms along with artillery were reported in the end of November along the LoC. Pakistan has referred the casualties and provocations to the UN Military Observers Group (UNMOGIP).

Recently, the Heart of Asia conference held in India was attended by the Foreign Affairs Adviser Sartaj Aziz. Pakistan was openly accused of promoting terrorism by the Afghan President in presence of Narendra Modi. Modi too indirectly blamed Pakistan after which relations have soured even more.

Meanwhile, Narendra Modi has threatened to block Pakistan's water supply while Pakistani Representative to the UN has already put in an appeal to the Security Council for the resolution of this dispute which was previously held at bay due to the Indus Water Treaty.



## CPEC "A WORLD OF OPPORTUNITIES", SAYS NAWAZ AS GWADAR PORT BECOMES FULLY OPERATIONAL

CPEC's first mega trade convoy which left Kashgar, China on October 30th 2016 and reached Gwadar Port on November 20th 2016, marked the official beginning of trade activities through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

The CPEC is expected to bring prosperity to Pakistan's economy and tourism and act as a tool for strengthening relations between the two countries. Not just these two countries, but CPEC being part of China's One Belt-One Road (OBOR) project, aims to connect major countries of Central and South Asia, Europe and even Africa. CPEC is slated to garner immense advantage for the province of Balochistan. According to the DG Frontier Works Organisation (FWO), Rs. 35 million have been spent on road infrastructure, only in Balochistan so far. 873 kms of highways have been built in the province in the past two years. Pakistan looks to more developments related to CPEC and is now focusing on more projects in Balochistan to utilize the province's abundant resources.



## APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF OF ARMY STAFF: GENERAL QAMAR BAJWA (COAS)

General Raheel Sharif's retirement has brought on the appointment of a new Chief of Army Staff. The newly appointed Chief of Army Staff General Qamar Javed Bajwa received the baton of command from General Sharif on 29th November 2016; his appointment has been termed as a "sagacious" decision. It has been speculated that the choice has been made partly to "stabilize the fragile civil-military balance".

Despite the response he has received, Bajwa has to grapple with the ever volatile situation on the LoC, CPEC, and the various internal military operations.

"These measures will be initiated after approval of the federal cabinet."



## PROPOSED MERGER OF KP AND FATA

The assimilation of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is a matter under deliberation for the last several years. It was previously rejected, and has now been under serious consideration since at least eight months. Recently, the government's committee on FATA Reforms has proposed the merger of FATA with KP, and has advised against the demand for referendums which was made by Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-Fazal and Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. Retired Lt General Abdul Qadir Baloch stated that, "In the report there are two kinds of regulatory measures — some relate to administrative orders, where changes in the law have to be approved by parliament." He also said, "These measures will be initiated after approval of the federal cabinet."



# NATIONAL



## US REACTION TO TRUMP PRESIDENCY

On November 8th, 2016, the US elections were held and gave way to Donald Trump's presidency. There were protests nationwide with banners and chants of "Not my President" in the USA.



## DISPUTES OVER THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Growing military presence of China and of the US Navy with the Philippines in the South China Sea has raised the possibilities of a maritime war in the region. In early November and late October, the US launched US B-52 bombers and the USS Lassen to challenge China's hegemonic claims in the South China Sea. In light of these recent events, Vice Foreign Minister of China said, "It is a political provocation and the purpose is to test China's response." China has also implied that it will not be afraid of war with the US if matters come to that.

This said, the UN Laws of the Sea state that "Countries can't claim sovereignty over any land masses that are submerged at high tide, or that were previously submerged but have been raised above high tide level by construction".



## "HELL ITSELF WOULD BE PARADISE COMPARED TO ALEPPO THESE DAYS." - THE RECAPTURING OF ALEPPO

The Syrian conflict now in its sixth year is still not any closer to an end. The past few days were especially terrifying for the residents of Aleppo. According to a resident, "It's been a tragedy here for a long time, but I've never seen this kind of pressure on the city - you can't rest for even five minutes, the bombardment is constant."

Since then, the Syrian army has declared Aleppo recaptured. Civilian evacuation is under process and at least 14,000 Syrians have left Aleppo since evacuation began.

It has been reported that 200 airstrikes hit Aleppo in the last weekend of September 2016. They have intensified since then, half of the remaining population of Syria has been displaced, 11 million of them are on the run and have had to seek safety in the neighbouring countries. 470,000 people have reportedly been killed in this war and the real number can only be more, not less.

have been raised above high tide level by construction".





# The Race for Genome Editing: Future and Political Prospects



by Muhammad Adeel



This year's runner up for Time Magazine's person of the year is not a person, rather a technology known as CRISPR. CRISPR stands for 'clustered regularly interspaced short palindromic sequences'. Simply put, this is a tool which allows scientists to edit and modify genomes of living beings. This means, that in principle, it is possible for scientists to cure genetic diseases, wipe out entire mosquito species and even produce designer babies. The possibility with this technology is endless and hence needs discussion and discourse outside the domains of the lab.

Within the scope of global politics, while there have been trends of power, there have been trends of technology race too. We see the modern race of technology begin at the cusp of the Industrial Revolution. Nations competed. Then we had the Anthropocene competition and the birth of oil politics. Then the space race and so on. The race of acquisition and in majority cases, weaponization of technology has been a vital theme in politics. The decade of 2000 introduced us to the human genome, and thereafter



Then we had the Anthropocene competition and the birth of oil politics. Then the space race and so on. The race of acquisition and in majority cases, weaponization of technology has been a vital theme in politics. The decade of 2000 introduced us to the human genome, and thereafter began the race of the genome and allied areas in genetics.

began the race of the genome and allied areas in genetics. We have had remarkable breakthroughs from potential cure(s) for diseases like cancer to the development of efficient diagnostic tests. Countries like Brazil went so far to use gene editing to wipe out populations of dengue carrying mosquitos. There has been the actual possibility to extinction and de-extinction event, and the field of genetics during the last two decades has flourished as if out of a script of a science fiction novel. The likes of Micheal Crichton would be proud. Within the domain of science, there has been a running debate



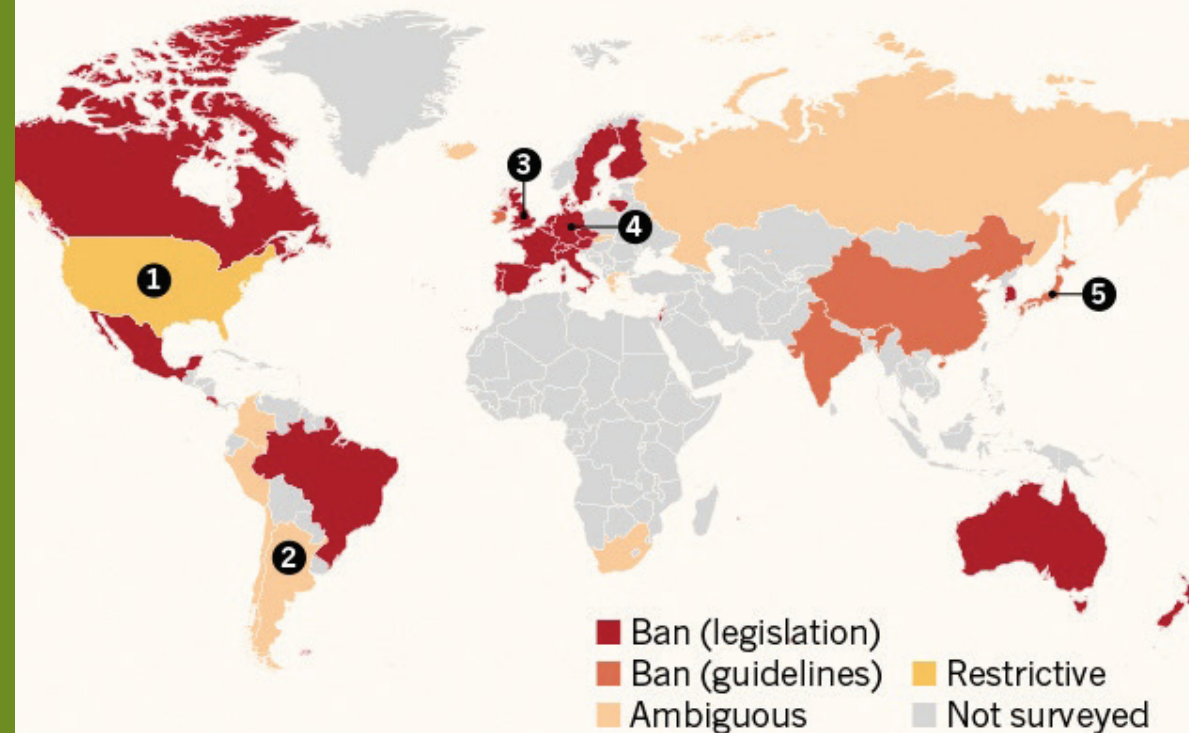
on the ethics of gene editing, however, little has been done to regulate this at the policy level. Now that genome editing is available, it is possible in principle for parents to modify the genomes of their to be born children- vis a vis designer babies. This is in many ways a terrifying possibility and yet has important ethical considerations. What about babies who are born with genetic defects like Down syndrome. In that case, is it the ethical duty of doctors to recommend

genome editing, knowing that the technology is available. Can the child born with the deformity sue his/her parents for not using genome editing to edit the flaw, while the technology to do so existed? As you can see the possibilities and resultant legal and ethical compliances are manifold. At the present time, there is no single global body which can regulate the use of this technology.



## CRISPR EMBRYOS AND THE LAW

Regulations governing genetic modification in human embryos vary. Some countries ban the practice through legislation that carries criminal penalties; others have unenforceable guidelines.



**1. THE UNITED STATES** does not allow the use of federal funds to modify human embryos, but there are no outright genome-editing bans. Clinical development may require approval.

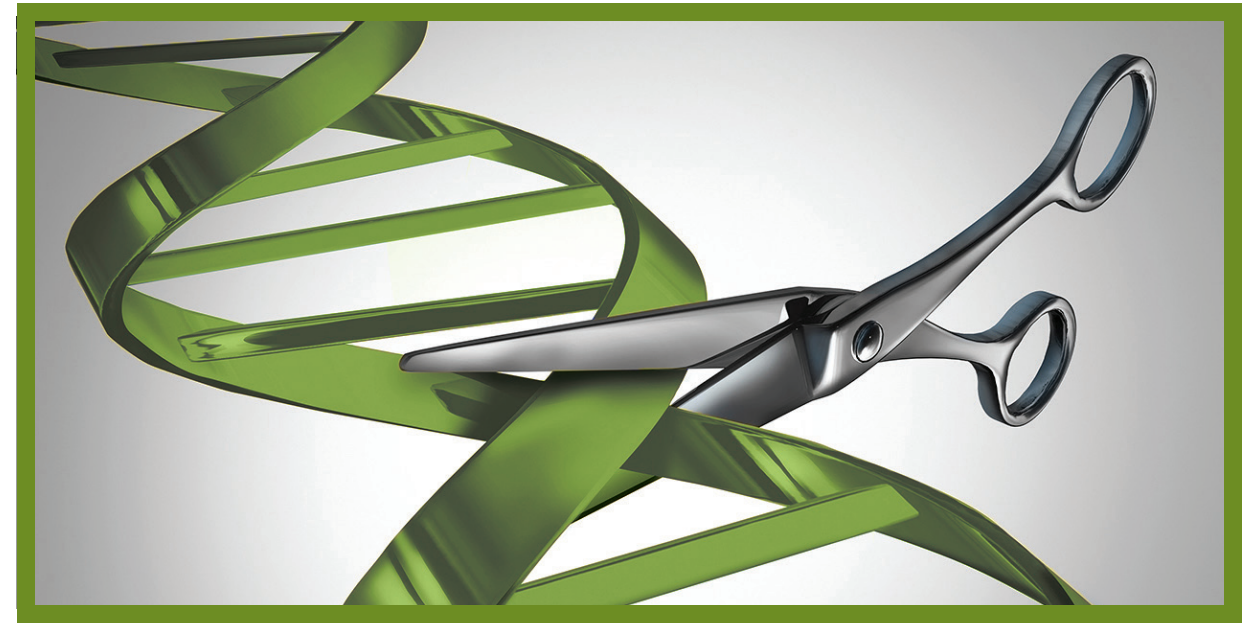
**2. ARGENTINA** bans reproductive cloning, but research applications of human-genome editing are not clearly regulated.

**3. THE UNITED KINGDOM's** independent Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority may permit human-genome editing for research, but the practice is banned in the clinic.

**4. GERMANY** has strict laws on the use of embryos in assisted reproduction. It also limits research on human embryos, and violations could result in criminal charges.

**5. JAPAN**, like China, India and Ireland, has unenforceable guidelines that restrict the editing of a human embryo's genome.

Source: (Nature 526, 310–311 (15 October 2015) doi:10.1038/526310a)



“

There was an International Summit on Human Gene Editing in December 2015 and it concluded that gene editing should be used with extreme care, and not be used in cases where an embryo is used for a pregnancy. However, critical to the Summit was that there was little participation from regulatory bodies across the world. This technology has serious policy implications and demands a response from countries across the world.

One major problem in this regard is that much of the discourse that is already happening related to CRISPR is primarily scientist driven. What about other stakeholders? Imagine the same method that Brazil used to wipe our mosquitos was used on any other species. Do take consideration that these changes are irreversible. The concept of 'gene drive' is already in play, where it is possible to use genome editing to completely annihilate a species.

Government in UK, earlier this year, has already given the green light to its scientists to genetically modify human embryos. Their reasoning is purely utilitarian, that the purpose is to identify genes which can control birth defects. But the point remains, what about the deleterious uses? The human body consists of three billion base pairs and modification of even one can lead to different effects.

Eugenics has prevailed as a concept and there is the frightful possibility of swapping and modifying genes for the creation and selection of a 'super human'

race. As has been the case in the age of capitalism, the fruits of technology are skewed towards those with wealth and power. The possibility of attaining utopia will and has attracted many minds for potential investment.

There was an International Summit on Human Gene Editing in December 2015 and it concluded that gene editing should be used with extreme care, and not be used in cases where an embryo is used for a pregnancy. However, critical to the Summit was that there was little participation from regulatory bodies across the world. This technology has serious policy implications and demands a response from countries across the world.

Consider an actual scenario here. Recently, U.S green lit a project where a new born will have genetic material from three sources, referred to as three person embryo. In layman terms, the new-born will have three genetic parents. The logic behind this was that in cases where the mother carries a genetic disease, it is possible to replace her mitochondria (a part of the cell which has its own DNA) with another healthy woman. Now while the health benefits of this technology are obvious in preventing disease, there needs to be a serious debate on regulation of its usage.

This debate is not just restricted to the human side. There is obviously massive potential of CRISPR to be used in agriculture. Alteration of food crops has been a controversial subject, and there has been the occasional ill-founded debate on genetically modified crops. The controversy that permeated around GM crops is good evidence why policy makers around the world need to be serious about CRISPR. Scientists and policy makers have been entangled





in a muddy battle of facts and myths related to GM crops. CRISPR is a game changer in this regard. The technology is efficient, simple and easy to replicate. It can rapidly increase the scope of GM crops. A lot of research groups across the world have already used it to modify wheat crops against stresses like drought among other related traits of commercial value. The biggest problem is that regulation of such avenues are vague and unclear. Regulation vernacular does not specify correctly as to what constitutes a modified crop. The thing is that in the case of CRISPR, we are not adding a new gene to the crop, rather modifying the existing one. In the regulatory code set up by many countries, this would not constitute a genetically modified crop, and hence can be commercialised without much need for regulation. This makes for a major loophole.

The figure provided below sheds light on CRISPR usage and regulation across the globe.

Then there are countries in Asia which have no regulation at all. The possibility of export and import of biological material modified through CRISPR poses a major challenge. The important aspect to realise here is that the possibility of genetic modification is not wrong, but there has to be an adequate avenue

of regulation, which prevents harmful use. Genetic modification of crops already has provided us with an avenue to solve critical issues like global hunger and sustainable development, but there needs to be active government participation in policy making. Regional and global organizations need to step up and take this issue very openly. Public participation is imperative.

Consider the case for Pakistan. Pakistan was at the forefront of the Green Revolution which marked the proverbial golden era of the country in the 1960s. The evolution of Green Revolution was the Gene Revolution, in which Pakistan was found lacking behind. The country has massive potential for growth and capacity building in this sector. With more than 31 functioning biotechnology centres and a broad spectrum of intellectual pool, Pakistan can contribute and benefit a lot by championing the regulation of CRISPR. Research on the use of CRISPR is on-going in Pakistan but this needs to be taken as a regulation issue as well. There are no provisions within the Pakistan Biosafety Act for such gene editing technologies. Also, in the post 18th Amendment era, there has been confusion regarding the formulation of biosafety policies at the provincial levels. However, the situation can be reversed if the



Consider the case for Pakistan. Pakistan was at the forefront of the Green Revolution which marked the proverbial golden era of the country in the 1960s. The evolution of Green Revolution was the Gene Revolution, in which Pakistan was found lacking behind. The country has massive potential for growth and capacity building in this sector. With more than 31 functioning biotechnology centres and a broad spectrum of intellectual pool, Pakistan can contribute and benefit a lot by championing the regulation of CRISPR.

government would take this as a matter of policy interest. Already within CPEC, Pakistan has agreed with China on biotechnology projects, hence the development and regulation of CRISPR can be made part of it.

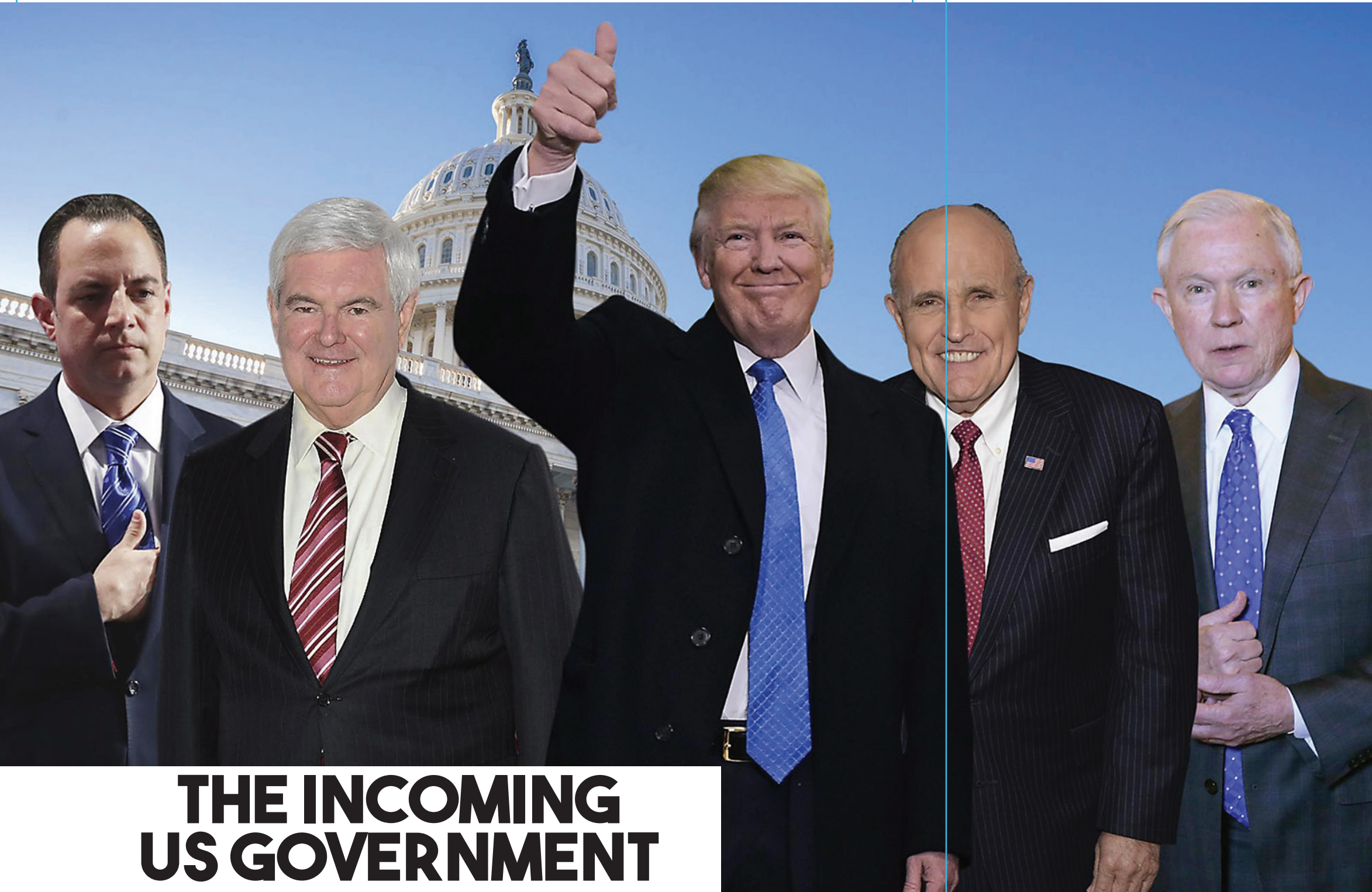
The most fundamental element of this debate on CRISPR is that it should not be restricted to the domain of the lab. There needs to be active

policy discussion on the future of genome editing technologies. It has serious implications for the very future of the human race. We can very well alter the face of human evolution using this technology. The unfortunate part is that many people across the globe are not even aware of the potential of gene editing technologies. A robust and adaptive regulatory policy on a regional and global level can pave foundation for a uniform and beneficial use of the technology. The cure for diseases should not come at the cost of the creation of a new Leviathan.

**Muhammad Adeel** is a Career Diplomat (44th Common) at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. He has also served as a lecturer at FCCU and manager of PABIC, Pakistan Biotechnology Center.

He has an experience of debates of more than five years. He has also been honored by the roll off honor for Debates, Essay writing completion and a summa cum laude award from FCCU.



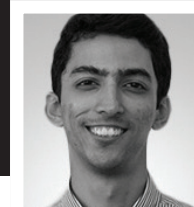


# THE INCOMING US GOVERNMENT

## AND ITS CABINET AN OVERVIEW

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

by Muhammad Omar Afzaal



### TRUMP PRESIDENCY: FIRST 100 DAYS

It is customary in American politics that a presidential nominee outline a vision for their first term as US President.

Presidential nominee Trump had sketched out the following platform for his first 100 days as President:

- Design the wall with Mexico
- Audit the Federal Reserve
- Implement the Muslim immigration ban
- Move to repeal Obamacare
- Rescind Obama's executive order on immigration
- Pick a Scalia-like nominee for the US Supreme Court

Contrast these with what President-elect Trump unveiled as his administration's top policies on November 21, 2016, through a YouTube video:

- **Trade:** Withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) negotiations, replacing it with negotiating "fair bilateral trade deals".
- **Energy:** Loosen "job-killing" restrictions on American energy production.
- **Regulations:** Cut regulations dramatically (such as on shale and clean coal).
- **National Security:** Ask his national security team and the Department of Defense to buttress against infrastructure attacks by developing safeguard policies against cyberattacks and "all other forms of attacks".
- **Immigration:** Trump pledged to "investigate



“President-elect Trump’s six items are relatively easy lifts, only requiring a Trump signature and no congressional approval. But what stands out from this preview is that Trump did not mention his most significant campaign promises: building a wall along the Mexican border, repealing Obamacare, spending \$1 trillion on infrastructure, and placing new restrictions on immigration from some majority Muslim countries.”

all abuses of visa programs that undercut the American worker”.

- **Ethics Reform:** Impose fresh bans on lobbying by government employees such as a 5year ban on executive officials becoming lobbyists after they leave the administration while a lifetime ban on the same officials lobbying on behalf of foreign governments.

Although characteristic of the same protectionist and nativist track championed by Presidential nominee Trump, President-elect Trump’s agenda emphasizes that Trump’s charge would begin with a “very busy first day”, indicating that the incoming president would invest his political capital on priorities that would produce quick yet quality results. This makes sense: Time and speed will be critical as the incoming president aims for larger and more durable wins in his first presidential year.

President-elect Trump’s six items are relatively easy lifts, only requiring a Trump signature and no congressional approval. But what stands out from this preview is that Trump did not mention his most significant campaign promises: building a wall along the Mexican border, repealing Obamacare, spending \$1 trillion on infrastructure, and placing new restrictions on immigration from some majority Muslim countries. Trump’s tango with hyperbole has never wavered: He had once claimed that with him as President, his supporters were going to “win so big”, they would soon be “sick of winning”. Now, arguably, he is perhaps even moderating some of his toughest campaign stances that include implementing a registry for Muslims in the US and completely repealing the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).

During the election cycle, Trump had been vociferous in pledging to rescind every “executive action, memorandum and order

issued by President Obama”. His campaign had sought to identify “maybe twenty-five executive orders” that Trump could reverse as President, effectively erasing the Obama Presidency and legacy. Yet, this is another agenda where Trump has seemingly calmed down, even stating that he would likely retain key elements of Obamacare.

Ultimately, President Trump’s first 100 days (and perhaps beyond) may be characterized by Nixon’s infamous words: “When the President does it, that means that it’s not illegal”. Whether or not this is true, America will have to do what it did with most of Trump’s presidential campaign: wait and see.

## FOREIGN POLICY: FIRST 100 DAYS

A leader’s beliefs matter. Particularly on foreign policy, where he/she has ample space to exert immediate clout. Other leader attributes such as age and experience may further interact with key beliefs to affect how leaders make decisions. In democracies and mixed regimes, older leaders (particularly those over 70, Trump’s age) are more prone to aggression. Trump’s core beliefs revolve around “opposition to America’s alliance relationships” and “opposition to free trade” as identified by Thomas Wright early in the election campaign.

Today, Americans are reflecting on hard questions about the type of global leadership role they want their country to play. President-elect Trump will have to employ singular discipline and imagination to address the simultaneity of proliferating challenges and constrained appetite. Henry Kissinger rightly identifies there to be a gap “between the public’s perception of the role of US foreign policy and the elite’s perception”. With a non-establishment US president to take power, this

may be the opportunity to reconcile the two. Most DC elites, regardless of party affiliation, appear internationalist, favoring maintaining US alliances abroad. With more traditional Republican voices in the Senate and Congress acting as foreign policy watchdogs, President-elect Trump is likely to preserve this modus operandi, albeit with an increased rhetoric of calling on allies such as NATO, Japan, and South Korea to do more. Other such foreign policy ‘regulators’ will also include the American public, the media, and the attitude of foreign leaders.

The voices of foreign allies are likely to be more active now. One case where this is likely to be true is the Iran Deal. Particularly keeping trans-Atlantic relations in mind, Ambassador Nicholas Burns rightly points out that “there is zero chance” American allies such as Germany, Britain or France will agree to re-impose sanctions against Iran if the new US administration ousts the Iran Deal.

“This divisive, rancorous election campaign revealed a double deficit of trust: a horizontal distrust across geography, states, communities and even families and social identities, along with a vertical dimension across authority and establishment.”

Powers like Russia and China are likely to wait to see how the situation evolves. What may be challenging in the short-term is the possibility of non-state actors having an incentive to provoke a US reaction that undermines the US global position. Reflection before reaction has to be the incoming president’s motto. Ultimately, as emphasized by Kissinger, two key themes may help guide the incoming Trump administration’s strategic thinking:

- “What is the US trying to achieve, even if it must pursue it alone?”
- “What is the US trying to prevent, even if it must combat it alone?”

## OVERCOMING THE AMERICAN NATIONAL/ POLITICAL DIVIDE

This divisive, rancorous election campaign

revealed a double deficit of trust: a horizontal distrust across geography, states, communities and even families and social identities, along with a vertical dimension across authority and establishment. This twin trust deficit did not happen overnight. Yes, Americans always shared various values and disagreements but a unifying glue had always been present. Alarming, the recent embittered politics assumed that the US is endlessly resilient: Americans treated the US as if it were a football when in fact, the latter has come to be as sensitive and fragile as an egg.

People need the political authority to help develop a narrative to explain why Americans are feeling how they are feeling: disillusioned and disenfranchised. People must understand how distrust became rampant and a part of the political system. It became a tool to bash the government, a way to reduce dependency on the Federal circle, and an apparatus to portray the government as a problem. Labeling every

political fiasco as another Watergate has fast become the norm. Undermining people who do not share the same values and points of view through accusations of a liar and a crook is not viable. The innocence of government people who actually care and work needs to be restored. At the same time, people must understand that some bureaucrats are doing good work but because they also want to do well personally. As a politician, that is a fair ambition to possess.

President-elect Trump does have a potent advantage: he is well-versed in deal-making and has intellectual capacity, the latter being grossly underestimated in the recently-concluded election cycle. Such qualities need to be used to heal divisions and help communities find common-ground, particularly rejuvenating lateral bonds of trust. Come January, Trump will be on a steep learning curve and must enjoy what he learns. He has been accused of being



rash, harsh, and too spontaneous. But now that the presidency is his, he should relax, be composed and be reflective before reacting. His ‘fighting’ quality needs to recede in the background, being substituted with diplomacy and empathy. More critically, Trump needs to enrich himself by asking solid, hard questions from his advisors to smoke out the underside of key issues.

DECISIONS THE INCOMING US PRESIDENT CAN (AND CANNOT) TAKE ON HIS OWN

Incoming leaders have their own ambitious agendas and campaign promises to keep. However, not all priorities may be accomplished single-handedly: some decisions require Congress approval while others pose different obstacles such as commitment to international partners. The following presents a snapshot of Donald Trump's pre-election promises and pledges, outlining the autonomy he will have (as US President) concerning each agenda. Also captured below is the frequency with which he had mentioned the promised commitments during his speeches (This frequency is based on transcripts from 122 rallies and speeches over the course of the 2016 presidential campaign, as recorded by the New York Times).

INCOMING CABINET

After the hype and melodrama of Election Day, the US has turned its focus on the incoming Cabinet as President-elect Trump selects the men and women who will fill his administration. So far, his picks largely indicate that loyalty is paramount, with early Trump backers and campaigners poised to form the inner circle of the new Oval Office. Yet, this has also expectedly sparked alarm, frustration, and confusion among the opposite camp.

The Cabinet & Administration Short List

- Commerce Secretary: Wilbur Ross

The Commerce Department has suffered recurring budget cuts but the Commerce Secretary position still entails a diverse

CONGRESS NOT NEEDED
Suspend immigration from “terror-prone regions”
End foreign trade abuses
Choose Supreme Court nominee
Leave the Trans-Pacific Partnership
Label China a currency manipulator
Limit federal regulations
Roll back environmental regulations
Rescind Obama’s actions on guns
Approve the Keystone XL pipeline
Tighten lobbying restrictions
Freeze federal hiring
Overturn protections for certain undocumented immigrants
Cancel payments to UN climate programs
Propose term limits on Congress
KEY
Mentioned in almost all speeches
Mentioned in most speeches
Mentioned in about half of speeches
Mentioned in a few speeches

portfolio, overseeing the Bureau of Economic Analysis, the Census, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The nominee, Wilbur Ross, an investor with an estimated fortune of \$2.9 billion, has stated that the US must rid itself from the “bondage” of “bad trade

Education Department and shift responsibilities for curriculum research and education aid to state/local governments, Trump has nominated Betsy DeVos, a former chairman of the Michigan Republican Party, an education activist, and a passionate believer in school choice.

**Health & Human Services Secretary: Tom Price**

This Cabinet official will be critical if President-elect Trump is to fulfill one of his central campaign pledges of repealing Obama’s Affordable Care Act (ACA) and installing a fresh health system. Tom Price is Mr. Trump’s selection for this crucial position: a six-term Republican congressman from Georgia and an orthopedic surgeon, Mr. Price has opposed the ACA on the basis that it obstructs the ability of patients and doctors alike to make medical decisions.

**Housing and Urban Development Secretary: Dr. Ben Carson**

This position manages fair-housing laws, access to mortgage insurance, and development of affordable housing. Dr. Ben Carson, a former neurosurgeon and Trump’s rival in the Republican presidential primaries, is expected to be nominated for this position, despite Dr. Carson previously stating that he does not want to work in the government.

**Transportation Secretary: Elaine L. Chao**

The new top transportation official will regulate and administer President-elect Trump’s campaign promises of increasing infrastructure funding to rebuild the country’s airports, roads, bridges, and transit systems. Elaine L. Chao, a former Labor secretary for George W. Bush, has been selected for this position. Ms. Chao is the wife of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell and is popular among the Republican establishment.

**Defense Secretary: James N. Mattis**

This position will be ever so critical for shaping US foreign engagements and the fight against the Islamic State. Significant decisions will

CONGRESS MAY BE NEEDED
Deport undocumented immigrants who have committed crimes
Renegotiate or withdraw from the North American Free Trade Agreement
Impose tariffs on companies moving overseas
Stop funding “sanctuary cities”
Propose term limits on Congress
CONGRESS NEEDED
Repeal and replace Obamacare
Build a wall
End Common Core
Pass a security bill
Cut taxes
Pass an infrastructure bill
Pass an ethics bill
Restrict lobbying by former members of Congress
Pass a child care bill
Pass a law enforcement bill

agreements” and has ushered threats to impose sharp tariffs on China.

- Education Secretary: Betsy DeVos

To implement his aims to dramatically shrink the



include rolling back or continuing with the Obama era initiatives of integrating women into combat roles and allowing transgender people to serve openly. Former four-star Army General Jack Keane had been offered this position but declined the offer for personal reasons, recommending former generals James Mattis and David Petraeus instead. Other contenders had included current and past senators (Tom Cotton and Jon Kyl), Representatives (Duncan Hunter), and former government officials (Stephen J. Hadley). Mattis, a retired Marine Corps general and the former head of US Central Command, ultimately emerged as the President-elect's pick for the nomination: Gen. Mattis had been the leading candidate for the Defense Secretary slot, according to the President-elect's Twitter account.

#### **Attorney General of the United States: Jeff Sessions**

Billed as the country's top law enforcement executive, the Attorney General will possess the authority for carrying out the new president's 'law and order' policies, also having the ability



Jeff Sessions



Nikki R. Haley

to change how civil rights laws are enforced. The controversial Senator of Alabama, Jeff Sessions, has been nominated for the job. This choice has stood out for the wrong reasons: Sessions is a vigorous proponent of strict immigration enforcement, reduced spending and tough-on-crime measures while his nomination for a federal judgeship during the Reagan years was rejected due to racially charged comments and actions. This is one of the President-elect's most contentious picks for the incoming government so far and among all his nominations, the most likely one to face confirmation hiccups.

#### **US Ambassador to the United Nations: Nikki R. Haley**

This official, second to the US Secretary of State, is the primary face of the US to the UN and the world, championing various American interests in an often-frustrating international bureaucracy. This position entails profound diplomatic and navigational skills. The incoming US ambassador to the UN will have to diligently



shape US-Russian relations at the UN amid concerns that the new US President will be too cozy with Putin: Russia and the US are both veto-wielding Security Council members, which often puts them at odds with one another. The governor of South Carolina and a former critic of Trump, Nikki Haley, has been nominated for this position. Reportedly, her criticism of Trump is believed to have kept her off Trump's list of vice presidential candidates. Ms. Haley, the daughter of immigrants from India and a rising star in the GOP, was the President-elect's first female appointee to a Cabinet-level post: Trump called her "a proven deal-maker". Although Haley is an unknown in the foreign policy arena, Senator Tim Kaine (the Democratic vice-presidential nominee) viewed her executive experience as an asset in her new role.

#### CIA Director: Mike Pompeo

The initial calls faced by the incoming CIA Director will include deciding to continue or abandon his predecessor's (John Brennan) CIA 'modernization' plan and chalking out a



Mike Pompeo

strategy on how to proceed if Trump orders a resumption of harsh interrogation tactics (that have been labelled by critics including John McCain as 'torture') for terrorism suspects. Besides being a former US Army officer, Mike Pompeo, Representative of Kansas, is a member of the House Intelligence Committee. He is a relative newcomer in the Trump circle but notably sharply criticized Hillary Clinton in the aftermath of the Benghazi attack of 2012. Pompeo heavily rebuked the Iran nuclear deal and believes Edward Snowden to be a traitor deserving the death sentence.

#### National Security Adviser: Michael Flynn

The national security adviser is not a cabinet member but is a "critical gatekeeper" for consolidating policy proposals from various agencies including the State Department and the Pentagon. The national security adviser is likely to assume outsize, given the dearth of government and security experience among the Trump team. However, Trump's nomination



Michael Flynn

National Committee, was marked as the White House Chief of Staff a mere few days after the election result. Nomination for this position does not require Senate confirmation.

#### Chief Strategist: Stephen K. Bannon

Steve Bannon, like Priebus, was nominated early in his position as Chief Strategist and Senior Counselor in the White House. Bannon, a right-wing media mogul and the chairman of the president-elect's campaign, was earlier considered by Trump for the Chief of Staff job. He will work "as equal partners" with Priebus in the new administration. Along with Flynn (National Security Adviser) and Sessions (Attorney General), Bannon is among the most contentious and disquieting nominations so far by the President-elect. He has acquired fierce critics (including civil rights groups, Democrats and even Republican strategists) who fear he will bring "anti-Semitic, nationalist and racist views to the West Wing". Nomination for this position does not require Senate confirmation.



Reince Priebus

for this position, Michael Flynn, is an audacious and controversial pick. Flynn, a former US Army lieutenant general, was retired as the director of the Defense Intelligence Agency in 2014. In addition, Flynn has been a sharp critic of Islam, declaring it to be "a political ideology". He is vocal of the Islamist militancy dangers, believing IS extremists to pose an existential threat globally. Flynn also accused the Obama administration of being too soft on terrorism. Nomination for this position does not require Senate confirmation.

#### White House Chief of Staff: Reince Priebus

Managing the personnel of the West Wing, steering the president's agenda, and tending to important relationships. These are key tasks handled by the Chief of Staff. As with the national security adviser position, the Chief of Staff will also assume greater responsibility in a Trump administration that lacks policy-making experience and balancing precarious relationships between critical players in DC. Reince Priebus, the chairman of the Republican



Stephen K. Bannon



## Secretary of State: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)

Arguably the most distinguished and esteemed Cabinet position, the Secretary of State position has Trump loyalists, ideologues and relatively seasoned foreign policy minds as potentials. This official plays a critical role in the post-1945 setup of alliance-building and globalism, something which the President-elect desires to shift away from. As such, the nominated candidate will have to balance the new President's inclinations with the traditional role of the State Department.

The following are thought to be in the run to be America's top diplomat:

- Mitt Romney (The 2012 Republican presidential nominee; Former governor of Massachusetts; Romney is among the leading candidates, despite his fierce criticism of Trump during the election cycle)
- David H. Petraeus (Former four-star US Army General; Former CIA Director, who resigned amid a scandal involving the mishandling of classified material)
- Rudolph (Rudy) W. Giuliani (Former mayor of New York; Early Trump supporter during the election campaign; Mr. Giuliani's security firm's ties to the Qatari government and his speeches to an Iranian exile opposition group that (until 2012) had been on the State Department's foreign terrorist

organizations list are frequently debated; Also a possible candidate for the Homeland Security Secretary and Director of National Intelligence positions)

- John R. Bolton (Former US Ambassador to the UN under George W. Bush)
- Bob Corker (Senator from Tennessee; Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee)
- Zalmay Khalilzad (Former US Ambassador to Afghanistan)

## Treasury Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)

The top Treasury position entails responsibilities for government borrowing in financial markets, assisting in any rewrite of the tax code and managing the Internal Revenue Service. The Treasury Department further carries out/lifts financial sanctions against foreign countries (e.g. on Iran, DPRK, and Cuba) and terrorist organizations. Steven Mnuchin, an anti-establishment Goldman Sachs partner, is a strong favorite for this position: Trump himself has indicated that he wants to select Mnuchin, his campaign finance chairman, for the top Treasury job.

The following are in the run to be America's Treasury Secretary:

- Steven Mnuchin (Trump campaign's Finance Chairman; Former Goldman Sachs executive, Current Chairman and Chief Executive of the private investment firm



Dune Capital Management)

- Thomas Barrack Jr. (Founder, Chairman and Executive Chairman of Colony Capital; Private equity and real estate investor)
- Tim Pawlenty (Former Minnesota Governor)
- Jeb Hensarling (Texas Representative; Chairman of the House Financial Services Committee)

## Director of National Intelligence: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)

This will be the president's principal adviser on intelligence, responsible for the holistic civil-military intelligence apparatus. The director will be critical in driving coordination between the intelligence agencies, particularly for the war on the Islamic State.

The following are in the run to be America's Director of National Intelligence:

- Rudolph W. Giuliani (Former Mayor of New York; Early Trump supporter during the election campaign; Mr. Giuliani's security firm's ties to the Qatari government and his speeches to an Iranian exile opposition group that (until 2012) had been on the State Department's foreign terrorist organizations list are frequently debated; Also a possible candidate for the Homeland Security Secretary and Secretary of State positions)
- Michael S. Rogers (Navy admiral; Current director of the National Security Agency; his selection may be complicated, given the Obama administration is currently contemplating removing him from office after his slow response to combat the Islamic State)

## Interior Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)

Responsible for American public lands and waters, the incoming Interior Secretary has crucial decisions to make: roll back Obama administration rules that block public land development, restrict the exploration of oil, coal

and gas, and encourage wind and solar power on public lands. The President-elect has a selection of politicians and company executives to choose from.

The following are in the run to be America's Interior Secretary:

- Forrest Lucas (President of Lucas Oil Products that produces automotive lubricants)
- Sarah Palin (Former Alaska Governor; Republican Party nominee for Vice President in the 2008 US election; Also a possible candidate for the Secretary of Veteran Affairs position)
- Jan Brewer (Former Arizona Governor)
- Cathy McMorris Rodgers (Representative from Washington)
- Robert E. Grady (Venture capitalist; Gryphon Investors partner; Served in the George H.W. Bush administration; also a possible candidate for the Energy Secretary and EPA Administrator positions)
- Harold G. Hamm (Chief Executive of the oil and gas company, Continental Resources; an Oklahoma billionaire and a close friend of Trump, having had a significant influence on Trump's energy policy platform; also a possible candidate for the Energy Secretary position)

## Agriculture Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)

The agriculture secretary oversees America's farming industry, inspects food quality and provides income-based food assistance. The department also helps develop international markets for American products, giving the next secretary partial responsibility to carry out Mr. Trump's positions on trade. Trump has a relatively wide variety of nearly 70 leaders on his agricultural advisory committee to choose from.

The following are in the run to be America's



## Agriculture Secretary:

- Sam Brownback (Kansas governor)
- Sonny Perdue (Former Governor of Georgia)
- Chuck Conner (COO of the National Council of Farmer Cooperatives)
- Sid Miller (Texas Commissioner of Agriculture)

**Labor Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

This Cabinet official manages rules that protect the country's workers, distributes benefits to the unemployed and publishes economic data (e.g. monthly jobs report). This position is important for President-elect Trump's campaign promise of dismantling Obama-era rules covering the vast work force of federal contractors.

The following are in the run to be America's Labor Secretary:

- Victoria A. Lipnic (Equal Employment Opportunity commissioner and workforce policy counsel to the House Committee on Education and the Workforce)

**Energy Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

Contrary to popular belief, the Energy Secretary manages the White House purview to protect and handle the country's nuclear weapons.

The following are in the run to be America's Energy Secretary:

- James L. Connaughton (Former environmental adviser to President George W. Bush; Chief Executive of Nautilus Data Technologies)
- Robert E. Grady (Venture capitalist; Gryphon Investors partner; Served in the George H.W. Bush administration; also a possible candidate for the Interior Secretary and EPA Administrator positions)
- Harold G. Hamm (Chief Executive of the oil and gas company, Continental Resources; an Oklahoma billionaire and a close friend

of Trump, having had a significant influence on Trump's energy policy platform; also a possible candidate for the Interior Secretary position)

**Secretary of Veteran Affairs: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

The secretary will face the task of improving the image of a department Mr. Trump has widely criticized. Mr. Trump repeatedly argued that the Obama administration neglected the country's veterans, and he said that improving their care was one of his top priorities.

The following are in the run to be America's Secretary of Veteran Affairs:

- Sarah Palin (Former Alaska Governor; Republican Party nominee for Vice President in the 2008 US election; Also a possible candidate for the Interior Secretary position)
- Scott Brown (Former Massachusetts senator)
- Jeff Miller (Retired representative from Florida; Former Chairman of the House Veterans Affairs Committee)

**Homeland Security Secretary: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

This agency was established in the aftermath of 9/11 and is still working to settle at a firm goal(s). However, in the Trump administration, the Homeland Security Secretary becomes key since he will oversee the US guarding its borders. The Secretary will be busy if the Trump administration keeps its promises of widespread deportations and building the Mexico wall.

The following are in the run to be America's Homeland Security Secretary:

- Joe Arpaio (Sheriff of Maricopa County, Arizona)
- Rudolph W. Giuliani (Former Mayor of New York; Early Trump supporter during the election campaign; Mr. Giuliani's security

firm's ties to the Qatari government and his speeches to an Iranian exile opposition group that (until 2012) had been on the State Department's foreign terrorist organizations list are frequently debated; Also a possible candidate for the Secretary of State and Director of National Intelligence positions)

- John F. Kelly (Retired four-star Marine general; His son was killed in combat in Afghanistan)
- David A. Clarke Jr. (Sheriff of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin)
- Kris Kobach (Secretary of State for Kansas; Top adviser to President-elect Trump on his hard-line immigration policies)
- Michael McCaul (Texas Representative; Chairman of the House Homeland Security Committee)

**Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Administrator: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

This position manages the country's environmental regulations. Early on in the campaign, Trump had promised to dismantle the EPA "in almost every form. Later, Trump stated that he would "refocus the EPA on its core mission of ensuring clean air, and clean, safe drinking water for all Americans". Either way, the EPA administrator will quickly become inundated with work in a Trump administration.

The following are in the run to be America's EPA Administrator:

- Robert E. Grady (Venture capitalist; Gryphon Investors partner; served in the George H.W. Bush administration; also a possible candidate for the Interior Secretary and Energy Secretary positions; had been involved in drafting the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990)
- Myron Ebell (Director at Competitive Enterprise Institute; Climate change skeptic;

Runs the EPA working group on Trump's transition team)

- Jeffrey R. Holmstead (Lawyer at Bracewell L.L.P.; Former Deputy EPA administrator under George W. Bush)

**US Trade Representative: Not yet nominated (as of December 4, 2016)**

This official will be the chief US trade negotiator. Uniquely, the top trade representative may actually end up opposing new trade deals, rewriting fresh ones, and consolidating President-elect

Trump's enforcement of what the incoming president views as unfair trade, particularly with China.

The following are in the run to be America's US Trade Representative:

- Dan DiMicco (Former Chief Executive of Nucor Corporation that is a steel production company; Critic of Chinese trade practices)

**VERDICT****Synopsis**

In the shortlist and nominated candidates so far, President-elect Trump does not possess the typical cadre of establishment insiders. The Cabinet contenders primarily include anti establishment surrogates, industry titans and conservative activists. A handful of mainstream Republican minds (possibly Mitt Romney) are still likely to make the cut. The President-elect has also provided unique juxtapositions such as announcing the Transportation and Health & Human Services secretaries on the same day. Crucial recurring themes for shortlisting candidates have included plucking them from the private sector and rewarding loyalists who stood by the president-elect during the bruising election campaign.

Yet, nominations like those of Jeff Sessions (first Senator to endorse Trump), Steve Bannon



(Trump's presidential campaign CEO), and Michael Flynn (Trump's top military adviser) are highly contentious, provocative and do little to unite the divided country. According to transcripts, Sessions was accused of joking that he thought the Ku Klux Klan "was OK" until he learned its members smoked marijuana while also calling a black assistant attorney "boy." Sessions has denied making some of the comments and said the others were jokes taken out of context. Bannon was the head of Breitbart website that was widely seen as sexist, racist, and anti-Semitic: the incoming senior counselor himself referred to Breitbart as a platform for the "alt-right" (a far-right group that hovers over white nationalism and populism). Bannon has frequently been accused of being a "white supremacist". Meanwhile, General Flynn has been accused of embellishment and poor interpersonal skills. Colin Powell, in an email, wrote: "Abusive with staff, didn't listen, worked against policy, bad management, etc." No former high level official who views Flynn as an appropriate appointment has come forward so far. Flynn has been an outspoken critic of political Islam, advocating a global campaign led by the US against radical Islam. Flynn once expressed on Twitter that fearing Muslims was rational. Such selections hint at how Trump's political debts to the alt-right might manifest itself in the incoming administration. Critically, Bannon and Flynn's appointment as Chief Strategist and National Security Adviser respectively do not require Senate confirmation.

Interestingly, Cabinet positions such as the Health & Services Secretary, the Energy

Secretary, and the US Trade Representative that are typically not contentious or hyped up have become highly publicized. This reflects how far-reaching and singular Trump's campaign platform was, reminding voters of the sweeping shift away from the establishment a Trump administration is shaping. Additionally, the Trump Cabinet selection and nomination has been quite a public process (CNN trained a camera on the President-elect's golf club's wooden front door throughout the day where and when Trump was meeting hopeful potentials). As with the election campaign, Trump is doing things Trump's way.

And who is leading the transition effort for the President-elect? This responsibility (taken away from Chris Christie) was given to the Vice-President-elect, Mike Pence. Pence, a Trump loyalist yet with deep contacts in Capitol Hill will be critical in navigating this delicate transition period. But with additional Trump loyalists such as Steve Bannon as top transition advisers, the President-elect is keeping close the circle of anti-Washington advisers. Notably, three of the Trump children and his son-in-law, are also an integral part of the 16-member advisory committee.

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Through "research into seven parliamentary and presidential democracies (including the United States)", the Washington Post identified three (unwritten and informal) rules for cabinet appointments:

- Cabinet members must possess relevant (i.e. germane to their Cabinet appointment) educational credentials and/or experience in government/private sector
- Leaders appoint Cabinet members particularly based on whom they can trust and who have demonstrated loyalty to them/their party
- Cabinets should resemble/look like the country in some way i.e. Cabinets need to be representative of citizens and their interests

Norman Eisen, a former ambassador who was part of Obama's White House transition team in 2008, aptly summed up the current situation: "When we were in the Obama transition, one of the big concerns we had that there were a lot of people coming into government who did not necessarily have federal government experience. The Trump transition has that problem on steroids."

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- Cabinets should resemble/look like the country in some way i.e. Cabinets need to be representative of citizens and their interests

Despite the drama ensuing Cabinet nominations, President-elect Trump appears to be generally satisfying the first two rules. Elaine Chao, Nikki Haley and Mitt Romney hail from the traditional Republican bloc. Nominees like Jeff Sessions, however controversial, have education credentials and government experience. Likewise, despite her share of controversies, Betsy DeVos (nominee for secretary of education) has experience in education reform, especially the charter school movement.

It is the third rule which particularly makes the Cabinet stand out: the Cabinet does not "look like" the country in any way. The probable Cabinet members are not representative of Americans and of their interests. Yes, not everyone in a country gets equal representation but this Cabinet will shape an extraordinary relationship between a Western democracy and fair representation. Appointing a conventional and representative Cabinet could have been a major way for the President-elect to be able to claim his victory speech promise of becoming "a President for all Americans."

### Experience

The incoming White House and Cabinet roster may end up ranking among the least experienced in recent presidential history. Norman Eisen, a

former ambassador who was part of Obama's White House transition team in 2008, aptly summed up the current situation: "When we were in the Obama transition, one of the big concerns we had that there were a lot of people coming into government who did not necessarily have federal government experience. The Trump transition has that problem on steroids."

Among Trump's picks who have never worked in government are prominent names such as Steve Bannon (White House Chief Strategist and Senior Counselor), Reince Priebus (White House Chief of Staff), Betsy DeVos (Education Secretary), Dr. Ben Carson (Housing and Urban Development Secretary), and Wilbur Ross (Commerce Secretary). Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner, being touted as a White House adviser, also has no government experience to his name. But then, nor does Trump.

Additionally, the ones with government experience under their belt, such as South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley, do not seem to have the relevant government experience: Haley has been nominated as the US Ambassador to the United Nations, yet has little, if any, official foreign policy experience. Eisen, describing the Trump Cabinet, stated: "You have either no experience or the wrong kind of experience [in the incoming new Cabinet]".

Some Trump nominations are raising eyebrows for reasons other than experience: the likely new National Security Adviser, Retired Lt. Gen. Mike Flynn, was previously retired in 2014 as director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, partly due to concerns over his management style, which one former Pentagon official described as "disruptive". Even a figure within the Trump transition team voiced concerns that Flynn lacks the prerequisite diplomatic style for the National Security Adviser post: "He [Flynn] should be coordinating policy, not dictating it. Imagine how this will go: [James] Mattis [former



commander of US Central Command who outranked Flynn, is generally well liked and is being touted as the new Defense Secretary] disagrees with Flynn. Does Flynn then scream at him or spend time undermining him? ...how does Flynn handle a situation where all of the Cabinet is unified and Trump disagrees?"

However, Jay Lefkowitz (Bush Jr.'s adviser on domestic policy) believes that by nominating

a relatively inexperienced cabinet, Trump is shifting away from "conventional politics and conventional bureaucrats", noting that for instance, the nominated Education Secretary, DeVos' lack of federal government experience, makes her ideal for an agency desperately wanting reform. As such, Lefkowitz concluded that having new faces in key posts is "a net positive, not a net negative".

### When past presidents-elect named Cabinet positions



Source: www.washingtonpost.com

Ultimately, inexperience issues are likely to add up to pose potential problems in policy development and governance. Yet, what may also likely emerge with inexperienced Cabinet appointees is the selection of more seasoned deputies to push agendas through the government machinery, cushioning against the inexperience complications.

#### Timing

President-elect Trump still has plenty of time to evaluate his options and make the final picks. Compared with the past five new presidents, Trump seems to be well ahead of schedule. As the chart outlines, most Cabinet nominations are finalized during December (with December 25 being a target date for recent presidents) through a staid journey. Generally, nominations for the heads of the Treasury, Justice and Commerce departments are the quickest to be finalized while the slowest are Interior, Energy and Transportation department heads.

The chart further shows that the incoming Cabinets for the last five new presidents were completed by the New Year, on average. President Obama was the quickest to name his Cabinet (within 32 days before his inauguration) while George H.W. Bush took the longest (not naming his final Cabinet member until over a week before he was sworn in). However, Obama did not finalize his first pick until November 21 and his second one until after Thanksgiving while Reagan made his picks in large clusters (six on December 11 and four on December 22). Since 1980, just 2 of the 70 eventual Cabinet announcements for the five new presidents had been made by November 17 of the year before the inauguration.

#### Foreign Policy & Security

Despite the rumor mill fast churning out potential nominations, the Cabinet roster for security

and foreign policy, is tough to pigeonhole Loyalists (such as Rudy Giuliani), former Trump adversaries (Mitt Romney), and former veterans (Gen. James Mattis) are all in the mix.

Romney particularly, if chosen to be the top American diplomat, is viewed as a moderating influence on the potential hard-liners nominated for defense and security. Such was Romney's earlier harsh and personal vitriol against Trump that the anti-Romney bandwagon now includes Kellyanne Conway, (Trump's campaign manager), conservative stalwarts such as Newt Gingrich and Mike Huckabee, and others including Rep. Chris Collins (R-N.Y.) and influential conservative activist Brent Bozell. This like-minded group strongly favors Rudy Giuliani, with some believing the loyal Trump backer deserves the Secretary of State post out of sheer loyalty. Yet, Romney's criticism has reportedly irked Trump: The President-elect was "furious" particularly at Conway's comments. Those favoring Romney for the Cabinet's most prestigious office do include Vice President-elect Mike Pence, trusting Romney to lead US diplomacy.

This escalating feud has brought forward former Army General David Petraeus as another candidate for the same position. The general had been adopting a patient 'wait and see' approach on the matter and is among the most influential American military officers. However, with a controversial end to his government career as CIA Director (Petraeus pleaded guilty to misdemeanor charges of mishandling classified information amid scandal revelations that he had an affair with his biographer), Petraeus may face a tough Senate confirmation process. Numerous GOP senators have privately warned of a political fallout if the general is nominated as Secretary of State, indicating a "high level of angst" among Republican senators on the matter. Yet,

“Interestingly, the common denominator for all the nomination potentials for foreign policy and security positions includes people who supported the Iraq War at the start, possess hawkish views on Russia; furthermore they are emphatic about US support for NATO and not passionate believers in US engagement receding from the world.”



“The incoming Defense Secretary, Gen. Mattis, believes the US lacks a holistic Middle East strategy and has so far opted to handle complications in an ineffective one-by-one manner. Gen. Mattis also believes that while battling IS is crucial, the Iranian regime is “the single most enduring threat to stability and peace in the Middle East.”

Petraeus has the support of veteran Republican senator, John McCain, who believes the general is respected on both sides of the aisle.

Given the controversies surrounding the possible Secretary of State candidates, some GOP senators favor Senator Bob Corker of Tennessee (Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee) for the job. David Rothkopf (CEO/Editor of FO Group) concluded that Petraeus was a much better choice than Romney who was “infinitely” better than Giuliani.

Just as Romney could be crucial in thawing Trump’s frosty relations with the core Republican establishment, General James Mattis, widely respected throughout the US forces, could also gesture towards an effort to placate the establishment and military’s concerns. Mattis, chosen for the Defense Secretary slot, is a decorated soldier who advocated a tougher military posture against Iran, believing Tehran to be the “single most enduring threat to stability and peace in the Middle East”. Mattis is the first former ranking general to become defense secretary since George Marshall in the 1950s. As Mattis retired in 2013, his appointment requires a congressional waiver since US federal law stipulates that the Pentagon chief be out of uniform for seven years. David Rothkopf (CEO/Editor of FO Group) hailed Mattis’ nomination as “by far the best, most qualified and capable pick in the Trump team to date. By a lot”.

Interestingly, the common denominator for all the nomination potentials for foreign policy and security positions includes people who supported the Iraq War at the start, possess hawkish views on Russia; furthermore they are emphatic about US support for NATO and not passionate believers in US engagement receding from the world. This produces various theories: Has the President-elect moved away from his campaign-time beliefs? Or is Trump

open to including people with contrasting policy views in high positions? The former is a promising prospect, the latter a looming disaster that puts the incoming US leader fundamentally at odds with his defense and security advisers’ views.

On the positive side, even if the President-elect does not go for the seasoned defense and foreign policy hands, one can hope that Trump may have been impressed with their views and global issue perspectives. Trump is on a sharp foreign policy learning curve and the numerous meetings for the security positions can be crucial in the president-elect acquiring a crash course on global issues.

#### Foreign Policy & Security Focus

The national security and foreign policy apparatus of the new US administration is poised to focus on combating ‘radical’ and ‘political’ Islam, particularly Iran. The top defense and security position appointments offer the most prominent tea leaves in this direction. The incoming Defense Secretary, Gen. Mattis, believes the US lacks a holistic Middle East strategy and has so far opted to handle complications in an ineffective one-by-one manner. Gen. Mattis also believes that while battling IS is crucial, the Iranian regime is “the single most enduring threat to stability and peace in the Middle East.”

Such sentiments are echoed by most incoming security advisers, especially as former generals are among those who favor a tougher stance against American adversaries abroad. The incoming National Security Adviser and the President-elect’s foreign policy arbiter, retired Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn, has been outspoken about militant Islamists than he has about US strategic concerns such as China and North Korea. Interestingly, Gen. Flynn has previously referred to the need to confront a global anti-Western alliance between Islamists

and Communists, particularly between “radical Islamists” and China, North Korea, and Russia (even extending to Cuba and Venezuela). As such, Flynn’s appointment strongly signals that the new White House intends to prioritize Middle East policy and the fight against jihadist groups. Like Mattis, Flynn too believes in upping the ante against Iran, believing Tehran to be the anti-West “linchpin”, to have led nuclear cooperation with Syria and North Korea, and to have had a role in the 2012 Benghazi tragedy. The new Oval Office’s engagements abroad are likely to be in stark contrast with the Obama administration’s pivot to Asia from the Middle East. The US has so far juggled the East Asian and Middle East priorities and threats well together. With the new security setup’s core focus on militant and political Islam, keeping the eye on the ball while maintaining strategic balance is likely to become tougher, with US rivals in Asia eager for any opportunity to further their interests.

Additionally, the US may face a singular dilemma challenging the principle of civilian control over the military, a fundamental article of American democracy. Top (civilian) defense roles are not intended to resemble the Joint Chiefs of Staff position and the different management styles are likely to cause heated discussions over

“President-elect Trump will likely end up with what will be the wealthiest government administration in contemporary American history. Nominees and potential picks for the top administration posts include multimillionaires, two “Forbes-certified” billionaires (“one of whose family is worth as much as industrial tycoon Andrew Mellon was when he served as treasury secretary nearly a century ago”), and an heir to a family mega-fortune. Interestingly, the nominees have more experience funding political candidates than they do running government agencies.”

treasury secretary nearly a century ago”), and an heir to a family mega-fortune. Interestingly, the nominees have more experience funding political candidates than they do running government agencies.

On one side, such a Cabinet characteristic weighs against Trump’s populist campaign platform and of not undermining the blue-collar workers’ economic prospects. Yet, it also amplifies the president-elect’s core campaign

time (especially between Mattis and Flynn). In contrast to the incoming White House administration, Gen. Mattis does not see the US unilaterally breaking away from the Iran deal, despite viewing the Iran agreement as a “mess”. Similarly, Mattis, having previously served as the supreme allied commander of transformation for NATO, may not be as eager to call out NATO allies for not doing enough to build stability. Yet arguably, the President-elect drawing more heavily from the pool of retired army men is understandable: decades of war and foreign engagements have created a robust US military leadership and Trump would be fairly utilizing available assets.

#### Wealth

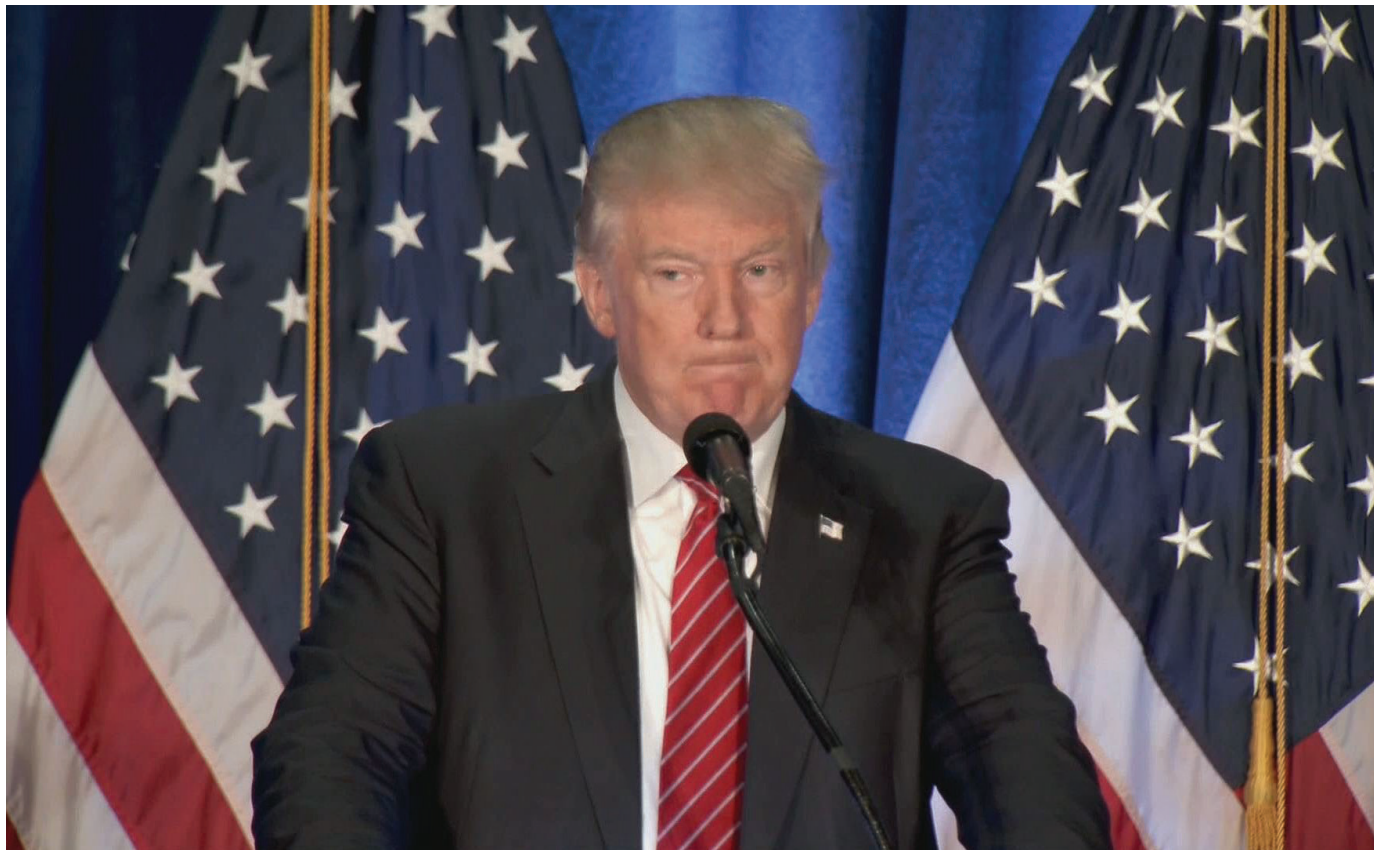
Peculiar topic to be included in an analysis of a future government Cabinet. Yet, it’s been an extraordinary election cycle so why not?

President-elect Trump will likely end up with what will be the wealthiest government administration in contemporary American history. Nominees and potential picks for the top administration posts include multimillionaires, two “Forbes-certified” billionaires (“one of whose family is worth as much as industrial tycoon Andrew Mellon was when he served as

pitch of DC outsiders navigating the “rigged” system to fix it for the working class. During the election, Trump’s personal fortunes never became the baggage they did for Mitt Romney during his 2012 presidential run. The appointees have portrayed their business experience and ties as a positive for boosting workers.

Speculations are rife that the combined Cabinet wealth could touch \$35bn (depending on the appointment of Harold Hamm as energy





secretary and confirmation of the President-elect's claim that his wealth exceeds \$10bn). To place this in relative terms, the \$35bn figure tops the annual GDP of Bolivia.

To be fair, certain Cabinet appointments (particularly the top Commerce and Treasury posts) are generally headed by politically-connected executives and opulent donors. George W. Bush's first Cabinet was dubbed as a team of millionaires: 13 of the 16 cabinet members were worth at least \$1 million in 2001. Obama's current Commerce Secretary (Penny Pritzker) hails from one of the wealthiest American families: her net worth is estimated to be \$2.5 billion. Eisenhower's cabinet acquired the titles "nine millionaires and a plumber." Andrew Mellon, the wealthy industrial tycoon, served as Treasury Secretary under three administrations. Former Treasury secretaries Henry M. Paulson Jr. and Paul H. O'Neill had amassed personal fortunes in millions of dollars. Presidents Bill Clinton and Ronald Reagan included seven multi-millionaires in their first cabinets while George H.W. Bush had six multi-millionaires.

However, the incoming US Cabinet is poised to

leave them all behind: Combined, Bush's first Cabinet of 2001 had an estimated inflation-adjusted net worth of \$250 million, which is around one-tenth the wealth of Wilbur Ross alone, the nominee for Commerce Secretary. Harold Hamm (the self-made oil industry executive ranking 30th on the Forbes 400 has a net worth of \$16.7 billion) is among the candidates floated for secretary of energy. The nominated education secretary, Betsy DeVos' family has a net worth of \$5.1bn while the nominated Deputy Commerce Secretary, Todd Ricketts' family's net worth is an estimated \$5.3bn (Ricketts also crowns the Chicago Cubs baseball team).

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# US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2016

## WHO WON THE US

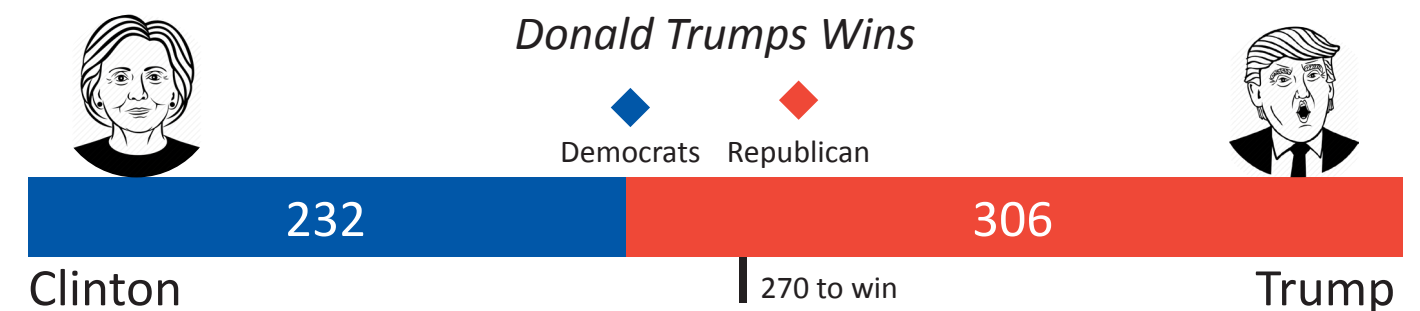
The presidential election of 2016 resulted in Donald Trump's victory. He will be sworn-in as the 45th President of the United States in January next year. For the fifth time in U.S. history, and the second time this century, a presidential candidate has won the White House while (apparently) losing the popular vote.

In terms of popular vote, Hillary Clinton had a margin of around two million votes over Donald Trump but the American electoral system does not guarantee victory based on popular vote, it is instead based on the distribution of votes.

Trump was able to take a series of key battleground states including Florida, Ohio and North Carolina, before stunningly winning Pennsylvania, a state that had not backed a Republican for president since 1988.

### US ELECTION RESULTS

*Donald Trumps Wins*



### POPULAR VOTE

*Clinton 61.8m - 60.8 Trump*



Clinton

Last update: 10 November

Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/11/the-114000-votes-that-cost-hillary-clinton-the-us-election/>



# WHO VOTED FOR WHOM?

The divide between rural and urban communities in America has widened since 2012 - and this division helped bolster Trump to power.

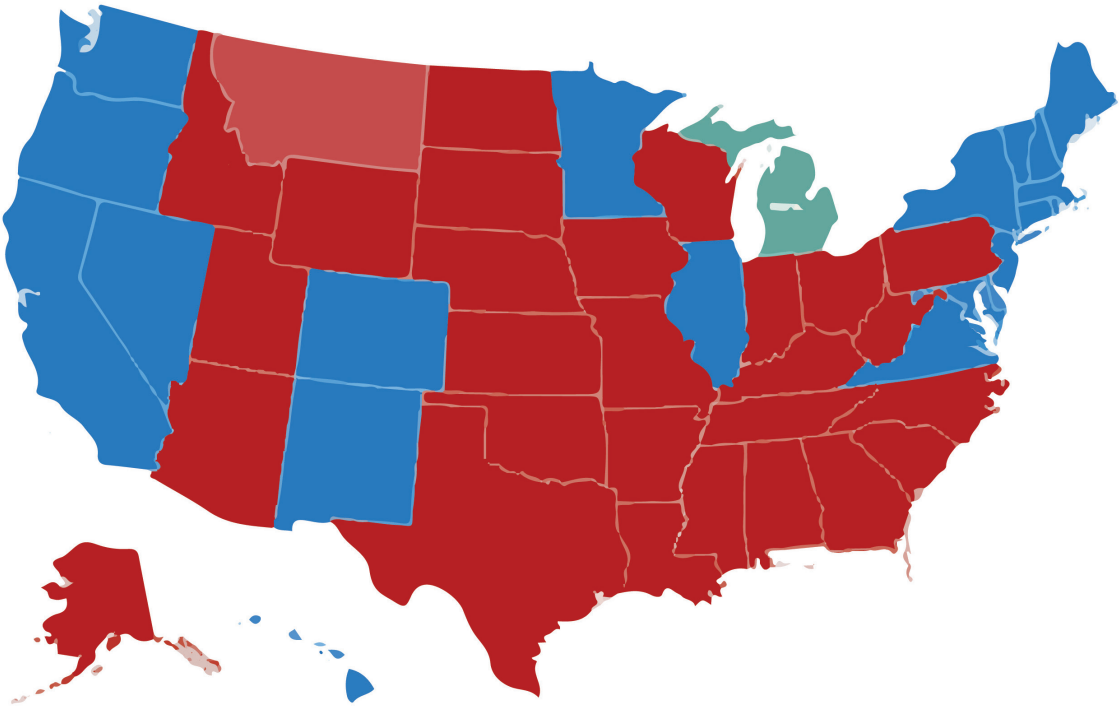
Traditionally, people in urban areas are far more likely to vote for Democrat candidates, while those in small towns and sparsely populated areas are more likely to vote for Republicans.

race and gender			
	clinton	trump	others/no answer
white men 34%	31%	63%	6%
white women 36%	43%	52%	5%
black men 5%	80%	13%	7%
black women 7%	93%	4%	3%
latino men 5%	62%	33%	5%
latino women 6%	68%	26%	6%
others 6%	61%	32%	7%

Source: <http://mashable.com/2016/11/18/the-coolest-office-lobby-ever/#g91f0MvX5qqY>

# WHICH STATES GAVE AN EDGE TO REPUBLICANS?

Democratic Win Republican Win Other Party Win Partial Results No Results

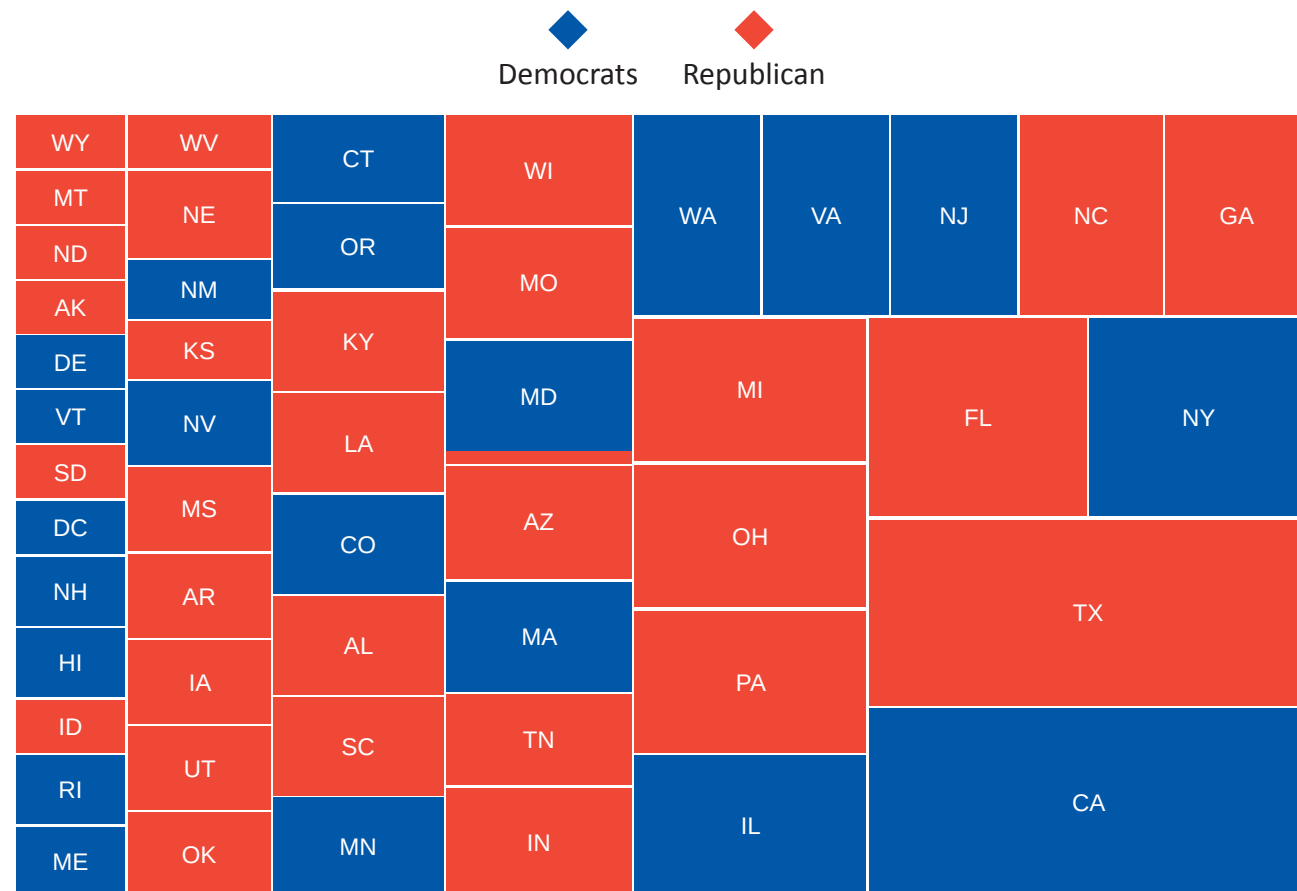


Source: <http://www.politico.com/2016-election/results/map/president>



## US ELECTION 2016 RESULTS

*Scale based on state electoral college vote*

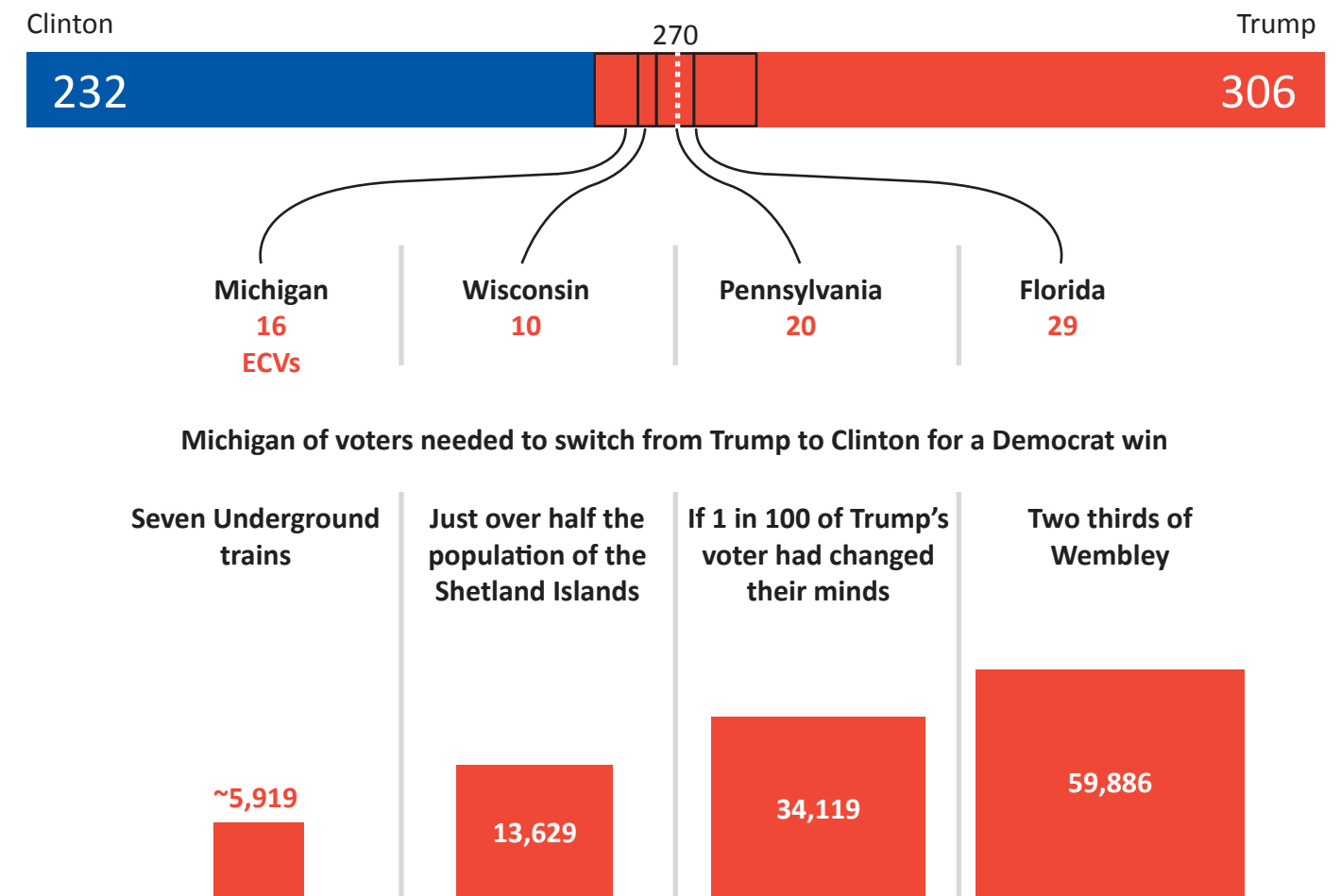


Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/us-election-results-and-state-by-state-maps/>

The four states which played a vital role in the victory of Trump were Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Florida. Some 23 million people of these four states voted in the election which provided Trump with 75 electoral college votes in his total of 306 votes. Had Clinton won these four states, she would have been elected as the first female president of the US.

## HOW 75 ECVs WERE DECIDED BY 144,00 PEOPLE IN AN ELECTION OF 120M

*Vote needed to swing four key states*

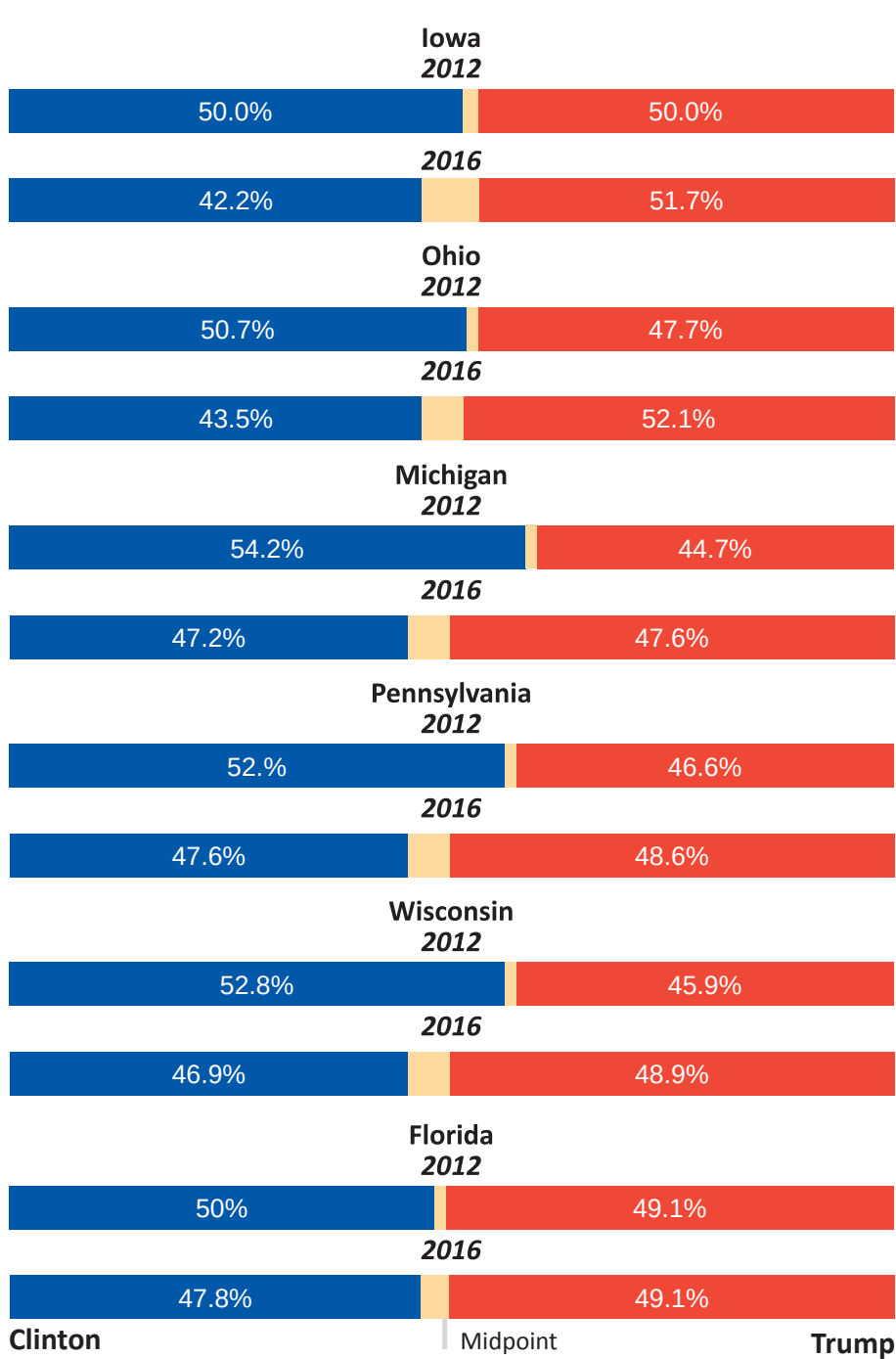


Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/11/the-114000-votes-that-cost-hillary-clinton-the-us-election/>

Trump was expected to have a very good chance in Florida but few believed that he would emerge victorious from traditionally Democrat states of Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. It is believed that Clinton's failure to inspire her key demographic groups in the four states cost her the presidency.

There are six states that swung from Obama in 2012 to Trump in 2016: Florida, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Iowa. All of these were essential battlegrounds that both candidates canvassed hard.





Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/us-election-results-and-state-by-state-maps/>

# TURNOUT

Nearly half of the eligible voters (231,556,622 people) did not vote in the 2016 presidential election. The early data found that of the U.S. population:

- On average, 40.3% didn't vote
- 25.6% voted for Hillary Clinton
- 25.5% voted for Donald Trump
- 1.7% voted for Gary Johnson

	Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote	
	Donald J. Tramp	Michael R. Pence	Republican	62,800,198	46.11%	306	56.9%
	Hillary Clinton	Tim Kaine	Democratic	65,443,689	48.05%	232	43.1%
	Gary Johnson	William F. Weld	Libertarian	4,473,461	3.28%	0	0.0%
	Dr. Ell Stein	Ajamu Baraka	Green	1,447,829	1.06%	0	0.0%
	Writo-ins	-	-	942,071	0.69%	0	0.0%
	E McMullin	Mindy Finn	Independent	651,995	0.48%	0	0.0%
	Other (+)	-	-	446,015	0.33%	0	0.0%
	Total			136,205,258	%	538	

Source: <http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/index.html>

An estimated 25.6 percent of eligible voters named Clinton while 25.5 percent voted for Trump. When you narrow the numbers down to those who did vote, Clinton had 48.05 percent compared to 46.11 percent for Trump.



## US CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

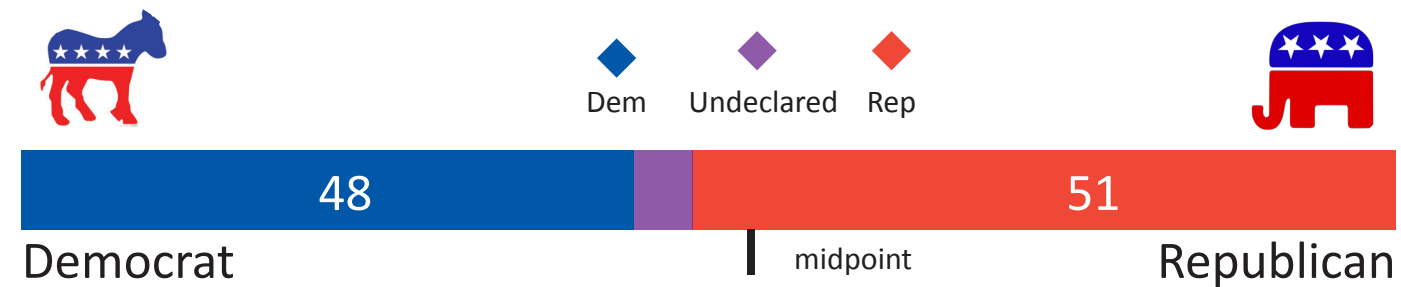
### Senate elections

The Senate and the House of Representatives, the two chambers that comprise America's legislature, also had elections. The Republicans held onto both of these chambers. Senators were elected in 34 states with the Republicans losing two seats, meaning that they held onto their majority with one seat still to be declared.

No victor was announced in Louisiana due to the state's rule that any victor must secure at least 50 per cent of the vote. The top two candidates from last week's vote will go head to head for the seat in a run-off next month.

### US SENATE ELECTION RESULTS

*Numbers of seats in the Senate*

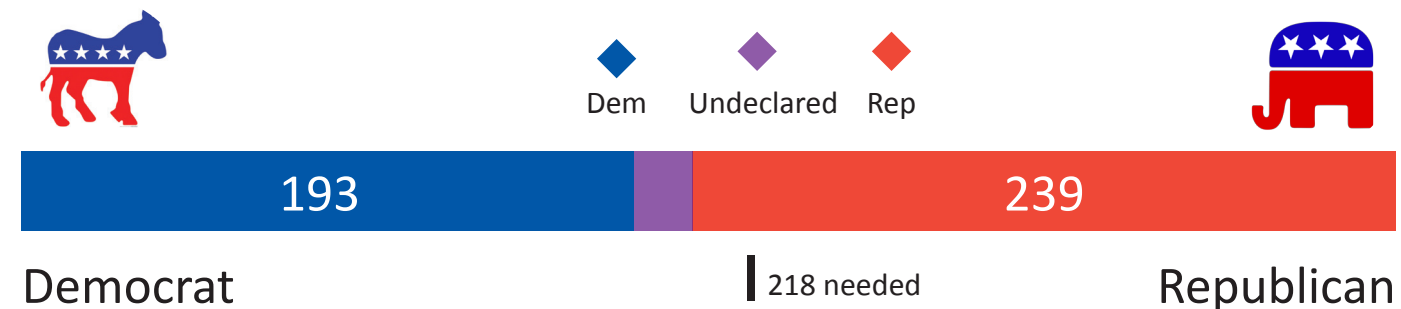


### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS

All 435 seats in the House were up for re-election and the Republicans also held on here with a slightly reduced majority.

### US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE RESULTS

*Numbers of seats in the House*



Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/us-election-results-and-state-by-state-maps/>

Out of the 435 seats, Republicans secured 241 whereas Democrats were able to grab 194.

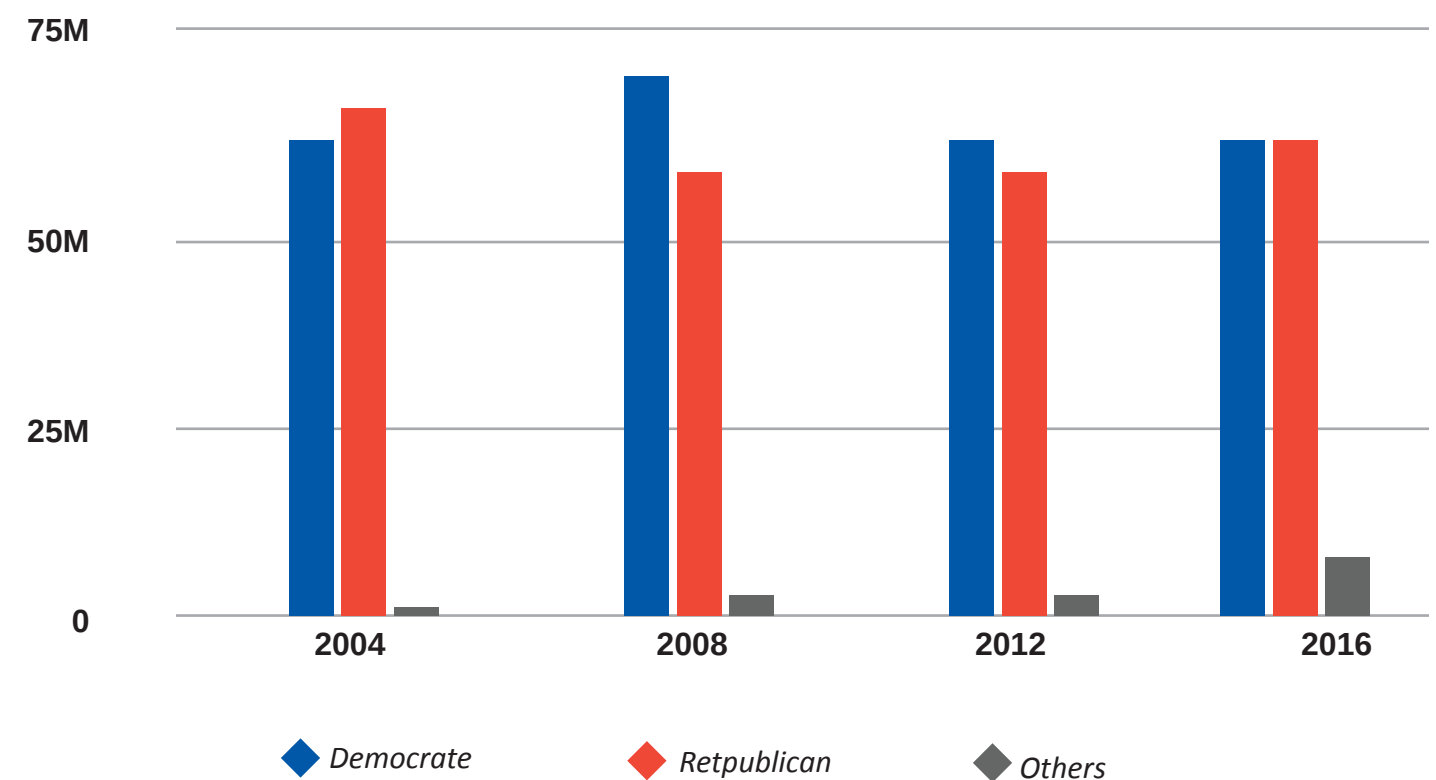
## ADD-ON

Over six million people voted for third party candidates in this election - tripling the number since 2012.

According to the Brookings analysis, the less-than-500 counties that Clinton won nationwide combined to generate 64 percent of America's economic activity in 2015. The more-than-2,600 counties that Trump won combined to generate 36 percent of the country's economic activity last year.

### THE RISE IN THIRD-PARTY VOTERS AS PEOPLE DITCH UNPOPULAR CANDIDATES

*Voting breakdown of the last four presidential elections*



Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/us-election-results-and-state-by-state-maps/>



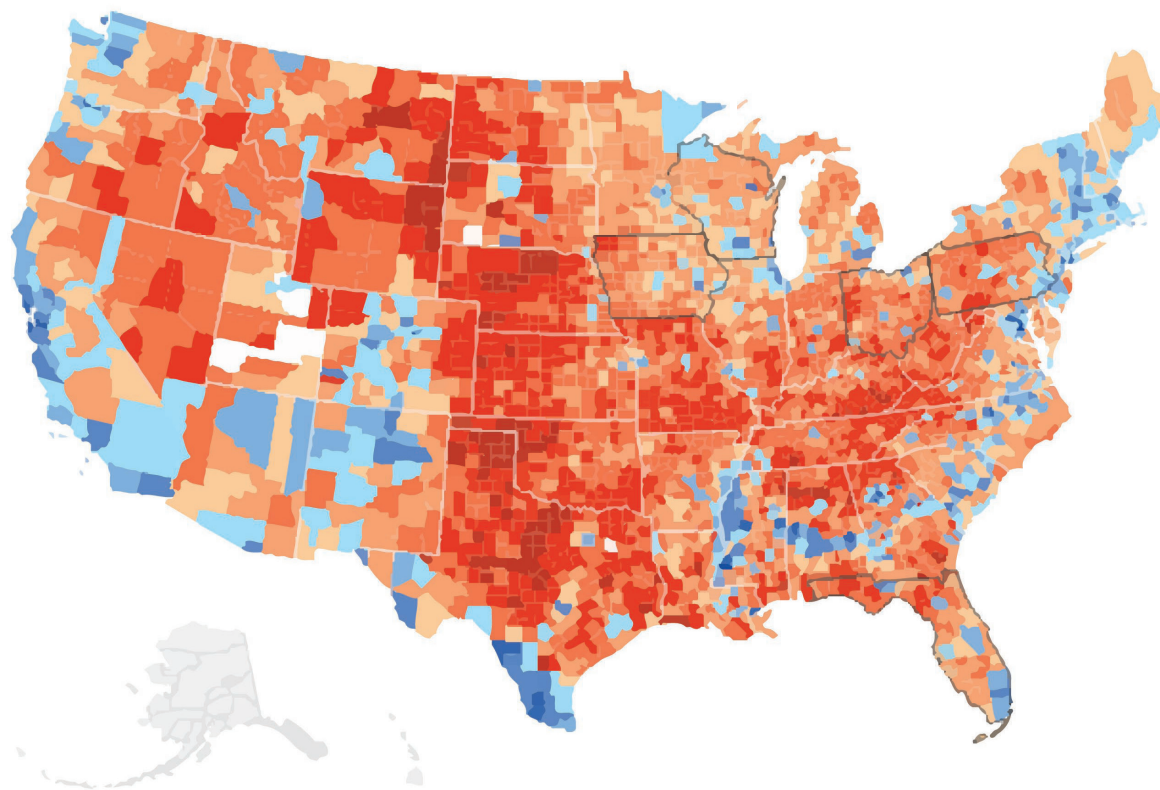
Democrat

Republican

◆ 85+ ◆ 75+ ◆ 65+ ◆ 55+ ◆ 44+

◆ 44+ ◆ 55+ ◆ 65+ ◆ 75+ ◆ 84+

□ States that swung from Democrat to Republican



Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/11/11/the-114000-votes-that-cost-hillary-clinton-the-us-election/>

# THE IRANIAN NUCLEAR ISSUES, SOLUTIONS AND AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

GEOSTRATEGY



By Syed Ali Zia Jaffery

## Introduction: Anatomy of American Foreign Policy:

Diplomacy is perhaps the most important cog in the realm of international politics. It involves giving threats benignly to other international actors. However, coercive diplomacy is very much a part of the game. History is replete with instances where coercive diplomacy was used. It is upon the failure of tacit "threats" that coercive diplomacy, or brinkmanship is used. The ultimate disaster is war, something which all military theorists concur upon. As the conduct of war has changed, the primacy of diplomacy has increased. World politics follows the "law of the jungle", so to speak. Power is currency. Diplomatic leverage is only available to the big shots in the market. There are broadly two schools of thoughts in international relations, namely realism and liberalism. We need delve upon these theories in detail, but in a nutshell, one can say that the former deems the international system as anarchic. The realists hinge their argument on the assumption that man is selfish. The liberals

take a diametrically opposite stance and call for co-operation, open covenants and disarmament.

Before going into the very essence of our topic it is imperative to pen down a few more concepts. Foreign policy lies at the heart of international relations. A policy or policies adopted to achieve certain broad strategic international goals is what foreign policy is all about. All great leaders, when analyzed, are under the scanner as regards their foreign policy decisions. The greatness of Charles De Gaulle and Adenaur, apart from many things lies in the famous Franco-German entente of 1953. Similarly,





“American foreign policy is based upon the infamous Monroe Doctrine and in fact more importantly on the ideas of President Woodrow Wilson. Before, going into that let's first establish the fact that the international system is anarchic, brutal and based upon national interests. Thus, the realist worldview takes primacy over liberalism, something which has been discussed above. Woodrow Wilson always aspired America to put more weight in the international system, but the rationale was for humanitarian purposes and the endorsement of democracy.

*insisted on the inadmissibility of international intervention in the domestic affairs of other states..... No country has been more reluctant to engage itself abroad even while undertaking alliances and commitments of unprecedented reach and scope”.*

American foreign policy is based upon the infamous Monroe Doctrine and in fact more importantly on the ideas of President Woodrow Wilson. Before, going into that let's first establish the fact that the international system is anarchic, brutal and based upon national interest. Thus, the realist worldview takes primacy over liberalism, something which has been discussed above. Woodrow Wilson always aspired America to put more weight in the international system, but the rationale was for humanitarian purposes and the endorsement of democracy. However, it is imperative to fathom the fact that America has always looked after her geo-strategic interests under the garb of liberalism. For instance the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine were not dished out due to any love lost for Greece, Turkey and other European countries, but because the Americans had to counter Communism. The reason why American foreign policy has been discussed here is that it has a direct bearing on the Iranian Nuclear conundrum. The program which began under the aegis of the “Atoms for Peace” program made great strides before the Iranian Revolution of 1979. Things turned for the worst not only between USA and Iran, but the latter's nuclear program was also hampered. Iran has maintained her stance of developing a peaceful nuclear program; Iran considers herself well within the ambit of the Nuclear Non –Proliferation Treaty of 1968. This paper will shed-light on the Iranian Nuclear Program; the suspicions attached to it; the approach of the United States and Israel. The paper will be divided into 3 sections. The first will deal with nuclear weapons and deterrence, so as to provide a conceptual framework for discussing Iran's penchant for the bomb, if any. The second part will succinctly trace the genesis and development of the program to-date. At last the paper will look into negotiations, sanctions and possible surprise attacks. The point that this paper tries to make is that diplomacy and not

Margaret Thatcher was famous for her boldness in case of the Falkland Wars.

Foreign policy decision-making hence becomes all the more critical. There are three basic models of foreign policy decision-making. They include the Rational Model, bureaucratic model and the pluralistic model. The first one weighs the cost-benefits of various contingencies and then looks the resources available before arriving at a final decision. The exigency of the Cuban Missile Crisis demanded the late J F Kennedy to adopt the rational approach. However, nowadays, all stakeholders are taken on board and hence these models may overlap now. The topic in question is not merely about the Iranian nukes, but its American psyche which continues to impinge on her strategic thinking. We may mention people like Seward, Theodore Roosevelt and the Naval theorist, A T Mahan as being realists but the anatomy is a bit different.

Henry Kissinger, a doyen of diplomacy and strategy has aptly described American foreign policy. *“In the twentieth century, no country has influenced international relations as decisively and at the same time more ambivalently as the United States. No society has more firmly*

“Deterrence is the ability to dissuade an adversary from doing something repugnant to the security interest of the state. This is done through the possession of credible capability of causing unacceptable damage to the adversary. Deterrence is based upon willingness, capability and communicating the very capability to the nemesis, so that it believes that a likely action would be fatal. The types of deterrence are listed below:

military actions will resolve this ever-brewing crisis.

### Nuclear Deterrence:

Karl Von Clausewitz said that war is an extension of diplomacy by other means. He was very right, but the Clausewitzian war accounts for the horrors of war through the famous concepts of fog and friction. Before going into the realm of nuclear bomb, it is imperative to talk about wars

and battles. A war is a series of battles fought between states with a clash of vital interests. Battles are fought in different Forward Defended Localities on or near the border. A war can be limited or all-out, conventional/sub-conventional or a counter-insurgency. Conventional wars are fought by conventional means: forces and weapons employed to target the enemy on the battlefield. Threat perceptions compel countries to maintain conventional forces; however, when an adversary becomes numerically too superior, a country feels insecure. The concept of security dilemma comes into the equation. What do nuclear weapons do? Without going into intricate details, we should only focus on the concept of deterrence for the consumption of this paper.

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listed below:

1. Sufficient Deterrence (MAD with multiple capabilities)
2. Extended Deterrence (Nuclear umbrella to allies)
3. Graduate Deterrence (proportionate to threats)
4. Minimum Credible Deterrence
5. Existential Deterrence (Deterrence as policy vs condition)
6. Non Weaponized Deterrence

Deterrence primarily hinges upon second-strike capability, which happens to be the ability to withstand a surprise or a pre-emptive strike, and then be able to retaliate with a nuclear strike. Hence, the safety and security of the arsenal becomes imperative, to say the least. Furthermore, an efficient command and control system is needed to be in place, so as to channelize all nuclear-related activities.

The late Keneth Waltz was always a great proponent of nuclear weapons, for he believed that it induced caution. There are plenty of stabilizing factors of the nukes, to include acting as a power equalizer. Internal Balancing is or should be preferred over external balancing and bandwagon approach. States go nuclear because of three themes as identified in the book *Eating Grass: the making of the Pakistani bomb*. The themes are national humiliation, national identity and international isolation.

### The Genesis of the Iranian Nuclear Program:

Iran is an all-important country of the Middle East; it has a geo strategic importance of its own. The erudite Henry Kissinger opined “ of all the countries of the region, Iran has perhaps the most coherent sense of nationhood and the most elaborated tradition of national-interest – based statecraft.” Proximity to waterways and rich resources of gas and oil has made it an important country in the foreign policy calculus of the superpowers. This is true because the first ever covert CIA action overthrew Mosaddegh in 1953, ostensibly on nationalizing



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the oil company. Till 1979, the United States championed the Shah of Iran. Shah was known to be the protector of American interests in the region. All said and done, let's expound upon the nuclear history of Iran. It was Dwight Eisenhower who gave a historic “Atoms for Peace” speech at the UN General Assembly session. This set in motion the Eisenhower’s “Atoms for Peace” program. It was agreed that any country having any kind of nuclear expertise or material would donate it to International Atomic Energy Agency, which would in turn out help any country which wanted a nuclear program for civilian purposes. The United States was actually serious about promoting peaceful uses . Iran began to settle down after the coup of 1953; it became

economically stable enough to be trusted with nuclear technology. Thus, in 1957 not only saw a nuclear training center shift from Baghdad to Tehran, but a bilateral agreement was signed between USA and Iran. Moreover, the “Atoms for Peace” exhibit was opened in the city. The program thus kick started from then onwards. The bilateral agreement predicated upon a few terms and conditions. The stipulation was that Iran will stick with the peaceful uses of nuclear technology. The Americans provided Iran with enriched uranium and a 5 Megawatt light water reactor. Hence, nuclear power was born in Iran and America was the midwife.

The impetus was given, but Iran with its scant





scientific prowess could not capitalize on the platform. The light water reactor was not put to use; it was seen as a showpiece at the Tehran University. The course of the program changed in 1965. A young scientist by the name of Akbar Etemad came back to Iran in the very year. He is deemed as the father of the Iranian nuclear program. He yearned Iran to become a technologically advanced country, hence he went on with full heart and soul. Shah of Iran after seeing his credentials mandated him to work at the Tehran University. Within a few years he handed over the 5 MW Reactors to the University. It was ironically working on a critical level. Soon, the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI) was created so as to streamline all nuclear-related activities. A significant development took place in 1968, which perhaps remains the bone of contention between Iran and the West. Iran signed the Non Proliferation Treaty in 1968. This implied that Iran agreed on not to make a bomb and only has a right for a peaceful nuclear program.

Shah's penchant for embarking on the nuclear program was there for all to see. In 1974, Shah told Etemad that we needed nuclear power (not weapons) for economic reasons; he believed that nuclear power was the perfect conduit for economic growth. However, there were some ulterior motives, such as royal glory and a drive into modernity. As early as 1960, Shah told the outgoing Majlis that Iran could no longer afford to live in the middle Ages. One can make out that the Pahlavi wanted a great leap forward through

the so-called peaceful nuclear program. The journey continued under the tutelage of Etemad. Two developments are noteworthy before the revolution of 1979, one that the Bushehr nuclear reactor was 85% complete, thanks to the tireless efforts of Etemad. Then Gerald Ford signed an agreement with Iran, which allowed it to buy US-built reprocessing facility to extract plutonium. In fact the deal was for a complete nuclear fuel cycle. The extracted plutonium also can be easily diverted from civilian to military purposes; therefore this was a momentous development. Iran had always remained averse of the bomb; however, it is imperative to understand that the civilian and military side can never be divorced, due to the ease of diversion. Iran has always been vociferous, though.

There were however, inklings that the Shah vied for a bomb to show his grandeur. The NPT was signed, but there were voices against it from the very outset; Etemad also saw it as an infringement of national sovereignty. The revolution changed things drastically, to say the least. Ayatollah Khomeini famously said that nuclear bombs are UN Islamic. This dissuaded Iran from going overtly nuclear, for Imam Khomeini was and is still revered. The program was stifled by the ramifications of the revolution, to include the Hostage Crisis. A brief discussion on the post revolution nuclear odyssey would be pertinent. The international community began to turn a deaf ear to Iran; France and the US stopped the supply of Highly Enriched Uranium. Despite, efforts of rapprochement, the damage

had been done due to the potent Hostage crisis; the predicament led to the disastrous Operation Eagle Claw. The program came under the scanner; the Kraftwerk stopped working on the Bushehr plant, owing to the intensification of war. Thus, Iran had to cobble-up everything all by herself. Imam Khomeini always viewed all international organizations with a great deal of skepticism. The organizations were advancing the cause of Western hegemony. The way the IAEA reacted over Iraqi attack in 1984 gave lot of credence to this notion. The Iranian Foreign minister questioned the dubious role of the IAEA, for he believed that it was paying in the hands in world powers. Adversity brings resolve; a sense and urge of self-sufficiency was evident. One can term it as Nuclear Nationalism.

The program continued with zest and zeal; the Iranians considered it as a national duty to tirelessly strive to complete the program. Meanwhile, the Americans did all what they could to thwart a perceived threat from an Islamic Republic. Before going into the actualities of the crisis, let's briefly scan-through. Iran had time and again made a clear stance. David Patrikarakos in his book "Nuclear Iran" has given a very good account of Iranian views on weapons and theories of deterrence within the lens of Islamic rubric. Ghahvechi, the Iranian representative to the UN gave a lengthy speech where he expounded upon deterrence and weapons unambiguous. However, things were not that straight-forward. In close circles, there were talks about going for the bomb. Khamenei believed that a nuclear deterrent was the only way to secure the very essence of the Islamic Revolution from the schemes of its enemies, as a prelude to the rule of Imam Mehdi. This was not the first inkling for the idea of bomb-making; even during the tenure of Reza Pahlavi, there were indications that a bomb option was on the table. This can be corroborated by just one statement of the Shah in wake of India's so-called peaceful explosion in 1974. The Shah said "Pakistan and India talking about nuclear strength might force Iran to reconsider its options" the point that one needs to make is that the concerns of the West are not that concocted; there are plenty of reasons for them to be wary

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of Iran. One should not go into the debate of the NPT, for America has quite obviously flouted the treaty by signing the NFDR with India. The program was shrouded in mystery from 1989 to 2002, not that it is all clear now, but these years were deemed as lull before the storm.

The Iran-Iraq War had left an indelible imprint on the minds of the Iranian establishment and government officials. Rafsanjani's ascendancy to power gave the program a fresh lease of life. He was able to seduce Iranian scientists working abroad, to include Reza Khazaneh. The period from 1989 to 2002 was marked with significant augmentations, both overt and covert. The former included Russians working at the Bushehr. There were serious reports of Iran pursuing the first and the second stage of the nuclear fuel cycle. The stages pertained to extracting uranium ore to produce yellowcakes and then converting them to UF<sub>6</sub>. Moreover, the fact that Iran had the Par-1 and Par-2 centrifuge components added to suspicion. Now, going by nuclear theory, it is imperative for a nuke to be supplemented by a delivery system. One can really not decipher whether Iran went after missiles for conventional or strategic purposes. However, the presence of sophisticated Ballistic missiles would have only created skepticism. All in all, Iran had not only suggested to go for the bomb, but had started to crack deals to get equipments; it had centrifuges, sites, yellow



cakes and most importantly, delivery system: missiles. The cats were set amongst the pigeons. Suspicions may well be true, but the issue will probably reached what we call a “ripe moment” in the jargon of conflict resolution. A brief summary of the unfolding crisis is needed.

### The Conundrum:

Nuclear program like we all know is of two kinds, civilian and military. The former is typified with Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (PNE's). The civilian program is used for economic purposes such as energy and medicinal. As mentioned earlier, Iran signed the NPT way back in 1968. That meant that Iran vowed not to go for the bomb, and remain under the ambit of the civilian nuclear program. The program was to be under the strict control of the IAEA. The crisis relates and is predicated to an alleged cat and mouse game between Iran and the IAEA. It was in 2002, that an enrichment site was unveiled at Natanz. Furthermore, a heavy –water plant was instituted at Arak. The site at Arak had the potential to churn-out plutonium. Both, these sites were not illegal as per the terms of the NPT. However, there are other stipulations which ought to be followed. The IAEA must be informed 6 months prior to the establishment of a site. As the international comity saw the reports in awe, the crisis was underway. The Iranians were reticent to show IAEA other sites and workshops, but ultimately acquiesced. The delay was enough for the West to raise eyebrows. Soon a resolution was passed which balked Iran from uranium enrichment. There was a furor in Tehran. There were cleavages within the Iranian high-ups; some wanted to halt the program, while others wanted the country to go ahead even with a weapon option. Hasan Rowhani came up with his 5-step plan. First, he wanted to keep the crisis under control and deter threats. Second, the need to safeguard nuclear facilities was important. Other plans included, turning threats into opportunities; enhancing capabilities and legal clout. Tehran subsequently signed the Tehran and Paris agreement, which manifested good faith on its part. The spirit of the treaty called for Iran to sign on additional protocols and cease enrichment.



All in all, Iran had not only suggested to go for the bomb, but had started to crack deals to get equipment; it had centrifuges, sites, yellow cakes and most importantly, delivery system: missiles. The cats were set amongst the pigeons. Suspicions may well be true, but the issue will probably reached what we call a “ripe moment” in the jargon of conflict resolution. A brief summary of the unfolding crisis is needed.

The issue has conflagrated since Ahmedinejad took over. He ordered the resumption of activities at Natanz, which was seen as a blatant breach of the Paris Agreement. Things moved in the direction where they stand today because of the hawkishness of Ahmedinijad. There are two important things which should be brought to the attention of readers. These anecdotes, so to speak will be a harbinger of something grievous. Satellite images outside the sacred city of Qom were shown to Obama. The site was huge, located on the mountainside of a military base and protected by Anti-Aircraft guns. This highly-protected and deeply-dug site certainly rung alarm bells among the American ranks. Secrecy increases suspicion. Then, America offered. During the talks in Geneva, Iran made a somewhat ironic excuse of not stopping uranium production because they needed to keep the Tehran reactor running ostensibly for medicinal purposes. Robert Einhorn, an expert proliferation got a food for thought. He said “why not offer to ‘swap’ much of Iran’s HEU , with specialty fuel for the research reactor”? This put Iran in a catch-22 situation; however, they agreed, but the Supreme Leader refused. This shows that everything is not that straight-forward when it comes to Iran’s intention to go for the bomb.

### Diplomatic Negotiations or Military Strikes?:

As aforementioned, Diplomacy is a vital cog in conducting international relations. It is a

process of asserting one’s power and national interests by overtly benign means of persuasion and not coercion. As of now, the Iranian nuclear crisis is in the “ripening process”, it has not yet reached the threshold of a “ripe moment”. Diplomacy has been thus far used to bell the cat. Much to Bush’s credit, that despite initiating the preemption doctrine, he opened the door for direct negotiations after a lapse of 30 years. He launched the famous 1st June offer. In this section, let’s focus on Obama’s tryst with this challenge. What has been the mainstay of Obama’s policy as regards Iran? Before going into that, it is imperative to mention that there are voices against diplomatic engagements, not only by Obama’s erstwhile rival, Mitt Romney, but others too.

Dore Gold with this vast experience in the UN has tried to explain the dangers associated with diplomatic engagements, in his new book, “**The Rise of Nuclear Iran**”. Obama made his intentions very clear even before his inauguration that he will prioritize the Iranian issue, and would talk to so-called rogue states. Obama made benign overtures right from the very outset. He gave a video message on Nowruz with Persian subtitles; this was ostensibly done with a view to broach upon the fact that the US wanted to resolve all issues. This talk overture directly to the Iranian leadership came after 30 long years. With the election of the hawkish Benjamin Netanyahu, pressure began to pile-up on Obama. The latter wanted diplomatic maneuvers to be given a change to work. The Israelis were left in a huff when Hillary Clinton talked about extended deterrence. The Americans at that stage and even now aim to slow down the process of uranium enrichment; they are mainly concerned with the site at Natanz. The talks at Geneva were of great significance, for they were the first after 30 years. Iran agreed to ship 75% of LEU abroad. However, Obama’s diplomacy was perhaps making Iran bolder; Ahmadinejad , in a press conference unveil new centrifuge designs, which were capable of enriching at a faster rate. He also signaled that two new enrichment plants will be built by March, 2011. Thus, the US and the Europeans felt that they have been duped. A round of sanctions ensued; Resolution 1929 is just one example of many

sanctions that have been imposed on Iran.

Obama’s penchant for diplomatic negotiations was matched by Israel’s aplomb for punitive action against a prospective nuclear-armed state. Now, it is not about diplomacy alone; it is about a pre-emptive strike or “Olympic Games” on Natanz. In a nutshell, Olympic Games alludes to a joint project of USA and Israel. A computer worm “Stuxnet” is destroying the centrifuges at Natanz, in the process it has really slowed the otherwise vigorous enrichment process. Israel’s Mosad is groping for Iranian scientists; in fact they killed Majid Shahriari in broad daylight. Netanyahu visited the United States and both leaders talked about all options that were available. Netanyahu always favored the strike option; however, Obama has not yet bought that argument. The quagmire in Afghanistan; internal economy and the ability of Iran to retaliate, makes an attack highly unfeasible. With his focus on diplomacy, Obama has not entirely ruled out the war option, in fact war games and simulations take place, so as to make contingency plans. Israel has stretched a Red Line of 90% enrichment, if that is crossed, then it will take due note and reprisals will be witnessed. However, it is imperative to be savvy of the geopolitical compulsions, while thinking over this dangerous course of action. Iran will retaliate to anything offered to her, be it a surprise attack or mere diplomatic aggression. It is better to continue with sanctions and Olympic Games because history tells us that adversity has also given Iran an impetus to fight back.

### Military Strikes: An Idea Beyond Hawkishness:

Time and again, we see a cleavage between the doves and hawks. America certainly is a dove in this crisis management. Why strikes in any kind and form will not fulfill America’s and Israel’s strategic interests? The strategic aim remains to stop Iran from making a bomb. Although, there are no conclusive evidences which suggest that Iran intends to go nuclear, but certain elements and statements show that bomb is what Iran gropes for. But for the sake of simplicity let’s assume that Iran is en route



towards this glory. An attack whether carried-out by the United States or Israel would be welcomed with the same vengeance by the indomitable Iranians. They rightly lump together America and Israel as a nexus of evil.

In his riveting work, Kenneth M. Pollack opined that “an American military campaign , constitutes a final option because even if the United States started with limited measures , it could escalate to a full-scale invasion and occupation of Iran.”

If open and safeguarded facilities are targeted, it will put the program underground, and would further toughen the Iranian resolve, if any to go nuclear. Indeed, this is true. Did anything dissuade Iran from keeping the Ambassadorial staff as hostage? Furthermore, targeting a safeguarded facility would be an act of aggression, provided if they are found producing Low Enriched Uranium (LEU). It would fall in the ambit of a surprise attack, which in other words is repugnant to international law. A pre-emptive attack is still justified if the threat of an attack is imminent, which is not the case with Iran.

There is no need to state that the United States would be deemed as an enemy; the civilian population will rally around the current regime. This would mean that Western concerns will remain in shape of fundamentalist rule in Iran. A spate of liberal tendencies that are seen in Iran today would be eradicated forever. If we look at the Iranian map, their facilities are scattered. Therefore, the likelihood of colossal damage and mayhem would increase manifold.

Not even a tactical action can be based on suspicion alone. As repeatedly said , there is still no concrete evidence as to whether Iran is on this internal-balancing excursion. Therefore a draconian course of action taken without proofs would create ruckus, turmoil and a new conundrum will emerge. Iran is seemingly following all instructions given by the IAEA. If facilities , under the control of this agency are bombed and obliterated then it will emboldened many in Iran and the world over. IAEA will be undermined, as the bombing would send a

wrong signal to those country which follow IAEA's safeguards. What message will it send to the signatories of the NPT? Iran is working well within the confines of the NPT.

All military planners ought to be aware with what senior Moltke said. “There is no military plan that survives that of an enemy.” In warfare in particular, all concepts devised by a force are observed by the enemy's intelligence. In light of intelligence, the enemy tries to counter those plans by making their own. Iran has the capacity to retaliate to an Israeli attack. America cannot directly fight this war or even back Israel at this stage. America is finding it difficult to withdraw its combat troops from Afghanistan, it can ill-afford to have “boots on ground” once again. Airborne operations would not be enough; the battle will conflagrate. A war between Iran and Israel would further trouble a region even otherwise on the cusp of blowing up. The Syrian crisis and the Egyptian issue have already marred the region lately. Israel's face-off with Iran would cause damage galore. Gone are the days of the Iran-Iraq war, that the latter can be considered as pushovers.

The American strategic thinkers along with the highly-acclaimed Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) were beguiled into the CNN-led campaign as regards the WMD's in Iraq. The war in Iraq can in some ways be deemed as futile. Things got out of control in Afghanistan because after March 2003, the focus shifted to Iraq and hence the Taliban re-emerged. Now, the Americans are leaving Afghanistan and are talking with Taliban too. The point that needs to be broached is that , one military strikes are undesired, unfeasible, both strategically and tactically. Two, if bombing is a necessity then it's certainly not today. Iran is far away from bearing the teeth, if at all they are making one. If the non compliance to the NPT is something which compels the US to take a brazen course then it is imperative to remember that the NFDR agreement with India, ostensibly for enhancing civilian nuclear co-operation , is nothing but repugnant to article 1 and 2 of the Non Proliferation Treaty of 1968. But as Hans Morganthaeu saids “ It is only the national interests that matter.”

## The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA):

The potentially incendiary issue which had all the ingredients to turn into a catastrophe was according to the United States kept in control by the landmark agreement between Iran and the P 5 plus 1 countries. The White House believes that the provisions of the deal and Iranian compliance to-date has prevented the country from obtaining a nuclear bomb. According to a report released by the White House , Iran had taken the following steps after the deal:

- Shipped 25,000 pounds of enriched uranium out of the country
- Dismantled and removed two-thirds of its centrifuges
- Removed the calandria from its heavy water reactor and filled it with concrete
- Provided unprecedented access to its nuclear facilities and supply chain

It is widely believed that the deal has blocked all the four possible pathways that Iran could take to bear its teeth. For now, the threat of a military adventure has receded but it remains to be seen whether Iran is left with the capability and the resolve to go nuclear if the deal is dealt with a severe blow.

## Conclusion:

Obama's adamancy on using diplomatic means is by all means a rational choice given many factors. The first is historic in nature, which we can term it rightly as America's “Hostage syndrome”. The effects of the Iranian revolution on American ties with Iran are well-known. Jimmy Carter lost his presidency because of the ill-conceived Op Eagle Claw. The second is the enhanced capabilities of the Iranian Defense establishment. An all-out regional war cannot be ruled. It is an amalgam of geopolitical and economic factors which necessitates a reliance on dialogues, deliberations and other tacit means of bargain. One does not need to explain the Rational-Model approach, for all that Obama did was in-line with this principle.

The costs, which have been identified, are titanic in nature, while strategists are as yet unsure about the likelihood of even a tactical victory. Therefore , a rational-model demands caution and finesse. The continuation of this deal is highly advisable for President –Elect Donald Trump. Anything other than peaceful inducements will fail to neither deter nor compel Iran .

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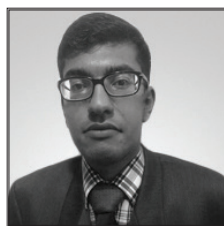
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# FACTIONALISM IN THE BALUCHISTAN INSURGENCY

## AN OVERVIEW



by Fahad Nabeel

## ARMED & DANGEROUS

**B**alochistan, the largest province of Pakistan in terms of area, has witnessed an ongoing insurgency for more than a decade. The insurgency has resulted in killings of more than 5200 civilians and security personnel. In addition, it has greatly hampered developmental projects in Balochistan. However, in recent years, several factors have contributed in reducing the lethality of this insurgency. One of these factors has been the infighting between the separatist groups. Factionalism among the separatist groups of Balochistan

has existed for almost a decade but has surfaced publicly only in recent years.

Balochistan is currently (from 2004) witnessing its fifth insurgency since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. Previously, the province has witnessed four insurgencies in 1948, 1954, 1961, and from 1973 till 1977. The most active separatist groups in Balochistan are Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF), Baloch Republican Army (BRA), and United Baloch Army (UBA). Analysts believe that the Balochistan separatist groups are

divided into two distinct groups. The first group consists of BLF, UBA and BRA, whereas the second group includes BLA and Balochistan National Liberation Front (BNLF).

The early footprints of division among separatist groups can be traced back to the killing of Balaach Marri, then BLA chief, under disputed circumstances in Afghanistan in November 2007. Although there was no proof of it, some BLA cadre believed that Brahamdag Bugti had played a role in the killing of Balaach Marri. Consequently, fissures emerged



The departure of Brahamdag Bugti from Afghanistan to Switzerland in October 2010 allowed BLF to assume the central role in Balochistan insurgency, a role which was previously enjoyed by BLA and BRA. Following the earthquake in Awaran in late 2013, security forces were able to make headway in those areas of the district which were previously known as 'no-go areas'. Consequently, the security forces carried out numerous operations to weaken BLF in its stronghold. The BLF leadership was forced to leave its stronghold and is now believed to have taken shelter in Afghanistan. Analysts believe that the main reason behind the weakening of BLF in its stronghold was the lack of support from BLA and BRA.



between BLA and BRA.

After the killing of Balaach Marri, his brother Hyrbayir Marri who was then heading the BLA was arrested in London. Consequently, Khair Bakhsh Marri appointed his youngest son Mehran Marri as the new BLA chief. However, Mehran Marri was accused of grossly mismanaging the separatist organization. A reported rift between Mehran Marri, the youngest son of Khair Bakhsh Marri, and his elder brother Hyrbayir Marri led to the creation of UBA. The BLA accused Mehran

and some of his companions of stealing three millions dollars from BLA funds and of taking half of the organization's weapons stash worth 800 million rupees with which they created the UBA.

Following the rift, Khair Bakhsh Marri intervened in the dispute and asked his elder son Hyrbayir to pardon his younger brother. According to Bramsh News Media, a pro-separatist web portal, the intervention of Khair Bakhsh Marri in the dispute concluded with creating differences between Hyrbayir and his father.

Bashir Zeb Baloch, a former Baloch Student Organisation (BSO) chairman, held several meetings with BLF chief Allah Nazar and its senior commander Wahid Qambar in his efforts to recover BLA's stolen weapons from Qadir Marri, Mehran's confidant. However, the meetings proved unsuccessful as Bashir claims that the attitude of BLF indicated that the Front wanted the UBA to be recognized as a separate entity and for all past differences to be forgotten. Bashir later said that it has been proven that BLF is receiving weapons from Qadir Marri who had a good

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On 3rd November 2014, the UBA claimed that the BLA was responsible for the killing of one UBA commander, Ali Sher, and detaining four others. This was one of the most significant infighting incidents since the beginning of the insurgency. The incident occurred just two days after the appeal by Baloch National Movement (BNM) and the Baloch Students Organization (BSO), two prominent pro-separatist Baloch political organizations, to avoid infighting among separatist groups.

working relationship with the BLF chief.

Meanwhile, in 2012, BLF commanders Salim Baloch and Allah Bakhsh Jago formed Balochistan National Liberation Front (BNLF). Both commanders claimed that the reason for parting ways with the BLF was the killings of innocent civilians by the Front but analysts believe that the formation of BNLF was a BLA-backed move aimed at settling scores with BLF chief.

The departure of Brahamdag Bugti from Afghanistan to Switzerland in October 2010

allowed BLF to assume the central role in Balochistan insurgency, a role which was previously enjoyed by BLA and BRA. Following the earthquake in Awaran in late 2013, security forces were able to make headway in those areas of the district which were previously known as 'no-go areas'. Consequently, the security forces carried out numerous operations to weaken BLF in its stronghold. The BLF leadership was forced to leave its stronghold and is now believed to have taken shelter in Afghanistan. Analysts believe that the main reason behind the weakening of BLF in its stronghold was the lack of support from BLA

and BRA. In the past, the three organizations had cooperated with each other; this changed after Balaach Marri's death when serious differences emerged between these organizations.

In 2014, divisions among separatist groups surfaced publicly at a much greater level. Following the death of Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri in June, statements against one another become a new norm. The BLF termed BLA an 'obstacle' whereas Lashkar-e-Balochistan also criticized BLA by saying that the latter is more active on social media than on the actual battleground. In October, series of

In July, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif approved a general amnesty plan for those separatists who were willing to lay down their arms. Under the plan, cash rewards were given to the abdicators to facilitate them in their rehabilitation and to bring them back into the national mainstream. More than 1300 separatists have laid down their weapons under the scheme.

public allegations between Allah Nazar and Khan of Kalat Mir Suleman Dawood were reported in Balochistan's local Urdu newspapers.

On 3rd November 2014, the UBA claimed that the BLA was responsible for the killing of one UBA commander, Ali Sher, and detaining four others. This was one of the most significant infighting incidents since the beginning of the insurgency. The incident occurred just two days after the appeal by Baloch National Movement (BNM) and the Baloch Students Organization (BSO), two prominent pro-separatist Baloch political organizations, to avoid infighting among separatist groups. A few days later, Khalil Baloch, the chairman of pro-separatist Baloch National Movement (BNM) expressed concerns over the growing differences between the separatist groups and said that infighting could have unimaginable consequences.

In May 2015, the UBA claimed responsibility for the killing of 22 passengers in Mastung district. The terrorist attack was condemned by BLA, BRP and several pro-separatist political organizations. But BLF, BRA and BSO-Azad remained silent about the tragic incident. The Mastung terror attack thus reinforced the growing divisions among the separatist groups. In June, 20

separatists were killed in a clash between BLA and UBA. This clash was one of the deadliest inter-separatist clashes of the ongoing insurgency.

In July, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif approved a general amnesty plan for those separatists who were willing to lay down their arms. Under the plan, cash rewards were given to the abdicators to facilitate them in their rehabilitation and to bring them back into the national mainstream. More than 1300 separatists have laid down their weapons under the scheme. The personnel who abdicated militancy included senior commanders of several separatist groups. Many separatists have stated that infighting among the separatist groups was the major factor which resulted in their decision to surrender before the authorities.

Following Modi's 15th August speech, India has openly raised the issue of alleged human rights violations in Balochistan in order to divert world's attention from Indian atrocities in India-held Kashmir. Amidst Indian support to Balochistan separatists, differences between the separatists continue to increase. In October, Naela Quadri, head of World Baloch Women's Forum, announced her decision to approach India for the formation of government-in-exile. The next day, Brahamdag Bugti

tweeted that Naela Quadri does not represent the Baloch people and is damaging the cause of a so-called independent Balochistan state.

The Balochistan insurgency has suffered a double blow due to the differences among the separatists. Bickering has contributed to a decline of separatists available to the separatist groups. In addition, the rebels who were involved in fighting the security forces felt betrayed seeing their chiefs living comfortable lives in Western countries. This was another major reason which resulted in an increase in arms lay-off under the government-announced amnesty scheme.

Both civilian and military leaderships in Balochistan should continue to benefit from the 'cleavages' factor by luring in more separatists to the national mainstream. An improvement in the living conditions of farraris will also create a realization among the separatists who are still fighting for several separatist groups that it is better to surrender before the authorities than to fight for an unachievable cause.

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by Jawad Falak



# INDIAN HEGEMONY: ROOTS OF SOUTH ASIAN CONFLICT

*In India particularly, nearly everything sour between the two nations is portrayed as Pakistan's fault. A storm of hate and jingoism has been unleashed in India with undesirables in the eye of it. Newspapers in Kashmir have been banned, Indians asking for proof of the Surgical Strikes claimed by New Delhi are declared anti-national, and the Indian government is being paraded as part of the Hindu pantheon.*



## INTRODUCTION

The geopolitics of the subcontinent is best defined by the intense enmity between the two major states of India and Pakistan. Both nations have gone to war at least three times and have fought many a skirmish against each other on their border. Even in non-military

domains such as economy and politics both nations are seen going head to head, especially after both countries went nuclear.

Recently, tensions have been rising anew between the two nations. The recent uprising in Indian Occupied Kashmir has led to a bout of renewed hostility between the two South

The rather tragic truth is that the modern day Indo-Pak subcontinent is the anarchic battleground of states that make up the theoretical world of Realism. India is the most powerful country of the subcontinent but does not have the capability to do away with the obstacle that is Pakistan.

Asian neighbours. Peace talks between India and Pakistan are “dead in the water” so to speak; the prospects for peace sparked by the bonhomie between Nawaz Sharif and Narendra Damodardas Modi have drowned in the tumult of state terrorism in Indian Occupied Kashmir (IOK), guerilla attacks on military installations, widespread bigotry and ongoing hostilities between the militaries of both sides. Blaming Pakistan for a deadly guerrilla attack on its army base in Uri situated in IOK, New Delhi claimed to have conducted a Surgical Strike along the LOC while facing concentrated jingoism within its internal environment which has been egged on by an extremely militaristic media.

In India particularly, nearly everything sour between the two nations is portrayed as Pakistan's fault. A storm of hate and jingoism has been unleashed in India with undesirables in the eye of it. Newspapers in Kashmir have been banned, Indians asking for proof of the Surgical Strikes claimed by New Delhi are declared anti-national, and the Indian government is being paraded as part of the Hindu pantheon. However, Indian peaceniks and Pakistanis (mainly actors) working in the Indian industry are facing the full wrath.

Pakistani artists working in India have been threatened with violence by Hindutva groups like the Maharashtra Navirnman Sena. Indian film icons Salman Khan and Om Puri have reportedly been labelled traitors for arguing to keep art and culture separate from politics. Meanwhile, on the other side of the border, the Pakistani motion picture association and PEMRA (Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority) have threatened to stop screening Indian films and to ban Indian artists from appearing in Pakistani films and TV commercials in response to the outrage in India.

Many present their own opinions on both sides as to where this animosity springs from. The phrases “interest of the power elites”, “terrorism”, “military rule”, “rogue state”, “militant proxies” and even the ideological term “millennia old war between Islam and Hinduism” are thrown in the mix to justify the enmity between the two states. While some of these factors do promote conflict among the two states, the reality is far more sobering and relates to the way international relations have been treated since the treaty of Westphalia.

The rather tragic truth is that the modern day Indo-Pak subcontinent is the anarchic battleground of states that make up the theoretical world of Realism. India is the most powerful country of the subcontinent but does not have the capability to do away with the obstacle that is Pakistan. It may be maintained that India is using its role as the major power of South Asia to become a regional hegemon. This pursuit of hegemony causes conflict between India and Pakistan.

## HEGEMONY

“Hegemony is the political, economic, or military predominance or control of one state over others. In ancient Greece (8th century BCE – 6th century CE), hegemony denoted the politico-military dominance of a city-state over other city-states. The dominant state is known as the hegemon”.

It can be asserted that a state will be granted the status of a hegemon when it is the single great power in its region. When a region contains more than one great power, there cannot be a hegemon. A state with the capacity to dictate a specific region is a potential hegemon. Nonetheless, as John Mearsheimer notes, hegemony is rare because ‘the costs of expansion usually outrun the benefits before domination is achieved’.

Regional hegemony which is the dominance of a region by a single local power has been elaborated upon extensively in John Mearsheimer's book, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics. In his theory of Offensive



Realism, he highlights three major factors that drive a nation to pursue hegemony: the anarchy prevalent in the international political system, a state's inbuilt yearning for survival, and the doubt in ascertaining the intentions of other states. Mearsheimer surmises that many powers perceive dominating their region as a more realistic goal as compared to global hegemony.

## INDIAN HEGEMONY IN SOUTH ASIA

Countries that surround India, such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, and Burma are nowhere at par with India with regard to size and population. India dominates the whole area geographically. She is the only country that shares a border or a coast line with all other six states while none of them have common borders with each other. As the famed subcontinental scholar Chanakya has said, "In trans-border relations, there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies or even permanent borders. There are only permanent interests and everything should be done to secure these interests." It has only helped India use its geographic advantage to

Bangladesh is a nation that is highly dependent on India. In fact, it may be asserted that India was the single greatest factor in the creation of Bangladesh through its arming, training and instigating of the Mukti Bahini.

build up its power. India's geographical bounty makes it a necessary component of survival of South Asia's landlocked states like Nepal and Bhutan. Similarly the origins of the water systems of Pakistan and Bangladesh also pass through Indian territory making them too dependent on it.

Nepal is particularly vulnerable to India due to its landlocked nature. Nepal's geographical vulnerabilities have often impelled it to enter into treaties with New Delhi. Yet Nepal has not refrained from acquiring alternatives for reaching the sea. It has tried to establish ties with other powers specifically China in order to dilute its dependence on India. India has rewarded such efforts by Nepal with economic measures such as the economic blockade of 1989 and the more recent 2015-16 blockade.

Bangladesh is a nation that is highly dependent on India. In fact, it may be asserted that India



was the single greatest factor in the creation of Bangladesh through its arming, training and instigating of the Mukti Bahini. However, soon after its secession, Bangladesh tried to formulate an independent foreign policy. In response, India formed the Shanti Bahini to wage a guerilla war in the Chittagong Hill tract region against Dhaka like the Mukti Bahini before them.

Sri Lanka, another major South Asian country has also had a tumultuous relationship with India. The Island nation is a stone's throw from Southern India and hosts a substantial Tamil population which also holds in a dominant position in India's Tamil Nadu. Sri Lanka has followed a foreign policy largely free of Indian influence; it has cooperated with different foreign powers such as the US and Israel.

Sri Lanka's closeness to Islamabad was one major irritant to New Delhi, an instance being the provision of refueling facilities to the Pakistani military during the 1971 war. India under Indira Gandhi tried to enact the Mukti Bahini success in Sri Lanka by arming local Tamil separatists; the results were different armed Tamil outfits who in

the end culminated into the organization known as the Tamil Tigers. Due to this, Sri Lanka was forced to enter into the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 1987 causing an Indian Peace-Keeping-Force (IPKF) to be stationed in Sri Lanka. However, the landing of an Indian military force had an opposite reaction on Sri Lankan society. Anti-India sentiment rose both in the majority Sinhalese and ethnic Tamils which caused the Tamil Tigers to turn against their makers. Indian atrocities on ethnic Tamils such as the 1989 Valvettiturai massacre and the Jaffna hospital massacre also contributed to this. In 1989, the Indian government was forced to recall the IPKF but still India meddled in the Sri Lankan campaign against the Tamil Tigers.

National security adviser M K Narayanan once even went public with the palpable unease in the Indian defence establishment over the matter by stating that Sri Lanka should not seek weapons from China or Pakistan since India as the "big power in the region" would fulfil its needs. The remarks expectedly created a furore in Sri Lanka, especially since Narayanan added that India would not provide weapons with offensive capabilities to the island nation due to political





Pakistan to this day remains the most constant hindrance to total Indian hegemony in the Subcontinent. That is why most of India's attention is diverted towards Pakistan and it is now expending its energies in containing and subjugating Pakistan. This in turn has caused Pakistan to follow a path of Realism in safeguarding its existence.

sensitivities in Tamil Nadu. More recently, India used diplomatic pressure to deter Sri Lanka from buying Pakistani JF17 planes.

Indian hegemony also invades into the South Asian identity. The geographical entity called South Asia is celebrated in conferences and art exhibitions, and in the SAARC (the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) organisation. This helps India in promoting an Indian Hindu or Hindu Indian culture as the sole representative of the vast cultural melting pot of the subcontinent.

## INDIA AND PAKISTAN

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attention is diverted towards Pakistan and it is now expending its energies in containing and subjugating Pakistan. This in turn has caused Pakistan to follow a path of Realism in safeguarding its existence.

The Indian claims over Kashmir signify that the territorial sovereignty as well as ideological sanctity of the Pakistani state is at stake. Pakistan does not view India as a threat over only its perceptions of Indian intentions but Indian acts as well. New Delhi has stormed and annexed foreign territory such as Junagarh, Hyderabad and Goa (alongside Kashmir) in the name of police action, it has utilized terrorist proxies in the form of Baloch Ethnonational militants and the MQM. The much touted SAARC summit boycott is a recent sample of India's venting of rage against members; New Delhi has forced postponements of SAARC Summits on four occasions: 1991 (6th Summit in Colombo) 1999 (11th Summit in Kathmandu), 2013 (12th Summit in Islamabad) and 2005 (13th Summit in Dhaka).

This has caused Islamabad to utilize different strategies to ward off the Indian threat. It has utilized balancing by signing onto different defence pacts such as SEATO and CENTO at



It may be concluded that the conflict between India and Pakistan, while owing some part to factors such as the Kashmir dispute, is largely due to the anarchic structure of international relations.

the time of the Cold War, but these alliances were ineffective in preventing the territorial disintegration of Pakistan in 1971. Afterwards it pursued a closer relationship with China that has largely paid off by helping to safeguard Pakistan's existence.

Now it can be asserted that Pakistan still follows a concept of balancing India as opposed to the bandwagoning of the rest of the South Asian states. It follows a concept of area denial thus depriving India of vital land routes to the Middle East and Central Asia as a means to restrict their accumulation of financial wealth hence weakening their military might. The alleged use of non-state actors can be ascertained to be a form of bloodletting in order to stave off New Delhi's aggression and, it can be said, was a largely successful strategy in the pre 9/11 world.

Now in the Post-9/11 world where there is a remarkable shift in the poles of power as a

revisionist bloc in the form of China and Russia is emerging to challenge the West, Islamabad can be seen utilizing the same strategy by opening up to an old foe Russia and further integrating with China via CPEC and SCO in order to balance against an ascendant India which is being used as a pivot by a waning USA.

## CONCLUSION

It may be concluded that the conflict between India and Pakistan, while owing some part to factors such as the Kashmir dispute, is largely due to the anarchic structure of international relations. India being the strongest nation in South Asia is acting as a hegemon which puts it on a path of conflict with Pakistan which is the second strongest country in South Asia ; this forces Pakistan to pursue a policy of external balancing in order to stave off New Delhi's hegemonic actions.

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by Syed Sabir Muhammad

# THE ELEMENTS OF EXCEPTIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY

STRATEGIC PULSE

American exceptionalism predates even the birth of America as a nation-state. Two streams of thought flow from the spring of American exceptionalism. One stream of thought motivates the thinking of being 'superior to other nations'; this stream has been reflected in phrases such as 'city upon a hill', 'anti-imperialism', 'isolationism' and 'Fortress America'. The second stream is more of a 'missionary' character. It is more dominant in American foreign behaviour. It has been signified by the ideas of 'manifest destiny', 'internationalism', 'leader of the free world', 'modernisation' and 'new world-order'. Both these streams of thought have played a notable role in developing the political culture of America and in shaping the intellectual framework for the formation of the US foreign policy.

The political culture of America is defined in terms of adherence to 'American values'. These are general sets of principles which have been termed "American Creed" by Samuel P. Huntington. The American creed of Huntington constitutes freedom, fraternity, individualism, self-determination and the rule of law under the constitution. It also integrates what Martin Lipset referred to as egalitarianism, individualism, populism and laissez-faire. These elements constitute the national character of the United States, which has been created rather than

inherited. Thus, if we recall the 'Waltzian Structure' and Waltz's analogy of 'economic market' which states that the market created by individuals manipulates the behaviour of the same individuals, the conclusion follows that the created political identity/culture, has taken the form of a structural force which shapes the behaviour of the practitioners of politics in the U.S.

The American political culture believes that American ideology or nationalism is unique as her nationalism is an adherence to these values, irrespective of colour and creed. It is from these elements that the U.S. foreign policy derives its missionary character. Its intellectual framework backed by nationalist sentiments is considered a promotion of American values and the salvation of mankind.

Four important features of American exceptionalism highlight the intellectual input in the foreign policy circles of the United States. Firstly, the Americans are an exceptional creed and chosen people with a mission. This belief has existed since the colonial struggle for what John Winthrop back in 1630 called a 'city on a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us'. This then engendered the idea of world leadership in the political culture of the USA.



The second exceptional element of exceptionalism is in the belief of 'New-World'. This shapes the distinctive element of the American homeland which is based on the freedom of individuals, morality, and working for the betterment of humankind. It is different from the world of Europe where dirty-politics, monarchical interests and imperial greed rate higher than individual liberty and social welfare of a community.

The third element of American exceptionalism that dominates the foreign behaviour is the belief that America is not destined to follow the course of history, that the oceanic insularity of the USA could save America from indulging into the dirty politics that have been responsible for the downfall of great nations.

The fourth element that contributes to America's exceptional character is that—as elucidated by K. J. Holsti—United States being the leader may sometimes transgress international norms for the promotion of American values for 'universal good'. Characteristically, according to Holsti, exceptionalism entails: a) a responsibility and an obligation of 'liberating' others; b) that international norms governing the conduct of ordinary states are not applicable to the exceptionalist state because the exceptionalist state's cause is of a global responsibility; c) viewing the world as hostile and against its exceptional values; d) hostility facilitates the institutional structure of the exceptionalist state; e) an element of innocence forming part of the exceptional character, streamlines the hatred of the world against its exceptional values.

Americans hold the values that constitute the 'American creed' in high esteem. According to Seymour Martin Lipset, they consider their institutional setup exemplary. Throughout the course of history, if we observe the foreign engagements of the US, the element of exceptionalism is always present. The exceptionalist belief is always shaped by the

The second exceptional element of exceptionalism is in the belief of 'New-World'. This shapes the distinctive element of the American homeland which is based on the freedom of individuals, morality, and working for the betterment of humankind. It is different from the world of Europe where dirty-politics, monarchical interests and imperial greed rate higher than individual liberty and social welfare of a community.

The American identity, perceived to be exceptional, has played a vital role in the formation of American foreign policy. It has an influence on both the 'identity dichotomy' and 'foreign policy dichotomy', as Hilde Eliassen Restad terms them.

corner. It was Pearl Harbour, 1941, that had forced the Americans to shed the isolationist behaviour and since then the US has adopted the policy of foreign involvement. Even then it was a foreign policy backed by moral cause. The American policy was interwoven with the exceptional character of America's political culture. The liberals quite often declare that the

rhetoric of exceptionalism is counter-productive for the foreign pursuits of America as it creates envy among other nations. They certainly regard America to behave 'normally' in the community of nations, to maintain a low decorum in the community of states as this will support the American cause. The exceptional perception of Americans does not facilitate the causal relationship of American creed and its Exceptionalist behaviour.

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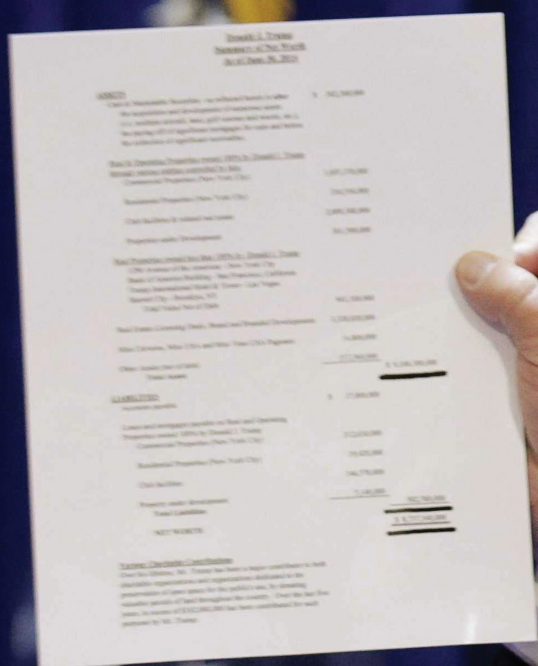
The identity dichotomy consists of the 'exemplary' and 'missionary' exceptionalism. This, on one hand, inspired the behaviour

of 'to remain aloof and lead as an exemplary model' motivated by a warning from Washington against alliance-formation. On the other hand, it promoted 'spreading the ideas of democracy and laissez-faire' in the world, inspired by Woodrow Wilson's slogan 'to make the world safer for democracy'.

In an interesting interpretation, Hilde Restad has combined the exemplary character of American exceptionalism with the missionary. He argued

debate of American values and the United States being superior to other states. American foreign behaviour has always had to pass through the test of whether the US would remain isolated, keep itself distanced from the dirty and corrupt politics of the old-world and preserve its exceptional values of American creed from distortion or, if it would spread the American values by engaging in the world to make it a better place to live. In the League of Nations, the pendulum swung to the isolationist





that since the days of John Winthrop the 'Massachusetts Bay Colony' has taken up the task to purify the English Civilisation. It was the same idea that has been shared by the scholars of neo-conservatism. Huntington asked the Americans to shoulder the responsibility of the leadership of Anglo-American Civilisation and to protect it from the emerging and resurging civilisations. Charles Krauthammer has regarded the isolationist's foreign behaviour as obsolete and cowardice.

The missionary character of American exceptionalism has its roots in political exceptionalism. The political exceptionalism originates from the political struggle against imperial Great Britain. The success of American-Revolution, the Philadelphian Convention, the bill of rights and the democratic traditions regarded America exceptional among the

democratic countries of Europe, about which de Tocqueville wrote.

American exceptionalism is an ideology. This entails a belief that the American ideology needs to be promoted, as the world is waiting for it. It is this thinking that motivates the foreign policy makers and unites the various brands of presidents together from Thomas Jefferson to Woodrow Wilson, from Ronald Reagan to Clinton and from George Bush to Barack Obama. Consequently, this belief in American exceptionalism and the transfer of American creed to the outside world which is as American in nature as the authors of the constitution has become an essential part of the American foreign policy since its inception but even more so since the Second World War.

Exceptionalism is a structural constraint on the

turned into a 'structure'. This structure is thus far acting as a constraint on the behaviour of the American political leaders. It has the features of a 'chooser and selector'. It socializes the American political leadership in the values of 'American creed'.

Exceptionalism acts as an anarchy of American politics. Thus far, it has been associated with the American foreign behaviour in order to justify its structural constraints at the domestic level, as "structural constraints cannot be washed away". What the units (the political leaders in the case of exceptionalism) wish cannot be achieved as the structure has a role to play. And it is this structure that has kept the outcome

The messianic character of American exceptionalism dominated the American foreign policy in the era of cold-war. Cold-War was a struggle between the exceptional character of the USSR and the US, where the battle field was Europe and Asia. The Soviet exceptional element sprung from their unmatched 'military strength' in Europe and pride in their resilience, for they had defeated the Napoleonic scourge in the 19th century and that of Hitler in the 20th century.

political makeup of American politics or one can call this its foreign behaviour. It has the same effect on the American political leaders as that of the market of micro-economic theory, which once formed becomes independent, develops its own forces and acts on them. The exceptionalism of America has a feature which could also be explained by Alfred E. Kuhn's 'tyranny of small decisions'. By this he means 'unconscious decisions of a small number of people set a particular trend', which eventually turn into a 'force'. Same is the case with the 'American Creed'. In the construction of an identity different and distinctive, the leaders of the then United States of America have created a new identity/force for nationalistic purposes for the people of the then colonies to differentiate them from the European world where nationalistic feelings were of colour, creed, religion and blood. This eventually

different from the intended actions of the units. It remained self-sustained and recurring in American political ideology. Its forces are important to understand, which if understood properly will support the actor and if surpassed then it can punish the leadership.

The messianic character of American exceptionalism dominated the American foreign policy in the era of cold-war. Cold-War was a struggle between the exceptional character of the USSR and the US, where the battle field was Europe and Asia. The Soviet exceptional element sprung from their unmatched 'military strength' in Europe and pride in their resilience, for they had defeated the Napoleonic scourge in the 19th century and that of Hitler in the 20th century. Soviet exceptionalism, on one hand was focusing on its 'assault corridor'. On the other hand, it sang the mantra of 'equality'



against 'poverty and discrimination', thus raising hopes of millions of people. It was challenging the 'self-determination' slogan and 'laissez-faire mode of economy', the two pillars of American exceptionalism. It thus turned the Cold-War into a struggle between the Exceptional elements of the two great powers.

The glue of the 'blood-money' alliance disappeared after the surrender of Japan and Germany in 1945. Consequently, friends in the Second World-War turned into adversaries in the Cold-War. The United States of America reacted to the 'communist threat' in both Europe and Asia. The then president Harry S. Truman influenced mostly by the 'Iron-Curtain' Speech by Winston Churchill in 1946, reacted on the recommended 'containment of communism' letter of George Kennan, and adopted the 'Containment of Communism Policy'. It was a policy meant to control the export of communism. However, at the same time it was an appeal to the exceptional elements of American creed i.e. the 'missionary character' of American political values. The Cold-War events had hit hard the very foundation of American Exceptionalism in the course of East-West rivalry. The Vietnam syndrome, Watergate scandal, hostage crisis, the Iran-Contras Affair, the Lebanese embassy bombing had all reflected the commonality of the US in the comity of nations.

However, time and again the United States managed to re-organize itself against the threats and re-emerged exceptional from the crises posed by events of international politics. Contemporary leadership of the United States has started questioning the allies. Deteriorating economics is making the United States more of a global power in search for money. Can we say that the United States is reflecting Thomas Mann's phenomenon, 'human institutions often show the greatest outward brilliance at a moment when inner decay is in reality farthest advanced'.

With Donald Trump becoming the president of the United States, what will be the future of American Exceptionalism?

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Donald Trump demanded a change in the approach of United States towards its allies. He demanded that if the United States is to support its allies, they will have to pay for their security. This gives birth to the concept of 'paid leadership'. Trump's economic slogan of 'high tariffs' on those who are searching for more surplus by investing in cheap labour countries like China indicates his designs to discourage them and in doing so, strengthen the domestic economy of the United States by pushing them to invest in the country, which would create job opportunities for the Americans. Let's label it as 'America First' or in Trump's words, '...let's make the United States great again...'

This poses a question to American exceptionalism. American Exceptionalism demands the US to lead the world being a champion of the laissez-faire economy. Leadership is to be reserved for the United States because it is the demand of its exceptionalism. What will be the nature of the leadership when the United States charges a fee for its leadership? The ability of carrying influence at the global stage through her allies remains the 'modus-operandi' of American involvement in global politics. Deviating from time tested policy options will not only make it diplomatically difficult for the United States, it will also make its exceptional trends questionable, a phenomenon which could be observed at the time of the Arab Spring, when its Middle-Eastern allies started to act independently of the United States.

The traditional design of the American foreign policy is to rule through its allies. Broadly, this separates the United States from its rival camp at the time of the Cold War. The Trump

administration has to take some harsh realities of international politics into consideration; the realities which recur and unfold in international relations in the same manner. Russia and China pose a threat to America's European and Asian allies. With the fall of these actors the fall of the liberal world order is due, that is the fall of the Exceptional values of America. Balances are not automatic in nature. The United States should burden its economy to support its allies, who have always shouldered the United States with the responsibility of leadership. This way, Trump can satisfy the Exceptionalism of the United States, and thus would follow the course of history.

A quote from Elbridge Colby and Jim Thomas will be an apt conclusion to this discourse; No other like-minded country is strong enough

to perform the United States' leadership role in this alliance network. The United States is the only nation with the power, global reach, financial depth and standing to cohere and maintain such a diverse grouping for broadly liberal ends... (p.33).

**Syed Sabir Muhammad** is currently working as a Lecturer at Peshawar University. He is also serving as distinguishing visiting faculty at National Defence University. He is graduated of Quaid-e-Azam University and National Defence University. In 2014 he received a Merit Certificate from the National Defence University.





Allah Nazar, belonging to a middle-class family, was born in October 1968 in Balochistan's town of Mashkay. Following his graduation from high school in 1986, he went to Kech Turbat where he took admission in the medical department of Atta Shad Degree College in 1987. He passed FSc (pre-medical) in 1989. In 1992, Nazar secured a medical seat in Quetta's Bolan Medical College and got a gold medal in gynecology in 1999.

In 1989, he joined the Baloch Students Organization, a separatist student organization, while studying in Atta Shad College, Kech. He founded his own faction, BSO-Azad, in February 2002 that openly advocated armed struggle for an independent Balochistan. In 2003, he went underground to organize his own militant group, Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF). His militant group made headlines when it claimed responsibility for killing three Chinese engineers in Gwadar in May 2004.

In May 2005, he was picked up by the intelligence agencies from an apartment in Karachi where he had secretly come to meet his old BSO comrades. He remained missing for a year. In August 2006, intelligence agencies shifted him to the jail ward of Quetta's Bolan Medical Complex. Following his release on bail, he went into hiding again and is currently leading his group from Afghanistan. His health condition is reportedly very critical. His group has been responsible for numerous terror attacks including:-

- April 2015 -Attack on construction laborers working on the Sohrab Dam in Turbat (20 killed)
- January 2012 – Attack on two Frontier Corps vehicles in Balida area (14 killed)
- September 2014 - Attack on local chieftain Mir Yaqub Balkatari's convoy in Balkatar town (11 killed)



Name	Allah Nazar Baloch
Alias/Nom de guerre	N/A
Age	48
Tribe	N/A
Position	Chief of Balochistan Liberation Front
Current Location:	Afghanistan
Educational Background/Alma Mater	Bolan Medical College, Quetta
Political Affiliation	Marxism

# KNOW THY ENEMY

Syed Safdar Shah was born in Karachi and his family hails from Lucknow, India. He shifted to Quetta where his father was working at a factory. Safdar passed his matriculation examinations there and then his family shifted back to Karachi. He got enrolled in the Urdu Science College but failed to pass intermediate examinations.

Since his youth, Safdar was inclined towards jihadist activities and joined the Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, which trained him in Afghanistan. During that time, he opposed Sipah-e-Sahaba (SS), an anti-Shia militant outfit.



Following the 9/11 attacks, he was arrested and released in 2004. After his release, he went to a SS gathering where he met Abid Mehsud, the founder of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Al-Alami (LJ-A), and became his friend. At that time Safdar was running a cell phone repair shop at Jillani Centre in Karachi and supported the imposition of the Khilafat system to replace democracy.

As part of LJ-A, he served as Abid's second-in-command. In 2008, he was arrested again in Hub, Balochistan and remained imprisoned in Khuzdar jail for seven years. During his imprisonment, he turned against the Deobandi sect and was inclined towards the Ahl-e-Hadees sect but remained in a state of confusion. He was released in 2015. His family at that time had shifted from Gulbahar to North Karachi. Following his release, he went home and after some time left without informing anyone. Two months later, he returned home with his beard shaved and dressed in western attire.

During Ramazan 2015, he went to Afghanistan's Baramcha area of Helmand province and demanded Al Qaida in Indian Sub-Continent (AQIS) to provide separate training camps for LJ-A militants. The AQIS leader Naseem bhai refused to provide training camps and instead offered Safdar to join AQIS. Safdar refused AQIS chief's and came back to setup his camps in Balochistan. Consequently, the LJ-A, which remained inactive for past few years, become active under the leadership of Safdar. His group has recently claimed responsibility for several terror attacks including the recent Quetta Police College attack.

Name	Syed Safdar Shah
Alias/Nom de guerre	Khurasani / Mowavia / Yousaf Mansoor Khurasani
Age	N/A
Tribe	N/A
Position	Chief of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi Al-Alami
Current Location	Afghanistan
Educational Background/Alma Mater	Urdu Science College, Karachi
Political Affiliation	Kharji-Takfeeri

## Balochistan Terrorists Profiles



# BALOCHISTAN

## The Magnificent

### Culture

Balochistan is an area of barren lands, deserts and mountains but it is full of traditions like art and crafts. Baloch embroidery is one of the most popular arts and crafts done by the females. Distinct feather of Baloch culture is storytelling to kids by the parents.



### Number of Tribes in Balochistan

- |               |               |              |                |
|---------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1. Noshervani | 6. Domki      | 11. Bugti    | 16. Noshervani |
| 2. Gichki     | 7. Magsi      | 12. Ahmedzai | 17. Rind       |
| 3. Buledi     | 8. Khosa,     | 13. Jamot    |                |
| 4. Sanjarani  | 9. Rakhashani | 14. Marri    |                |
| 5. Kaidai     | 10. Dashti    | 15. Lashar   |                |





## Natural Terrain



## Way of Communication

vaof one of the ancient language commonly spoke by all Baloch tribes. The entomology of the language belong to Indi-European family of languages and also has resembles with Avesta, Old Persian, Phalavi and Sansikrat language. Balochi is the main language of the province however all tribes also have their native languages with little distinctions.



## Economy

Economy of Balochistan is largely based on production of natural gas, coal, minerals, fisheries, mining, manufacturing industry, handcrafts, public and private sector organizations





Balochistan is endowed with abundant natural resources and its mineral sector is a potentially significant. The production of solid minerals continues to grow as the Province benefits from higher quality marble and granite resources, coupled with metallic minerals for which global commodity prices are strong. Gas and coal have traditionally been more important amongst the resources generating annual revenues of around Rs.3.1 billion. Balochistan's coal production of 262 million tons of coal forms the highest provincial share in National income. Discovery of the Saindak copper / gold mine in northwestern Balochistan is a great achievement and has great importance economically. It is now widely acknowledged that Balochistan is also endowed with much larger metallic mineral resources that, when developed, will have substantial economic, environmental and social impact within the local area, across the Province and nationwide.

### Reserves and grades of Saindak copper deposit and Rekodiq, Chagai district, Balochistan



Ore Body	Reserves (Million tons)
South	111
North	28
East	273
Total	412
Rekodiq	4.5 billion

### Reserves of iron ore deposits in Balochistan



Deposit	Reserves (Million tons)
Pachin Koh	45
Chigendik	5
Chilgazi	23
Dilband	200
Total	273



**Large oil and gas reserves discovered in Jandran, Balochistan**



## Reserves and grades of lead-zinc deposits in Balochistan



Deposit	Reserves (Million tons)
Duggar	13.34
Gunga	2.93
Surmai	22.93

V



Deposit	Reserves (Million tons)
Much Abegum	23
Khost-Shahrig-Harnai	76
Sor-Range-Degari-Sinjidi	50
Dukki	51
Pir Ismail Ziarat	12
Chamalong	50
Total	262

**Balochistan owns 19.3 trillion cubic feet of Gas reserves**



**CPEC new trade route Khunjerab via Gwadar port inaugurated in Pakistan**



**Friendship song at by Pakistani and Chinese singer at inauguration ceremony of Gwadar port**





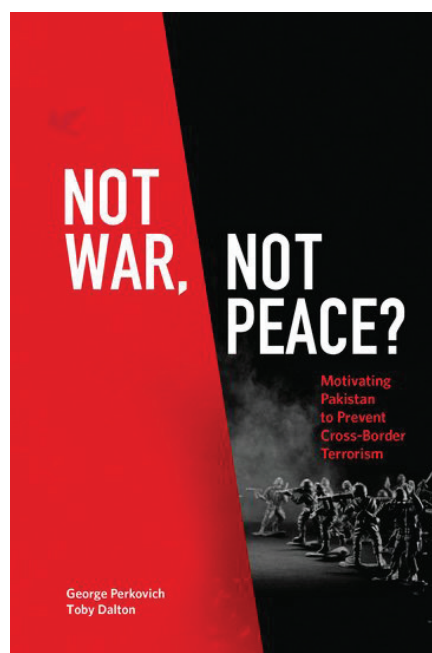
# NOT WAR, NOT PEACE?:

Motivating Pakistan to Prevent Cross-Border Terrorism

By George Perkovich, Tony Dalton

An old military adage by Moltke which says that every plan meets that of the enemy pretty much holds true in how states take forward ties of an adversarial nature. In a classic case of divergence of interests, one state tries to dissuade and force the other. The strategic fraternity uses the terms “deterrence” and “compellence” in place of the two, respectively. George Perkovich and Tony Dalton from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace have co-authored a detailed and the first of its kind book on an issue which is central to peace in South Asia: The Indo-Pak Confrontation.

The work assiduously looks at various options at India's disposal which could be used to “deter” and “compel” an unbridled Pakistan as India puts it. The book has extensively explained, analyzed and carried out a Cost-Benefit Analysis of all tools, ranging from conventional to sub-conventional and nuclear posturing. Besides, there are two chapters which deal with non-violent compellence and the decision-making settings in India with reference to Pakistan. All possible means were assessed in regards their impact at the tactical,



operational and strategic level. Moreover, a holistic appraisal of Indian capabilities to carry out the envisaged policies was neatly penned down.

The decision-making mechanism of India in regards national security was deemed as lamentably slow, lacking ingenuity and most importantly, the urgency to reform. Aversion to military input was another factor that was highlighted. The authors were cognizant of the benefits that were elicited by Pakistan in making a coherent national security policy vis-à-vis India owing to the grip of its military. Furthermore, India's lack of operational intelligence, obsolescence in military equipment and the bureaucratic

hitches in modernizing were also extensively discussed as factors which impeded military preparedness.

The writers traced the evolution of India's Proactive Strategy popularly known as the Cold Start Doctrine before going into assessing the problems that baulked its official promulgation. The crux of the chapter however was an analysis on the effectiveness of the doctrine in deterring and compelling Pakistan. Would Cold Start compel Pakistan to clamp down on alleged perpetrators of attacks in India without escalating the confrontation to higher rungs of the escalation ladder?

Army-centric proactive operations against Pakistan were deemed as tactically challenging, operationally unfeasible and strategically ineffective. Tactically, the kill capability of the Indian forces is questionable owing to a well-documented need for an amelioration in military hardware. Besides, the gap between Indian and Pakistani conventional forces has considerably lessened. Operationally, the lack of coordination between the army and the air force will hamper the success of a proactive

campaign. It was rightly concluded that regardless of the success or failure of proactive operations, be it through capture of territory or attrition of the Pakistan Army, India will be unable to compel its nemesis to hit out at anti-India groups.

The escalatory nature of Cold Start was meticulously discussed by the authors. Indian limited aims will be taken as gargantuan by Pakistan which would invoke a ferocious response. The likelihood of an escalation at both, the conventional and nuclear level would increase due to the fog of war and lack of depth in Pakistani territory.

The aerial offensive was dealt with in detail. Various choices of places and targets were put forward and looked at from the operational and strategic point of view. All possible options invite a strong Pakistani retaliation, be it an attack on Muridke or one in Kashmir. Besides being risky, the air option seems inadequate to compel the demobilization of anti-Indian cohorts. The authors in sum opined that an air attack would most likely cause an escalation spiral one that not only involves intensification of air operations but also those on ground and if escalation is not managed then the nuclear bogey may actually become a reality.

The authors were sensitive to the ineffectiveness of covert operations in the attainment of compellence. Though less perilous and incendiary,

covert actions may harm the reputation of the Indian state and will give credence to long-held Pakistani assertions about India. If anything, covert actions could further activate anti-Indian sentiments and actions.

The chapter on nuclear capabilities is all-embracing. After delving into the nuclearisation of South Asia, Indian nuclear posturing was critically analyzed. The No-First-Use (NFU) policy that India has officially maintained gives Pakistan much needed confidence and derides the credibility of deterrence. Furthermore, the authors looked at the concept of Escalation Dominance and hence analyzed the usability of India bringing nukes at the tactical level. Befitting to a logical analysis was the need to factor- in the fact that nuclear deterrence does little at the sub-conventional level. In addition, the authors were careful in making a prognosis on something which has not happened before. However, despite the pitfalls of invoking Tactical Nuclear Weapons (TNWs), they were said to be able to threaten Pakistan at the first engagement.

The chapter on non-violent means to compel also struck a balance between what India can and what it cannot. Free from fears of armed conflict, the non-violent planks appears to be less fraught with dangers and hence attractive. However, resultantly, it does not possess a compelling effect on the state of Pakistan.

This volume is perhaps extensive in more ways than one. Though, it deliberates upon various contingencies in India's repertoire, it rightfully incorporates all possible Pakistani counter-measures and the thought processes which dictate them. More importantly, the book provides a realistic appreciation of actual capabilities of India and the weaknesses it needs to work on. This work is a good read for scholars, practitioners and policy-makers from both sides of the border. The analysis is dispassionate and takes into account the historical misgivings, national aims and the strategic culture which dominates the security thinking of the men that matter.

**Syed Ali Zia Jaffery** has done his graduation in History and Political Science from Forman Christian College University. Ali has a penchant for writing on subjects like Military, Diplomacy, History and International Relations and has written for a host of publications. He has presented papers in two conferences in India on the Pakistan Army and issues of counter-terrorism. He aims to further look into the East Pakistan conundrum and the Nuclearisation of South Asia. He tweets @syedalizia1992.



# GENESIS OF THE KASHMIR DISPUTE

27th October 2016

## Seminar Summary Report

### FIRST SESSION



A Seminar on the “Genesis of Kashmir Dispute and Humanitarian Crisis” was organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Young Parliamentary Forum, in collaboration with Center for Strategic and Contemporary Research, Islamabad. The event took place at the auditorium of Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services in Islamabad.

The event was divided into two sessions. The first was a morning session in which many speakers as well as video speeches of international personalities were displayed. It was followed by a second session in which a panel of experts orated on several subjects and took part in an interactive seminar.

#### Opening Remarks :

Mr. Salman Javed, Director CSCR inaugurated the seminar by giving opening remarks and introduced the respective topics with brief background of speakers. First he highlighted the importance of Kashmir Black Day and how the Human Rights are being violated in IOK by Indian Security Forces since their occupation in Kashmir.

Welcome remarks were given by Honorable Member of the National Assembly and media coordinator of YPF, Miss Romina Khurshid Alam, to the respectable speakers and participants of the Seminar. She added that their presence indicated their concern for the issue of HR violations in Kashmir. She stressed on the need for further involvement by all quarters specifically the diplomatic circles, the academia, the intellectuals and the young generation in order to achieve a just and equitable solution to the Kashmir institute.

#### Mr. Mohammad Nafees Zakaria :

The first speaker, Mr. Nafees Zakaria, Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad, highlighted the genesis of the dispute in his talk titled ‘Black Day: Connivance, Deceit and un-ending Tale of Genocide of Kashmiris by India’.



In his speech he traced the genesis of Kashmir disputed, a legacy of British rule. He drew references from Alastair Lamb’s 30 years research on Kashmir and Victoria Schoffield’s Account as well as quoted from Sir Christopher Beaumont’s Memoirs, which were made public by his son in 2006.

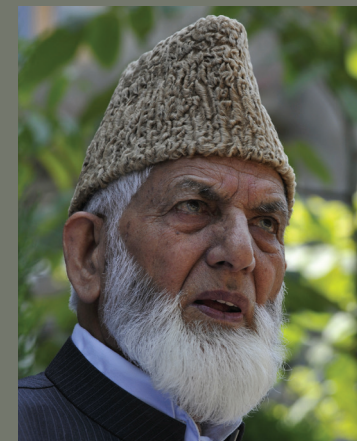
Mr. Zakaria also suggested some books as a reference, written by foreign authors, which revealed how changes were made as a matter of connivance between Lord Mountbatten and Congress Leaders in the 3 June partition plan.

Mr. Nafees quoted from authentic sources that how deceitfully territorial changes were made to favour India. Some boundaries were also narrowed down to North-West, which gave a land route to India to reach the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir by interfering in the Radcliffe Commission of 8th August 1947. Furthermore, the final award of Radcliffe Commission arrived on 12th August and did not publish until 16th August 1947. He concluded that the Kashmir dispute is a consequence of the violation of basic principles of partition plan and manipulation of demarcation of boundaries with the connivance between Lord Mountbatten and Congress leaders.

Highlighting the painful dimension of human rights violations by Indian occupation forces, Mr. Zakaria traced the trail of HR abuses in IOK from 1990s and highlighted how situation has become worse for Kashmiris.

In the context, he showed a presentation with a documentary entitled: ‘Kashmir - Heaven Made Hell’, and pictures of the pellet guns’ victims pertaining to the ongoing uprising in IOK in which several human rights abuses being employed against peaceful protestors as well as mass graves being unearthed. He asserted that Indian atrocities in Kashmir were actually an act of genocide and that it makes a strong case for an independent international trial on the charges of crimes against humanity and genocide against Indian forces.

#### Honorable Syed Ali Shah Geelani: :



A message from Mr. Syed Ali Shah Geelani, former chairman of All Parties Hurriyat Conference, and one of the senior most members of APHC, was presented by Mr. Muhammad Rashid Masood Zaka, who is a member of the board of directors of PIPS. In the message Mr. Geelani highlighted similarities of brutalities between the Indian and Israeli occupations. He asserted that despite Indian atrocities, New Delhi had failed in breaking the spirit of the Kashmiri people. He displayed gratitude for the nation of Pakistan for always standing with the Kashmiri people.

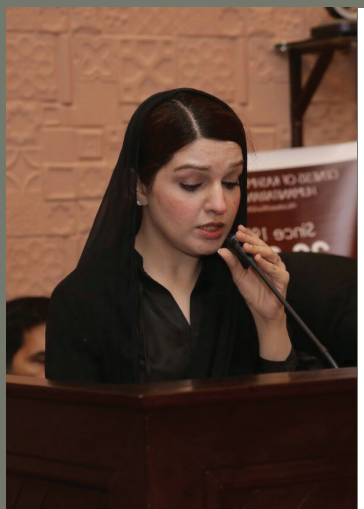
He blamed Indian occupation and intransigence for the conflict in Kashmir. He pointed out that India was utilizing a two pronged strategy to frame the Kashmiri freedom struggle as terrorism and to trap all dialogue over Kashmir in the trap of bilateralism. He agreed that current geostrategic compulsions make the resolution of the Kashmir dispute difficult. He stressed on the need for gradual creative approaches and means to create a movement in the positive direction towards the realization of people’s political rights & goals of freedom.



**Honorable :**

Mirwaiz Mohammad Umar Farooq is the chairman of the Awami Action Committee, one of the two key factions of the All Parties Hurriyat Conference. An audio message by Mirwaiz Umar Farooq was also aired in which he highlighted the situation on ground and how the rest of world is cutoff from them. He added that communication is another problem and they have also been facing a curfew for more than 100 days. Apart from deprivation of basic household facilities, Kashmiris are unable to feed their families. The security machinery of India had once again embarked on the strategy of ruthlessly crushing Kashmiris and their resistance to unprecedented brutality. The idea is to terrorize the population into submission.

The entire population of the valley is barricade inside their homes, mobile phone, internet activities are disconnected the press gagged and journalists are harassed and attacked on daily basis. Essential supplies are blocked and hospitals are being attacked with grave consequences for those needing emergency medical attention. Forces are vandalizing all over the valley in residential places, destroying houses and household items vehicles, breaking windows glass, betting up inmates and in some places burning harvested crops and destroying apple fields.

**Mushaal Hussein Mullick :**

Mushaal Hussein Mullick is a human rights activist and the wife of Yasin Malik, who is the Chairperson of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). She presented her views about 'Half Widows and Forced Disappearance', in which she gave her personal views about the struggle of Kashmiri women. She also spoke about her husband Yasin Malik, who is the Chairperson of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). She emphasized the irresponsibility of medical staff regarding wrong medication which led to paralysis Yasin Malik's right arm. Currently he is admitted in a local hospital without any extra medical facilities and his condition is getting worse.

Kashmir has the highest number of half widows in the world. The most significant targets are leaders of the Kashmiri movement. One of the Kashmiri leaders Asiya Andrabi, has had her husband arrested 24 years ago and is facing the longest arrest in Asia causing her to bring up all her children single handedly. She told how she herself got humiliated when she visited her husband in central jail.

Kunan Poshpora is a notorious rape case, in which Indian forces gang raped the whole village and the statement department issued so many statements, there were proofs about it but till date none of the Indian forces has been held accountable. This shows that New Delhi is using a policy of crimes against women as a tool of subjugation.

**Mr. Syed Fiaz Naqshbandi :**

Syed Fiaz Naqshbandi, senior representative of APHC (M), spoke about 'Kashmir: A Legal



Perspective Indian Laws and Human Rights.' He briefly discussed the history of 27th October and gave message to the whole world that we condemn Indian occupation and wants an end and let enjoy us the fragrance of peace. He added that the situation was much intensified back in 1947 and ultimately the Kashmir matter went to the US. Some resolutions also passed giving the right of self-determination to Kashmiris. Once the resolutions are passed it is binding on member states but these resolutions have been agreed by India as well as by Pakistan.

Besides these resolutions were for the PM of India at that time Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru who had made commitments before the world that India will provide the right of self- determination to Kashmiris. India with the aim influencing world opinion has adopted policy to declare that UN resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir are outdated therefore, they have become irrelevant. The resolutions of UN on Jammu and Kashmir are not irrelevant because of its non-implementation. The non-implementation cannot distract from its continuous validity. UN resolution is effective, valid and relevant until it is implemented. There are only three situations where UN resolutions become irrelevant.

First, when the time has been mentioned in the UN resolutions second, when the member states went to an agreement that resolved an issue. Third, when the UN passes another resolution by cancelling the other resolution. The excessive use of forces and ammunitions on protestors by Indian Armed forces is a violation of UN basic human rights protocols. At the end he appealed to all member states to send fact finding mission to IOK, so that facts become apparent and he urged the IC to send humanitarian aid and medical assistance in Kashmir and ask India to stop all kinds of human rights violations and help in resolving Kashmir issue as per UN resolution.

**Murtaza Shibli :**

Murtaza Shibli, a senior journalist who has written extensively on the Kashmir issue, spoke about 'Kashmir: Humanitarian Crisis-Sharing Personal Experience.' He spoke about his time in Indian Occupied Kashmir where he witnessed the hardships of Indian brutality firsthand. Kashmir has the highest number of military persons on earth. Which is over one million, it includes the army, paramilitary forces and police who is so militarized that police also has high-class rifles usually used by the army. Since India making a lot of progress in economic terms that trickle-down effect and inventory of occupation is very clear.

It has militarized the police, which is almost one soldier for six Kashmiris, life is totally under siege. Most of the time a curfew is imposed and now India has breached its own record of curfews. Most of the time it is undeclared, so it does not become officially embarrassed at all, which is the reason the streets of Sri Nagar are vacant most of the time. The resistance is now in the 5th generation. He has witnessed writing on the walls which is very common like "go India, go back", causing Indian forces to attack houses and shops and people have been forced to erase these messages.

**Honorable Speaker National Assembly Sardar Ayaz Sadiq :**





Honorable Member of the National Assembly and Secretary General YPF, Miss Shaza Fatima Khawaja, delivered special message of honorable speaker of the Pakistan National Assembly, Sardar Ayaz Sadiq about the Kashmir issue. Mr. Ayaz Sadiq first praised the audience for sparing time for this occasion and appreciated YPF, MoFA and CSCR.

He said that all had gathered here to learn about roots of defenseless and vulnerable Muslims of IOK. Now almost seven decades have passed that India has been trying to crush genuine movement of Kashmiris to their right of self-determination with complete impunity and Kashmiris have paid a huge price for their struggle. There is systematic effort by India to bring about demographic changes in IOK which is evident by statistics of Muslims whose percentage has been reportedly declined

from 79% from 1947 to 68% in 2016 of now.

Indian efforts to equate Kashmir Muslim movement with terrorism have been rejected by the international community. The fact of the matter is that India has unleashed world state terrorism against unarmed Kashmiri Muslims as is evident from narration of atrocities by none other than Kashmiri victims themselves before this sitting. He said that since 8th July, Kashmiris have not been able to offer Jumma prayers and this confirms the persecution of Muslims in Indian Occupied Kashmir and exposes India's false claims of democracy and of being a secular country. Indian brutalities are attracting the world's attention to Indian Occupied Kashmir but India continues to deflect their focus.



## SECOND SESSION

### Dr Muhammad Khan :



Dr Muhammad Khan has served as the head of Department of International Relations in NDU and was also the Chief Editor of Journal of Contemporary Studies. Session II was chaired by Dr. Muhammad Khan and he spoke about 'Kashmir Dispute and Bearing on Regional Peace and Security.' His speech was primarily focused on security and stability with respect to Kashmir issue which can affect peace in South Asia. An examination of history shows that peace in South Asia cannot be upheld until and unless we resolve the issue of Kashmir.

After these come the UN resolutions, especially the ones passed in March 1951 and January 1957. These were to decide whether Indian Occupied Kashmir and Azad Jammu and Kashmir assembly would decide their fate. Despite all these facts, India started calling Kashmir its integral part. This is a dichotomy in Indian political leadership. The Indian constitution clearly states that Kashmir has a temporary status and it will be ruled by article 370 of Indian constitution. This article is not valid for any other state of India.

When Sushma Swaraj treated Kashmir as an integral part of India, she was violating the Indian

constitution giving rise to some contradictions. Furthermore there is a nuclear dimension of Kashmir issue. Kashmir is situated in three most important nuclear states of this region (Pakistan, Indian & China). Unfortunately, India is a country which has been a trouble creator as far as all its neighbors are concerned particularly for Pakistan and to some extent for China. So this trouble-creator nature of India has indeed made this region a hotspot, and Kashmir is basically the cause which has affected peace in South Asia.

### Honorable Member National Assembly, Mr. Jaffar Iqbal :



Honorable Member of the National Assembly and Senior Vice President of PML (N), Mr. Jaffar Iqbal spoke about, 'HR violations in Kashmir and its political perspective.' With respect to Kashmir Issue, he said that it is easy for us to express the pain of sufferers in words, with poetry or with photography but it is difficult to live such lives. If we have to talk for this occasion, we could deliver a very good speech, but we have to analyze what we have gained from our struggle during these seventy years.

He recounted his time in many camps of Kashmiri and Afghan refugees in Pakistan. It is very hard for anyone to leave his or her home and move towards an unknown place. He reiterated the need to expend all efforts to incorporate a comprehensive strategy for a solution. Addressing Kashmiris, he added, that our hearts beat with the hearts of Kashmiris. We are always with Kashmiris and consider Kashmir as our integral part.

But our spirit should not be limited to delivering good speeches and resolutions. It is not possible that some major powers will assist us to gain Kashmir or to compel India to abandon it. Kashmir will not be presented to us on a plate. We have to make some effort. We have the power to speak for their legitimate rights. He concluded his speech with the words of Faiz Ahmed Faiz to encourage people to fulfil the cause.

### Lord Nazir Ahmad :



A video recording of Lord Nazir Ahmad, who was a member of the British House of Lords and often speaks about Muslims and Human Rights, was also displayed. In his video message, he reminded the audience that today is 27th October, the day when Indian armed forces landed in Kashmir and occupied it forcefully. At that time the Indian government was under Jawaharlal Nehru who told the world in the UN that we are sending these troops just to maintain the law and order situation there, but the people of Kashmir will be given their right of self-determination.

He also made a promise that free and fair elections will be conducted which is a basic right of Kashmiris. Then they all enacted a fake spectacle that Maharaja Hari Singh has signed the instrument of accession, but Alastair Lamb wrote in his book that this is not possible according to the timeline and even if we agree that he signed such treaty, the rulers of Junagarh and two other states who wanted their accession with Pakistan, were also not allowed. If these rulers were not allowed to annex with Pakistan, then who gave the permission to Hari Singh to accession with India?



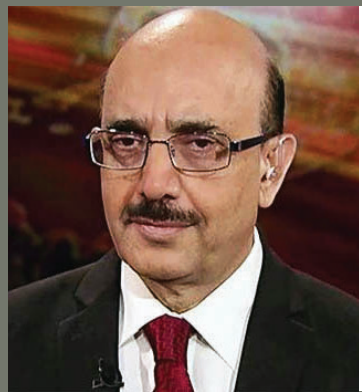
Kashmiris from that time till now have been facing brutalities; even this word is insufficient to explain their situation, by the Indian Army. But now the time has come for Kashmir to be freed from brutal Indian rule. After the assassination of Burhan Wani, 15,000 young men have been injured, 115 have been assassinated, 500-700 children have been affected due to the use of pellets guns by Indian forces. We have to convey to the world that there must not be another Black Day and till next year, there must be freedom for Kashmiris.

#### Miss Hina Malik :



The CEO of Voice of Women Society in the UK, Ms Hina Malik said in another video message that she was standing outside the British parliament in solidarity with the Muslim Kashmiri women and children. She said that being a mother, a daughter, a sister and wife, all these atrocities that are taking place are taking away men from our lives, which are making the children orphans and the women widows. She stressed that the Kashmiri people are looking to the West for support and here we are standing outside this parliament which is big advocate of human rights. The civil society has raised their voices for Kashmiri brothers and sisters in the parliament and vowed to continue to raise their voices until they are heard and a solution and resolution is achieved.

#### Honorable President of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Mr. Masood Khan :



President Masood Khan is the head of state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir. A Special Key note Message Video recording for the Seminar was sent from the office of Mr. President. In his message he ensured that the atrocities committed by India will be on international forums. He also mentioned the importance of this seminar and ensured that he will raise the issue in UK conference which he chaired on 27th October.

Giving a historical overview, he stated that the people of Jammu and Kashmir were denied their right of self-determination, there was a fear and an expectation that Jammu and Kashmir would accede to Pakistan.

This natural and legitimate process was halted by India by the use of force and repression and they never arranged a referendum in its true sense. The UNSC in its several resolutions validated the Kashmiris' right to decide their political future through a plebiscite to be held by the UN in the past 70 years.

India has used naked coercion, economic blandishment, and shame electoral processes to crush the will of the Kashmiris. It has tried very hard to legitimize its occupation but the people of occupied Kashmir clearly reject Indian occupation. After 70 years, the streets of the cities, townships, and villages of Jammu and Kashmir are still resonating with a slogan of freedom and a definitive no to Indian rule. The UN has been hesitant to hold a plebiscite but Kashmiris have been holding a plebiscite, a referendum every day. They still demand their freedom and denounce Indian domination and repression.

Since the current wave of unrest which began on 8th July 2016, India has killed hundreds of Kashmiris, blinded hundreds and critically injured several thousand people. The black day this year has become even more tragic and catastrophic. The whole of Jammu and Kashmir is ignited

by the spirit of liberty. Today, young men and women in occupied Kashmir too are chanting the slogans of "give me liberty or give me death" which is reminiscent of the war of independence fought by another nation in a distant land a century ago.

#### Concluding Remarks :



The seminar was concluded with the note of thanks by Honorable Member of the National Assembly, Miss Romina Khurshid Alam, she stated "No matter who you are, no matter from where you are, I believe you all are Pakistani but you all are humans more and as Humans, our conscience must be shaken at the atrocities committed by a state on innocent and oppressed civilians of Indian Occupied Kashmir. I thank Mr. Nafees Zakria for not only being here but also providing us guidance and organizing this seminar. I also thank Mr. Salman Javed for his tireless effort to bring the issue in limelight with this event. Mr. Fiaz Naqshbandi the representative of Mirwaiz Umer Farooq, Mr. Murtaza Shibli, Miss Mishaal Hussein Mullick, distinguished speakers, media and SDPI. I

thank all of you from the core of my heart on behalf of YPF, MoFA, CSCR and excellent work done by those who worked behind the scenes for the success of this seminar"







# CSCR Delegation

Visit to  
Quetta





CSCR Team's dinner with Sarfraz Bugti, Interior Minister of Balochistan, and Anwar UI Haq Kakar (Balochistan Government Spokesperson).



Group Photo of Team CSCR with Lt.Gen Aamir Riaz, Commander Southern Command, and Anwar-ul-Haq Kakar, Spokesperson to Government of Balochistan



CSCR Team's group photo at Quaid Residency, Ziarat



Breakfast with Lt.Gen.Aamir Riaz, Commander Southern Command, at Orchard House, Quetta



CSCR Team at Quaid-e-Azam Residency, Ziarat, Balochistan.



CSCR Team at Prospect Point, Famous Juniper Tree, Ziarat





CEO Devote, Balochistan, Team CSCR and students of Balochistan



Group photo of CSCR Team with Salma Hasnie, CEO Devote, and Baloch Students at Musketeer's Family Village.



Team CSCR at Staff College Quetta





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