



**CENTRE FOR CRITICAL PEACE STUDIES**



# PEACE PERIODICAL 1



# WELCOME

Centre for Critical Peace Studies at UMT is a trans-disciplinary research and advocacy forum for peace scholars from around the world, especially for scholars of the Global South ( South Asia, South East Asia, Latin America, Middle East, and Africa). In line with the spirit of Peace Studies, the Centre is open for all interested scholars from multiple domains and disciplines.

The mission of the Centre for Critical Peace Studies is 'immanent critique', that is 'critique with the intent of reform of a real-world situation'. Drawing on the De-colonial / Post-colonial perspectives, one particular real-world situation that the Centre seeks to improve is North-centrism (Euro/ US centrism) of Peace Studies. By centering the problems of the South and by amplifying the voices of Southern scholars, the Centre aims to undo the epistemic hegemony of the West in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies / Security Studies and International Relations. It is hence named the Centre for Critical Peace Studies.

Our Peace Periodicals will update readers on CCPS activities and provide space for peace and security students and scholars to share their thoughts and perspectives. It will also include issue briefs, policy analysis, and timely debates.

## CONTACT US

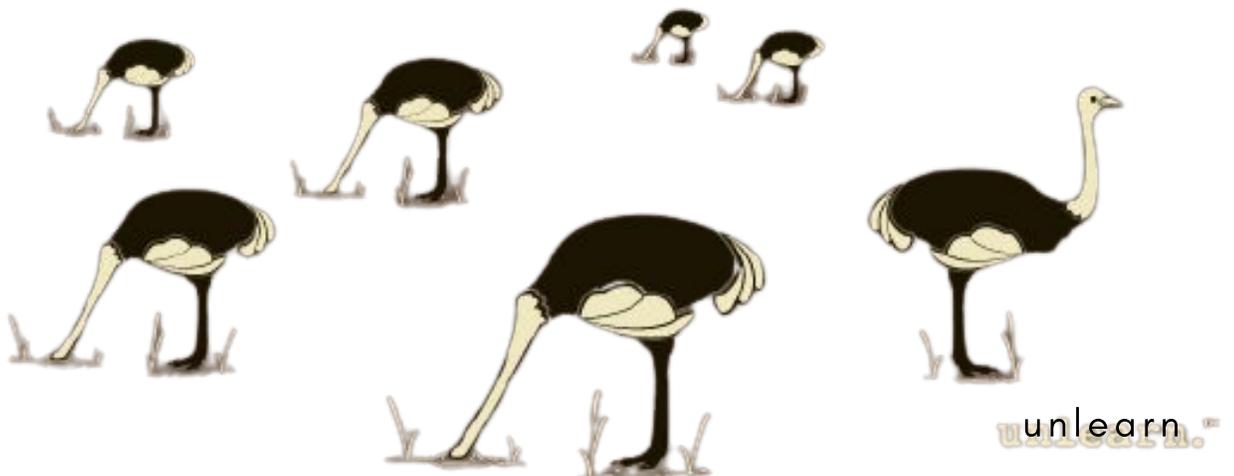
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Kulsoom Belal  
Maira Asif  
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## Patron of CCPS

Ibrahim Hasan Murad  
President ILM Trust  
President UMT



Ibrahim Murad started working as Director in University of Management and Technology, simultaneously establishing many organizations under the shade of ILM Trust and UMT, including First IBL Modaraba. He continues to provide education services to around 50,000+ students in 150+ schools, from kindergarten to the end of high school and 70+ ILM College campuses. He is the first President of University of Management and Technology (UMT) with an enrolment of 25,000+ students, 700+ faculty members, including 220+ PhDs.



## **Custodians of CCPS**



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**Vice Air Marshal (Rt)**



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**Director General**  
**UMT Lahore**

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Florida International University, USA

**Prof. Shahnaaz Suffla**

Specialist scientist  
South African Medical Research Council  
Professor at the University of South Africa



***advisory  
board***

**Instead of a white dove with an olive branch, the logo of CCPS has a colored falcon - the inspiring metaphor for the poet of the East, Allama Iqbal - with an olive branch.**



# inauguration

Director CCPS, Dr. Fatima Sajjad explained that while Peace Studies is commonly concerned with problems of social justice and structural and cultural violence, the vision of CCPS is to extend the scope of Peace Studies to include and highlight the issues of epistemic violence and epistemic justice within the discipline and to critique the real-world situation with the intent of reform and improvement. For authentic understanding and real solutions to the problems of the South, there is a need to alter the North-centrist approach and the epistemic hegemony of the West in Peace Studies to include equitable involvement from both North and South in the field.

The advisory board emphasized how colonization has contributed to today's concerns and crises, as well as how it obstructs paths to genuine peace. They highlighted the role and need for institutions such as CCPS to stimulate, generate, disseminate, and promote discourse, narratives, and research emerging from the South. Moreover, the board stressed the importance of accepting, encouraging, and empowering voices, narratives, ideas, and knowledge from the Global South in social sciences to counter western hegemony and revisionism.



Illustration by David Parkins

# inauguration



# CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

**Renowned Peace Scholar Prof. Daniel J. Christie joined CCPS (July 11, 2021)**

He is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Ohio State University. After an enjoyable career at Ohio State, he continues to find writing and research on psychology very satisfying especially in relation to peace, conflict and social justice. He also enjoys growing the field of peace psychology and helping others find value for doing the same. He edited a three volume of set entitled, Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology, and serve as series editor for the Peace Psychology Book series.



**Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Global Campus Program arranged special sessions on Peace and Conflict Studies (Sunday, June 13, 2021)**

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Global Campus Program arranged special sessions on Peace and Conflict Studies. Dr.Fatima Sajjad , Director CCPS gave a lecture on ' De-radicalization in Practice' on this global forum. Faculty, peace practitioners and students from Japan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Syria, Europe , India , Pakistan and Indian held Kashmir actively participated in this lecture. UMT students of politics and International Relations were also an active part of these sessions. CCPS was introduced on this forum and the idea received a warm welcome from the international audience.



**Renowned Peace and Conflict Studies Scholar and Practitioners from Japan Prof. Isezaki Kenji joined CCPS as an advisory board member. (July 18, 2021)**

Kenji Isezaki runs the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, and Global Campus program at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in Japan. He has served in several United Nations peacekeeping missions. He directed the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) program for Afghan security sector reform (SSR) with the support of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan and successfully disarmed 60,000 soldiers of the former Afghan military forces in 2 years. He has served as the chief of DDR Coordination Section for the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL); UN-appointed governor of Cova Lima for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET); and representative of the Japanese government to the DDR special committee by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at United Nations Secretariat in New York. Apart from teaching, he currently serves as the Vice-President of the Association for Aid and Relief, a Japanese NGO which works in 14 post- and in-conflict countries, and also enjoys support from Japanese imperial family.



## CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

### Panel Presentation in American Sociological Association's Annual Conference (Aug 8, 2021)

Caroline Schoepf organized the panel titled Doing DE colonial Theory in the North vs. the South in American Sociological Association's Annual Conference on Aug 8, 2021. Dr. Fatima Sajjad presented her paper in the panel. The panel discussant was Prof. Farid Alatas, the renowned professor of Global Sociology. The theme of this year's ASA conference was Emancipatory Sociology: Rising to the Du Boisian Challenge.



### Prof. Walter Mignolo William H. Wannamaker joined CCPS. (Aug 9, 2021)

Prof. Walter Mignolo William H. Wannamaker is a distinguished Professor and Director of the Centre for Global Studies Duke University USA. Mignolo's research has been and continues to be devoted to exposing modernity/coloniality as a machine that generates and maintains un-justices and to exploring decolonial ways of delinking from the modernity/coloniality.



Director Centre for Critical Peace Studies Dr.Fatima Sajjad gave an exclusive talk on Radio Pakistan to mark the second anniversary of the revocation of Kashmir's special status by the Modi government. (August 04, 2021)



Director CCPS, Dr. Fatima Sajjad was invited by the US Embassy Islamabad to give a talk on 'Role of Women in Countering Extremism' (Aug 25, 2021)

Dr. Fatima Sajjad was invited by the US Embassy Islamabad to give a talk on 'Role of Women in Countering Extremism: Rethinking Education'. The talk held on Aug 25, 2021, was part of a seminar series focusing on the role of women in peace and security. She emphasized the need to develop critical consciousness in students through education to counter extremism and women inclusion in peace discourses and practices. The audience at Lincoln's Corner and American Centre actively participated in the discussion.



# CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

**Dialogues on Epistemic Justice**  
 With Syed Farid Alatas - National University of Singapore

Guest Speaker:  
**Dr Siri Gamage**  
**Prof Syed Farid Alatas**



**First Session:**  
 Academic Dependency and Indigenization  
 of Social Sciences in Asia:  
 Early Writings of Syed Farid Alatas

**Date:** September 11, 2021  
**Time:** 05:00 PM PST (via Zoom)  
 08:00 EDT, 12:00 UTC,  
 18:00 Singapore,  
 22:00 AEDT







Prof. Syed Farid Alatas  
 National University of Singapore

Prof. Siri Gamage  
 University of Queensland  
 Sydney

Prof. Eryna Casanova  
 University of Colorado  
 USA

Dr. Fatima Sajjad  
 International Development  
 and Technology  
 Lahore

Caroline Schoep  
 Hong Kong Baptist  
 University  
 Hong Kong

Boris Cas Sener  
 Middle East Technical  
 University  
 Ankara

**Organized by:**  
 Centre for Critical Peace  
 Studies (CCPS), UMT




## Dialogues on Epistemic Justice (Session I) (September 11, 2021)

CCPS started a webinar series on Dialogues on Epistemic Justice in collaboration with famous scholars from all around the world. It is a monthly basis series and welcomes diverse audience from different continents to present their thoughts and experiences on epistemic justice. The first session was held on September 11th, 2021. Dr. Siri Gamage initiated the session and discussed about indigenization of academic discourse, global production of knowledge in the industrialized world and exclusion of third world authors leading to academic dependency. In the second part of the session Prof Syed Farid Alatas elucidated the repercussions of Eurocentric knowledge production and the way forward to its decolonization through anti-Eurocentricism. Moreover, he endorsed the significance of reflecting indigenous problems in the process of knowledge production. Conclusively, he recommended few activities that we should undertake to decolonize the world i.e. teaching non-Western syllabus, developing global community, webinars and prioritizing to publish in working paper series instead of Western top-ranked journals. Additionally, Dr. Fatima Sajjad encouraged the scholars for developing digital resources in order to foster awareness about decolonial thinking among the common masses of third world countries.

## Centre for Critical Peace Studies, in collaboration with the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, invited an academic discussion on the current situation of Afghanistan (September 15, 2021)

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Global Campus Program arranged special sessions on Peace and Conflict Studies. On July 13, Dr. Fatima Sajjad, Director CCPS gave a lecture on 'De-radicalization in Practice' on this global forum. Faculty, peace practitioners, and students from Japan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Syria, Europe, India, Pakistan, and Indian held Kashmir actively participated in this lecture. UMT students of politics and International Relations were also an active part of these sessions. CCPS was introduced on this forum and the idea received a warm welcome from the international audience.

**Afghanistan:**  
**Lessons from the Past, Options for the Future**

**A Webinar by**  
 UMT Centre for Critical Peace Studies

**Guest Speakers:**







Prof Iseazki Kenji  
 Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Prof Shabana Fayyaz  
 Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Dr Rabia Akhtar  
 Member PM Advisory Council on  
 Foreign Affairs, University of Lahore

Dr Zahid Shahab Ahmad  
 Deakin University, Australia

Mr Shehryar Warraich  
 The News



## CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

### **Richard Jackson, Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (NCPACS) Joined CCPS (September 30, 2021)**

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Professor Richard Jackson joins CCPS as an advisory board member. He is Director of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (NCPACS). Additionally, he is the founding editor and current editor-in-chief of the journal, *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, and the series editor of the Routledge *Critical Terrorism Studies Book Series*. He is the author and editor of 14 books and more than 100 journal articles and book chapters.



### **Centre for Critical Peace Studies and University of Toronto Announced Partnership (October 08, 2021)**

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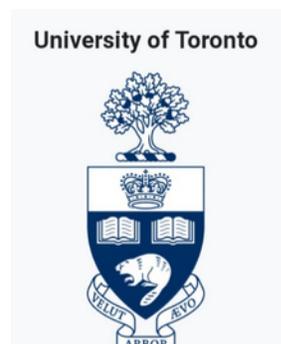
The University of Toronto rests on the shared lands and waters of the Anishinaabe, the Haudenosaunee Nations, and the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. Tkaronto has a complex history and has been the home of Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe peoples since time immemorial, and is part of the Treaty Lands and Territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation. In collaboration with University of Toronto CCPS provided an ample opportunity for Social Sciences students at UMT to get registered for an unconventional course titled "Indigenous Experiences of Racism and Settler Colonialism: Teaching Beyond the Binary series". This course constitutes a point of departure to approach what is settler colonialism, and the experiences of systemic racism indigenous peoples face daily.



### **Undergraduate Director of Religious Studies and Associate Professor of Islamic Studies at Florida International University (FIU), Dr. Iqbal Akhtar Joined CCPS (October 08, 2021)**

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Dr. Iqbal Akhtar is an associate professor with a dual appointment in the departments of Religious Studies and Politics & International Relations in the Steven J. Green School of International and Public Affairs. He completed his doctorate at the University of Edinburgh's New College School of Divinity. His current work explores the origin of the Khoja peoples in the Subcontinent through extant oral traditions known as the kahan?i in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Hindustani. He teaches both undergraduate and graduate courses as well as independent studies which include but are not limited to: Islamic Political Thought, Advanced Interpretations of the Quran, Voice of the Prophet, Islamic Faith and Society, Women in Islam, and Islamic Mysticism (Sufism). He is the research director of the Western Indian Ocean Studies program and director of the Jain Studies program at FIU.



# CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

## Dialogues on Epistemic Justice (Session II) was held on October 16, 2021

Session 2 of Dialogues on Epistemic Justice was hosted by Centre for Critical Peace Studies (CCPS), UMT on October 16, 2021. Prof. Erynn Casanova from University of Cincinnati (USA) was invited as a guest speaker to talk about 'Global North vs. Local South in Domestic Work Scholarship'. Prof. Farid Alatas from National University of Singapore joined as a discussant of the session. The panelists included Prof. Siri Gamage from University of Western Sydney, Dr. Fatima Sajjad from University of Management and Technology (Lahore), Caroline Schoepf from Hong Kong Baptist University (Hong Kong) and Baris Can Sever from Middle East Technical University (Ankara).

## Teaching Beyond the Binary; Course offered to UMT students by Toronto University (October 21, 2021)

This unconventional course constituted a point of departure to approach what is settler colonialism, and the experiences of systemic racism indigenous peoples face daily. The organization followed suggested themes, keywords, questions, and elements that relate to different places, territories, personal histories to colonialism and lands. This co-learning journey was a collective journey to re-think critically fabricated notions of what Canada and modern states are, for instance, and how we all benefit from them. Non-indigenous peoples were invited to listen attentively to ancestral knowledge of Elders, indigenous voices, and racialized authors because we continue to experience colonial genocide. The course was grounded in Teaching of the Seven Grandfathers: Wisdom, Love, Respect, Bravery, Honesty, Humility, and Truth. Educational and institutional spaces operate on the premises of White Supremacy sustaining oppression and multiple forms of violence (race, gender, class, ethnicity, ability, language, age, religion, sexuality, land, etc.) In community, we learned beyond the binary through a series of encounters co-creating ways to shift colonialist narratives in curriculum development, teaching practices and professional development as we integrate pedagogies of liberation through SEEDS for Change. This transnational itinerary looked, as it should, differently for every one of us due to the different positionalities we hold.

## Paper presentation by Dr Fatima Sajjad and Syed Wajeeh ul Hasan in the international extramural at the forum of University of the Philippines (October 26-30, 2021)

Dr Fatima Sajjad and Syed Wajeeh ul Hasan presented the paper entitled "Doing Peace in the South: Building Support for Epistemic Disobedience" during the International Extramural themed: Decolonial Perspectives: Reclaiming our rights as People from the Global South held on October 28, 2021 at UP Cebu Lahug Campus, Cebu City Philippines.



# CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

## Guest lecture by Dr.Nirmal Baid (October 30, 2021)

CCPS is grateful to Dr.Nirmal Baid for an incredibly informative and interesting lecture on Jain Nonviolence & Climate Change. Dr Nirmal is a Founding Director of the Jain Education and Research Foundation that created the first ever endowed professorship in Jain Studies at Florida International University. Dr. Baid is on Endowment Board of the Foundation for Excellence which provides scholarships to economically underprivileged and academically bright students in India. He is active at the Jain Center of Northern California, Rajasthan Association of North America, and Mahaprgya Adhyatam and Education Foundation.



## Dialogues on Epistemic Justice (Session III) November 27, 2021

The third session of Dialogues on Epistemic Justice was conducted on November 27, 2021. Dr. Fatima presented her paper in this session. Renowned Professor Syed Farid Alatas from the National University of Singapore was the discussant of the session. Some parts of the abstract of the paper presented is as follows; Violent extremism has been identified as a global security threat by the United Nations that announced a Plan of Action to combat the threat in 2016. This paper offers a critique of the UNESCO policy document, using the construct White Ignorance, as explained by Mills (2007) and Mueller’s (2019) Theory of Racial Ignorance. Using Robert Cox’s distinction of problem-solving and critical theories, I argue that international security policies rely on problem-solving frameworks that aim to resolve complex problems without considering problems of the prevailing status quo. I contend that it is the White security policy that needs to be educated to prevent violence and maintain durable security.

## University of Toronto invited Director CCPS, Dr. Fatima Sajjad to conduct a session Teaching Beyond the Binary (November 25, 2021)

On November 25, 2021 Dr Fatima Sajjad, Director Center for Critical Peace Studies was invited by Seeds for Change at University of Toronto to talk about White ignorance, (In) Security, Re-education, Reverse Gaze & Epistemic Violence.



## Learning Without Borders



## CCPS ACTIVITY REVIEW

**Global Campus Online Session (TUFS)  
December 7, 2021**

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CCPS offered an online course to UMT students in collaboration with TUFS. Global Campus Online Session covered the following topics.

- Myanmar's Crisis and China's Rise under the COVID-19
- Arctic: how small states survive amid new game of China, US and Russia?
- Doing Peace in the South: Unsettling the Colonial Logic
- Can De-radicalization handle Radicalization? From the Indian perspective
- The Pedagogical Challenges of Countering Violent Extremism in an Unequal World

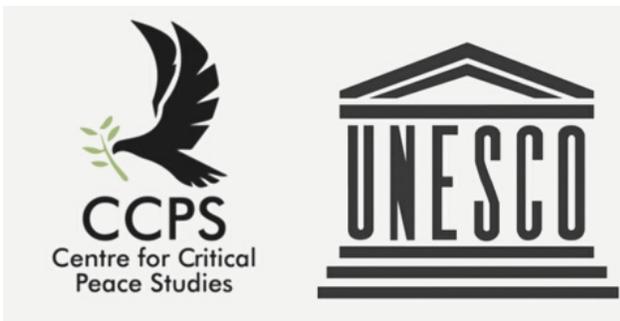


**東京外国語大学**  
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

**CCPS reviewed the UNESCO course on December 20, 2021**

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UNESCO Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) expressed deep appreciation for comprehensively reviewing the UNESCO MGIEP "Social Emotional Learning for Youth Waging Peace" by CCPS Team Members



*the next section is*

### OPINION-EDITORIALS

This section includes opinions, issue briefs, policy reviews from budding scholars, researchers, students of peace and security studies. The works represent the opinions of the authors. It is not meant to represent the position or opinions of CCPS or its Members, nor the official position of any staff members.



## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

*By Kulsoom Belal*

*Kulsoom is research associate at the Center for Critical Peace Studies, UMT*

*Kulsoom.belal@umt.edu.pk*

On July 15, 2015, Iran and the P5+1 signed the historic Iran Nuclear Deal, also known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) which placed considerable restriction on Iran's nuclear program and in return agreed to remove the international sanctions from the country. January 16, 2016 marked the implementation day for the deal. Iran opened up its nuclear facilities at Fordow, Natanz and Bushehr and others for inspection by International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA). Iran also dismantled the centrifuges for the preparation of highly enriched uranium, U-235 and diluted the existing stockpile to below 5 percent.

Meanwhile, under the Non Proliferation Treaty and Security Council Resolution 2231, the US removed the secondary sanctions it imposed on Iran involving the third party or another country. However, it never removed the US primary sanctions imposed on Iran,

despite a requiem of the deal and insistence of Iran that its commitment to the deal predicates on removal of all sanctions.

The deal ran into further trouble with the republican US President Donald Trump unilaterally withdrawing from the deal, leaving little room for compliance by other parties of the deal. The US re-imposed crippling sanctions on Iran, and in retaliation, Iran has since last year abandoned some curbs imposed on it by the JCPOA and has started using advanced centrifuged to enrich uranium to 60 percent and restricted international scrutiny of the program.

With the change of government in both Iran and the US last year, and an expression of some willingness to return to the deal from either sides, there seems to be a flicker of hope for the revival of the JCPOA. In the context of these new developments, the paper analyzes whether a revival of the deal is possible in the near future. Specifically it examines the options available on the table for parties on both sides of the deal.

Status of Iran's nuclear program

After the unilateral withdrawal of US from the deal, Iran took a series of steps in breach of its side of JCPOA.

In 2019, in response to the other parties' actions, which Tehran claimed tantamount to violation of the deal, Iran started exceeding against the stipulated limits to its stockpile of low-enriched uranium, and began enriching uranium to higher concentrations though still far short of the purity prerequisite for weapon-grade. It also began developing new centrifuges to accelerate uranium enrichment at Natanz; resuming heavy water production at its Arak facility; and enriching uranium at Fordow, which rendered the isotopes produced there unusable for medical purposes.

In 2020, Iran took more steps away from its nuclear pledges, following a series of attacks on its interests. In January, after the U.S. targeted killing of a top Iranian general, Qasem Soleimani, Iran announced that it would no longer limit its uranium enrichment.

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

*By Kulsoom Belal*

In October, it began constructing a centrifuge production center at Natanz to replace one that was destroyed months earlier in an attack it blamed on Israel. And in November, in response to the assassination of a prominent nuclear scientist, which it also attributed to Israel, Iran's parliament passed a law that led to a substantial boost in uranium enrichment at Fordow.

The following year, in 2021 Iran announced new restrictions on the IAEA's ability to inspect its facilities, and soon after ended its monitoring agreement with the agency completely. The day after the seventh round of nuclear talks resumed in Vienna on November 29, 2021, Iran began enriching a higher-grade uranium—some 20 percent purity—with a cascade of more advanced IR-6 centrifuges than permitted by the pact. According to experts, Iran's breakout time—the amount of time it would take to produce enough weapons-grade uranium for a bomb—has shortened from about 12 months at the time the nuclear pact was concluded to about one month.

It could take Iran another two years to produce a nuclear warhead.

Although little remains of the deal, the eighth round of the deal has begun in Vienna on December 27, 2021 after they were stalled in April when Iran wanted to resume the process after the presidential election in June and forming of a new nuclear negotiation committee.

The US wanted to be part of the talk but on the basis that it had withdrawn from the deal, Iran has refused to meet directly with U.S. officials, meaning that other parties—Britain, China, France, Germany and Russia—must shuttle between the two sides. The other parties of the deal have high hopes from the negotiation, however, there are sharp differences to be resolved between Iran and the US. While the US and also European partners are in a hurry to strike a diplomatic settlement on the dispute with Iran and ready to give weeks, not months to it, Iran feels no obligation to follow a deadline to conclude the talks.

Tehran demands the complete and comprehensive lifting of US sanctions as stipulated in the deal,

Also the guarantee that the sanctions will not be re-imposed under any pretext, guarantee that the US will not pull out of the accord again, and that a period of time will be announced for removal of sanctions. It also puts on the table the demand that it should be able to export oil again and be able to obtain revenue in its own banking system. Iran also wants the talks to focus on the sanctions only and not the nuclear issue. However, the Biden administration wants the return of Iran to full compliance to the deal before sanctions are removed. It also wants to add some more clauses to the deal regarding Iran's ballistic missile program and its support to Houthis in Yemen with weapons exports and others and rebel movement elsewhere in the Middle East, which it sees as Iran's push for regional primacy. However, Ebrahim Raisi has been categorical about Iran's missile program and regional issues are non-negotiable and that Washington has to return to the original deal. The US, however, has signaled its intention to strengthen the sanctions regime against Iran if the talks fail to bring Iran into full compliance.

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

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Response of the other side and regional players

Given the strained relations between Iran and the US with mistrust and resentment running deep, coupled with the stakes involved for the regional countries in the deal, it's hard to predict a positive outcome for the intense talks going on in Vienna to restore the nuclear accord.

For Iran, just in the past five years, it is the withdrawal of Trump administration from the nuclear deal, the maximum pressure campaign which led to many international oil and other big companies to exit from the deals with Iran and involved harsh sanction on its Iranian oil and general trade, to cripple its economy.

Not just that, during the same period, IRGC's General Qasim Soleimani was targeted and killed in Iraq and Iran's chief nuclear scientist, Mohsen Fakhrizadeh was also shot and killed in Iran. For the US and its allies, it is Iran's continuous work on its ballistic missiles program which they accuse of developing missiles for carrying nuclear payload,

its space program sending satellites into space which it tested just when the talks are ongoing in Vienna indicating its resolve to continue with the programs. Not only that, both US and Iran continue to release lists of sanctions targeting the individuals and businesses of the other side.

Israel

Israel has been against the deal since its onset. It presses for JCPOA 2.0 which would also include constraints on Iran's regional role, ballistic missile program and also the sunset clauses of JCPOA set to expire in 10 and 15 years of the deal. It believes that JCPOA only delays time for Iran to develop a nuclear program which Iran can quite possibly do it concurrently hidden from the world powers and the IAEA. Hence, it presses on Biden's national security advisor, Jake Sullivan, to either negotiate more far-reaching constraints on Iran's nuclear program or tighten the economic noose. In an interview with the New York Times, Israeli Foreign Affairs Minister Yair Lapid said the best outcome

would be a stronger deal than the JCPOA, which could ensure Iran never obtains a nuclear weapon, and the worst would be a "bad deal" that provides Tehran enough wiggle room to build a nuclear weapons program at some stage in the future. "Second best would be no deal but tightening the sanctions and making sure Iran cannot go forward."

European powers, the E3

The European powers are showing urgency for the settlement of the deal and think Iran is putting maximalist and unrealistic demands while being in continuous violation of the deal. The European powers also feel that with Iran making swift progress in its nuclear program, it may cross the Rubicon, rendering the nuclear talks and the JCPOA itself in vain. At the moment the European powers do not want to dump the ongoing diplomatic track but with no timeframe being given by Iran, it looks the European powers will soon be losing patience with Iran considering it not serious about the talks. In recent weeks, European diplomats have received

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

*By Kulsoom Belal*

instructions from their capitals to be prepared, in the event of a breakdown in talks, for the possible re-imposition of sanctions on Iran. The so-called snapback provision of the 2015 nuclear pact permits signatories to re-impose a wide range of U.N. sanctions if they deem Iran is in breach of the agreement. However, for Iran, the E3 never really delivered on its promises and despite installing INSTEX, it never received the economic dividends of remaining in the deal.

What to expect: options for Iran and P5+1

Given the situational analysis, it seems like all parties are walking on a tight rope trying to protect their interests; Iran is trying to save its already crippled economy from the sanctions regime and not to be let down the way it was before. On the other hand, the US and the E3 wants Iran to show full compliance to the original deal before it can be compensated with sanctions removal. For them, time is running as Iran continues to ratchets up its nuclear program.

The question is will Iran breakout? Not a simple answer but from the look of it, it's still highly unlikely. There are many indicators for it. One, from a technological standpoint, the Iranian nuclear program is reaching the point of no return. But Iran still does not possess the required ballistic missile program to deliver the nuclear payloads. Second, given the past precision operation by Israel against Iran's nuclear program and nuclear scientists showing the susceptibility of Iran's nuclear sites to infiltration and very clear threats for the future, it seems highly improbable, which the Iranian official are most probably aware of, it is quite impossible for Iran to reach the breaking point. Up till now, Iran's nuclear sites have faced various cyberattacks and intelligence failures on their nuclear sites and have not been able to develop capability to fully protect their nuclear assets. Also, in the past too, after the attacks on nuclear sites, Iran has still continued with diplomacy and also concluded the JCPOA in 2015.

Besides them military aspect, Iran's economy is under severe restrictions.

Over the last few years, it has conducted oil trade with countries under US embargo in defiance. It has also exported oil to China clandestinely.

However, given that it is the fourth largest oil producer, it can hardly rely on the regional countries for the financial revenue it wants for its oil. Secondly, there is a new government in Iran which the West describes as the conservative government given their predilection for developing relations with the eastern countries like China and Russia over the western countries. The election of this new government, speaking in broad terms without taking into consideration the election details and the role of Guardian Council in disbanding the members of the other of 'faction' - the reformists, comes in reaction to the incapability of Rouhani government in bringing the economic prosperity it vowed for Iran from the day one. The disgruntled public and youth of Iran are in desperate need of economic revival of Iran. The resistance economy model given by the previous government,

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

*By Kulsoom Belal*

under which it also signed the \$400 billion agreement with China, has also proved to be inadequate or not bringing any immediate result. In the backdrop of an increasing worsening economic situation, the reentry and renegotiation of JCPOA provides some hope for economic relief to Iran, although one it cannot fully trust.

The other point is that the incumbent president of Iran, Ebrahim Raisi, is being described as the choice of Iran's establishment for the next Supreme Leader replacing Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. This can be interpreted in either way: one, Raisi may stick to the ideological preference of its faction that brought him into power and also holds his future of becoming the Ayatollah and refrain from any constructive engagement with the West, meaning not a positive outcome for the deal. He may also want to not negotiate the deal as it may be seen in continuation to the achievement of Rouhani. Two, it could also mean that Raisi may try to salvage the Iranian economy and may want to use

the option of renegotiating a settlement on JCPOA, however, it is precarious given the outcome bore by his predecessor for the same.

Besides them military aspect, Iran's economy is under severe restrictions.

The other significant point which may hamper Iran from walking away from the negotiating table is the stance of China and Russia on Iran's nuclear program. Both countries look at Iran as a valuable resistance against the US in the region and a bulwark for multipolarity, however, still both countries do not want Iran to breakout and have played a persuasive role in bringing Iran not only to the table but also to make reasonable demands.

The Biden Administration wants to renegotiate the deal as it was one of the major successes of Obama Administration and if successful, would be the hallmark of Biden for stalking Iran's nuclear program and bringing peace in the region. However, if the negotiation does not come to any concrete result and Iran deems it better to walk away, the ball would roll into the court of western countries.

Apparently, the US will notch up its coercive diplomacy against Iran while the tensions are already high against both countries. It may also use the threat of war or if not a full-fledged war, it may conduct Operation Osirak-style precise counterforce operation or cyberattacks as already held by Israel against the nuclear program. The E3, the UN, will re-impose the sanctions against Iran and the other countries in support of Iran. In this situation, for Iran, the option will be blocking the Strait of Hormuz, increasing its support for the proxies in the Middle East and overall trying to chart a nexus against the western countries. Can such a situation transpire? Given the domestic situation in US, the possibility of another misadventure after the recent ignominious withdrawal from Afghanistan, the disengagement of CENTCOM and overall situation due to COVID-19, it seems unlikely at least in the near future.

For region, it would not bid well. Iran's regional opponents, most likely, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and UAE would be triggered to have a nuclear program.

## IRAN NUCLEAR DEAL: WHAT TO EXPECT?

*By Kulsoom Belal*

Both UAE and Saudi Arabia have recently expressed interest in nuclear program of their own and UAE has also established its nuclear reactors for civil purposes. A region that is already conflict ridden can easily become a tinderbox.

### Conclusion

The JCPOA has been both described as the bad deal and the good deal. Given the regional complexities and the stakes of the players involved, whether part of the negotiation or outside, it seems the current nuclear negotiations holds the future for peace and stability of the region. As the talks proceed, the question that keeps coming back is will all parties of the negotiation honor the deal and for how long, and this seems to be main glitch in bringing trust and confidence in the talks.

## THE MARGINALIZATION OF ETHICS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*By Kulsoom Belal*

We are living in times of unprecedented moral and ethical crisis. We are surrounded by ethical questions and also with an equal number of ethical dilemmas. Our moral and ethical deprivation is to the extent that we are either oblivious of it or we have cast it aside as insignificant in today's world. The other side of the picture, however, is that we have moral issues transcending decades and centuries, like migration and refugees, racism and human rights, genocide and poverty, war and destruction. Critically speaking, in reality, these ethical issues are symptomatic of an 'ailment' prevalent in the collective cognition and behavior of individuals and states that form the basis of international relations today. It is impossible to make moral arguments about international relations without countering the claim that moral judgments have no place in the discussion of international relations or foreign policy. And ironically, more often than not, one finds their international relations professors preaching that the highest morality of the state is to protect and safeguard its interests whereby restricting the morality

of state to its interests or rather sacrificing international ethics at the altar of the state's interests.

This article puts a single question on a complex problem: how the field of international relations that is predominantly and inescapably concerned with ethical issues, such as how the political events, social forces, the conduct of one state towards the other impact the life of communities, societies, more so humanity at large, became a field where ethics are largely misunderstood and marginalized. Given various constraint this article is a window to the debate and deals majorly with questioning the foundations and dominant perspective prevalent in the studies of international relations today.

Ethics and international relations

Generally, ethics is the study of the moral code of conduct or the ideal behaviour to be sought by human beings. It provides guidance to the realm of international relations as well. The discipline of ethics begins with pertinent questions:



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How should one live? What values guide us? What standards do we use? What principles are at stake? And how do we choose between them? An ethical approach to a problem will inquire about ends i.e. the goals and means i.e. the instruments we use to achieve these goals and the relationship between the two. The philosopher Simon Blackburn writes that ethics takes as its starting point that: "Human beings are ethical animals. We grade and evaluate, and compare and admire, claim and justify... Events endlessly adjust our sense of responsibility, our guilt and our shame, our sense of our own worth and that of others...."

In international relations, ethics is a set of universal values that governs the actions and behaviors of states and broadly includes protection of human rights and prohibition of violations of human rights. It implies that all state action should be moral meaning that state's national aims are paramount ethical end and are followed by an increasing emphasis on the liability of the state to interests in addition of its own.

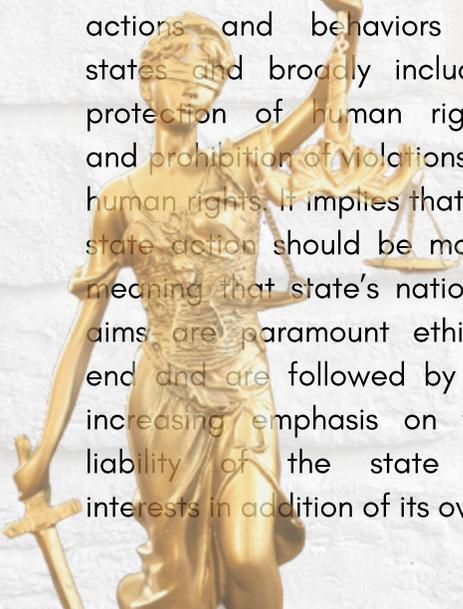
Significance of ethics in International Relations

In retrospect, the good we see in this world is the outcome of ethical behavior shown by the states.

Ethics grants or withdraws legitimacy to different customs and practices and hence promotes the right ones. History shows that the mitigation and cessation of unjust practices ultimately comes from the assertion of core values. The end of slavery began with various revolutions and rebellions—yet the source of its ultimate demise was its loss of moral legitimacy. Ethics encourage adherence to human rights, for example, the lack of ethics in the international relations has been the cause of wars and genocide many times in history like the First World War. On the other hand, ethics reduces tensions between countries and avoids war-like situation such as the Doklam crisis between China and India. Ethics lead towards accountability, for instance, Netherland accepts the brutal killings of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1999 by the Dutch Battalion of UN Peacekeeping force and will pay

reparation to the families of victims. Ethics helps to avoid the ego clash and ideological clash between two or more nations. For instance, the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 between the US and the former USSR came to an end when they both realize the massive destruction their ego can cause to the world. Ethics aim at a peaceful world, respect for all and equality while forming international organizations, declarations and forums. Ethics increase the chances of cooperation in the issues like combating law and order problems, with cross-border impacts, during natural disaster and refugee crisis, forming a transparent system for international financial administration.

The world today requires an empathetic view, a view that provides guidance to the people in their international affairs and helps to avoid undue wars, conflicts and provide an ecosystem where there is mutual trust, goodwill, and confidence among all the countries and helps to foster international relations. Moreover, with globalization, there is increasing interaction



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at various levels especially state level. The difference in the value systems and diversity makes ethics in international relations imperative. And not just that, the increasing trade imbalance between developed and underdeveloped countries leading to exploitation of the latter's resources is the cause of concern.

How ethics have been marginalized: A theoretical perspective

"Morality, then, as the channel to individual self-fulfillment—yes. Morality as the foundation of civic virtue, and accordingly as a condition precedent to successful democracy—yes. Morality in governmental method, as a matter of conscience and preference on the part of our people—yes. But morality as a general criterion for the determination of the behavior of states and above all as a criterion for measuring and comparing the behavior of different states—no. Here other criteria, sadder, more limited, more practical, must be allowed to prevail." - George Kennan, *Realities of American Foreign Policy*.

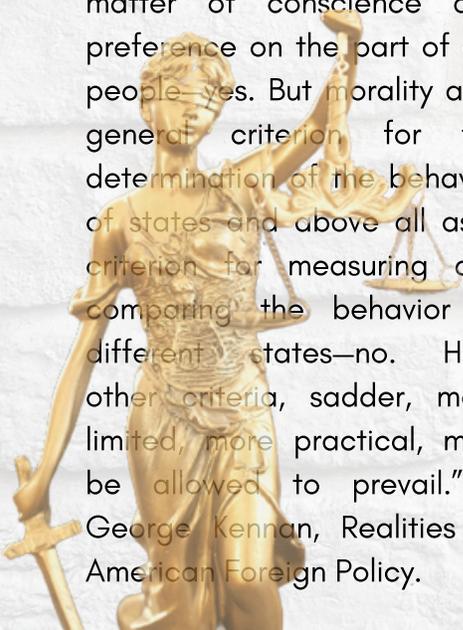
The field of study of international relations, taking shape largely after the World War II, is dichotomous about ethics. On the one hand, it is concerned with normative issues such as war and peace, trade and production, laws and rights; on the other hand, its theories, principles and precepts taught in the classrooms and practiced and implemented in the corridors of power suggest that ethics are marginal to the international relations.

In the discipline of international relations there are contending general theories or theoretical perspectives, among which realism and liberalism are the most common perspectives. Realism, also known as political realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side. It is usually contrasted with idealism or liberalism, which tends to emphasize cooperation. As the discipline of international relations was evolving mostly in the western countries as in the United Kingdom and the United States, as said before in the first half of the last

century, a number of prominent scholars, figures referred to as classical theorists of the international relations such as Thomas Hobbes, Hans J. Morgenthau, Reinhold Niebuhr, and E. H. Carr, holding a realist view on questions of ethics came to dominate the field.

Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power. The negative side of the realists' emphasis on power and self-interest is often their skepticism regarding the relevance of ethical norms to relations among states. According to them, national politics is the realm of authority and law, whereas international politics is a sphere without justice, characterized by active or potential conflict among states, leaving states dependent on self-help.

Human nature is a starting point for classical political realism. Realists view human beings as inherently egoistic and self-interested to the extent that self-interest overcomes moral principles.



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Together these factors contribute to a conflict-based paradigm of international relations, in which the key actors are states, in which power and security become the main issues, and in which there is little place for morality.

Realists, and especially today's neorealists, consider the absence of world government, literally anarchy, to be the primary determinant of international political outcomes. The lack of a common rule-making and enforcing authority means, they argue, that the international arena is essentially a self-help system. Each state is responsible for its own survival and is free to define its own interests and to pursue power. Anarchy thus leads to a situation in which power has the overriding role in shaping interstate relations.

As realists envision the world of states as anarchic, they likewise view security as a central issue. To attain security, states try to increase their power and engage in power-balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors. Wars are fought to prevent competing nations from becoming militarily stronger.

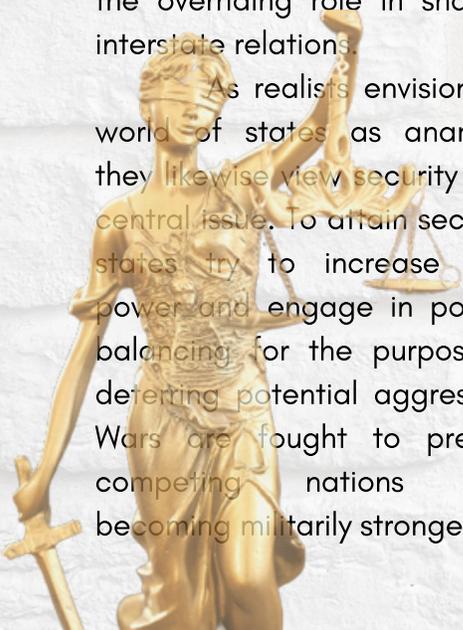
Realists are generally skeptical about the relevance of morality to international politics. This can lead them to claim that there is no place for morality in international relations, or that there is a tension between demands of morality and requirements of successful political action, or that states have their own morality that is different from customary morality, or that morality, if employed at all, is merely used instrumentally to justify states' conduct. In a nutshell, realists criticized what they saw as the misplaced moralism of earlier scholars who put their faith in the power of law and institutions to reform international relations. To them, ethics is promotion of national interest whereas peace is created through the fear or deterrence.

Countering realists' arguments against international ethics

As we have seen ethics have been accorded a marginal position within the academic study of international relations. If we critically examine the reasons, they do

not withstand and here some counter arguments for realists' skepticism are presented. Moral skepticism or skepticism about political ethics represent a refusal to accept moral arguments as sources of reasons for action. Moral skepticism might take a variety of forms, including a denial that moral judgments can be true or false, a denial that moral judgments have meaning, or a denial that the truth of moral judgments provides a reason for acting on them. However, the idea that morality or ethics can be taken with skepticism or doubted, or it can be overridden, for instance, by desires, interests, is in direct contradiction to the very nature and principle of ethics. Ethics are supposed to be held supreme, at all costs without even reciprocal compliance. The very characteristics of ethics imply that they cannot be ever disregarded, subordinated or sacrificed.

For realists, most people are incapable of being motivated by moral consideration, or that moral judgements are so subjective that they are rendered vain in resolving conflicting claims and in fulfilling



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the other social functions usually assigned to morality. For them, man is a rational being and egoism and anarchy are the basic factors binding the behavior of persons and states respectively and thus, describing people and state as crude, power-obsessed sovereign actors in the world. While asserting this, at the least, the theory of realism must distinguish morality from egoism and discuss the concept of egoism as discursive rather than as a universalized theme concerning human nature and political behavior. Also, the theory of realism must also explain how it can be rational to act on reasons that are or might be inconsistent with considerations of prudence.

The theory of realism invokes the case of national interest to justify disregard of moral principles that can limit choices among alternative foreign policies. Thus, for example, Morgenthau writes that "the state has no right to let its moral disapprobation . . . get in the way of successful political action, itself inspired by the moral principle of national survival." This statement, if interpreted is

ambiguous regarding the scope of national survival. When national survival implies "the survival of the state's citizens," it seems to be acceptable and obvious, but this is because we generally assume that persons, and not states, have rights of self-preservation. However, state constitutes more than persons and has border, territory, economy, institutions, etc. When "national survival" extends, for example, to the preservation of forms of cultural life or to the defense of economic interests, its justification diminishes, rather dwindles, because the survival of persons is no longer at stake. In such scenario, the demand of the protection of the national interest does not necessarily warrant disregard of other moral standards. What is required is a balancing of the rights and interests of all actors involved.

Another important justification for international skepticism of realists is cultural relativism. International relations theorists, practitioners, lawyers and cultural anthropologists have documented wide

inconsistencies in the concepts of rationality and of the good prevalent in the world's cultures. These differences are reflected in the structures of various legal systems and in the attitudes customarily taken by different cultures toward social rules, collective ideals, and the value of individual autonomy. Since principles adequate to resolve such conflicts are fundamentally insecure, the skeptic claims, no normative international political theory is possible. If anything, this argument by realists must make them more stringent about morality and ethics. It should be a reminder and reinforcement of the necessity of ethics in an unordered anarchical system devoid of honesty, justice or restraint. Moreover, instead of resulting in abjection of morality, cultural relativism can also lead of acknowledgement that some conception of morality is the most reasonable one available under the circumstances.

At the core of the modern realism, the question of ethics is effectively reduced to egoism-anarchy thematic. In this way, what is ethically possible are established within a rigid power politics logic, which not



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surprisingly gives politico-ethical legitimacy to great power dominance and hegemonic systems of global order. However, to assert ethics in the realm of human affairs, the basic principle is that they cannot be overridden by self interest, note which is different from the self-preservation. The moral point of view requires us, which may seem stranger in international relations and stronger than it is, to regard the world from the perspective of one person among many rather than from that of a particular self with particular interests and that our interests would be acceptable to any impartial person or entity.

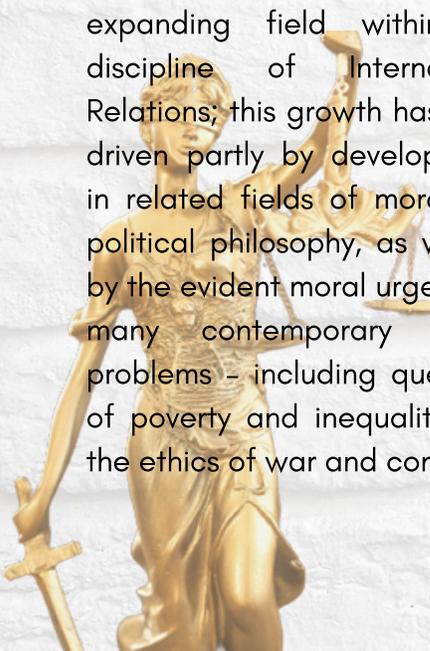
### Recommendations

International ethics is a rapidly expanding field within the discipline of International Relations; this growth has been driven partly by developments in related fields of moral and political philosophy, as well as by the evident moral urgency of many contemporary global problems - including questions of poverty and inequality, and the ethics of war and conflict.

The foremost need is to integrate this moral urgency within the academic study of the international relations. In simple words, it needs reconciliation between ethics and political behavior. In reality, it is far more complex, holistic and tedious and goes beyond the length of this article. But in an effort to put it briefly, it requires pondering on two set of questions. The first is regarding the underpinning of the inherent evil in the state system in the logic of the inherent evil of human kind which has resulted in the removal of ethical responsibility from the temporal actors caught in an evil system. The second is concerned with ethical behavior itself, for instance, foundational questions such as what does it mean to think and act ethically in the world? What role do 'ethics' play in international relations? What is the relationship between ethics, politics and power? How should we think about moral problems in global politics?

Islamic perspective on international ethics

The Islamic perspective on international ethics is in sharp contrast to the realist theme and logic of egoism-anarchy. It puts emphasis on ethical behavior based on its epistemology which provides powerful foundational meaning to its ontological framing of human nature and world system. The human nature is not inherently evil as assumed by realism; rather Islam characterises human nature as essentially dual incorporating both good and evil, albeit competing and struggling with each other. Hence, based on this logic, it attaches moral responsibility to human behavior and thus holds it accountable instead of defining it as inherently evil and relinquishing it of moral responsibility. On this basis, in contrast to realism, the Islamic perspective distinguishes between egoism and morality and defines interests, both personal and state, within moral jurisdiction and constraints as opposed to realism which defines interests ranging from self-preservation to security and power maximisation. Taking this logic further, the Islamic perspective on the sovereignty of state has limits especially on



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questions of ethical infringements such as issues detrimental to humanity. Moreover, extending this further, the world system is not in the state of anarchy or without a government as claimed by realists. Rather, the people, the state and world system are under the supreme and sovereign authority of the most powerful, most aware and most just God. Yet, the basis and implementation of this perspective, at the core of its heart, requires a strong relationship between man and God.

## REGIONAL CONNECTIVITY AND GWADAR PORT

By Sana Jamil

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Pakistan's Gwadar Port is a flagship project of China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and has great potential in connecting highly populated South Asia to resource-rich Central Asia. The capacity of Pakistan's maritime trade could also be dramatically increased through Gwadar Port while reducing its dependence on the current largest Karachi Port.

In the era of globalization and the fourth wave of industrialization, regional connectivity and mutual integration are important aspects to bring economic prosperity and socio-political stability to the regions. In this wake, South Asia and Central Asia are two significant regions with potential economic interdependence regions packed with beneficial potential for each other. Central Asia is full of natural resources that include oil and gas while South Asia is lacking in energy resources. The development of infrastructure linkages and increase in the trade sector will be mutually beneficial for both regions.

In a recent speech, Chinese President Xi Jinping said that they are standing with developing countries. President Xi Jinping proposed Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013 since then 140 countries have joined Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). In the past 8 years of the Belt and Road (BRI), it has greatly contributed to the global economy and development. Trade between China and BRI partners has reached 9.2 trillion U.S dollars.

This social and economic model of China is taking it towards more cooperation with other regional countries. As part of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the development of Gwadar port is a result of China's setting up a path of global connectivity and prosperity in the region. It is understood that globalization begins from the sea trade and the development of Gwadar port is uplifting high standards not only for Pakistan but to a complete regional level. The economic advantages of Gwadar port are that it provides a direct and short route



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to China, Central Asia, and Afghanistan and more secure from India as compared to Karachi Port or Port Qasim. It will help Pakistan to rise economically as Gwadar port is located in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf which is used for the transportation of oil to the rest of the world. In the coming future, Gwadar port could be used for oil trade to the international sea routes.

The broader aspect of regional connectivity through Gwadar port seems to be trending in a positive way which will contribute to South Asian stability. Pakistan is playing a vital role to boost trade movements through Gwadar and in return hoping to overcome its insufficient energy resources.

The impact of Gwadar port is very simple and straight, it is not only confined to China and Pakistan but has great potential and affects regional economic development and connectivity with various countries. The transportation infrastructure is proving short and more convenient routes, uplifting the socio-economic development in the region and direct access to the main markets.

Previously, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi expressed his views that "the core element of Pakistan's foreign policy is Economic Diplomacy". Highlighting the country's potential, he said that our vision of an economically secure Pakistan with a shift emphasizing geo-economics. In South Asia, Pakistan holds a very pivot geo-economic location and the Gwadar Port project under the Belt and Road Initiative is "central" to Pakistan's economic vision. It promotes regional connectivity, a big consumer market, and a major multilateral investor in strengthening the connectivity.

It is wrong to say that China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is only focusing on Pakistan rather it is inviting other regional countries like Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Gwadar port enhances Sri Lanka's connectivity to Central Asian states. A robust economic and commercial linkage between Pakistan and Sri Lanka will potentially increase the two-way trade with a total of more than 2 billion U.S dollars. For Afghanistan, Gwadar port under China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is

accessible for transit trade and easy access to the Indian Ocean, highly beneficial for its import and export and lastly, Afghanistan can also enjoy various business activities and uplift its economic growth and energy growth. Moreover, in this regard, Pakistan is giving Afghanistan a guarantee of reliable access to Central Asia through Gwadar Port.

Gwadar Port has a great potential in regional connectivity as well as trade including the trans-shipment from Central Asian states, the Middle East, and other regional countries. In this direction, the Chinese commitment to make Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) a global project and bring more and more countries into it is going towards multipolarity. Overall, China is fully engaged in regional connectivity and enhancing the strategic relationships with Pakistan and other regional countries and help the region to develop peacefully. Gwadar port is an excellent opportunity in upgrading our sea and road linkages with all the important countries to generate viable revenues for our economic revival.



## REIMAGINING MULTILATERALISM

*By Mamoona Mahmood  
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Twentieth century is marked by wars and the geographical changes of the globe. First half of the twentieth century is written by two deadly wars (WWI and WWII) and the second half is about blatant struggle of two superpowers to control the world. Before entering into the twenty first century, the global stage endured the system change- the fall of Berlin Wall not only ended the Cold War but also ended the era of bipolarity. We have observed establishment of multilateral organizations such as the United Nations (UN), World Bank and International Monetary Funds (IMF) by the end of first half of the previous century. But the idea of multilateral cooperation and globalization became more popular in the early years of Twenty First century. It started the era of new world where people could connect with one another sitting into their homes and states started believing in the ideas of multilateralism and interdependence. The distance was reducing speedily and a collaborative environment was observed in

the international system. States were securing their economic interests by cooperation and making alliances. Multilateral regional and international organizations were formed to benefit the mutual interests of various countries. For instance, Asian Developmental Bank, SAARC, African Developmental Bank, OPEC, Pacific Community, SCO, Organization of Africa Unity, European Developmental Bank, Global Environmental Facility and many more were established. Aim of forming these organizations was to collaborate with one another in different domains.

Although multilateralism seems a new term in the discourse of the international system but it is a historical process that has evolved with the time. Some scholars believe that multilateralism is rooted in Westphalian period which is considered foundation stone of today's modern Sovereign state system. However, from the concert of Europe to the formation of united nation organization, the concept of multilateralism remains the part of diplomacy in international

arena. In contemporary international discourse, multilateralism is frequently defined in the opposition of bilateralism and unilateralism as it indicates the collaboration among three or more states. But multilateralism is based on the principles of consultations, inclusion and solidarity. It ensures equal rights and obligations for all the actors involved in it. Hence, multilateralism is referred as a method of collaboration among different states and a form of organization in international system.

### United States Approach towards Multilateralism

After the end of World War II and great depression, multilateral organizations such as United Nations and World Bank were established to resolve the conflicts and economic issues collectively. This was the emergence of new multilateralism in diplomacy. And we have observed that during the Cold War several set ups like IAEA, non-proliferation regimes and NATO and Warsaw Pact served multilaterally. But

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during the cold war period world was divided into two blocks and most of the multilateral set ups like NATO and Warsaw pacts were the grouping of allies and United States of America ruled the capitalist block by exercising power and authority.

United States dominated different parts of world (from Latin America to South Asia) by coercion, economic dependency and security dependency and this is how sub-ordinated states joined US-led multilateral coalitions. US continued to protect the possible sub-ordinate states in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Horn of Africa. One of the examples of exercising its authority is Iraq war where USA established its authority on both Kuwait and KSA by assuring Kuwait and Saudi Arabia territorial integrity against Iraq. Similarly in countries like Somalia and Bosnia, USA maintained peace and protected rule of law between the states. US continued to exercise authority embodied in multilateralism—hall mark of US foreign policy since 1945 till the presidency of George W. Bush. In 2001, the 9/11 not only

challenged the legitimacy of the authority of US but was a shock for the people of the United States. Hence, people demanded something more to restore the power and legitimacy of US authority over the world.

The US administration further incorporated its coercive competencies into the multilateral institutions. United States, very smartly started reclaiming its authority and power over the world using the multilateral institutions like UN; for instance decision to use force in Afghanistan was legitimized by UN. Obama administration focused more multilateral foreign policy to restore the authority and status of US. But the Arab spring and the aftermaths of Arab spring somehow tied the hands of American authoritarianism under the umbrella of multilateralism as in Syria, Russia vetoed the sanctions against the regime in Security council and Assad regime even crossed the redline of using chemical weapons.

During the tenure of president Trump, it has been observed that American foreign policy trends have diverged from multilateral

approach. Trump disdained from the international rules and institutions.

His trade policies, withdrawal from Paris Accord on climate change, UNESCO, Human Rights Council, rejection of Iran Nuclear agreement, Coronavirus-19 dynamics and EU crisis all indicated shift in the foreign policy of US from multilateralism to isolationism. However, the new Biden administration is trying to embed more into the multilateralism. During the first 100 days of the presidency of Joe Biden, he unlike Trump, convened a virtual climate summit, he has revived the arm control efforts and has extended new START treaty with Russian counterpart. He has also rejoined WHO to speed up pandemic recovery efforts.

### Chinese Approach towards Multilateralism

It is interesting to know the trends in Chinese multilateral approach. The modern multilateralism is emerged with the emergence of United States as an active global actor, therefore, before 1990s Chinese scholars and foreign

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policy experts used to treat multilateralism as an instrument of imperialism. But the assertive nature of multilateral institutions, for instance, United Nations made Chinese international relations scholars to believe in the power of multilateralism. Hence, Chinese international relations experts begun to treat multilateralism a legitimate subject to study. Since then Chinese scholars and foreign policy experts are emphasizing on the multilateral nature of the world as compared to the contemporary world. Chinese approach towards multilateralism has evolved mainly in two dimensions; economic and security.

Economically China has become part of various regional, sub-regional and international multilateral organizations. Beijing is an active partner of economic collaborative efforts in Asia Pacific. Asian Pacific Economic Corporation (APEC) has been established in contrast to European Union. Although APEC is relatively new and lacks organization of various departments as compared to EU but Bogor

declaration-commitment to free and open trade in the region by 2020 is a significant document. Other sub regional multilateral institutions are also established in this region which includes The Pacific Economic Co-operation Council (PECC), North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) and Australia New Zealand Free Trade Agreement. Beijing is not only an active participant of these organizations but it has voiced support for the principles of multilateralism. Chinese government is stick to the stance of free trade, investment and unbiased treatment. China has also agreed to the rules and procedures of World Trade Organization (WTO) which indicates its commitment to the multilateral cooperation. It has also established organizations like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and New Developmental Bank to further integrate developing countries.

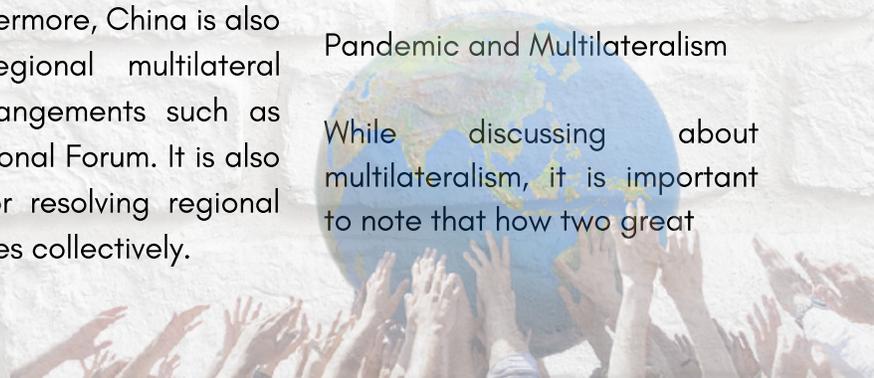
Furthermore, China is also part of regional multilateral security arrangements such as ASEAN Regional Forum. It is also available for resolving regional security issues collectively.

Chinese availability to the following forums- the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), the Council on Security Co-operation in Asia and Pacific Region (CSCAP), and Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue (NEACD) indicates that it believes more in the power of multilateral arrangement in the region and across the globe.

Xi Jinping has further emphasized on the global cooperation and collaboration. He is pursuing vision of 'shared prosperity' to address the developmental challenges of the world. Shared prosperity is a call for inclusive, candid and secure world where human kind can enjoy peace and prosperity. Unlike USA, Beijing's approach of becoming world leader is rooted in the mutual coexistence and cooperation. Beijing believes in the norms of multilateralism and adopts principles of multilateralism to transform a world into a shared society.

### Pandemic and Multilateralism

While discussing about multilateralism, it is important to note that how two great



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powers behaved during COVID pandemic. Being a super power, US response to Covid-19 was very dawdling. After the breakout of the virus in Wuhan, China adopted lockdown policy. In contrast to China, USA only lauded travel ban on twitter and banned non-US citizens. By the time World Health Organization declared Covid-19 a global pandemic, China was successful in tackling situation at home. Beijing along with Jack Ma Foundation, despite the difficult situation at home, sent group of doctors and medical supplies to various countries including Belgium, France, Cambodia, Italy, Iran and Iraq. By the last week of March (2020), China delivered medical supply to 28 Asian, 16 European, and 26 African, and 10 South Pacific countries.

On the other side, situation in United States of America was not satisfactory. The Center for disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported first Corona death on February 29. Till the time, Trump was making tweets about the satisfactory points of stock market. By mid-March Trump declared nation emergency in the wake of COVID-19 and in the last week

of March United States of America became leading country in corona cases lagging China far behind. United States of America responded lethargically at home and abroad to COVID-19.

Furthermore, China is also part of regional multilateral security arrangements such as ASEAN Regional Forum. It is also available for resolving regional security issues collectively.

This was the emergence of new multilateralism in diplomacy. And we have observed that during the Cold War several set ups like IAEA, non-proliferation regimes and NATO and Warsaw Pact served multilaterally. But during the cold war period world was divided into two blocks and most of the multilateral set ups like NATO and Warsaw pacts were the grouping of allies and United States of America ruled the capitalist block by exercising power and authority. United States dominated different parts of world (from Latin America to South Asia) by coercion, economic dependency and security dependency and this is how sub-ordinated states joined US-led multilateral coalitions. US continued to protect the possible sub-ordinate states in

Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Horn of Africa. One of the examples of exercising its authority is Iraq war where USA established its authority on both Kuwait and KSA by assuring Kuwait and Saudi Arabia territorial integrity against Iraq. Similarly in countries like Somalia and Bosnia, USA maintained peace and protected rule of law between the states. US continued to exercise authority embodied in multilateralism—hall mark of US foreign policy since 1945 till the presidency of George W. Bush. In 2001, the 9/11 not only challenged the legitimacy of the authority of US but was a shock for the people of the United States. Hence, people demanded something more to restore the power and legitimacy of US authority over the world.

The US administration further incorporated its coercive competencies into the multilateral institutions. United States, very smartly started reclaiming its authority and power over the world using the multilateral institutions like UN; for instance decision to use force in Afghanistan was legitimized by UN. Obama administration focused more multilateral foreign policy to

## REIMAGINING MULTILATERALISM

*By Mamoona Mahmood*

restore the authority and status of US. But the Arab spring and the aftermaths of Arab spring somehow tied the hands of American authoritarianism under the umbrella of multilateralism as in Syria, Russia vetoed the sanctions against the regime in Security council and Assad regime even crossed the redline of using chemical weapons.

On the other side, situation in United States of America was not satisfactory. The Center for disease Control and Prevention (CDC) reported first Corona death on February 29. Till the time, Trump was making tweets about the satisfactory points of stock market. By mid-March Trump declared nation emergency in the wake of COVID-19 and in the last week of March United States of America became leading country in corona cases lagging China far behind. United States of America responded lethargically at home and abroad to COVID-19.

When United States of America woke up to mitigate the threat of Virus, by this time, China was vigorously helping world to contain

COVID-19. China opted pandemic as an opportunity to reflect the softness of Beijing regime in Europe. Through mask diplomacy,\* China has not only projected its soft image around the globe but also signaled itself as a responsible global leader.

States provided China an opportunity to proclaim multilateralism to the world. Therefore, at various national and international forums China openly advocated the practice of true multilateralism. President Xi Jinping openly talked about undistinguished multilateralism at Leaders' Summit on Climate. He also advocated true multilateralism on G20 summit. True multilateralism, Xi Jinping talked about is because, during pandemic poverty, inequality, fragility, economic recession loomed more aggressively around the globe. And the world has witnessed the discriminatory behavior from developed states towards under developed states more glaringly. Pandemic has also exposed US-led multilateralism which is based on authority and power. Politicization of vaccine is one of the examples of the multilateral approach which USA has been advocating since 1945.

Pandemic has not only exposed already existing multilateral setup but sharpened the competition between China and the USA. The rivalry between two poles is getting worse. In order to protect the supremacy of United States, it is essential to apoliticize multilateral organizations and constraint discriminatory behavior. Pandemic has underscored the existence of global community.

During the two years of pandemic, world has changed in many ways. For instance, policy makers have started taking health sector seriously. Now the understanding has developed that crisis like pandemic and climate change would damage global community more adversely than wars. Global collaboration is vital for containing future crisis and outbreaks as pathogens and natural calamities don't care about geo-political lines drawn on maps.

Pandemic has exposed global health system. Therefore it is necessary to focus on global health coordination by freeing WHO from political influences. G20 should improve funding to WHO. It should be empowered enough to

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collaborate state and non-state organizations to develop mechanism of response to any global health crisis adequately.

Being a great power the United States should promote true multilateralism to make the world a safer place. Selective multilateralism would not be in favor of the USA as selective approach would result in tilting countries toward China. It is important to note that China's multilateralism is based on win-win approach. Thus, USA required multilateral approach more than China to sustain the status of superpower.

Pandemic has also shaken world economically; months long lockdowns, halted international trade, and travel restrictions affected GDP of every state. Hence, USA should work more on shared community because shared global communities can tackle crisis more effectively. Without working on shared community, it would be hard for USA to sustain its status in unhealthy global environment.

International organizations such as World Bank, IMF and EU helped functioning of global economies but more collaboration would be essential in dealing with the

looming crisis of climate change-transnational threat like Covid-19 pandemic.

Most importantly, world requires unbiased leadership that would focus shortcomings of existing multilateral system and emphasis on effective co-ordination, collaboration and positive competition.

Last but not least argument is that multilateral organizations should be free from politicization and they should declare their policies publically. These organizations should also have mechanism of accountability to make their progress more effective.

Coronavirus has exposed number of vulnerabilities of the existing global system. Multilateralism is one of the segments of twenty first century world. It has been affected by various geopolitical, geo-strategic and geo-economic factors. Moreover, the present international system is undergoing changes; emerging economies are threatening hegemony of the United States. Competition with China and containment of China has become the core foreign policy interests of US and its allies. Yet multilateralism would be strengthened even in this harsh

political rivalry. US and the former Soviet Union has worked on nuclear proliferation and non-proliferation even during the peak of Cold War, then why not China and United States work together for the betterment of the shared global community.



## AN ANALYSIS OF PAKISTAN'S PEACEBUILDING MODEL IN FORMER FATA

By Sana Noor and Mamoona Mahmood

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Since its independence Pakistan has been struggling to maintain democracy, which has negatively affected the capacity of state to ensure the rights of its citizen. The problem was worse in the region of Former FATA: area that was disconnected from centre and state had little jurisdiction over it. In the absence of writ of state and negligence towards civil and political rights of people in the Former FATA, extremist ideology easily paved its way in the society. Former FATA became the epicenter of terrorist activities which engulfed whole Pakistan. The management of this type of conflict was a different kind of challenge for Pakistan. As Pakistan army was trained for traditional warfare and to counter violent extremism required different kind of approach and strategy. In order to curb the conflict, Pakistan army underwent transformation and adopted counter terrorism techniques which largely focused on maintaining security and building peace. Peacebuilding in the Former FATA has been a novel phenomenon for state of

Pakistan because it had to formulate a policy of integration and implement it. The peace building in the Former FATA can be defined as merger, reintegration and, mainstreaming of FATA. This can be better understood under the banner of domestic intervention, all-encompassing democracy and realization of collective interests.

### Domestic Intervention

The post-conflict peacebuilding has been largely understood and debated in the context of interventionist phenomena operated by external actors or more precisely a phenomenon carried out by westerner powers. Post-conflict peacebuilding is a heterogeneous concept that has a tendency to produce debate. Many have raised doubts about the ideological support of post-conflict peacebuilding, which they state is being modified by Western states to legitimize another type of interventionism or to advance the post 9/11 plan of stabilization.. On another level the systems applied by

international organizations are regularly reprimanded for not giving sufficient thought to real factors and the genuine needs of the concerned populaces.

On the other hand development in post conflict societies is relied on foreign assistance and this assistance means "rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war". The peacebuilding model in the former FATA stands in sheer contrast with this debate because there was no western power involved; it was as a pure indigenous effort. According to established concepts in peacebuilding foreign intervention starts when state has collapsed, none of this happened in FATA as state of Pakistan was there to secure and safeguard the region of FATA. It was only a matter of integration which was achieved in 2018 and tribal areas became part of Khyber Pakhtun Khawa.

Steps to Inclusive Democracy



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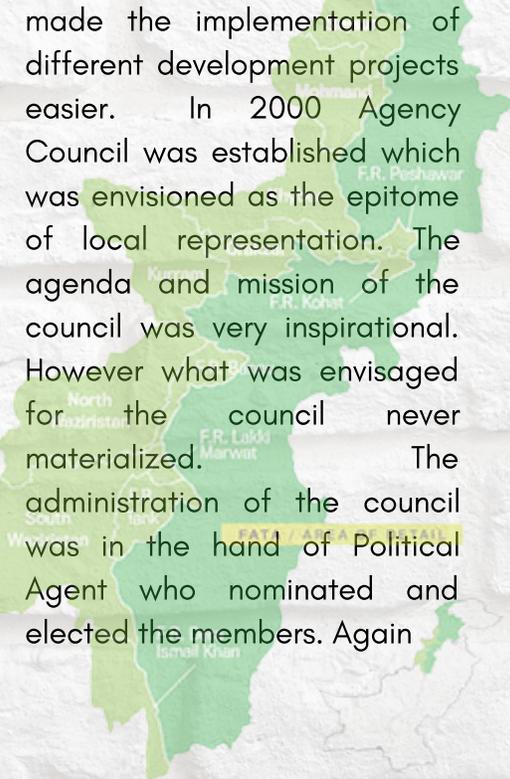
OECD has asserted the importance of "open and inclusive government", towards which many countries have made progress. In this assertive manual, public sector organizations are expected to live up to the ideal of democratic principles and to advance civic results, which they do in many ways. They allow their oversight by a legislative assembly, ensure that holders of public offices are accountable for the exercise of power, provide for transparency, ensure access to information, and encourage participation in the process of policy making to ensure ample buy-ins and strong hold up for initiatives driven by government. Fragile government and socially disorganized population come together to advance a political controlling system that inevitably process discriminatory societal relationships and politics of self-interests that functions against the welfare of the underprivileged and destitute. In comparison to the widely accepted and acknowledged definitions of political rights, the former FATA presents a

highly different scenario. The political development in the former FATA stands in a sheer contrast with the other parts of the country. The FATA was governed by Frontier Crimes Regulation, implemented by Britishers, which was obviated of guarding rights of people. Frontier Crimes Regulation conferred magisterial powers on Political Agent which made him the supreme authority and FCR also spurned the right to approach a lawyer and to appeal in court against the decision of Jirga. The elected democratic governments in Pakistan were not able to look after the fundamental political rights of people of the former FATA. Their free will of expression, affiliation and involvement in political matters was clamped down.

The dread of putting behind the bars and losing life suppressed their will of expressing openly. Consequently, due to these marginalization actions of the political elites across the whole tribal region, communicating opinions and indicating deficiencies in the demonstrations of the political

elites was equal to burrowing graves for the people who dared to take such steps. With zero privilege to freedom of expression, people of the former FATA remained vulnerable to exploitation. In order to achieve the desired results of peace building it is necessary to use the dynamic involvement of citizens, value investors or revolutionized actors of change.

The reform package announced for the former FATA addresses some of the postulates of inclusive democracy. The creation of FATA secretariat in 2002, which later became civil secretariat (2006), was an important decision because it made the implementation of different development projects easier. In 2000 Agency Council was established which was envisioned as the epitome of local representation. The agenda and mission of the council was very inspirational. However what was envisaged for the council never materialized. The administration of the council was in the hand of Political Agent who nominated and elected the members. Again



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this provided an absolute control of Political Agent over council and in 2007 the council's term expired, without any proclamation of its future activities. The state of Pakistan in 2013 extended the exarchate of federal ombudsman to FATA. This paved the way for regional accountability which was never imagined in FATA before. The FATA residents became entitled to contact the ombudsman against the FATA Secretariat and its subsidiary institutions. The responsibility of social or political inclusiveness is linked with the behavior of elites because elites need to develop and implement the policy that enhances the cohesive structure of society. That is why, the traditional system of justice, Qaumi Jirga (comprised of tribal elders) has not been abolished and it has been empowered and given voice in the matters related to betterment of people of the former FATA.

Realization of Collective Interests

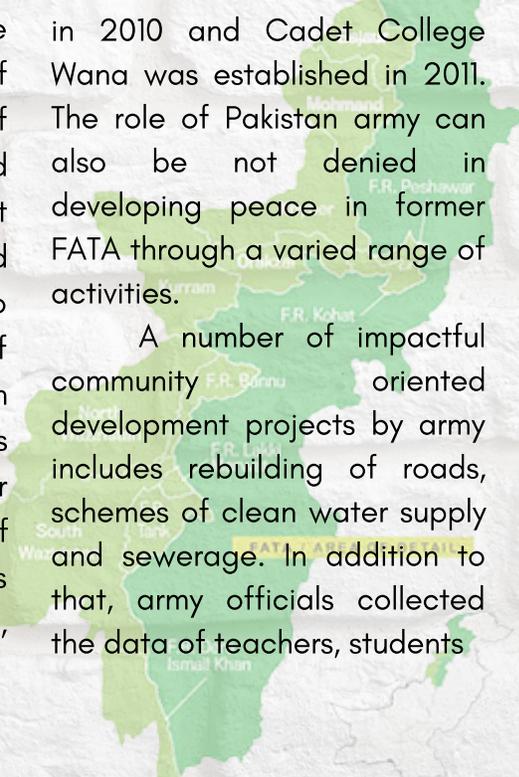
North Atlantic Treaty Organization abides by the terms 'stabilization' and 'peace

support' in line with its military mandate, while the European Union uses the meaning 'civilian crisis management' within the framework of its European Security and Defense Policy. Among the many other regional organizations involved in this sphere, the African Union explains peace building and development, 'a comprehensive set of measures that seek to: address the needs of countries emerging from conflict, including the needs of affected population; prevent escalation of disputes; avoid relapse into violence; address the root causes of conflict; and consolidate sustainable peace. These different definitions broadly highlight the importance of collective interests of societies emerging out of conflict. Collective and shared interests are those interests that are higher than any race, breed and origin. It has nothing to do with the religion and belief system. They are solely based on humanitarian beneficial traits that should be adopted in order to secure better good of humanity. These interests include: access to education, health and food, peace and

security, environmental protection and social inclusion. The fulfillment of public demands is a mandatory requisite for state legitimacy. States that pay attention to public rights sustain a vast and effective outreach to its population.

Some of the initiatives undertaken by Pakistan includes: in the year 2019 Khyber Pakhtun Khawa government released 4.4 billion to be used on damaged schools, healthcare centers, water facilities and irrigation channels. Cadet colleges have been established with the collaboration of military and civil government. The decision was sanctioned by the erstwhile Yusuf Raza Gillani in 2010 and Cadet College Wana was established in 2011. The role of Pakistan army can also be not denied in developing peace in former FATA through a varied range of activities.

A number of impactful community oriented development projects by army includes rebuilding of roads, schemes of clean water supply and sewerage. In addition to that, army officials collected the data of teachers, students



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and doctors by visiting schools, colleges and health care centers. This data was used to re-establish the destroyed infrastructure and to designate staff according to the regional requirements. In the initial days of post-conflict reconstruction army's medical unit provided free medical facility to not only who wounded in war but to civil population as well. Army has also organized a sport festival titled "FATA Peace Games". The games included in this festival were Badminton, Hockey, Table Tennis, Football, Athletics, Basketball, and Tug of War. Talent search among the young population of FATA has also been on the agenda of peacebuilding. To serve the purpose cricket trials for youth of FATA were carried out at Younis Khan Cricket Ground, Miran Shah. It was a joint effort of Pakistan Cricket Board (PCB) and Pakistan army for the aspirant cricketers in North Waziristan Agency. More than 12000 youth were enrolled in training centers of the region. Major General Asif Ghafoor, spokesperson of Inter Services Public Relation, regarded such practices as an indicator of peace and normalcy.

### Conclusion

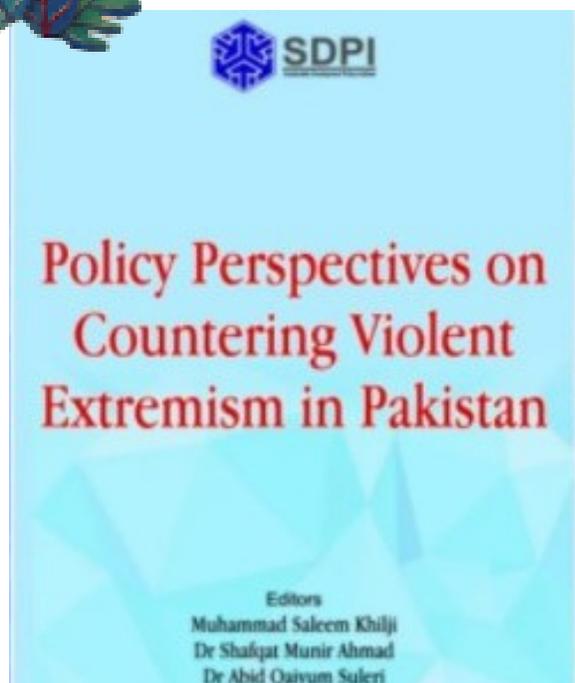
In the presence of western narrative of peace building, the former FATA presents a new dimension to peace building discourse. As it is a domestic intervention rather than foreign intervention. Peacebuilding in the former FATA has been polymorphous and also multi dimensional in terms of building trust of people in the writ of state and, with already weak economy managing developmental plans for former FATA. It has been multi-levelled in terms of efforts put forward by Pakistan army and civil administration of KP government. Pakistani model of peace building can be divided into two phases. The first phase is comprised of maintaining peace and order. It was mainly focused on the security sector reforms. The second phase is marked with the merger of FATA with KP. Although merger is attributed as a major step towards reintegration of FATA, still the true essence of peacebuilding has not been achieved. The political inclusivity is incomplete as women representation in political matters is yet to be given a

voice. Though the collective rights of citizens have been materialized and they have been provided with health care and education; roads have been built; key infrastructure has been constructed, there is a lot more work to do. State should devise plans and policies to utilize the local resources to empower population. Former FATA is rich agro-based and mineral based economy. Licensing and training for mining should be given to young people along with that they should be provided with loans to work on live stock, dairy and farming. Such practices will help lift poverty from the region and chances of exploitation for any future anti state activities will be diminished.





# CCPS PUBLICATIONS



Policy Perspectives on Countering Violent Extremism in Pakistan

We are pleased to share the first publications/policy-relevant research contributions by the Centre for Critical Peace Studies (CCPS) UMT.

Earlier we won a Policy Paper Grant by SDPI, the collection of policy papers is now out in the hard form. Our paper is featured prominently in the collection. It was disseminated to decision-makers in December at the SDC Annual Conference 2021.

In their analyses, the authors have talked about the state of extremism in Pakistan and suggested, in the light of their analysis and findings, short-term and long-term policy measures to overcome this challenge and secure society, especially the youth, from being victims of extremism by keeping them away from this new wave of radicalization.

Copies have been gifted to UMT library by CCPS.

## Rethinking education to counter violent extremism: a critical review of policy and practice

Fatima Waqi Sajjad

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Rethinking education to counter violent extremism: a critical review of policy and practice  
By Dr. Fatima Waqi Sajjad

This paper explores the alarming phenomenon of violent extremism in university campuses. It probes why education fails to prevent violent extremism in this case? The counter violent extremism policies largely view education as a means to control thinking rather than develop it. Such policies hinder the development of critical consciousness in students that can provide effective defence against extremism. Hence, there is a need to rethink education to counter extremism. Based on 13 expert interviews, I explore higher education practices in Pakistan from practitioners' perspective. The practitioners point out multiple problems of educational status quo that need to be addressed to counter extremism on campus effectively.

the end.

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live



learn



laugh



liberate



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“We must come to see that the end we seek is a society at peace with itself, a society that can live with its conscience.”

— Martin Luther King Jr.