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Report – Seminar

“US Foreign Policy and Trump Presidency: A Review and Outlook”

Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad
in collaboration, with
Centre for Policy Studies, COMSATS, Islamabad

March 27, 2017



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The Institute of Strategic Studies was founded in 1973. It is a non-profit, autonomous research and analysis centre, designed for promoting an informed public understanding of strategic and related issues, affecting international and regional security.

In addition to publishing a quarterly journal and a monograph series, the ISSI organises talks, workshops, seminars and conferences on strategic and allied disciplines and issues.

Editor-in-Chief : Ambassador Khalid Mahmood

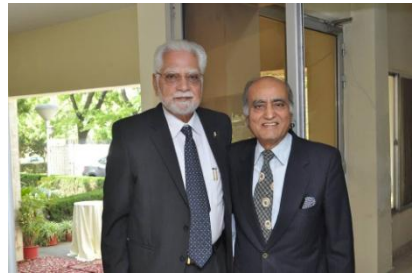
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Pictures of the Event





Seminar Programme

1015 hrs: Registration

Inaugural Session

1030 hrs: Recitation from the Holy Quran

1035 hrs: Welcome Remarks - Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, Chairman, ISSI

Working Session

1040 hrs: *South Asia: The Evolving Dimension of US Foreign Policy and Implications*
Speaker: Mr. Zahid Hussain,

1050 hrs: US-Pakistan Relations: Will Trump Embrace or Erase Obama's Foreign Policy?
Speaker: Dr. Talat Farooq, ISSI

1100 hrs: *Competing Powers: The New Dynamics of China-US Relations*
Speaker: Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

1110 hrs: *US-North American Ties: Continuities and Discontinuities*
Speaker: Dr. Imran Syed , COMSATS

1120 hrs: *US-European Relations: Identifying the Central Pillars of Cooperation Under Trump*
Speaker: Ms. Shamsa Nawaz, ISSI

1130 hrs: *The Future of US-Russia Relations*
Speaker: Ambassador Saeed Khalid

1140 hrs: Q&A

1220 hrs: Address by the Chief Guest - **H.E. Inam-ul-Haq**, former Foreign Minister

1230 hrs: Vote of Thanks - **Ambassador Fauzia Nasreen**, Head, Centre for Policy Studies,
COMSATS

1235 hrs: **Lunch**

The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) held a Seminar in collaboration with the Centre for Policy Studies, COMSATS, Islamabad titled, “*US Foreign Policy and Trump Presidency: A Review and Outlook*,” on March 27, 2017. The Chief Guest at the Seminar was Ambassador Inam-ul-Haq, former Foreign Minister. Other dignitaries at the event included Ambassador Fouzia Nasreen, Director Centre for Policy Studies, COMSATS; Mr Zahid Hussain, Dawn News; Dr Talat Farooq, Senior Research Fellow ISSI; Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi; Dr Imran Syed, Centre for Policy Studies COMSATS; Ambassador Saeed Khalid; and Ms Shamsa Nawaz, Research Fellow ISSI.

The Chairman ISSI, Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, welcomed the distinguished speakers and thanked the esteemed guests for participating in the event. He started off by stating that the ISSI has held numerous events regarding the elections in the US and President Trump in particular. The whole world feels the impact of the election of the new US president, especially in the US where the whole society has been divided on religious and ethnic lines and xenophobia is on the rise. The policy steps taken by the new administration in the initial days have not been reassuring as the policy formulation has not been clear from the White House. There has been emphasis on protectionist trade policies, as well as pressure on its allies in the NATO and Asia to pull their own weight. While investigations are taking place regarding the Russian involvement in the electoral process, an aggressive stance has been taken against China regarding trade and the South China Sea issue, and steps are being taken to renegotiate the Iranian nuclear deal. He concluded by stating that the Institute has organised this event to look at and discuss the various facets of the emerging trends of the new administration in the US.

South Asia: The Evolving Dimension of US Foreign Policy and its Implications

Mr. Zahid Hussain

Mr. Hussain said that the Trump administration's South Asia policy is marred by unpredictability, and there is a lot of ambiguity about how it will deal with Pakistan. The statements made by Trump and the Defence Secretary General Mattis provide little insight into the policy towards Pakistan, but it is clear that there would be increasing pressure on Islamabad to crackdown on Pakistani militant groups. He also said that the US approach of de-hyphenation with regard to Pakistan and India will continue and there will be no change in the US-Indo strategic partnership. Trump's position on China will complicate things if Sino-US competition accentuates, and India is also hoping that the Trump administration will expand its terror radar to include Pakistani based militant groups. Mr Hussain further said that geopolitics can't be separated from economics, and on this front the impact of visa issue will be of concern to bilateral relations.

The US will also continue to see its relations with Afghanistan from the Afghan prism. Trump will have to decide whether to maintain the number of troops in Afghanistan or change the scope of the mission over there. Afghan officials have voiced concerns that the conflict is being forgotten in Washington, and warned that the West will pay a huge price if that continues. Trump is under pressure from his generals to increase the military presence in Afghanistan as the Taliban have expanded their influence. Another major issue is how Pakistan reshapes its relationship with the Afghan Taliban and the Haqqani Network, according to the US expectations. In conclusion, he said that the Trump administration has not laid out a clear policy on drone strikes, but in one of the first policy moves, Trump has shifted the authority of using drones from Pentagon back to CIA. There has already been an increase in drone strikes along the Pak-Afghan border.

Pak-US Relations: Will Trump Embrace or Erase Obama's Foreign Policy

Dr. Talat Farooq

Dr. Farooq talked about how Trump has challenged the conventional political norms thus bringing in ambiguity in his national and international policies direction. Trump is a complex personality with being thick skinned on criticism on his policies and thin skinned on personal slights. At the end of the day, US foreign policy is more about geopolitics than personalities. Obama used a stick policy towards Pakistan, improving links with India, and increasing drone strikes in Pakistan. Divergence widened on AfPak issues with do more rhetoric leading to greater space for India in Afghan affairs.

She further said that it is difficult to ascertain whether Obama policies will be continued, or whether Trump will change the trilateral dynamic between Pakistan, India and the US relations without overlooking the presence of China. Trump seems highly tilted towards India and will increase its reliance on it to counter balance the Chinese influence in the region. But he has also disowned Obama's Asia Pivot policy and the TPP deal, with focus on America first policy. Trump has empowered the Pentagon and CIA to carry out drone strikes against militants as they see fit which will be a continuation of Obama's drone strategy in Pakistan. Economic and military aid being provided to Pakistan will continue to dwindle under the Trump administration, and the aid leverage will be used against Pakistan as and when seen fit.

Trump will prefer a foreign policy minus the predefined medium which will restrict his negotiating capabilities and will be assisted by advisors well-versed in the South Asian region. It is likely due to Trump's entanglement in domestic crisis that the Pentagon will take a lead while dealing with Pakistan and can lead to increased Pakistan's isolation in Washington due to the ongoing Afghan situation. The geopolitics of Pakistan gives it certain leverage if used wisely to deal with the new US administration, as Trump can ill afford a high-handed policy in South Asia. In conclusion, she said Trump will use a constraint in isolating Pakistan due to its importance in the resolution of the Afghan problem and it being a nuclear armed state. Thus, the strategic links between the two will continue with some tweaks of Obama's policy.

Competing Powers: The New Dynamics of the US-China Relations

Ambassador Ashraf Jehangir Qazi

Ambassador Qazi said that since 1979, China has been emerging on the world scale as a superpower and now it's in a position to challenge the US as a global power and by 2030 it will have the largest economy in the world. China is emerging as a very significant player in its overall surroundings, and through OBOR and CPEC, it is making its presence felt in the Indian Ocean as well. But as a new power emerges, the existing order is disturbed leading to a conflict-like situation as has happened in the past.

Ambassador Qazi added that China has made it clear that its emergence is not aimed at disturbing the existing global order, and that it is willing to operate in the established order of the West, but its point of view needs to be heard also through communication and cooperation. China aims not to establish its hegemony, but to coexist peacefully. Obama engaged with China on the basis of the existing Western order on the established principles without it challenging the system, but China can operate up to a certain level, and where its national interests come into focus it is willing to contest the Western power structures. The US still remains the biggest military power and has the biggest economic influence globally with the support of its Western European allies far ahead of China. The Trump administration views China as a force of instability, its taking away US jobs, is a currency manipulator and it will bargain with China on One China recognition.

He further added that there will be issues in the future between the two countries and how these will impact Pakistan is the main question. Pakistan has looked for security emanating out of external threats by aligning itself with the US in the 1950s and 1960s, and now CPEC is being seen as the great equalizer. He concluded by saying that Pakistan has shied away from realising its domestic potential and is seeing China as an alternative to the US. But China has its own strategic interests and will always put them first, even though they have always come to Pakistan's aid in time of need. The US-Sino dynamic should not mean that Pakistan should not solve its domestic issues with utmost urgency and seek to improve its image abroad. CPEC and the relations with the US provide Pakistan with great opportunities, but they will be futile if it does not put its house in order first.

US-North American Ties: Continuities and Discontinuities

Dr. Imran Syed

Dr. Imran said that the US shares borders with Canada and Mexico and its regional politics affects its foreign policy abroad. The US foreign policy is determined by the President, the Congress, Pentagon and the State Department, and the decision making is shared amongst them. The interest groups and media also play an important role in the policy making. The US is in a trade agreement - NAFTA - with its North American neighbours. Trump's support among the republicans is very high even though his overall ranking is declining. His administration has a very contentious relationship with the media and has also labelled some outlets as fake news. In the Congress, his attempts to repeal the Obamacare also did not garner support. The district court has also stopped Trump's travel ban from coming into effect, and now the Supreme Court will decide on the matter.

He stated that looking at North American picture, Trump is not taking a regional approach and he is aiming to renegotiate NAFTA and look at bilateral issues. The Mexican border wall is also a big issue for Trump and it is still to be decided how it will be financed. The relations between the North American countries are intertwined with the US being a major player and is now looking to flex its muscles in the region. In conclusion, he said that a continuity in relations is a continued dependence and discontinuity is the US looking to renegotiate the bilateral relations using a unipolar approach, with Trade and migrant workers an issue. The rhetoric of Trump is one thing but the checks and balances of the US democratic system will ensure to curtail his ability to act on it.

Future of US-Russia Relations

Ambassador Saeed Khalid

Ambassador Khalid said that to begin with, the Bush era marked an imperial over reach of United States, and President Obama was an architect of an imperial retreat. Compared to these two periods, the beginning of the Trump era is an imperial dementia, because he is telling American people that he will make America great again without acknowledging that United States is already exceedingly great. It is the greatest economic, military and cultural power the world has ever seen. Consequently, it has attracted the best brains from all over the world and these brains help in sustaining America's supremacy.

US preponderance in terms of military power is breath-taking. With bases and deployment all over the world, US military might is supported by an annual budget of over \$500 billion. This gives Washington the muscle to pursue its policies aimed, among others, at containing traditional rivals Russia and China in their own zones of influence.

An example of this was to retain NATO after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. Former Soviet Republics were admitted to EU, as well as NATO. However, plans to expand US military role and particularly the moves to lure Ukraine to join NATO proved the proverbial straw that brought violent nationalist reaction from Russia.

However, Trump's personal interest and business stakes in Russia puts some doubt into how US-Russia relations will proceed under the Trump era. Trump's remarks on NATO where he thinks that NATO countries owe money to US and Europe should pay for its defence are worrisome to America's European partners. The views held by Trump and Rex Tillerson of putting American business first negates the traditional US policy which ranks the European security high as a check to Russia's threat, and have put the security establishment in US on a weak footing where they do not share similar view with President Trump.

These developments give the foreboding of a paradigm shift that would require the European powers, particularly Germany, to spend more on defence to meet the Russian challenge. But any lowering of America's spending on European defence may also have repercussions for the US defence industry. It would also diminish America's overall influence in Europe.

We have to wait to see to what extent the defence establishment and the Trump team are able to convince each other. At the moment, it is a fluid situation.

There is no doubt that the Russians are happy over Donald Trump's election. Russia's foremost preoccupation is to see the sanctions lifted. Moscow hopes that the sanctions imposed by the US over Russia's intervention in Ukraine would be lifted or at least eased under Trump. Hillary Clinton's election would have meant the continuation of President Obama's tough policies on Russia.

Momentarily, Trump seems to be on the defensive regarding his contacts with Putin, as well as Russia's meddling in US elections. Candidate Trump tweeting praise for President Putin or businessman Trump's ties to Russia may prove to be liabilities rather than assets in charting out state policies towards Russia in the months ahead.

An indicator of how things might evolve was the dismissal of National Security Advisor Michael Flynn, a vocal supporter of warmer ties with Moscow. His replacement, Gen. McMaster is more hawkish on Russia and close to Defence Secretary Gen. Mattis.

Trump has also come under pressure from prominent Republicans in the Congress, as well as European allies who were anxious over the possibility of the President moving towards easing sanctions imposed on Russia over its annexation of Crimea and support for pro-Russian rebels in Ukraine.

Reports of Russian contacts with people like Attorney General Sessions and President's son-in-law Kushner and other members of Trump's team have led to calls for expanded investigations into allegations that Moscow sought to sway the election in Trump's favour.

These developments tend to point to the fact that Trump has yet to lay down his Russia policy. A swift change is not expected in the relationship that had sunk to a post-Cold war low under President Obama due to bitter differences over Ukraine and Syria.

Gen. Mattis has already paid a visit to Europe in February to assure NATO partners that there will be no military cooperation between Washington and Moscow in the near future. Moscow

reacted by saying that they had heard different statements from Trump about Russia and were waiting for actions from the new administration to understand what the future holds for US-Russia relations.

Ambassador Khalid concluded that the post-World War Two scene has been deeply marked by America's determination to dominate the world and maintain a preeminent global military profile. President Trump and Putin may have to accept to live with the existing order.

US-European Relations

Ms. Shamsa Nawaz

Starting with her comments on Trump's relations with European Union, Ms. Shamsa said that what political-military fluctuations might be experienced in US-Europe relations in the Trump era with Secretary Mattis defence portfolio for defence management is a question of the time.

Several European leaders, citing Trump's repeated questioning of NATO's value and praise of Britain's exit from the European Union, have characterised the American president as a threat to the decades-old project of unifying Europe. The emphasis on big-power deal making, along with the Trump administration's promotion of nationalism, scepticism of free trade, criticism of traditional US allies, and focus on terrorism at the expense of other threats have contributed to a new, consequential dynamic in international affairs: perhaps the slow-motion fraying of US-European relations. The reports that US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson will visit Russia in April but not attend a meeting of NATO foreign ministers earlier in the month are being bracketed together as a sign that the Trump administration is courting Russia and rejecting its European allies - a sign that comes just after the FBI director confirmed an investigation into possible connections between the Trump campaign and the Russian government during the 2016 election.

Signs of distress in transatlantic ties are arguably more evident. They have always had strong economic and military cooperation despite having had diverse defence policies. Together, they have been dominating the world and defining the international political relations. Hence, the overall tone of transatlantic relations has been positive till the Obama era. The United States and the EU also share a huge, mutually beneficial trade and investment relationship. The US-EU trade relationship accounts for 31% of world trade and roughly 49% of world GDP. It has a positive trade surplus for the EU equalling €105 billion. In fact, the US-EU cooperation has been the key force driving efforts to liberalise world trade.

Analysts assert that Europe remains both a primary target of terrorists and a potential base for cells seeking to carry out attacks against the United States. Over the past decade, the United States and the EU have largely aligned their lists of entities designated as terrorist organisations.

Many analysts cite Europe's contributions to operations in Afghanistan, joint efforts to combat piracy off the coast of Somalia, the 2011 NATO operation against the forces of Muammar al-Gadhafi in Libya, the expansion of EU sanctions on Iran, or the dimensions of the transatlantic trade and investment relationship as proof of the continuing and deep vitality of the transatlantic partnership. However, the announcement of Obama Administration's "re-balancing" toward Asia, has caused some anxiety among Europeans. The consensus on both sides of the Atlantic seems to be that all is not well. In part, that worry reflects the natural inclination of people to focus on what is wrong rather than on what is going right. But it also evidences a growing sense that however good the relationship may be today; the future looks less predictable. In fact, some US officials and analysts have occasionally expressed concerns that a potentially stronger, more united EU could rival US power and prestige.

With respect to certain issues, such as terrorist detainee policy or climate change, US and European policies have often been at odds and have generated frictions in the relationship from time to time. Further, some US policymakers, analysts, and Members of Congress have expressed concern that the various challenges facing the EU could have significant strategic and economic implications not only for the EU itself, but also for the EU's ability to be a robust and effective US partner. Many officials, particularly in the former Obama Administration worried in particular that internal tensions and preoccupations could prevent the EU from focusing on key US priorities, such as Russian aggression in Ukraine, the conflicts in Syria and Iraq, the threat posed by the Islamic State organisation, and the proposed US-EU free trade agreement (the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, or T-TIP).

Some observers also suggested that a politically fragile, economically weak EU could take US attention and resources away from managing strategic challenges such as the rise of China and continued instability in the Middle East. Similarly, the Obama Administration consistently asserted its opposition to Grexit and Brexit unlike Trump, who has vehemently supported Brexit. The Obama administration was fearful of fracturing within the European Union. It therefore made policies to preserve the largest unified market in the world. Europe will continue to matter to the United States because, if nothing else, common values, shared history, and compatible worldviews still matter, too. Many observers agree that if Europe is to maintain itself as a central global actor and a close US partner over the longer term, it needs to urgently re-discover ways to

increase economic dynamism and competitiveness; commit to deeper initiatives for pooling defence resources in order to gain capabilities and efficiency; and emphasise the further development of soft power strategies that project influence through the attractiveness of European political, cultural, and economic values.

More openly, Washington, as a matter of fact, attaches greater importance to defence expenditures in comparison to its European allies. While cooperation on issues such as the Middle East, Iran and terrorism was and is constructive, one of the most crucial items on the Euro-American agenda remains untouched by the improved atmosphere: transatlantic burden sharing in the field of security and defence. Defence expenditures fall short of specified goals. According to NATO statistics, the US defence spending in 2016 was \$679.453 billion, whereas the defence expenditures of the European members of the alliance totalled only \$238.844 billion.

Trump is largely seen by several observers prioritising America's dealings with big powers like Russia and China over its security commitments to smaller nations. US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, post NATO summit in March 2017 argued that NATO in particular "is endangered because the disintegration of the Soviet Union has robbed it of a clear and common enemy and an unambiguous purpose."

Trump has also recently withdrawn from a massive trade agreement with Asian nations, and has promised to renegotiate the US trade accord with Mexico and Canada. During a Group of 20 meeting in Germany, March 2017, US Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin defied Asian and European finance ministers and central bankers by opposing pro-free trade language in the group's joint statement. On the other hand, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe was in Brussels on March 20, 2017 to advance a long-stalled trade deal with the European Union, as the EU seeks to position itself as an alternative free-trade partner to Trump's protectionist United States. There are even murmurs among some European officials about establishing an EU nuclear-weapons programme if the region loses American military protection. Though speculative in character, some figures have started to highlight the idea of a European capacity for nuclear deterrence that would centre on the French national nuclear capabilities.

There is a concern in the United States over the influence that Russian energy dominance could have on the ability to present European - and, by consequence, transatlantic - unity when it comes to other issues related to Russia. Largely starting during the George W. Bush Administration, many US officials and members of Congress have regarded European energy security as a US interest. These trends were foreseen, though not inevitable. On the other hand, the European Union encompasses a vast and diverse array of countries with diminishing cohesion, particularly over the last decade. Furthermore, internal strains within the EU following the 2010 global financial and Syrian refugee crises have further complicated the US-EU relations.

In fact, Dr. Akis Kalaitzidis from the University of Central Missouri explains the divisive position within the European Union as “crises on top of each other.” Afghanistan, the Arab Spring, the future of NATO, Guantanamo, Iraq, terrorism, Iran, nuclear weapons, missile defence, human rights, the banana war - the list of traditional “high-politics” issues that dominate the transatlantic debate is long and hot. Both sides are acutely aware of the fact that they need each other for every single one of these items.

But even as tourism and study programmes are flourishing in both directions, coupled with mutual trade with US imports from the EU totalling \$247.2 billion during the first seven months of 2015, nonetheless, the absence of clear policies of the Trump administration towards the EU is keeping the relationship more ambiguous rather than definite.

Question & Answer Session

Q: What are the constraints are on Trump? Do you think that Trump phenomena is a Jewish ploy to unwind the American hegemony?

Ashraf Jehangir Ashraf Qazi: Externally we see that with respect to Russia, Trump's preferred course of action during the campaign of whether Russia is a friend or enemy, we witness that he has not been able to stick to this course of action. As regards the Obamacare and other popular policies of previous administration, these are a constraint on Trump. However, the question on Jewish conspiracy is far-fetched.

Q: Can Trump's policy be good for the world?

Zahid Hussain: Some of his rhetoric is quite dangerous and can create harm. His policy on imposing ban on some of the Muslim countries has created much more widening of world opinions. That actually says a lot about his policies for the world.

Q: I see that US-China relations are improving. Trump's withdrawal from TTP, meeting with Japanese President and other measures are not matching his rhetoric and he is striking a balance between China and Japan? Do you agree?

Zahid Hussain: I think it is still to be seen how this plays out. However, you are right that there has been a great shift from Obama's policy of Asia pivot. But abolishing Asia pivot policy does not mean that he has no problems with China, rather it has more to do with multilateral treaties on which he has objections. I believe that there are more complexities there to worsen the relation.

Ashraf Jehangir Qazi: The America Great again rhetoric of Trump has more to do with domestic policy rather than foreign policy. The soft power of US is on the decline as compared to rising soft power of China. Soft power is very important, as it is linked to national security and kind of image you have abroad. Many Asian countries are appealing to China as it views the sentiment of Asia and due to its policy of non-intervention in other countries domestic affairs, which is bringing a rise of China. Certainly, US remains the greatest military power and some

neighbours do not want it to withdraw its forces, but its image has worsened especially after 9/11 terror attacks, this is an interesting situation, let's see how it turns out.

Q: What can be Trump's Policy with respect to Japan?

Ashraf Jehangir Qazi: In the beginning, Japan was worried about Trump's reaction on the nuclear cover that is being provided. But the visit of Japanese Prime Minister has led to some assurances. However, America will have to address a very fundamental question as to who is going to be America's strategic partner? If they want an enduring relation with China, US will have to reconsider its policy on Japan.

Q: How do you see the prospective role of Russia in the peace process in Afghanistan?

Inam-ul-Haq: As far as we know, the US did invite Russia to Quadrilateral Coordination Group, but Russians do not seem to be eager. Russia is active on defending its southern border and Russian concern is focused on ISIS and that seems to remain for a while. There was a paper by Ambassador William about two years ago, in which he said that if ISIS and Khilafat comes under immense pressure, it might relocate to Afghanistan. We don't know how credible this is, but there are reports of ISIS recruiters from Afghanistan and Russians are very serious about this threat. Russia is active but it does not want to do things on its own so it is inviting China, Pakistan, and India also, to discuss the regional situation. I believe there is a state of suspense and we will have to wait and watch for things to unfold.

Q: Can the world expect Russia-China partnership in a world war like situation?

Dr. Talat: The international relations are dynamic and not that simple where one power can be substituted by another easily. Yes, there is closeness between China and Russia, especially on Belt and Road initiative. America need to review its policies. It is no longer a unipolar power and this equation is changing.

Q: Can there be an impeachment of Trump for his business deals?

Ashraf Jehangir Qazi: I think fulfilment of his office is not going to be easy. However, impeachment is not the only way out. His attitude towards media and intelligence agencies is

forcing his party and popular opinion into another direction. As of now impeachment is unlikely, but a possibility.

Q: What is the future of US policy towards Mexico?

Imran Syed – Trump is an outsider. So what you see with him is that somewhere down the line, Trump is going to change the way he takes decisions and be more participative. Trump's main constituency are the blue-collar workers who are most affected by these illegal migrant workers. I believe Trump has to be very stringent with illegal cross border movement. Basically it is not Mexico as such but the voter base he has which needs to be preserved. The relations with Mexico are complicated and their contrast with US-Canada relations are also to be seen closely.

Concluding Remarks

Mr. Inam-ul-Haq

We have listened to a number of learned speakers on different aspects of the foreign policy expected to be pursued by the Trump administration. Some of you also had the opportunity of posing questions and comments on these issues. My first comment is that perhaps it is too early for us to assess what the Trump policy is going to be, perhaps Trumps himself does not know. So we have to wait for some time and see if he enjoys support in US and whether he can pursue some of the policies that he outlined during his campaign.

Let me begin by referring to two writers who would be relevant in the context of the rising situation in the world and Trump's policies. First is Jarred Diamond, who has postulated that human kind is distinguished from animals by two traits, and these traits are: firstly the propensity of mass murdering humans; and second is destroy the habitat in which they live. The second writer that I am going to refer is Pankaj Mishra. In his most recent book, "The Age of Anger" he carries forward this postulation to say that we may be on the threshold of a global civil conflict, coupled with climate change and the destruction that it will usher in the world. These two things are converging into a world with a very dangerous future for mankind.

The international community today is faced with many problems. The established centres of power are under assault, world population is exploding, demography is rapidly changing, expectations are rising, resources are scarce and the battle for resources is already joined by major powers. The rich and poor divide is widening, social stratification is harming religious harmony, and between countries which feel threatened by the policies of their neighbours or from conflicts which might spill over.

Those who are privileged are fighting to maintain their elite status, while the poor of the world try to claw out of hunger, poverty, and disease, to which they have been consigned to from generations. All the resentments welling up that had been watered for a long while are breaking up and bringing their weight on conflict for power, status, space and for resources.

Given this situation, the US and the rest, namely the developed world which also happens to be largely Caucasian white, believes its power to be under threat from new emerging powers, particularly from countries like China and India. As a result, there is a rolling, and perhaps a struggling that is looking desperately to stem the tide which they feel might overwhelm them, and to maintain their own supremacy. This is where Mr. Trump's promise to make America great again comes and resonates with particularly the blue-collar workers and also the rightist republican who have been supporting him.

There has been a huge purge to the right in Europe and US, particularly since the beginning of the 21st century. The policies in Europe, and now in the US are designed to keep the so-called immigrant out of their territories. The anti-immigrant rhetoric of Trump gives you an idea of the thinking of common man in America. The implication, and the actions of Trump underlines this, is that immigrants should be prevented from entering the US and many countries in Europe. In fact, Trump's efforts at banning immigrants from many countries was an effort in this direction and it's a continuing one.

There has also been an attempt to give an intellectual narrative to the western policies of dominance by shifting the blame to those who are upsetting the so-called world order established by the West and the threat to so-called western and American values through theories such as clash of civilizations, which have some limited relevance in the western world.

Trump essentially wishes to restore American supremacy and reverse what he sees as the declining fortunes of the US. Mistakenly, he believes that he can bring back the jobs to the US to protect the American economy from the onslaught of globalisation and emerging economic powers like China. However, mistakenly again, the American economy has already shifted from manufacturing base to a services sector, so bringing back manufacturing will not result in efficient job creation. Trump also plans to strengthen American offensive and defensive hard power. In defence budget, he has asked for an additional \$54 billion. The US defence budget for this year is more than a trillion dollars.

Trump's election is a reflection of the inarticulate desire of the white majority electorate in the US to protect themselves from the rapid changes that they see. We should also not view

Trump's victory as an isolated example of extreme right taking power. Other examples abound, and I will give you some of those. The rise of Islamic extremism with the latest Islamic State. The Shia-Sunni divide exemplified in the Iran-Saudi relations, and, the war in Yemen. Hindutva in the form of RSS and its political arms in the form of BJP headed by Narendra Modi. Zionist occupation and annexation of Palestine, the ongoing massacre of Rohingya Muslims, the rise of extreme right parties in many parts of Europe like The Netherlands and the anti-immigrant sentiment which led UK to exit the European Union. So, the 'other' has become an enemy that needs to be confronted with force.

Let us look at some recent events in history. Our own region has been in turmoil since December 1979 when the Russians decided to intervene in Afghanistan and brought about a regime change. It became, in part, a reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, but the world changed even more drastically after the 9/11 incident. Afghanistan and Iraq were attacked consequently, and the excuses of chemical weapons and involvement with Al-Qaeda proved to be ill-founded. After Iraq, we had Libya and Syria. The Arabs also joined in with the war in Yemen.

Let me point out that there was no such thing as Arab Spring that we all have been talking about. Basically, through the ages, Arabs have had the authoritarian, strong, despotic dictators or hereditary ruler. Rulers have always come into power with the use of force and have subdued the opposition with a combination of strong arm tactics, tribal coalitions, financial settlements, inter-tribal marriages and even through the control of secular parties in Syria and Iraq. However, it only through force that these rulers have been able to restore peace, and when they are removed, chaos follows.

In 2014, BJP came into power in India, Russia reasserted itself in Ukraine and Syria in 2015, Brexit happened in 2016 and also the people in the US elected Donald Trump. As I said earlier, it's too early to say what Trump is going to do. I am going to just highlight his internal policies which are putting America first, bring back jobs, protect US manufacturing, impose duties on foreign imports, and anti-globalisation policies. He gave up the Obamacare and deregulating the economy. In addition, increase in defence budget, fight terrorism and mistreat minorities. With

an increase in defence budget and a decrease in US aid, we know what direction Trump policies are going to take. This shows a determination of using hard power as necessary.

Pakistan's relations with the US have always been an unequal relation and such a relationship always prospers or goes down at the whims of the stronger partner. Our relationship is not based on any shared ideology or a shared history. It is a need based relationship and is frequently referred to as transactional in nature and we accept that. Countries feel bitter when they are discarded when no longer required by the major powers. It all boils down to who needs what and when. We are a non-NATO ally, yet our territory has been subjected to numerous drone attacks under President Obama's administration. The issues that are going to be of importance under Trump administration is our fight against terrorism, peace in Afghanistan and Pakistan's nuclear assets. Let's be clear that the US has not accepted the nuclear status of Pakistan and if they can push you back, they will. Also, in context to India-Pakistan relations, I do not expect Trump to be pro-Pakistan because there is a bipartisan consensus in the US to further their relations with India. Those who are expecting the presidential impeachment are expecting too much from the US Congress, so I expect him to live, and we should learn to live with him.

Vote of Thanks

Ambassador Fauzia Nasreen

It is indeed an honour for me to be sitting with my mentors. I also take this special privilege to extend my vote of thanks to Ambassador Khalid Mahmood and ISSI for making this seminar happen. I also thank all the illustrious speakers. We are at the very start of the US presidency term of Trump and a lot of things are in a flux which will settle with the passage of time. It is not for us to decide what will happen of President Trump but for the people of the US to decide what kind of President they want to see. Trump's election symbolises that there is a limit to the US for accepting immigrants, and I assume that with time they will realise that this acceptance of others and belief in plurality is there strength. I assume that the US will seek some engagement with China and the shift of focus to Asia Pacific is a strategic shift. Basically, it is transition taking place and this is a dynamic process. We need to see how Pakistan places itself in this process. In this context, Islamic State and extremism is going to be a challenge, as well as a window of opportunity for US-Pakistan to collaborate.