

PAKISTAN AFFAIRS
MOCK PAPER I

TIME ALLOWED: THREE HOURS	PART-II MAXIMUM MARKS = 80
<p>(i) Part-II is to be attempted on the separate Answer Book. (ii) Attempt ONLY FOUR questions from PART-II ALL questions carry EQUAL marks. (iii) All the parts (if any) of each Question must be attempted at one place instead of at different places. (iv) Write Q. No. in the Answer Book in accordance with Q. No. in the Q.Paper. (v) No Page/Space be left blank between the answers. All the blank pages of Answer Book must be crossed. (vi) Extra attempt of any question or any part of the question will not be considered</p>	

PART-II

- Q. No. 2.** Critically examine the Muslim shift from militancy to education with a special reference to the educational movements launched during the 19th century in South Asia. (20)
- Q. No. 3.** How far the nature of center province relations has changed under various amendments to the 1973 constitution? Evaluate. (20)
- Q. No.4.** Briefly describe the genuine factors which were responsible for the demand of a separate homeland by the Muslims of the Sub-Continent. (20)
- Q. No. 5.** How general elections in 2008, 2013 and 2018 strengthened democracy in Pakistan? (20)
- Q. No. 6.** "Pakistan is a federation in form and unitary in spirit." Discuss it keeping in view the strengths and weakness of Federation of Pakistan. (20)
- Q. No. 7.** In Pakistan, democratic process is fragile because political parties are weak. Would you agree? What steps would you suggest to develop democratic institutions? Please discuss (20)
- Q. No. 8.** Through Allama Iqbal's writings and views of Quaid-i-Azam explain their conceptual understanding about the Islamic state. Do you agree that their vision found some place while explaining the constitutional developments throughout the case of Pakistan's political history? (20)

Q#3

1- Introduction: Transformation In Center Province Relations Under Amendments in 1973 Constitution.

“Agitation and reforms have always gone hand in hand”
- Ahmad Saeed 'Trek to Pakistan'

Since the inception of Pakistan, Pakistan has faced strained relations between center and provinces. However, various protests and campaigns in federating unit of Pakistan for reforms have compelled the government to enact various amendments in 1973 constitution. It has significantly improved relations between federation and provinces through devolving financial and administrative powers to the provinces. Ultimately, it ensured provincial autonomy.

Equitable distribution of national resources has reduced grievances of provinces, improving relations between centre and provinces.

2- How Various Amendments In The 1973 Constitution Have Improved Ties Between Center And Provinces?

2a) 18th Amendment as ensuring provincial autonomy: Improved trust between center and provinces:

18th Amendment	Strengthening Provincial autonomy
Article 142	Abolished Concurrent list
Article 58(2)(b)	Abolished Article 58(2)(b)
Article 140(A)	Devolution of power to local
Article 160(3A)	Increase NFC Share
Article 172	Fair distribution of resource
Article 156	National Economic Commission
Article 25(A)	Right to free education
Article 19(A)	Right to information
Article 10(A)	Right to fair trial
Article 6(A)	High treason charge

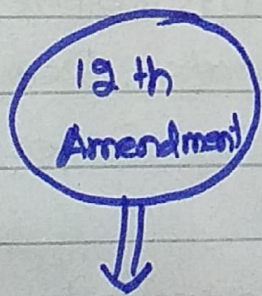
This figure is showing the 18th amendment has introduced various political, social and economic rights to strengthen provincial autonomy. These articles have devolved administrative powers to provinces. Moreover, various citizen rights have added in this amendment such as education, health, freedom of information and equitable justice.

2b) 25th Amendment and extending administrative power to provinces: Reduced undue influence of Center in provinces:

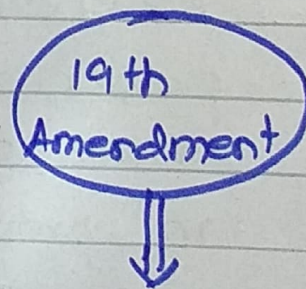
In 25th amendment, Federally administered tribal areas (FATA) has been merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Before this amendment, FATA was largely ignored by the government, making it vulnerable for safe sanctuaries of terrorist groups.

However, after merging FATA with KPK, various development projects have been introduced in FATA, which has alleviated issues of people in FATA. It has further improved ties between center and provinces.

2c) Provision of equitable justice to provinces as a panacea to strained ties between federal government and its federating units:



Established Special
Courts for speedy trial

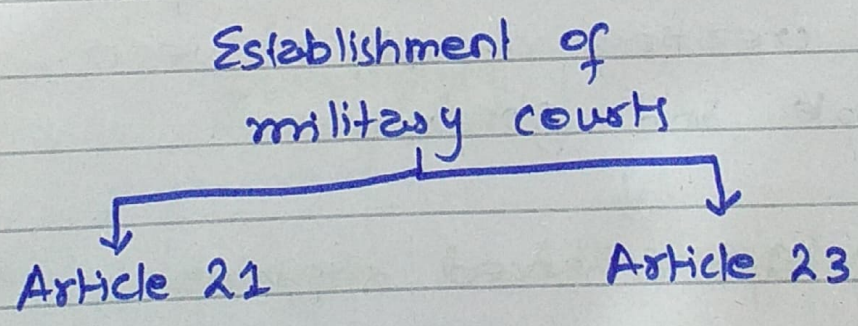


Strengthened
Judicial independence

These two amendments have secured justice system in provinces. For instance, special courts have provided ease in

dealing with pending cases in provinces. Moreover, strengthening independent judicial system paved way in unbiased provision of justice system in provinces, fostering healthy ties between center and provinces.

2d) Improving security situation in provinces to alleviate grievances of its people:



In Article 21, military courts were established for 2 years, which were further extended for 2 more years in 23rd Amendments. These amendments have bolstered security situation in provinces, particularly in KPK after APS attack. Hence, such amendments have

provided relief to the people of provinces, creating trust between center and provinces.

2e) Strengthened democracy through amendments in

Also mention the relevant amendments as references

Electoral Commission of Pakistan. Article 20 was amended.

To ensure free and fair election by strengthening ECP. This amendment has also contributed by improving ties between center and provinces by creating trust between people and government.

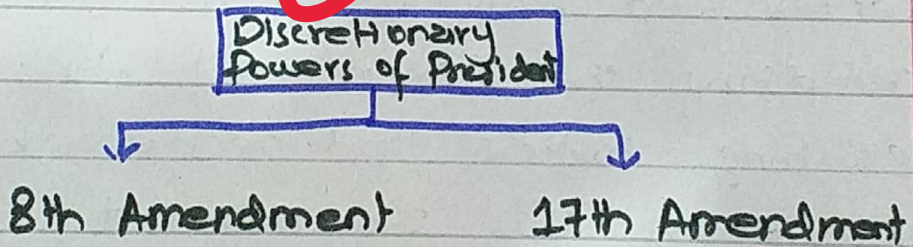
2f) Enhanced regional representation in government jobs by increasing quota of provinces.

In 16th amendment, the quota system was extended for jobs in government. This amendment has ensured inclusive representation of provinces in government jobs, further.

strengthened ties between center and provinces.

3) How some Amendments in The 1973 Constitution Have Created Controversies Between Center And Provinces?

3a) Over-centralization of power: Gap increased between center and provinces:



In both these amendments, article 58 (a) (b) was added, which gave extra power to the president of Pakistan. He could abolish national assembly at his will.

For instance, Ghulam Ishaq Khan had dissolved national assembly two times to dismiss PPP and

PML-N government. Hence, these amendments have caused political turmoil in a country.

3b) 26th Amendment is a dilemma for Pakistan to strip judicial independence.

The 26th amendment was passed, which mandates the political appointment of judges instead of judicial commission. It has created controversy between center and provinces. They are alleging the government for slashing judicial independence by introducing this amendment.

4- Conclusion:

Multifarious amendment in 1973 constitution has improved frayed ties between center and provinces. These amendments have ameliorated provincial autonomy by devolving political, social and economic power to provinces.

Q#4

1- Introduction: Causes That Compelled Muslims Of The Sub-Continent To Demand For A Seperate Homeland:

After the 1857 war of Independence, the Muslims of the sub-continent were subjugated at the hands of Britishers and Hindus. Multiple incidents, encompassing Urdu-Hindi controversy, Kanpur mosque tragedy and Khilafat movement, have forced the Muslims to struggle for a Seperate Homeland. They wanted to live with freedom where they can practice their religion freely. Hence, it pushed them to demand for a Seperate country.

2- Factors That Contributed In The Desire Of The Muslims For A Seperate Nation:

There were (2) side of events in the history of the

10

Sub-continent that have contributed
in the demand of Muslims for a
separate nation.

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1867 | • Urdu - Hindi controversy |
| 1908 | • Kanpur mosque tragedy |
| 1905 | • Partition of Bengal and
Hindu Swadeshi movement |
| 1911 | • Annulment of partition
of Bengal |
| 1919 | • Khilafat movement |
| 1919 | • Jallianwala bagh massacre |
| 1922 | • Chaura Chauri incident |
| 1927 | • Delhi - Muslim proposal
rejection by Hindu |
| 1928 | • The Nehru report |
| 1929 | • Rejection of Quaid-i-Azam
14 points |
| 1932 | • Failure of Gandhi - Jinnah
talks |
| 1937 | • Congress ministries |
| 1940 | • Lahore resolution and
two nation theory |

11

2a) Reawakening of Muslims after Urdu-Hindi Controversy in 1867:

The Hindus of the Sub-continent wanted to impose dev nagri language throughout the subcontinent. It created Urdu-Hindi controversy between Hindu and Muslims, which instilled realization of having separation nation in Muslims.

“Urdu-Hindi controversy is the start of the space of separation between Hindu and Muslims. Ultimately, it will lead to the separation of Hindu and Muslims.”

↳ Allama Iqbal to his friend Shakespeare

2b) Kanpur-mosque tragedy as aggravating apprehensions among the Muslims for marginalization in the

united India:

The Governor General of India ordered to demolish mosque in order to make road. When Muslims protested, he ordered to open fire on them. Several Muslims were killed. This tragic event had further insisted Muslims to demand for a separate homeland.

2c) Partition of Bengal as a blow for Hindus: Started Swadeshi movement to reverse this partition:

Hindus boycotted British products in Swadeshi movement. It further convinced Muslims that they cannot live with Hindus as they were opposed to Muslim empowerment in united India.

2d) Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911 as a dent to Muslim freedom:
King George IV annulled

the partition of Bengal. It created resentment among the Muslims of the sub-continent. After that they increased struggle for a separate homeland.

2e) Jalianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919 strengthened the belief of Muslims that they are not safe in united India.

After Britishers passed Rowlatt act to increase powers of Governor General, both Hindus and Muslims protested. Military they opened fire on them in which several people were killed. It further reawakened Muslims, improving struggle for a separate nation.

2f) Khilafat movement and reawakening of Muslims:

After Jalianwala Bagh massacre, Muslims had declared Non-cooperation movement and Hijrat movement. Thousands of

Muslims had migrated to Afghanistan. Unfortunately, Afghanistan had not accepted the Muslims refugees. It was the biggest dent for the Muslims, which created emergency among them to struggle for a separate homeland.

2g) Chaura - Chauri incident and the exposure of real faces of Hindus: In this incident, Hindus backed off from their commitment of unity with Muslims. It forced Muslims to not fault on Hindus and fight for a separate country.

2h) Delhi - Muslim proposal and rejection of unity of Hindus and Muslims: Qaid-i-Azam had proposed this proposal to strengthen ties with Hindus. As he was the advocator of Hindu - Muslim

unity. However, Hindus rejected this proposal. It was unexpected for Qazid-i-Azam. After that he increased his struggle for a separate nation.

2i) The Nehru report and demand for democracy in the Indian Subcontinent:

"As Hindus increased demand for the rule of majority, the Muslims asserted their right for self-determination"
 M. I. H. Qureshi 'The Struggle for Pakistan'

The Nehru report rejected the separate electorate system for the Muslims. It created resentment among Muslims. They realized that they cannot live with Hindus in the sub-continent.

2j) Failure of Gandhi-Jinnah talks further made up the mind of Muslims for a separate nation:

In Gandhi-Jinnah talks, the consensus on issues of Muslims could not be built, increasing gap between Hindu and Muslims.

“This is the parting of ways”

in Aziz-i Azam

2k) Congress ministries and the vendelistic policies of Hindu to marginalize Muslims:

“The Muslim secession to the congress rule may be said to have directly led to the idea of Pakistan”

in Aziz 'The Making of Pakistan'

Congress ministers from 1937 to 1939 have further pushed Muslims to demand for a separate homeland. They had introduced repressive policies for Muslims such as Band-e-Natam & National Anthem and Devnagri as official language.

2) Quaid-i-Azam speech in Lahore resolution as the culmination of separate homeland:

In Lahore resolution, Quaid-i-Azam clearly demanded for a separate country, which had boosted the struggle of Muslims for a separate country.

3- Conclusion:

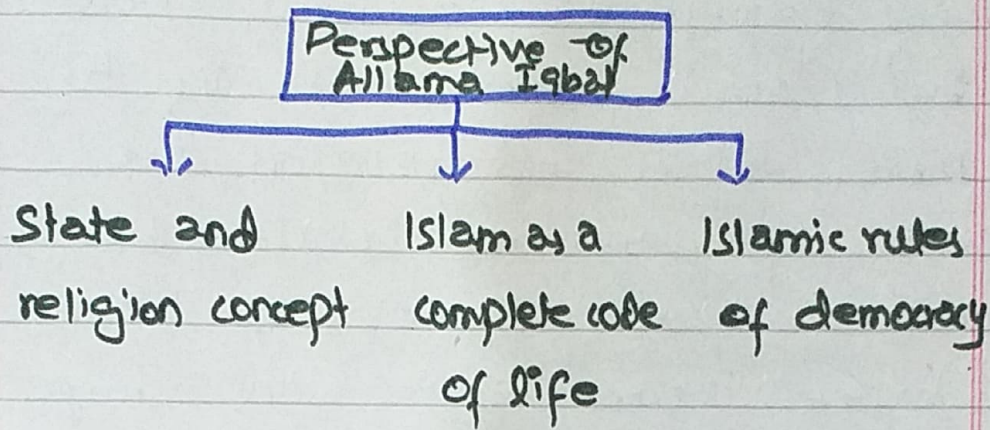
After 1857 war, multifarious oppressive incidents have forced Muslims to demand for a separate homeland as they realized that they cannot live with Hindus in India.

Q # 8

1- Introduction: Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam's Perspectives About the Islamic State:

Allama Iqbal was the staunch supporter of an Islamic state for the Muslims of the Subcontinent. He regarded Islam as the complete code of life. Similarly, Quaid-i-Azam had always advocated the modern democratic state where all people, regardless of their religion, caste or creed can live their life with freedom. After the inception of Pakistan, the initial constitutional struggle did not reflect their views to a larger extent. However, in the 1973 constitution, the view of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam can largely be seen. It reflects the Islamic state view of both Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam.

2- Allama Iqbal's Perspective About The Islamic State:



2a) Allama Iqbal's concept of state and religion: opposed European secular nationalism:

“In Islam, God and the Universe, Spirit and matter, Church and State are organic to each other”

in Allama Iqbal in
Allahabad Address 1930

Allama Iqbal envisioned an Islamic state for the Muslims of the sub-continent. He was opposed to the European secular nationalism concept. He clearly,

gave the concept of two nation theory in his Allahabad address and expressed his views about the Islamic State. According to him, State and religion are not separate from each other, rather than principles of Islam define Islam state and shape its constitutional rules.

2b) Islamic rules of democracy should be applied in a Islamic state :

Allama Iqbal was against the European concept of democracy in which religion is everyone's private matter and state has no business in it. He was a staunch supporter of Islamic injunctions for a democratic country. As he clearly explained his views in his book 'Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam' :

جلا لیا مثنائی بیوکہ جمہوری تماشائی
چرا اللہ دین سیاست سے توراہ جانی ہے چیلنے

2c) Islamic nationalism concept of Allama Iqbal: Islam is a complete code of life:

"I would like to see the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into one state"

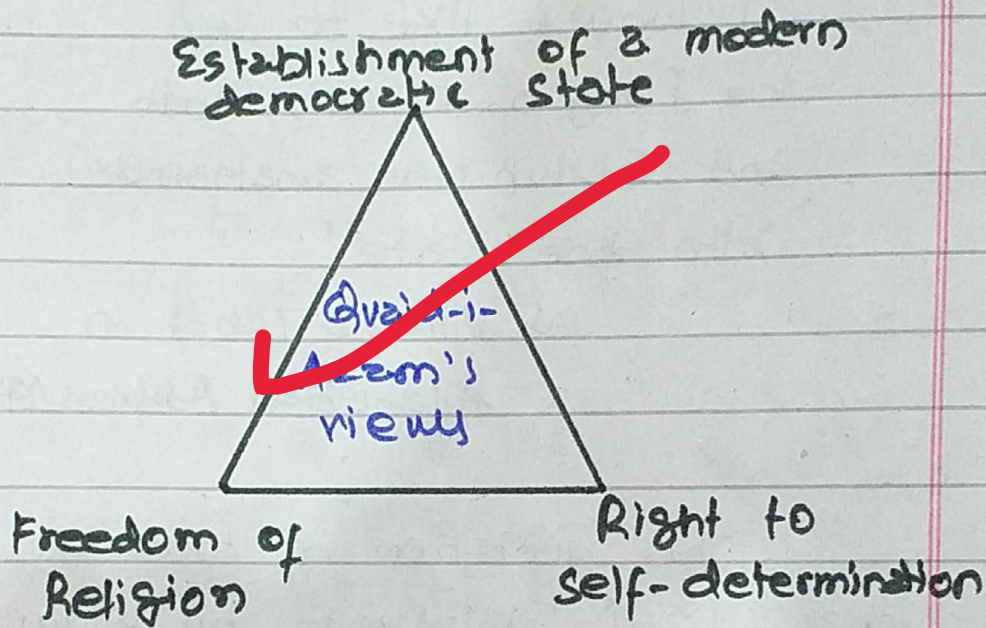
in Allama Iqbal in

Allahabad Address 1930

This quotation of Allama Iqbal clearly illustrates his views about Islamic nationalism. On the Indian Sub-continent, he desired to see the Muslim majority provinces into a single state. He clearly expressed his views that Islam is a complete code of life. It explains about every aspect of life. Therefore, Muslims should establish an Islamic state where they can spend their lives according to their religion.

Add more arguments

3- Conceptual Understanding of Quaid-i-Azam About An Islamic State:



3a) Quaid-i-Azam envisioned a modern democratic state for the Muslims:

“The new state would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in the people and the members of a state would have equal rights of citizenship regardless of

a caste, creed or religion"
 in Quaid-i-Azam told to
 Doon Campbell in 1946
 'Political and Constitutional
 History of Pakistan by
 Hamid Khan

It clearly demonstrates the views of Quaid-i-Azam about the new Islamic state for Muslims. As the whole struggle of Quaid-i-Azam was for the freedom of minorities, who were the Muslims of the sub-continent. Therefore, he always wanted a free state for the Muslims where they can practice their civilization freely.

3b) An Islamic State where all citizens have freedom to practice their religions

After the independence of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam gave speech to the Constituent Assembly. He clearly expressed

his views about the freedom of religion of all citizens in the new state of Pakistan.

"You are free to go to your temples and mosques. You may belong to a different religion, caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the state"

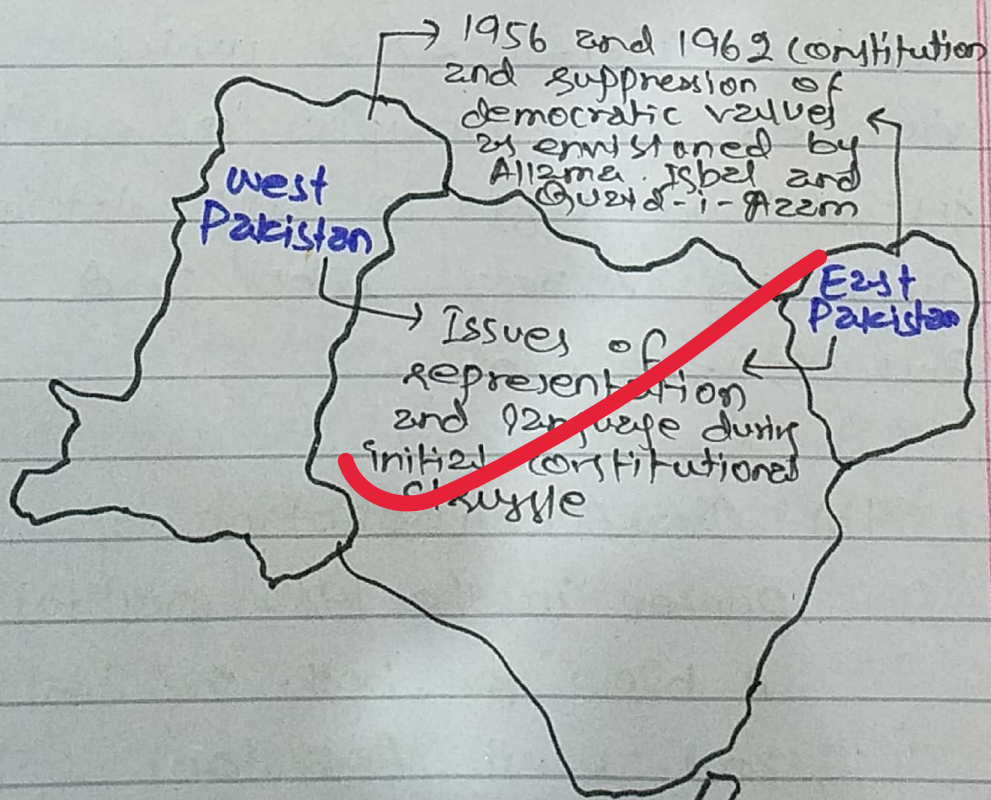
↳ Quaid-i-Azam speech on 11 August, 1947 to the Constituent Assembly

3c) Right to self-determination in new state for all citizens:

Throughout the journey of struggle of Quaid-i-Azam, he fought for the right of self-determination for Muslims. In the 14 points given by Quaid-i-Azam, he clearly highlighted rights of minorities, freedom

of religion, separate electorate for muslims and one-third representation of muslims in the legislature. These points reflect the views of Quaid-i-Azam that he strongly supported right to self-determination for the muslims.

4- Reflection of the Vision of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam in The Constitutional Development of Pakistan:



Map showing initial constitutional struggle of Pakistan

4a) Critical 9 years of struggle of constitutional development and opposition of principle of equality as envisioned by Allama Iqbal and Quid-i-Azam:

The population of East Pakistan was 56% while the territory of West Pakistan is larger than the East Pakistan. Therefore, the issue of representation in parliament was a bone of contention between them. In 1956 constitution, both units were considered equal, which violated the principles of equality, justice and right to self-determination given by Allama Iqbal and Quid-i-Azam.

4b) Over-centralization of power in the 1962 constitution:

A blow for both the East and West Pakistan:

This constitution, which

was established by Ayub Khan, has created Basic Democracies Order for indirect elections.

It marginalized the people of Pakistan by stripping away their freedom of speech. It shows that this constitution was not the reflection of the founding fathers of Pakistan.

4c) 1973 constitution reflects the views of Islamic state of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam:

The 1973 constitution ensured the rights of all citizens, including women and minorities as proposed by the both leaders. For instance, Article 25 of 1973 constitution mandates the provision of equal rights to all citizens. Moreover, it ensures no discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion and place of birth, as envisioned by Quaid-i-Azam.

5- Conclusion:

The views of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam about the Islamic state largely highlight the provision of equality, justice and freedom to all citizens. The initial struggle of Pakistan for making constitution did not support their views. However, 1973 constitution is significantly resembles their perception about the Islamic state.

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A 20 marks answer should have around 15 arguments

Q#7

1- Introduction: Democratic Backsliding In Pakistan and the contribution of Political Parties In Shaping Democratic Values:

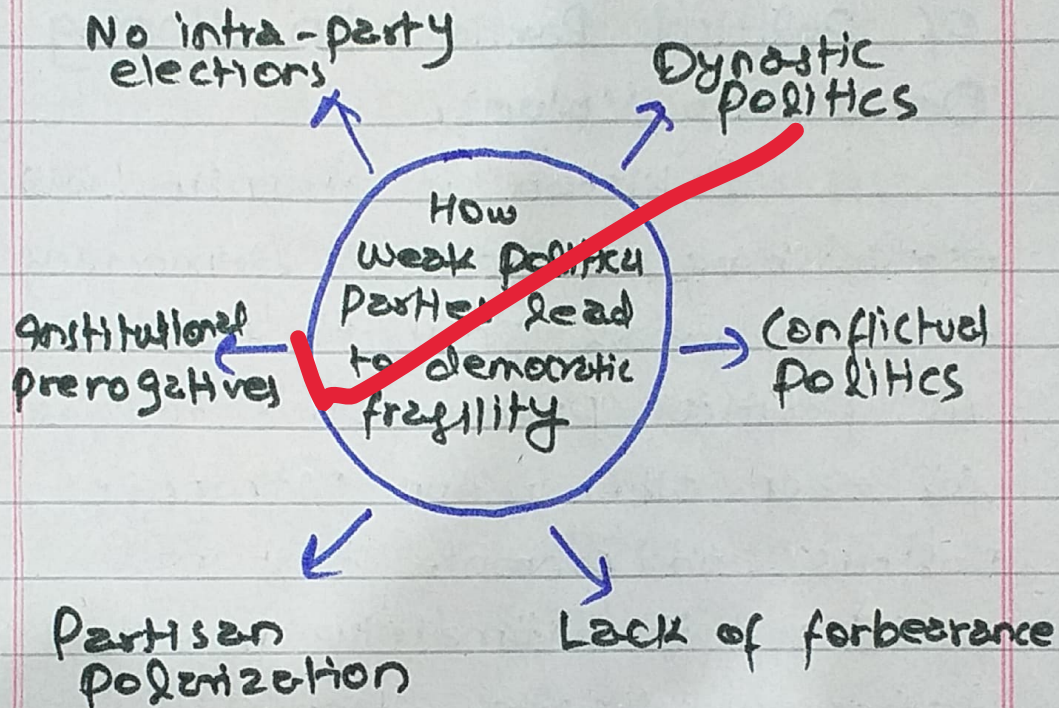
Pakistan is grappling with establishing functional democracy due to weak political parties.

As political parties lack tolerance for each other, run patronage politics and promote regional politics, it ultimately makes democracy fragile. However, inclusive institutions, political representation, good governance and true federalism can foster principles of democracy in Pakistan.

2- How Fragile Political Parties In Pakistan Has Contributed In Democratic Repression?

According to Economic Intelligence Unit report 2023, Pakistan has been designated

as an authoritarian country. It underscores democratic repression in Pakistan.



2a) Lack of intra-party election in Pakistan: Exclusive political parties: Political parties in Pakistan do not conduct intra-party elections, which is cornerstone in safeguarding democratic values. For instance, the intermittent terms of PML-N and PPP government with the

same party leaders as PM of Pakistan show the exhibition of patronage politics in Pakistan, leading to weak democracy.

2b) Dynastic politics as a blow to democratic norms and values:

The political history of Pakistan shows the prominence of dynastic politics with only two to three leaders, who have ruled Pakistan. It further made democracy weak.

2c) Conflictual politics instead of consensual political parties: Suppression of democratic norms of consensus:

The political parties of Pakistan never show consensus of important issues of Pakistan. For instance, deadlock related to bring reforms in National

Accountability Bureau (NAB) in national assembly shows that political parties made-consensus almost impossible to bring reforms in Pakistan, hindering democracy.

2d) Lack of forbearance in political parties undermine democracy:

"Democracies die when institutions do not show forbearance"

in 'How Democracies Die' by Daniel Ziblatt and Steven Levitsky

The political parties in Pakistan are mostly seen using acrimonious language for each other. The ruling party does not show tolerance for opposition parties and most of the times vilify one another. It highlights

that political parties attitude is one of the biggest factors in overshadowing democracy.

2e) Regional politics instead of national politics:
Dominance of partisan gerrymandering in Pakistan:

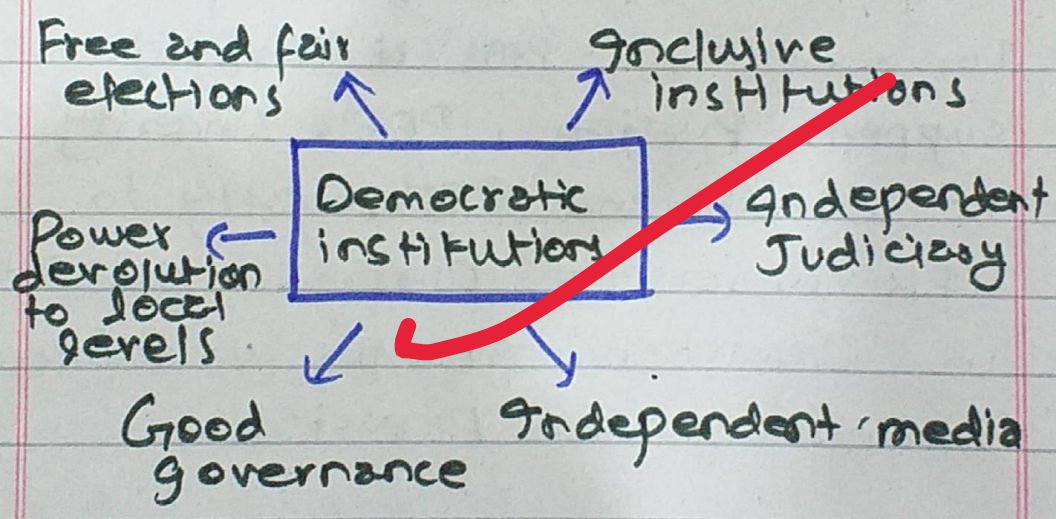
The Pakistan politics is predominantly regional politics. For example, PML-N largely supports Punjab, PPP's sincerity to Sindh and PTI's loyalty to KPK underscore partisan polarisation in Pakistan, greatly undermine democracy in Pakistan.

2f) Over-use of institutional pre-rogatives by political parties to suppress democracy:

Political parties use their discretionary powers to secure their power. The lust of power has prevented them

to show restraint in using their power. The 26th Amendment is largely criticized by the public, arguing that political parties have enlisted them to sideline judiciary.

3- How to Establish Democratic Institutions?



3a) Conduct free and fair election to guardrail democracy:

Free and fair election play pivotal role in safeguarding democracy. As it preserves the right of freedom of

expression of people, their choice of people to rule them will secure democratic norms.

3b) Inclusive institutions instead of extractive institutions foster democratic principles:

"It is the type of institution a nation holds that sets the course of its progress"

↳ 'Why Nations Fail' by Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson

In this book, the authors argue that only inclusive institutions bring prosperity and progress in any country. Therefore, making Pakistan's institutions inclusive will strengthen democracy.

3c) Strengthening the judiciary's independence: Parabea

for democratic frepslity
in Pakistan:

While biased judiciary
greatly undermines provision
of justice in a country,
only independent judiciary can
bring equality in a country.
Therefore, the government must
ensure the independence of judiciary.

3d) Ensuring freedom of
media as a stepping
stone for democratic
institutions:

“without free and independent
media, democracy cannot
be prevailed”

↳ Warren Christopher

Media allow the expression
of the voice of people, particularly
marginalized voices of women
and minorities. Therefore,
to bring equality, justice and

freedom; media must be independent.

3e) Devolution of power to local levels to bolster good governance: A remedy for democratic backsliding:

As Article 140(A)

of the 18th Amendment mandates the devolution of power to local levels. It will pave way to good governance as local administrators will address the grievances of people at lower level, ensuring democracy.

Good structure and arguments

4- Conclusion:

The political parties of Pakistan show restraint in conducting intra-party elections, showing tolerance, and exhibiting national politics, leading to undermining democracy. However, concerted efforts of all stakeholders in Pakistan can ensure democracy.