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at the national level would have to be renegotiated and this process might open the floodgates for ethnic and separatist groups to start demanding for more autonomy.

## CONSTITUTIONAL MECHANISM FOR NEW PROVINCES

At the first juncture, the provinces would need to pass a resolution for re-drawing the provincial boundary under Article 239(4) and then following the passing of this the resolution would be taken up at the center.

At the Federal/National level, after the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, any change in the constitution of Pakistan would require  $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup> majority. This majority would pass the resolution moved under Article 238, to amend the constitution. As the provinces and the boundaries of those provinces are a constitutional matter it would also follow the procedure as enshrined in Article 239.

## HOW NEW PROVINCES ARE BENEFICIAL FOR THE PEOPLE

## a) Smaller Provinces would be effective at Service Delivery

Currently, the large sizes of the provinces hampers the service delivery of the governments. Effective governance is achieved at the local level. Administrative and financially power<sup>resting</sup> with the smaller provinces will ensure citizens uplift and overall better delivery of government services.

## b) Presently Disparity Among Provinces Over Resources is Ripe:

Currently, every province/federating unit at the a certain level of mistrust with each other and the center. One province alleges that the other has stolen their share. However, with smaller provinces, the provinces/federating units shall have enough resources (fiscal, & NA seats etc) for their citizens.

## c) Performance of Princely States

Before the One-Unit Scheme, the princely state of Khairpur managed to increase their revenue collection by 300%. They also mandated the 'right to Free Education' in 1948 and established Khairpur as an industrial state/unit. Similarly, the princely state of Swat despite meagre resources managed to increase the number of schools from 2 to 50.

### d) Smaller Units are an established model of Governance in the developed world

Various countries have devolved large federating units into smaller administrative units. These units are better <sup>to</sup> manage at the administrative level and enable better representation of the area's population.

### e) Grievances of Backward/Remote Areas can be better addressed

Unfortunately, development and uplift are targeted at the large urban population centers. Due to which the population living in far-flung areas feels left out of the national development chunk. Smaller provinces can lead to better redressal of these grievances and better opportunities that can be provided to the population.

### f) Inaccessibility to the Seat of Government by the Remote Area's Population

Due to them living on the periphery of the federating units, the seat of government or the provincial capital is often really far away from them. This causes them great anguish when they have to travel from one part/corner to the other.

## Development priorities can be readjusted to the peripheries

As of this moment, some <sup>corridors</sup> people are upset regarding the provincial capitals spending priorities and the uplift areas. They believe that the governments of the day spend all of the resources on the capitals while leaving none for the peripheries. New provinces can create a shift as the redistribution of provincial projects might benefit the remote/backward areas more.

## How NEW PROVINCES MIGHT HARM THE COUNTRY?

### a) Creating a Fiscal and Economic Nightmare:

Pakistan's current economic situation isn't well suited for creation of new provinces. In the year 2010 the government of day had to spend about Rs. 8 Billion due to the renaming of the province of 'KPK' from 'NWFP'. If the creation of new provinces takes it would require a lot of resources to be utilized and eventually the country's fiscal situation would go from bad to worst.

## b) New Provincial Agreements would have to be charted :-

Agreements such as the NFC Award, the water sharing agreements under the IRSA and other agreements between the centre and provinces would have to draw up once more. These agreements would require political will and capacity and across the aisle coordination which unfortunately isn't available.

## c) (Demand) Floodgates might be opened for demand of new provinces :-

Once the process starts, various ethnic and separatist groups might misuse this opportunity and use this opportunity to demand for a separate homeland. This process might get abused by some political actors for their own political gains.

## ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION AND POTENTIAL WAY FORWARD

Currently, the case for new provinces is strong. However, due to the structural and fiscal limitations, this is not possible. New provinces would require entirely new administrative

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mechanisms to be setup. For which the state  
Fitter :- ~~Every~~ and ~~its~~ ~~state~~ doesn't have the  
fiscal space to do so.

In this regard, the promotion/setting up  
of local governments under Article 140 is  
needed at the urgent. Local governments  
equipped with both administrative and  
financial powers to effectively administer and  
develop their areas. Similarly, promotion of  
E-Government is needed in order to alleviate the  
people from far-flung areas from the haul to  
provincial capitals.

Equitable resources within and  
among provinces is needed. So that a particular  
emphasis on back-ward areas can be paid. Finally,  
these backward/remote areas should get  
preferential treatment so that they come at  
par with the rest of the <sup>the</sup> country.

## CONCLUSIONS

Devolution of power both administratively  
and financial is the need of the hour. However, ~~however~~  
~~structured~~ new provinces are the way of doing that.  
Effective delivery and redressal of complaints/needs  
by citizens can be achieved by smaller devolved  
units. However, keeping in mind the fiscal and structural  
limitations strength of existing may fit/act as  
a stop-gap arrangement.

## Question No. 5

Every state designs its Foreign policy on its National Interest rejecting emotions and feelings. Why did Pakistan prefer emotions, feelings and Ideology in its policy? also analyze its impact.

### INTRODUCTION

—\*— Pakistan was founded on the basis and ideology of Islam. The two-nation theory proposed by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan laid the groundwork for a separate identity of the Muslims in the sub-continent. Fast forward to the present day, this unique historical and ideological context shaped the country's foreign policy.

Traditionally, countries always keep their national interests, which are not limited to economy, security, freedom, regional influence and much more, ahead of their emotional attachments with countries. However, Pakistan has chosen an unorthodox path of placing its ideological, emotional and historical linkages ahead of its interest.

Today, the country faces both positive and negative impacts because of the above decisions. It has helped garner an image of being at the forefront of Muslim solidarity, its neutrality has sometimes paid off but sometimes this ideologically connected neutrality has not paid off.

At the end, the country needs to place focus and let its interest dictate its foreign policy stance and not emotional/ideological attachments.



## Objective Resolution (1949) and Article 40 of 1973 Constitution's Emphasis on <sup>an</sup> Ideological Foreign Policy

During the formative years of the constitution making process, the then constituent assembly of Pakistan passed the Objective Resolution of 1949 which laid the groundwork for future constitutions of the country. It emphasized an Islamic country identity of the country. Later on, this Objective Resolution was made part of the 1973 constitution.

Moreover, adding to the Islamic identity the framers of Constitution also included the below-mentioned article:-

'The state shall work to  
Article 40 :- preserve and strengthen  
fraternal relations among  
Muslim countries based on  
Islamic Unity...'

The rest of article highlighted the overall direction and modalities in which the foreign policy was to be shaped. It expressed adherence for warm and cordial ties with all states especially Islamic ones.

# EMOTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONNECTIONS IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

## Islamic Ideology and Relations with the Muslim World

As per Article 40, the state works to make sure that the country enjoys warm and brotherly with Muslim countries around the world. Moreover, it tries to play its part in promoting Muslim Unity across the Islamic world. It has tried to settle disputes among Muslim countries i.e (Saudi-Iran Shuttle Diplomacy 2015) and tries to maintain strong diplomatic relations throughout the world.

## Partition and Animosity with India

Pakistan was faced with a ruthless saga during the nascent days of the country. The country is still haunted by the images of the those who could not survive the trek to Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan still feels that it was robbed of Muslim majority areas that were given to India. The Kashmir conflict is a birth of the partition <sup>has</sup> since Pakistan's stance with and relations with India.

## STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIPS WITH CHINA AGAINST

### INDIA

The country has formed an impressive partnership with China that is not only based defence, economic and ~~strategic~~ strategic grounds but also on the common adversarial grounds. Both China and Pakistan, have fought wars with India and consider the country to be threat for them. This partnership was influenced by the country's ideology against India: <sub>(Pakistan)</sub>

## AFGHAN JIHAD AND PAKISTAN'S

### ROLE:

Pakistan actively supported the Afghan Jihad and committed vital resources to the fighters fighting against the Soviet Union. The shared Islamic beliefs, identity and cause <sup>made</sup> helped the country formulate a policy based on an Islamic identity. Moreover, through this shared identity and ideology, the country through them managed to achieve its goals.

## NUCLEAR DETERRENCE - PURSUED

### BECAUSE OF INDIA

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The country's nuclear capability was achieved due to the threats and risks posed by India. In the past the country had no intention in pursuing the policy and the resultant policy which came after the 1998 tests <sup>which lead to 5 explosions</sup> are the direct result of Indian aggression and Pakistan's unconditional determination to maintain both strategic and national interests and dignity.

## ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACTS OF AN EMOTIONALLY INFLUENCED FOREIGN POLICY FOR PAKISTAN

### a) Positive Impacts for the Country:

By adopting a foreign policy that closely align with promoting unity and solidarity within the Muslim world Pakistan has portrayed itself as the 'Harbinger of Peace and Unity'. It emphasis on Islamic unity led to the country forming strong diplomatic, economic, cultural ties with different countries in the Islamic world.

This emphasis has helped shape Pakistan's identity on the global stage as an Islamic country and has strengthened its moral position due to its continuous advocacy for Islamic causes throughout the Muslim world.

## b) Negative Impacts for the Country

By focusing on emotion and ideology, Pakistan has forced itself into a corner. This overwhelming focus has led to strained relations with all its neighbours.

Pakistan continues to ~~lead~~<sup>tread</sup> a difficult and almost unstable path when pursuing its foreign policy. Due to its ideological enmity with India it is currently losing on billions of dollars of trade. Moreover, ~~the~~<sup>its</sup> increasing tensions on the Afghan side have made the state realize that emotions and ideology can only go a long way for countries.

This foreign policy has also isolated Pakistan and due to the risk of not upsetting its allies it has often forgone its interests for its allies sake.

The Iran-Pakistan Pipeline has still no progress due to the reservations of some countries. Growth opportunities connected with other countries are at the mercy of other countries ~~to~~<sup>to</sup> reservations. Pakistan's <sup>betterment of its</sup> economic situation is connected with leveraging every possible opportunity. It cannot continue optimize those opportunities due to a foreign policy that is not pragmatic.

## ANALYSIS OF THIS SITUATION

Pakistan's foreign policy is influenced by emotional

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and ideological factors. Many countries have Foreign Policy that contain hints of emotions like South Korea's foreign policy with North Korea, or the same country's with Japan.

Having an emotional and ideologically relevant foreign policy is good. As it provides a balance between pragmatism and ideology. However, completely allowing emotion is not fruitful. Pakistan can use its emotional and ideological base to achieve its national interests. It would enable the country to have a policy that allows it to navigate both international and regional complex geo-political scenarios.

In today's modern and fast-paced, pragmatic foreign policy requires both emotion and objectivity to be in sync with the times. By leveraging both, Pakistan can achieve a much needed balance in its foreign policy. It can work on securing deals that help its economy and foster its global position.

By playing a part in Muslim unity, the country can achieve a significant. Leveraging that standing is important so that it can further its own national state interests.

## CONCLUSIONS

Pakistan's foreign policy is what analysts call 'Policy-in-transition'. To leverage the maximum benefits of this, Pakistan must use its

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position to further its own interests.

In conclusion, Pragmatism demands from the policy makers to fully utilise the potential of the options available to them. A Foreign policy requires both emotional and pragmatic approaches. However, if that policy fails to achieve its national interests then there is no point in that balanced approach.

Lastly, An Interest-led foreign policy along with the emotion/ideologically backbone can help Pakistan achieve its true potential and this needs to be implemented to .