

PART-II

- Q. No. 2.** John Mearsheimer blames the United States for the ongoing Ukraine Crisis. How do you assess this crisis? Support your argument by drawing empirical evidence from the conflict scenarios. (20)
- Q. No. 3.** What are the various strands of the Indo-Pacific construct of the U.S. and its allies? What are the options for Pakistan to deal with the significance assigned to India in the Indo-pacific region? (20)
- Q. No. 4.** Write a detailed note on evolving domestic political dynamics of Afghanistan in the wake of U.S. withdrawal from the country. Discuss key constraints to Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. (20)
- Q. No. 5.** Pakistan is reckoned among the top 10 most vulnerable countries to climate change. What urgent policy measures Pakistan need to initiate to mitigate the climate effects? (20)
- Q. No. 6.** Pakistan has affirmed its commitment to the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). How modest is Pakistan's progress on SDGs and what are the challenges that Pakistan faces in realizing these goals? (20)
- Q. No. 7.** How has India's scrapping of its constitutional law (articles 370 and 35A) that grants special status to the Indian-administered Kashmir impacted the legal standing of Kashmir dispute? (20)
- Q. No. 8.** How are international financial institutions i.e., FATF, IMF and multilateral organizations used as tool of coercion and what are options for countries like Pakistan to safeguard their interests? (20)

Q2: Introduction

"The War in Ukraine
is entirely our fault"

- J.F.K. JR 2024

~ U.S representative

The war in Ukraine is a divisive topic with differing views based on the theoretical lens applied. John Mearsheimer is an ardent realist who blames U.S. overstepping into Russia's sphere of influence for the war. Other lenses such as liberalism and Constructivist take a different approach to laying blame, believing NATO expansion to be natural.

2) Theoretical Understanding of the Ukraine War

Day: _____
a) Realist Understanding Pinning
Blame on the U.S.A

John Mearsheimer Sees it in a realist lens where the anarchical system leads to the rational unitary goal of power maximization. Here he sees the U.S "steamrolling" NATO expansion post dissolution of the USSR despite U.S promises of "Not one inch eastwards". Given Russian weakness such was possible, but Russian resurgence under Putin has led to a reaction on the encroachment of Russia's sphere of influence.

i) JFK Junior View

The soon to be appointed Health Secretary endorsed these views blaming the U.S for the 2014 revolution in Ukraine for provoking Crimean annexation.

Date: _____ Day: _____

ii) Jeffery Sachs View

A leading IR professor, Jeffery Sachs has also blamed the U.S for over expansion, contributing to a strong reaction to the potential of NATO troops on Russian borders.

B) Liberalism Understanding of "Free World Expansion"

Liberal Viewpoints See Russia's opposition to pluralistic society as the catalyst to the Ukraine war. Liberalism believes enduring peace can be achieved through the democratization and trade interdependent nature of nations.

i) Francis Fukuyama

In light of the "End of History and the last man" democratic expansion is to be welcomed and embraced.

Thus Russia can be seen as reactionary to safeguard its oligarchic political system from collapse.

c) Constructivist Emphasis on Norm and Values

Constructivists would argue NATO expansion was driven by the sovereign nation's through their own accord. This was a result of historical grievances with the USSR and norms that were attracted to democracy and "European ideals". Thus Russia's intransigence is a product of a clash of norms. Moreover, Constructivists would point to historical tendencies.

i) Putin February 2022

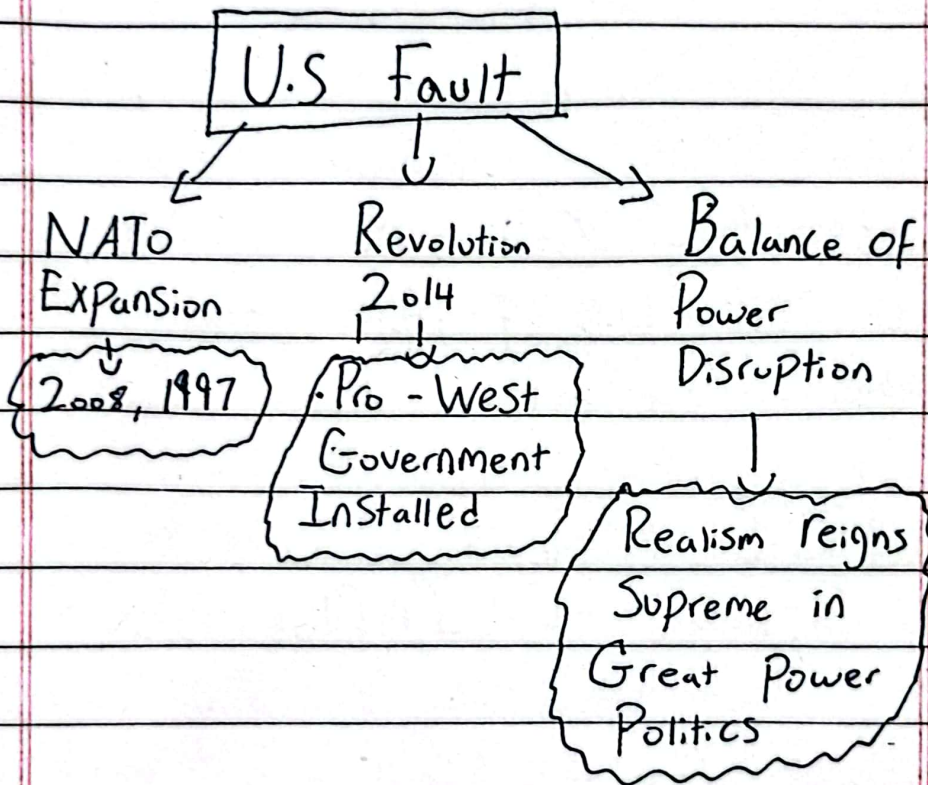
Article

Constructivist would point

to Putin's historical fascination with 'historical Russian land' showing how revisionism and values plus experience led to the conflict.

3) Critical Analysis :

The U.S is to Blame



a) NATO Expansionism

"Not an inch" was not respected; but in a

Date: _____ Day: _____
World "Where the Strong do
What they Must" (Thucydides)
Such is expected. However the
U.S misjudged a new
reinvigorated Russia under Putin.

b) Formenting Revolution in
2014 and Installing Pro-
EU Government

J.F.K JR categorically
blames the U.S for installing
a new government in 2014
and forcing a Russian reaction
as they could not afford
a pro-U.S puppet on
their borders.

c) U.S Neglecting Russia's
Sphere of Influence.

This provoked reaction in
2008 Georgia and was
thus bound to occur again
as a restored Russia now
had the strength to resist

U.S advances.

4) Conclusion

Thus the assertion of Mearsheimer can be seen as correct given the realist nature of international politics. While the U.S could exert itself post "Unipolar Moment" a rising Russia eventually reacted after many warning signs. Thus U.S encroachment on Russian sphere and installing pro-west government in Ukraine is to blame.

Date: _____ Day: _____

Q8) Introduction

Economic extortion can be considered a low cost method of extracting geopolitical rewards. Thus under the newly globalized system where economic might is valued, U.S. Bretton Wood and other financial institutions have pushed nations to accept what they otherwise would not. The IMF, WB and now FATF have employed such strategies to Western benefit in the developing world.

2) How IFI are used as tools of coercion

a) Aid For Geopolitical Benefit Extraction

The IMF and WB

have long been the "Carrot" to make States fall in line, in complete opposition to their stated objectives.

In Pakistan "all was forgiven" for joining the War on Terror in 2001 with generous loans and debt restructuring in 2004.

b) Double Standards as Clear Evidence of Coercive Nature

Pakistan has long been accustomed to the FATF black list which functions as the "Stick" to make nations fall in line. Despite the British Virgin Islands, Panama, and Dubai serving as secretive havens for illicit funds they have never been on the blacklist. This goes against the FATF's very goals.

Date: _____ Day: _____
c) The Influence of Powerful States and Not the Developing in Actions Undertaken

It is Common Knowledge that India used its influence with Western Powers to keep Pakistan on the blacklist in 2019. The FATF thus became a means of "Economic Warfare" according to Mushahid Hussain.

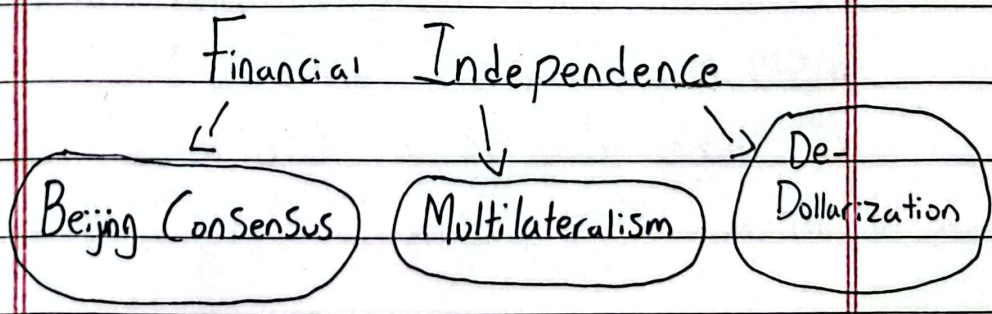
d) The Creation of Dependency and "Economic Hitmen"

According to Gunder Frank and Wallerstein the present economic system is underpinned on ensuring dependency and thus compliance to industrial nations. Many have argued that repeated IMF bailouts are by Design intended to keep nations beholden to the interest of industrial nations.

In the "Confessions of an Economic Hitman" Perkins highlights how the WB aimed to create dependency to serve the economic and geopolitical interests of the West.

e.g., There has never been a Non European head of IMF or Non-US head of the WB.

3) How Do Developing Nations Resist this Coercion



a) The Beijing Consensus to end the Washington Consensus

Date: _____ Day: _____

New Models of economic development have been Uncovered as a result of China's rise.

Here the integration of government, and business alongside local governance can Spur industry and innovation. This can lead to independence from financial dole outs.

b) The Need For Multilateral Institutions and Co-operation.

New organizations Such as the AIIB and the BRICS development bank offer ways to escape the Western dominated institutions. The new Multilateral institutions involve greater say of the developing world limiting Coercion.

c) Reducing Dependency on the U.S Dollar

This can be done

through working with bilateral trade agreements that circumvent the SWIFT System

e.g., BRICS is developing their own international banking facilitator ; Russia - Iran trade

This will reduce the ability of FATF to Coerce States through Dollar limitations.

D) Pakistan Should aim for Geoeconomics to Achieve Financial Independence

Moeed Yusuf, former NSA has outlined Pakistan's economic future, which lays in geoeconomics. Pakistan can exploit her geopolitical location to act as the gateway to Central Asia and India. This would ensure "That Pakistan's Stability is in everyone's interest" according to Moeed Yusuf.

E) Regionalization Through Strengthened Regional Institutions to Address Shared Challenges Locally

Through regionalization Nations like Pakistan can expand trade locally and create common solutions to common problems. Maleeha Lodhi sees SAARC as integral to produce long-term sustainable development. This can wean Pakistan off International Finance Institutions.

4) Conclusion

International institutions Coerce by the "Carrot and Stick" approach to enforce obedience. They also create dependency that locks Nations into the Coercive System. Solutions are greater financial independence through Multilateralism, and regionalization to end

dependency on financial institutions
and their Western backers.

Q7) Introduction

"The Indian position on
occupied Kashmir is in
violation of UN Directives"

~ Muneer Akram

Pakistan representative to
UN

The Indian revocation of
Article 370 and 35(A) in
2019 is a domestic change
that has no legal basis as
per clear UNSC resolutions
on the inalienable nature of the
disputed territories. Its actions
go against international law which
demands a degree of functional
autonomy to territory that is
not legally under Indian sovereignty

2) Indian Action Being in Conflict With IL

a) The Revocation of Article 370 and Kashmir Autonomy Violation

Article 370 ended the autonomous status of Kashmir leading to bifurcation of a disputed territory into Kashmir plus ~~to~~ Jammu and Ladakh. This is in direct contradiction as international law requires disputes on territory to preserve its territorial integrity until settled.

b) The Unacceptability of Demographic Change Under Scrapping of Article 35(A)

International law and UNSC resolution 47 demand the demographic inviolability

of the disputed territory.

The Scrapping of Article 35(A) has revamped the domicile law allowing 15 years of residence or Government Servants to attain Domicile and Vote. This is Unacceptable given the ongoing Pendency of the Plebiscite that India is obligated to accept.

c) The Lieutenant Governor Rule of Kashmir Assuming Unpermitted Sovereignty.

The occupied territories have come under Governor rule with total Indian State Control. This is in stark contrast to UN principles that demand functional autonomy bordering on Symbolic Sovereignty for disputed territory

D) The Lack of Representative Democracy from 2019 - 2024
Senior Kashmiri leaders were jailed without charge reflecting a gross violation of human rights. Mehbooba Mufti and CM ^{Omar} Sheikh Abdullah were under house arrest for years to stifle Kashmiri aspirations. Amnesty International highlighted "the Police State" with over 600,000 deployed troops.

E) Fraudulent Elections of 2024
Conducted with Demographic Changes.

While the 2024 elections saw the rise of CM ^{Omar} Sheikh Abdullah, demographic changes saw a lower majority for Kashmiri Muslims. Moreover, Ladakh was also treated as a separate state to divide it from the "dispute". Despite this a Muslim

Won one of the only Seats in Laddakh Calling for State rights that India has refused to grant. Collectively this leads to India's Non-Compliance with its fiduciary duty under international law to respect the wishes of the Occupied people.

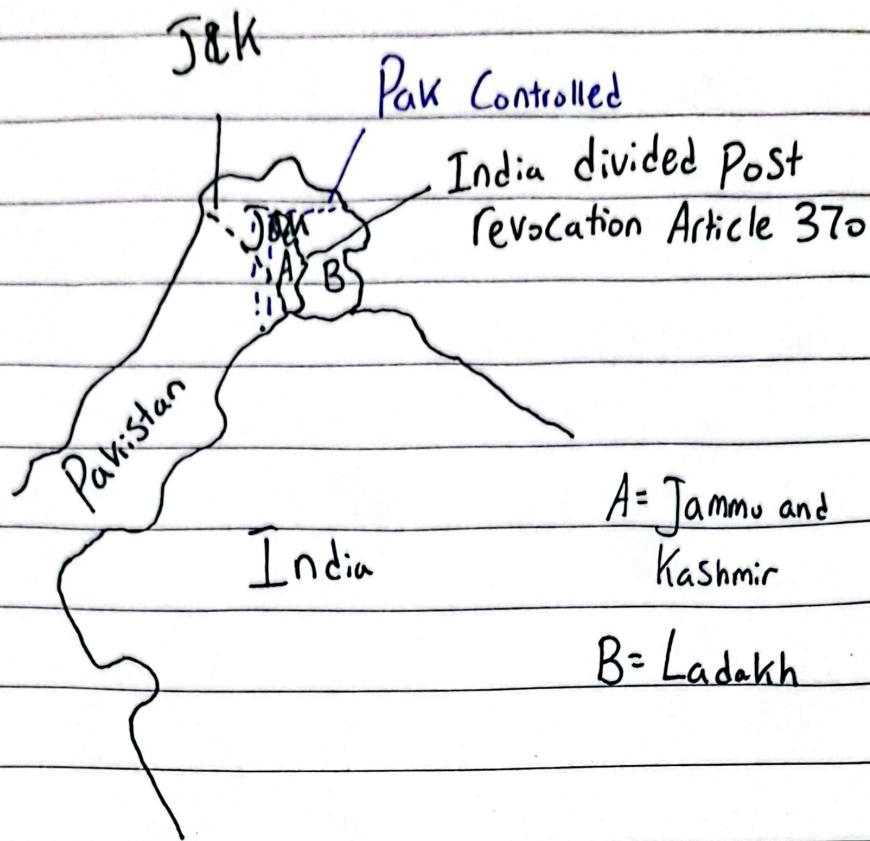
f) India's Refusal to Reverse Revocation Despite Kashmiri Demands is a Violation of Human Rights

In the newly elected J&K assembly the Muslim Majority has demanded an end to Governor rule and restoration of autonomy. The Government most notably Jaishankar called revocation a "Done deal" post elections in 2024. This sham democracy highlights the non-representative and dictatorial control which is

a Violation of international Human Right laws and in direct Contravention of UNSC binding resolutions Calling for the right of the Kashmiri people

G) Unilateral Changes in Direction is Not Permissible in International Disputes

India has accepted resolution 47 in 1948. This means it has recognized the disputed Status and thus right of the other party, Pakistan in this matter. Unilateral Changes post agreement is Not permissible. UNSC guidelines in the UN Charter stipulate that Parties are Not allowed to Change the Status quo post UN resolution. Failure invites the right of the UN to intervene to ensure.



3) Conclusion

Thus Unilateral revocation by India is a direct violation of the Status quo by demographically and territorially changing the disputed region. This invites UN action under the UN Charter. Furthermore, autocratic rule, direct State Control, and arrest without reason are grave violations of international humanitarian law and of representative democracy.

Q5) Introduction

"The era of global Warming has now ended, the era of global boiling begins" ~ Antonio Guterres
UN SG

Pakistan faces an existential threat due to Climate Change being the 5th most vulnerable nation to climate change. With over 13,000 glaciers Pakistan houses the "3rd pole" which feeds the Indus River Basin. This agricultural lifeline is at risk with Pakistan witnessing greater frequent and unpredictable weather. Pakistan must adopt a climate centric foreign policy with multi-lateral co-operation to access greater financial assistance alongside building financial independence.

2) Policy Measure to Mitigate Climate effects

a) Climate Centric Foreign Policy

Pakistan Needs to Create a foreign policy framework prioritizing Climate. This involves promotion of Pakistani Needs in the international arena by being the foremost Nation in Sounding the alarm. This will Make other Nations More aware of the Catastrophic impacts of Climate Stress on Pakistan.

b) The Creation of Climate Alliances.

In COP 29 Pakistan accepted Nepal's Suggestion to form a Mountainous Nation pressure group to highlight the plight of glacier housing Nations more forcefully. These alliances

Can be expanded to include regional Neighbours and others e.g., China, Switzerland.

c) Engage More Multilaterally to Push Solutions.

Pakistan must engage with Neighbours of the region to Create Common Solutions to Challenges.

Maleeha Lodhi has Suggested a greater Climate based Co-operation amongst SAARC Nations. China, India, Pakistan, Nepal, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh all rely on himilayan glaciers. Creating a joint body would amplify regional Solutions that transcend geopolitics by Changing Norms around Climate Co-operation for the better.

d) Institute Local Reforms and Enforcement to Convince International Financers.

New Mechanism Created by COP 29 rely on private funds to reach the \$300 billion per annum target. Given Competition for resource and private Sector's Profit Motive Pakistan will need to Show Commitment. This will require regulatory over haul and enforcement of the 2023 National Action Plan on Climate.

E) Attract Green finance Through Bilateral Engagement

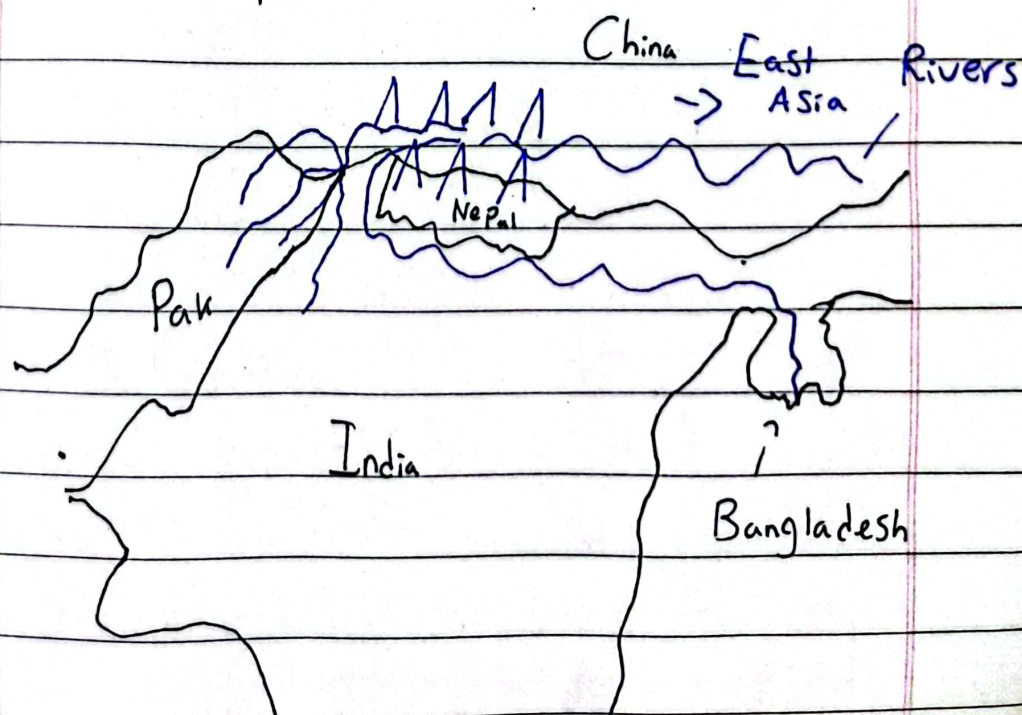
Bilateral opportunities for Climate finance should be availed.

The U.S. Green investment initiative announced by Ambassador Donald Bloome should be explored through increased Co-operation with the U.S.A. Additionally China's leadership position in Sustainable technology allows Pakistan to work with Chinese firms for green financing and development.

f) The Creation of an Active Indus River Commission

Recently India has submitted another request to revisit the Indus Water Treaty in 2024. Pakistan should attempt to improve coordination and co-operation with India with respect to water distribution through an Indus River Commission.

The East Asian Nation of Laos, Vietnam have a similar Mekong River Commission with China which secures the rights of lower riparian states



F) Improved Local Laws and Regulation

Despite the Climate act of 2017, little enforcement of laws is occurring despite Article 9 of the Constitution protecting life. Pakistan needs to show commitment to local regulations to have any hope of convincing the world or attracting investments.

G) Engaging in Climate Resilience Technology Sharing

Pakistan can work with nations such as China to improve water storage and seed efficiency to deal with coming heat stress. China is the world's leader in water storage, having constructed the largest 3 Gorges Dam. Co-operation in this field can also be advanced through SAARC

H) Invest in Water Efficient Agriculture Watering Techniques

Only 0.1% of total arable land in Pakistan utilizes High Efficiency Irrigation Systems (HEIS) compared to 23% in India. Given fluctuating water levels and erratic weather Pakistan must work with farmers to improve use of sprinklers and drip irrigation. Pakistan can work with neighbouring nations such as Bangladesh to inform policy making through successful implementation models.

3) Conclusion

Pakistan is facing an existential crisis that requires swift action to improve resilience. Here working to improve local investment climates to attract bilateral and multilateral investment.

Day: _____

Date: _____

Should be done. Moreover
Pakistan should engage and create
Multilateral groups and alliances to
tackle the shared challenges
that climate change entails.