



Past-Paper-2024

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Q. no - 1

Democratization process in Pakistan is still weak and ambiguous. Do you consider dynastic politics and feudalism are major hindrances on the way of establishing true democratic system in Pakistan? Explain.

Democratization is the structural government transition from an authoritative government to a more democratic political regime. It is a form of government in which people vote their elected representatives in parliament. Democracy is said to be the best form of governance among several systems tried over the course of history. But democratic system in Pakistan is not only weak but also elusive. Dynastic politics and feudalism hampers democracy in Pakistan. Political landscape is inundated with feudal mentality. Most of

the representatives of people sitting in parliament are either ancestral landlords or have ancestors in politics.

1) Democratization Process:

Democratization process ensure government in which state power is vested in people or general population of a state.

According to United Nations;

"Democracy provides an environment that respects human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in which freely expressed will of people is exercised."

2) Weak and ambiguous democratization process in Pakistan

Democratic system in which Pakistan is based, is actually of the ~~pl~~ elite, for the elite and by the elite. Weak role of election commission of Pakistan and absence of true democratic spirit in people has weakened



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the roots of democracy in Pakistan According to democratic Index in Pakistan in 2024, Pakistan is declared in an authoritative regime. After Imran ouster by

vote of no confidence, the political situation in Pakistan has almost lost its identity.

It is not about good or bad role of Imran Khan that matters. It is about political system of Pakistan in which no PM has completed its tenure.

Since its inception, Pakistan has changed its large number of elected Prime ministers. It is the country which got constitution after 9 years of its establishment.

And that constitution also got abrogated to pursue vested interests of politicians. Martial laws have worsened the dismal

democratic system of Pakistan. Martial chiefs in their rules only listened to their hearts not people.



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3) Feudalism Pakistan has ^{been} plagued by feudalism, which has remained deeply entrenched in it. Feudal lords want society to run in line with their own wishes.

4) Dynastic Politics: Dynastic politicians are unable to understand the problems of the poor because they had not spent this type of life.

5) Feudalism as impediment in way of democracy

Pakistan cannot move forward without strengthening democracy, and the biggest cause of weak democracy in Pakistan is the prevalence of feudalism. The Kashmir district is a good example to show how the socio-political fabric has been destroyed by the nexus of feudal lords and their handlers. Even in 2024 elections, feudalism continued its reign. A total of 112 out of



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26608 42.1. of returned members are described as agriculturalists. There are no tax and levies for federal agriculture sector of Pakistan. These facts depict political system in favor of feudal lords. Of the three members who are placed in the group of "Gadoli nashin" (heiss of saints), they mostly belong to feudal class, historically, their religious position is accompanied by sizable land ownerships. This increased the feudal representation, spread over all parties. The most numerous of these elected landlords belong to province of Punjab, followed by Sindh and a small number belong to irrigated areas of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Landowners turn their economic power into political authority, coercing their tenants to vote for them.

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Curse of feudalism ^{that} has lingered since independence, is often seen as biggest blight on Pakistan's development. In old days, the Zamindars (landowners), empowered by British rule, lorded over great tracts of land. Whereas independent India rid itself of much of that feudal class, Pakistan's feeble attempts at land reform were ruled un-Islamic by its Supreme Court in 1970. From 1970 to present day, feudal landlords held 42% of seats in national parliament.

6) Dynastic Politics as obstacle in way of democracy

of the two families that have ruled Pakistan since the last 50 years, which have seen two interludes by military strongmen, the Bhuttos have

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been around since 1971 (51 years) while the Sharif family has held sway since 1981 (41 years). Nawaz Sharif was elected and groomed by military dictator General Zia to counter Bhutto family. Over the years, their political "maturity" has led them to shed their traditional animosity and join hands to decimate the third force rearing its head to challenge their dominance. Hereditary politics is common in South Asia. Sri Lanka and India are classic examples. Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahinda Rajapaksa have ruled for decades through their generations, and relatives. In case of Pakistan, question arises about Imran Khan place to add another dimension to this trioka?

Ways to tackle feudalism and dynastic politics in democratization system of Pakistan

People awareness and a big revolution can abolish feudalism from its roots in Pakistan.

Purpose of French revolution in 1789 by Charles Monnet was to eliminate feudalism. And for eradication of hereditary politics, there should be transparent system of voting.

Conclusion:

Feudalism and dynastic politics are killing hopes of people from middle class who want to make their identity in politics but have no political background. In addition, feudal lords and their families are exploiting poor men because of their power. In 2014, 10 year old

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Tabasum arms cut by landlord's son after a dispute over an 'electricity bill'. Both judiciary and people now should stand against such cruel systems and speak for their rights.

Q.no-2

How should Pakistan manage the equitable distribution of resources among different ethnic groups regions to address historical grievances and promote developments across country?

Pakistan is an ethnically and linguistically diverse country. Major ethnic groups in Pakistan are Punjabis, Pashtuns, Sarikis, Sindhis, Muhajirs, Muhajirs, Balochs, Hindkowans, Brahuis, Meo and Kohistanis. Equitable distribution of resources among these groups is a constitutional obligation of national finance commission. NFC is supposed to

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distribute finances equitably so that underdeveloped areas and less privileged people are given preference and country prospers uniformly.

Different ethnic groups in

Pakistan: They have difference in culture and language. Punjabis from Punjab, Pashtuns from KPK, Sindhis from Sindh, Saraikis of central Pakistan,

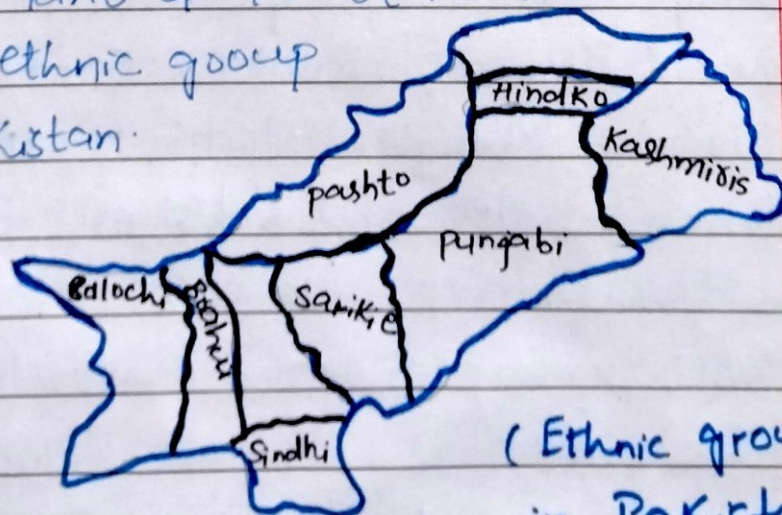
Muhajirs from India, Balochs from Balochistan, Hindkowans from Hazara

Brahuis found in Balochistan, Mayos originated from Mewat and

Kohistanis accounted around 1 million of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, are

different ethnic groups spread over land of Pakistan. Kashmiris are

also ethnic group of Pakistan.



(Ethnic groups in Pakistan)

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UnEquitable distribution of resources in diverse ethnic groups:

Different resources which are supposed to distribute equally in different ethnic groups include; are distributed unequally;

1) UnEqual allocation of Budget
2) UnEqual allocation of Natural resources

3) UnParity in distribution of seats in parliament

4) UnEqual subsidies distribution

Sindh which is rich in natural and human resources, has progressively become poor and destitute because of constant outflow of capital, transfer of finances and resources to other provinces. Civil society groups, nationalists and other stakeholders of Sindh should plead a strong case before federal government by designing specific goals in order to

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Remedies

2024 Budget.

get due and equitable share in all resources. Their efforts have shown in Resources of Balochistan and Sindh are transferred to two other rich provinces since inception of Pakistan, in addition to disparities in resources - allocation.

The sum ~~are~~ assigned to provincial governments under Article 3 shall be distributed among provinces in following way;

- a) Balochistan 9.09%
- b) Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 14.62%
- c) Sindh 24.55%
- d) Punjab 51.74%

Total 100%

Conditions has bit improved for Sindh according to above data. Budget allocation for ethnic groups is;

Chitgit	Baltistan	140 Billion
Sindh		3.056 trillion
Balochistan		955 billion

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Punjab 5,446 billion
Azad Jammu and Kashmir 264 billion
seats in national assembly
are decided on basis of
population and in senate in
parity basis

	<u>General seats</u>
Punjab	141
Sindh	61
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	45
Balochistan	16
Federal capital	3
	Total = 266

How unequal distribution
of resources causes grievance in
Balochistan:

Sui gas discovered in Balochistan
in 1952 in Chagai district. But
sadly, Balochistan remains
most deprived province when
it comes to supply of natural
gas. Feudal lords deprived

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poor farmers of their land because of authority in parliament. Most valuable minerals including copper, lithium and gold, are concentrated in some of Pakistan's poorest regions, ex-Fata and Balochistan. Yet, instead of designing policies for local development in these areas, these resources are processed by foreigners and they get major share. Reko Dik, reserves of copper and Gold discovered in 1978, share of Balochistan in Reko dik is only 5%. 45% belong to government of Pakistan and 50% belong to Chinese Explorers. This is proof of disparity not only at country level, but also for self resources. For long time, there remained one university and one hospital in Balochistan.

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All these disparities are causing grievance in people. Balochi people have demanded partition from Pakistan by getting India's favor. Balochistan land is creating militants which are harming CPEC project in Gwader. Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)'s Mahal Baloch did a suicide attack on August 26, 2024, on security forces dealing with ethnic protests. Baluch separatists have claimed for attacks on Gwader on March 20. Insurgency in Balochistan by militants and separatists is actually against the government of Pakistan for unequal distribution of resources and now giving Gwader to China for trade. They are doing all this to please the government.

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Ways for equitable distribution of resources in diverse ethnic groups.

i. Equal distribution of Budget for development projects:

There should be equality in construction of dams, motorways and trade routes in all provinces. Article 160 of constitution is for equal distribution of financial resources among four federating units.

ii. Equal distribution of budget for Education and Health

Equal allocation of teachers and doctors should be ensured in four provinces. Article 25A ensures free and compulsory education to children of all ethnic groups from age five to sixteen.

iii) Parity in giving subsidies

There should be system of giving equal opportunities for subsidies in food and industry to all ethnic groups of Pakistan. These may be of 12.2 billion for Mera Ghar housing scheme

iv) Equal representation in parliament and in services:

There should be uniform distribution of quota for all ethnic groups in senate, national assembly, bureaucracy and other services so that everyone can reap fruits of their struggle.

v) Equal imposition of taxes

Tax evasion of certain elite class ethnic groups such as feudal lords of

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feudal system should be eliminated and equal taxes on all ethnic groups sectors.

vi. Uniform distribution of natural resources

coal deserts of Thar, salt mine of Khehra, copper and gold reserves of Balochistan, gas facility from Balochistan should be ensured in ~~the~~ lives of every ethnic group from elite tribal class to poor class, for enjoying gifts of own land. 18th amendment ^{ensures this} _{in all provinces}

~~Prosperity~~ Parity and Prosperity Development

There is close link between parity and development of country. According to Quaid e Azam, unity is mandatory for prosperity and development of our country. This unity is only possible when there will be no discrimination

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among ethnic groups. Pakistan is not on the way, it should have been, because of disparities among its people. To put Pakistan on this path, there should be uniform distribution of resources among its people. It is necessary to promote Balochistan at same level as other provinces, so that separatists do not demand separation and Pakistan will not be deprived of its CPEC project which is rooted in the quader of Balochistan. There should be justice with Sindhis to take benefits from ^{further} dams on its river Sindhu. Hindkuns of Hazara and Kashmiris of Kashmir also demand and deserve equal opportunities for playing their roles in

regional mentality. Most of

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country development through
tourism and education.

Conclusion:

Government of Pakistan should do justice during distributing resources and allocating budget for all provinces of Pakistan. It is the only way to eliminate grievance and embarking country on pathway to development.

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Q.no-3

Political stability remains an elusive concept in Pakistan. Explore the factors contributing to fractured nature of Pakistan's polity and discuss potential reforms to constitutional and political structure that could foster stability.

Political instability has become a serious problem especially for developing and underdeveloped countries in world over. The instability of government, inefficiency of political parties, and a weak political culture predicate a political instable state. It has more serious repercussions for a society which is multi ethnic, having people of diverse cultural attributes. Political stability is vitally important for attainment of nation building,

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such as political development and national integration, which has direct influence on formation of political parties. Pakistan is among those few countries where political instability had badly damaged the prospects of growth despite the fact that country is rich in natural resources. It has been a impediment to development in every sphere of life. However, when this menace takes a nation in its claws, economic development suffers the most. A retrospective look at Pakistan's history reveals that since independence, the country, could not establish a stable democratic government, and it still remains afflicted with ills of feudalism, political wrangling and bad blood among political activists.

Political stability:

Political stability is a situation characterized by preservation of an intact and smoothly functioning government or political system, avoiding significant disruptions or changes over an extended duration.

Factors causing political instability:-

a- Military intervention in politics:

~~1. Military intervention in politics is a common phenomenon in many developing countries. It is a major cause of political instability and hinders the process of democratization. In Pakistan, military has intervened in politics several times, leading to the suspension of the constitution and the imposition of martial law. This has resulted in a lack of political stability and has hindered the development of a democratic system.~~

Military interventions in political affairs have hindered the process of democratization within countries like Pakistan. Military will continue to influence political affairs indirectly if the elected civilian government threatens

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its interest. The army has been involved in enforcing martial law against the federal government with claim of restoring law and order in country by dismissing legislative branch and parliament on multiple occasions while maintaining political interest in country

a) First Martial Law: 1958

by Iskander Mirza

b) Second Martial Law: 1969

by General Yahya Khan

c) Third Martial Law: 1977

by General Zia ul Haq

d) Fourth Martial Law: 1999

by General Pervez Musharraf

2) Removing ^{elected} prime minister

through no-confidence motion:

The 2022-2023 Pakistan political unrest was a series of political crises after ousting of former Prime Minister Imran

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Khan through a no confidence motion in April 2022. This is happened first time in history that a PM is removed by vote of no confidence. After partition, Pakistan has changed its large number of PM. It is history that no PM in Pakistan has completed its tenure

3. NO Supremacy of Parliament:

Pakistan has a history of judicial activism that undermines the supremacy of parliament.

During 1950s, Justice Munir reinstated the decision of governor general to dissolve constituent assembly, invoking the doctrine of necessity.

Since then, the supreme court has legitimized undemocratic intervention.

4. Lack of political party

ideology:

Ideology plays a crucial part

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in political loyalties. In Pakistan, instead of ideology, people evolve around individuals. Therefore, people owe their allegiance to person rather than party. This behavior creates a system of patronage. The individuals become contingent to party when ~~the party fails to do~~ their needs are satisfied.

When the party fails to do, the politicians change sides. Recently, the politicians have passed a bill to curb this practice. Dozens of politicians have changed sides since the removal of ex-premier Imran Khan.

5. Non-transparent elections:

In Pakistan, there is common situat of delay in elections, timely announcement of results ~~and~~, robust monitoring system ~~and~~, post election review and submitting report to Parliament.

save from political turmoil.

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6) Lack of intraparty elections:

Lack of intraparty elections significantly weakened the political stability. Party positions in developed and developing countries are based on intraparty elections and merit. In Pakistan, party positions pass from parents to children. For example, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari got his position three days after his mother's assassination. Similarly, Maryam Nawaz, daughter of former PM Nawaz Sharif is chief minister of Punjab while their parents are ultimate decision makers. The absence of internal democracy in parties elevates leaders to positions, where they are not answerable to people. Thus, lack of party democracy hinders path to true democracy in Pakistan.

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Reforms to constitutional and political structures for political stability

a) Reforms to constitutional structures

In 2010, 18th constitutional amendment was adopted. Among other things, it strengthened the parliament, the position of Prime minister, the powers of provinces, central government and independence of judiciary. ~~the right to information and right to education~~ Pakistan has need further constitutional reforms to restrict opposition party so that no elected politician remove by vote of no confidence. Reforms should be introduced for ensuring intra party elections and realizing supremacy of supreme court. Political parties in this way, will be bound to obey constitution and

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Reforms in Political structure:

Political reforms are often needed to improve decision-making processes, ensure fair representation of social groups, increase transparency and accountability of government functions. It will ultimately lead to political stability. There should be reforms to deal with feudal lords and dynastic politics, to keep alive the dreams of success of people in politics who have no political background. There should be equal representation of diverse ethnic groups to protect politics from their grievances in form of protests which lead to political unrest.

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Conclusion:-

Elusive political stability is Pakistan's real roadblock to growth. Dr. Ishrat Hussain has rightly grasped the political system of Pakistan in his book "Governing the ungovernable: institutional reforms for democratic governance in Pakistan." In this book, he declared political turmoil as the cause of economic crisis and underdevelopment in Pakistan. However, a few policy suggestions, like mutual understanding among politicians, acceptance of democratic norms, and legitimacy of political opponents, could help enhance political stability.

Q.no-4

Since independence, most critical concern for internal security is national integration. Discuss role of constitutional provisions enabling provincial autonomy and devolution of power to strengthen national integration in Pakistan?

In post-colonial divided societies like Pakistan, national integration has been an ongoing process. The country is diverse with different ethnicities and cultures. However, delay in creating a constitution, limited development of political system, and first constituent assembly dissolved in 1954.

This setback was harmful to unity of Pakistan, which require a strong political system and united federation.

Desire for autonomy by provinces remained unfulfilled and this created dissatisfaction among them. Pakistan has faced

various challenges related to ethnicity which sometimes collide with national interests. To protect unity and security of Pakistan, it is necessary to have well integrated plan. With a complex mix of different ethnic and linguistic groups, there is a risk of regional divisions. It requires creating a unified national community while ~~not~~ embracing existing diversity. A pluralistic approach is essential to bring society together.

How national integration is concern for internal security

1) Ethnic Riots: Rise of regional identities of a unified Pakistan is another challenge. There are movements like Pushtunistan in former frontier province, Sindh Desh in Sindh and various sub-nationalist groups

in Balochistan. These elements received support from India, Afghanistan and other international agencies with goal of keeping Pakistan in constant state of instability. While the issues of Pushtunistan and Sindh Desh have been handled pragmatically by successive governments in Pakistan, there are still occasional incidents of attacks on innocent civilians and government installations in Balochistan. The government has made some commendable political initiatives, but more efforts are needed to bring reconciliation process to a meaningful conclusion.

b) Sub-national riots:

Since the beginning of Pakistan, there have been unresolved issues related to language and provincial status. This has led to emergence of

sub-nationalism within country
Over time, groups representing
perceived oppressed nationalities
and neglected provinces have
formed various sub-nationalist
movements. Negligence, self
centered, ~~provincial~~ and non
uniform distribution of resources
are its reasons.

Constitutional provisions for strengthening national integration:

→ Constitutional 18th amendment

solidifies national integration

It strengthens provincial autonomy,
democracy, political, economy,
and national institutions. These
are integral elements required
for prospering, united country.

a) 18th amendment gives provincial autonomy:

Before the amendment, most
of matters were run and
regulated by centre. The
provincial rulers had little
say in affairs of their provinces.

The 18th amendment gave power and authority to provinces in their legal administrative and executive functions. The seven ministries were devolved to provinces from centre. In past, the centre formulated the policies and executed them in whole country disregarding the grievances of provinces.

b) 18th amendment provides devolution of power:-

Through 18th amendment, Article 58 2(b) was struck down which enabled the president to topple the elected government whenever PM acted freely or against his interests. This discretionary power of president never allowed the elected governments to act freely nor did it let democracy flourish in country. After amendment, no elected government toppled by president nor has establishment overthrown

Government.

18th Amendment Act, 2010 about provincial autonomy and devolution:

a) Provincial autonomy clauses:

"With abolition of concurrent legislative list, long-standing demand of people of Pakistan for provincial autonomy has come to fruition, and provinces have at same time been provided legitimate constitutional rights in governance, and in managing and utilisation of their natural resources".

Article 172 new clause (3) has been added in constitution;

"Subject to existing commitments and obligations, mineral oil and natural gas within province or territorial waters ^{share}, equally in that province and federal government

b) Devolution of power clauses:

The power of president of Pakistan to dissolve parliament unilaterally, turning Pakistan from a semi-presidential to parliamentary.

Conclusion:-

challenge of national integration in Pakistan is as old as history of this country. Formed on ideological ground with religion of Islam as its prime source of identity, Pakistan began to face various issues of ethnicity and language in its formative phase. This has created internal security concerns. Then 18th amendment is passed to alleviate the provincial grievance by giving them autonomy and ensuring equal distribution of resources. In addition, president discretionary power devolved to overthrow government for ensuring political stability and integration.