

Question No. 5 :

1 Introduction :

18th amendment is a remarkable step in political history of Pakistan. The step was made to strengthen the Federation and state. However, it is a controversial subject and critics gave opinion for resultant loose federation and issue of financial autonomy most prominently. However, it is important to consider that it needs thoughtful solutions and a careful reconsideration.

2- A Brief History of Federalism in Pakistan :

Federalism is a type of state where constitution distributes power between Federal government and provinces. At inception of Pakistan, using Indian Act of 1935 declared Pakistan as a federation.

1956 Constitution → Centralized Federation

Constitution of 1962 → Considerably Weak Federation

Constitution of 1973 → Centralized Federation but limited Provincial Autonomy.

3- 18th Amendment and Federalism in Pakistan :

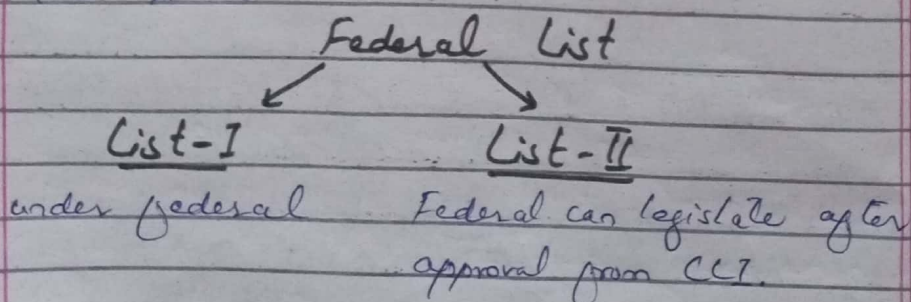
18th Amendment was passed on 19th April, 2010 in era of democratic government. It was considered a political success. Total 25 amendments have been made in Constitution of 1973, however, 18th amendment is the most comprehensive among all of them. Under this amendment, 102 articles were amended. Following amendments were made which have strongly impacted the federalism in Pakistan:

i- Abolishment of Concurrent List:

In the past, three list had divided the subjects to Federal and provinces and some common subjects. Abolishment of concurrent list transferred the subjects to provinces except water resources.

ii- Improved The Role of CCI: (Article 153)

The Federal List was subdivided into two lists.



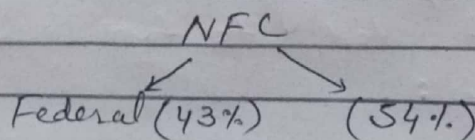
CCI (Council of Common Interest) was established to resolve disputes between Federal and provinces. CCI has provincial representation and to give role to CCI means to move from highly centralized to decentralized federalism.

iii. Change in Names of Provinces :

NWFP (North West Frontier province) was identified as province in 1901. Initially, it was part of Punjab, due to controversy of Pashtons, name was changed to KPK (Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa). It was a step to reflect cultural identity. Similarly, spelling of "Sind" were changed to "Sindh".

iv. Changes in NFC award share :

In Pakistan, majority of taxes are collected by Federal government. It keep one share to itself and remaining is distributed among provinces. This distribution is through a formula under forum "NFC" (National Finance Commission). Last NFC awards were signed in 30th December, 2009 and it is still effective. In 18th amendment, it was decided that provincial share under NFC award should not be less than previous NFC award.



v. Changes in Power of Governor:

Previously, President had the power to appoint governor of the provinces. Similarly, Governor had the power to dismiss provincial assembly. The power was taken away and gave independence to provinces from representatives of federal government. This was also a step to strong federation.

vi- Role of Senate in Appointment of Judges:

It was also decided that for appointment of judges, Judicial Commission will consist of eight members. Four of them will belong to lower house while other four will be from Senate. As, Senate protects provincial autonomy, this way provinces got role in appointment of judges.

All of these steps were taken to improve the federalism in Pakistan.

4. Challenges to Federalism in light of 18th Amendment:

Analyzing the 18th amendment, federation in Pakistan seems stronger than the previous federation. However, there are certain challenges which need to be addressed properly. Critics argued that 18th amendment led to two issues which are as follows:

a- Loose Federation:

Critics argued that Pakistan has become a loose federation where integrity is challenged and threatened. For instance, provinces got too much power and do not have capacity to take that responsibility. It is likely to create problems of national harmony. For instance:

i- Agriculture: A provincial Subject:

It is a provincial subject. If provinces will make their own policies, it will likely to create food insecurity in Pakistan. What if a province decides to shift from agriculture to industry due to their economical needs. Similarly, what if a province differs from other province in food prices? It is likely to create crisis, inflation and other issues.

ii- Law and Order as provincial Subject:

Second provincial subject is law and order. All provinces will devise their own laws which can lead to conflict. For instance, Punjab Flying Kite Ordinance is applicable on the person sitting on IJP junction while it is not applicable as one enters the industrial sector of I-9 Islamabad.

iii - Issue of Local Government:

Under Article 40 of Constitution, it is mandatory for every province to establish local government. Every local government in each province gives different powers to its voters e.g. Citizens of Lahore can elect District Nazim, however the case is not similar in Sindh, which creates crisis of politics.

ii. Issue of Financial Distribution:

Critics of 18th amendment argued that provincial share of 57.5% to provinces reduces fiscal space for federal government. This leads to compromise on main and significant federal subject. This will in turn compromise the national security, foreign affairs, debt settling etc. According to Ministry of Finance website, out of total budget of 2023 which is 14 trillion, 7 trillion will be spent on debt settling and around 1.9 trillion will be spent on Defense sector. Meanwhile, the needs of Defense are getting broader due to aggressive neighbour India, involved in nuclear arms race. Similarly, CPEC security threats have increased and reduced fiscal space for federal government.

These are the challenges due to which federal government and provinces

are facing issues in federalism.

5. Recommendations :

i. Reviewing the NFC share :

In order to distribute fair economical share, it is important to review NFC share. It is also recommended to make some necessary changes wherever needed to ensure peace and harmony.

ii. Increase overall revenue :

To increase overall revenue is also an important to improve fiscal space in country especially with the centre. This will only be achieved through improving tax system and tax payers.

iii. Role of CCI :

CCI must do its work effectively and should arrange regular meeting to discuss issues among federal and provincial governments.

6. Conclusion :

In nutshell, federalism has been remained weakened after inception of Pakistan. 18th amendment tried to give spirit and life to federalism but is facing challenges as well that needs to be resolved.

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Question No. 2 :

1- Introduction :

After war of independence 1857, the position of Muslims in the sub-continent were miserable. At the point, different personalities, philosophers, religious saints and leaders came forward to improve their situation and to revive the concept of the Muslim through "Nationalism." Allama Iqbal was one of them and his famous Allahabad Address has a remarkable value in political history ^{style for} of Pakistan.

2- Historical Address of Allahabad :

The main leadership of Muslims including the Quaid-e-Azam was in London for first round table conference in 1930. In the absence of main leadership from the sub-continent, Allama Iqbal was asked to preside the annual session of Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930. In his address, Iqbal called for creation of a "Muslim India within India", especially in North-Western India. Iqbal demonstrated the right of self-government for Muslims as he said :

"India is a continent of human beings belonging to different races, speaking different languages and

professing different religions. Personally, I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India."

3. Background of Muslim Nationalism and Allahabad Address:

Muslim nationalism in British India gained momentum as Muslims got to assert their distinct identity within the broader nationalist movement. Mujaddids of Islam also played their part in reviving nationalism. As, Nehru in his book "Discovery of India" said that it was Sheikh Ahmed Sarhndi who gave idea of Muslim Nationalism. It travels from Sheh-Waliullah^{Sir} Syed Ahmed Khan to Allama Iqbal which came to public glance openly at Allahabad address where Iqbal had said that, "Muslims and Hindu have their distinct identity, culture

and religion. While living together for years, they have not been mixed, how come they live together if their culture, identity, religion are totally different."

4. Condemnation of Western Democracy Concepts:

Iqbal was strongly against the western concept of democracy. Despite flourishing all over the world, the system cannot provide solution to the problem of Islamic world. Iqbal was of the view that all social and political problems can be solved with the help of Islamic system which could only be possible in case of an independent state. He said:

"Western Democracy is devoid of depth, it has merely an attractive outlook."

5. Political Ramification:

Jalal A. in his book "The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, The Muslim League and Demand for Pakistan" said that Address of Allahabad had profound impacts on Muslim political consciousness. It provided a theoretical framework basis for demand

of Muslim state and influenced the Lahore Resolution. Later on, in 1940 at Lahore Resolution, creation of Pakistan was explicitly demanded.

6. Popularizing the idea of Pakistan:

Iqbal's address resonated with a significant portion of Muslim population, contributing to the popularization of idea of Pakistan. It inspired leaders like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who further championed the cause and support for creation of a separate Muslim states.

7. Distinct Popularity Among Masses:

Before that, Muslims were not sure of an independent state and tried to gain strength while living in India. However, after the address of Allahabad, Muslims were enthusiastic about getting a separate homeland for themselves where they can live their life according to the principles of Islam.

8. Eradication of Racial and Regional Prejudices:

Iqbal once said that,
"Concept of nation and homeland is confusing the Muslims. That is why

Islamic humane objects are becoming dim. It is also possible that these concepts may destroy the real concepts of Islam."

This concept also led them to rethink who Muslims are and how they should spend their lives which was not possible while living in the sub-continent.

9. Struggle for religious, political and social rights:

Allahabad's address clearly revealed the fact that Muslims could not tolerate their religious, political and social rights should be denied to them. This created a spirit among the Muslims of sub-continent to fight for their cause.

10. Reaction of Hindus and British:

The Hindus and The British criticised a lot on Jhalal's address. The Hindus declared it the dream of a man or a poet, not that of a sensible man. They said that, "it is an illegal solution and could not be practiced on the sub-continent."

They were sure that Muslims could not achieve a separate homeland.

11. Turning Dream into Reality :

Allama Iqbal at Allahabad's address presented a dream of a separate homeland which was turned into a reality. Pakistan came into existence under the political leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Other members and leaders of All-India Muslim League also played their part and turned a dream into reality.

12. Religion : An Important Part of Politics Leads to Creation of Pakistan :

Allahabad address played crucial role in struggle for Pakistan. At that time, Muslims realised that :

فِي الْمَدِينَةِ مَسَاجِدُ مُبْنِيَةٌ حَيْثُ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّقِينَ

They thought that for an Islamic state, and to practice religion freely they have to get an independent state which led them to continuous struggle for Pakistan.

13. Conclusion :

Allahabad address was an eye opener for Muslims in the subcontinent. It was both guidance and motivation for Muslims for getting independence. Indeed, a need for separate states was

highlighted in the address.

Question No. 4

1. Introduction :

Since inception, Pakistan was trapped in quagmires of issues. It has to settle refugees coming from India and to deliver better services within the states. These overburden issues had let the country to neglect population issue. According to World Bank Report of 2021, population growth rate of Pakistan is 1.8% annually. World Bank has also estimated high poverty rate and inflation in 2023. Population bulged have created resource strain, economic stress, health and care challenges etc which are needed to be addressed.

2. A Glance at Population Growth in Pakistan:

Since gaining independence in 1947, Pakistan's population has grown significantly. According to World Bank, in 1950 the population of Pakistan was around 37 million, and by 2020 it had surpassed the 220 million. Recently, digital census of 2023 gave shocking results. The population of Pakistan according to digital

Census is 241.49 million. By the end of this century, it will cross 250 million.

3- Challenges to Population Issues in Pakistan:

Since its birth, Pakistan had to face multiple challenges which cause negligence. As a result, it did not take effective measure properly. Some of the challenges to neglect population issue were follows:

Political instability →

Resource Constraints →

Religious and Cultural Sensitivities

Lack of Education →

Lack of Awareness →

Governance and Implementation Challenges →

Opposition from interest groups →

Insufficient Infrastructure →

Negligence
of
Population
Issue

4. Socio-economic Impacts of Population

Growth :

Rapid population expansion has resulted in numerous socio-economic challenges. Some of them are as follows:

i- Pressure on Resources:

The unchecked population growth has strained essential resources such as water, land and energy. This has led to increased competition for resources, contributing to environmental degradation and scarcity. As per Economic Survey of Pakistan, report 2023, due to energy constraints, Pakistan is importing 80% of hydrocarbons at higher rates.

ii- Economic Impact :

The burgeoning population places a burden on the economy, making it challenging to provide employment for growing workforce. High population growth rate can hinder economic development by outpacing job creation and infrastructure development. According to IMF Economic Outlook, unemployment rate in Pakistan is around 8.5%.

iii- Education and Health Care Challenges:

A rapidly growing population makes it challenging to ensure widespread access to quality education and health services. The demand for these essential services outstrips the available resources. Pakistan is fifth most populous and is ranked 122 out of 190 countries in World Health Organization's report.

iv- Poverty and Inequality :

Due to high population rate, poverty and inequality in Pakistan has increased in last decades. According to World Bank, poverty in Pakistan is expected to reach 37% in 2023. There is a strong link between poverty, inequality and population. High population creates struggle and competition for resources.

v. Urbanization Strain :

As per sources of World Bank, more than 50% population of Pakistan is urbanised and will continue to rise. This increase in population contributes to unplanned urbanisation, leading to formation of informal settlements and slums. Even, within the capital territory of Islamabad, many housing societies are accused of being illegal. Though the number of unregistered societies are increasing day by day.

vi- Impact on Social Services:

The demand of social services such as healthcare, social welfare outpaces the government capacity in Pakistan. This has resulted into lack of access to essential services for a significant portion for significant portion of population. For instance, the issue of clean water in Pakistan especially in Karachi, gained serious attention.

vii- Political and Governance Challenges:

The prosperity index of Pakistan is 136th globally. Managing a rapidly growing population poses governance challenges. Implementing effective policies to address population growth requires coordinated effort and political will. This leads to difficulty in achievement of complex socio-political landscape.

v- The Other Side of Coin: Positive Effects of Population Growth

Despite of negative impacts, the current population bulge has positive side as well. Some of them are given below:

i- High Rate of Young Population:

Though Pakistan is the fifth most populous country, however, the majority of population is young which has potential to contribute economic growth.

ii- Potential of Labour Force:

According to google sources, labour force participation rate of male youth in Pakistan is 73.2% while female have 24.2%. The annual number of youth entering the labour force is currently at 0.8 million equivalent to 40% of total labour force entering annually. This could improve the overall economic and social conditions of country.

6. Recommendations:

Some of the following steps should be taken to highlight the issue of population growth:

i- Prioritize Funding for Family

Planning:

Government should allocate ^{significant} financial resources to implement comprehensive population control programs. Prioritize funding for family planning within overall budgetary

framework.

ii - Engage Religious Leader in Promoting

Importance of Planning :

To over religious and cultural sensitivity, involvement of religious leaders is necessary. They can communicate and guide local people in an effective way.

iii - Education and Awareness :

Through education and awareness programs, this issue could also be improved. Social media campaigns will be highly appreciated in this regard as people prefer to follow leaders.

7 - Conclusion :

In conclusion, the unaddressed population growth in Pakistan has far reaching impacts on various aspects of country's socio-economic climate including resource scarcity etc. Implementing comprehensive population control measure is essential for fostering sustainable development and improvement of wellbeing of population.

