

Q5.

Background:

Like every post-colonial state in the world, Pakistan has also sought relevance on the international stage. This relevance is important for states because it allows them to advance their interests by diplomatic means. It provides it an opportunity for it to create a positive global public opinion in its favour regarding the issues pertaining it. This prompted the newly created Pakistan to act swiftly to develop alliances and form relationships.

In the last decade, Pakistan has faced increasing diplomatic isolation. It has also been unable to steer global opinion in its favour regarding important issues such as Kashmir. This has led to an exploration of the factors which could make Pakistan not only more relevant on the international level but also allow it much needed

diplomatic options resulting in increased room for maneuverability.

Factors on which international relevance depends:

(i) Internal strength:

States always derive their power on the international stage from its internal strength. Internal factors present a clear picture to the world about the real strength of the state and also allow the world to assess its vulnerabilities.

Similarly, Pakistan's strength and effectiveness on the international level depends upon the choices it makes at home.

Pakistan is party to many international agreements and treaties including United Nations declaration of rights and several climate related pacts. These commitments entail that Pakistan ensure implementation of the

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said treaties and goals. In this regard internal factors such as political stability, commitment to democracy at home, good governance and maintaining people's trust is essential to being perceived as a serious contender on the supra national level. A brief explanation of these factors is given below:

a) Choices made to Strengthen democracy:

Pakistan repeatedly conveys to the world on all important forums that it is committed to democracy. Locally, the reality has been rather different. Pakistan has been struggling with democracy and its commitment to democratic norms has been questioned on many levels.

While globally, there are different models of political organization being practised, respect on the international level is given to countries that can make any given system work properly.

If Pakistan really wants to be a democracy, then it

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needs to make proper reforms that implement democratic norms not only in form, but in substance as well. In this regard a few measures that can be taken are given below:

- ① Ensure neutrality ^{and independence} of all institutions participating in the political process.
- ② Ensure consistent and fair application of rules (rule of law)
- ③ Respect popular sovereignty
- ④ Adopt constitutionalism and develop norms that protect the constitution
- ⑤ Ensure that there is consensus on all matters of national importance.

b) Ensure political stability:

Another metric by which states judge other states is the stability of the internal political competition.

Political instability has been a consistent feature of Pakistani democracy. This prevents Pakistan from projecting power effectively on the international stage.

The repeated breakdown of democracy and tolerance signify a severe contestation for power among the various actors in the political process.

This results in polarization of the polity and prevent Pakistan from generating much needed consensus on important matters.

c) Competent Governance:

Even if there is a breakdown of democracy and political instability is rampant, governance can remedy a lot of issues.

Governance has direct implications on how well any system is working. Pakistan needs to adopt principles of good governance to ensure efficient public service delivery leading to alleviation of poverty and dissatisfaction among its people.

Principles of good governance that need to be adopted:

- i) Transparency
- ii) Accountability
- iii) Rule of law
- iv) Fundamental rights
- v) Efficiency and effectiveness
- vi) Decentralization
- vii) Safety and security

d) Addressing trust deficits between people and State:

The health of the social contract depends upon how well the government addresses the grievances of its people. If Pakistan wants international community to give it respect, it must find ways to first gain the trust of its own people. In this regard, the following grievances must be addressed to ensure that people are facing in the same direction as the state.

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- i) Ensure fair and equitable distribution of resources.
- ii) Allow representation to all excluded from the political process.
- iii) Make decisions that are pro-poor not anti-poor
- iv) Activate the council of common interest to uphold the principles of a federation.
- v) Avoid heavy-handed responses because they further alienates the populace.

By ensuring internal strength and stability, Pakistan will be perceived a serious player willing and capable of performing its role in the global development agenda. Without these measures, it will continue facing diplomatic isolation and its international relations will continue to be transactionary.

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Q 6:

Background: When Deng Xiaping was asked about China's economic reform strategy, he described the approach as, "crossing the river by feeling the stones". This statement captures the challenge of organizing a long term economic plan while maintaining flexibility to deal with problems arising in the short term.

Dr Ishrat Hussain in his book "governing the ungovernable" states that from its inception starting from 1960s to 1990s, Pakistan was one of the fastest growing economies in the region with an economy growing roughly at rate of 6% per annum. He further states that after the decision of nationalization of its important industries in the 1990s,

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growth stagnated and debt grew exponentially.

A brief exploration of the various themes in Pakistan's economic policy are given:

a) Period of state expansion and consolidation: (1947-1960)

The new state of Pakistan lacked any administrative machinery and was confronted by a host of early problems. In this regard, the founder of Pakistan and the governor general M. Ali Jinnah favoured centralized implementation as there was no capacity on the provincial or local levels.

This period was mainly about extending and consolidating state control. Services had to be provided and the new state expanded into all areas of business to ensure adequate service delivery.

b) Period of Growth: (1960s - 1990)

Inspired by the success of central planning in the Soviet Union, many developing countries embarked upon top-down policymaking initiatives to ensure economic growth.

In this period, Pakistan's middle class grew, state services were fairly reliable and growth was consistent despite two wars and a politically unstable climate.

(C) period of uncertainty (1990s - present)

After the nationalization of key industries, political interference caused the state owned entities to become vehicles of political patronage. Corruption and inefficiency grew and most subsequent governments have upheld the same practice of dishing out subsidies to prevent an uncompetitive public sector from collapsing. This practice has caused a rapid deterioration of public sector and worsening of levels of national and domestic debts.

d) Perils of a reactionary economic policy:

- (1) Inability to frame a long-term economic policy has led to a reactionary economic policy. This has caused the state to be in crisis-mode and has prevented a vision behind which the economic decisions can be rallied.
- (2) Reliance on donor funding has caused Pakistan to go through boom-bust cycles each worse than the previous one.
- (3) Initiatives of decentralization such as ~~eco~~ privatization and public private partnerships have ~~caused~~ not been implemented in substance. Consensus for these initiatives has been weak because they are part of donor agencies imposed loan conditionalities. Without consensus, implementation has hence been sub-optimal.

4) Pakistan has a large population (260 million) and with the strain on resources increasing every moment, the lack of strategic and clear objectives mean that the state has been unable to take advantage of its potential and instead, burden has increased contributing to deepening economic malaise.

(e) Strategic planning and long-term considerations.

(1) Formation of clear goals which are easily measurable should be prioritized.

(2) Employing the large population to create sustainable economic growth is a must.

(3) Adopting good governance principles and rooting out wicked policy problems such as poverty is absolutely essential.

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(4) Consensus building measures are must to ensure compliance.

(5) Economic growth cannot occur in a politically unstable environment and a worsening security situation further prevents investor confidence from reaching optimum levels.

In a nutshell, Pakistan's inability to create home grown solutions has forced reliance on donor finance and strict conditionalities which prevent it from growing.

Bad governance practices and creating an environment in which economic growth can happen is a must.



Q7:

a) Importance of education in the light of Quaid-e-Azam's Quote:

1) Education as a matter of survival:

Quaid-e-Azam's quote accurately captures the importance of education in ensuring survival of the state. Without advancements in education, learning suffers and people become reliant on solutions that are ill-suited to Pakistan's specific context. This makes people uncompetitive and in time larger portion of the population adopts consumerism and subsistence-based living practices. Quaid's conclusion is hence very accurate that without educational advancement, not only is

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progress difficult but so is survival.

b) Problems of Pakistan's education system:

1) Quantitative issues

Pakistan's education system is facing the following quantitative issues.

(i) Lack of primary and secondary schools: Pakistan's vast

population entails increasing numbers of primary and secondary schools. In the national report on the state of education, there are also problems of regional disparity mentioned such that in areas of Sindh and Baluchistan, there is a severe dearth of number of schools per children on the primary and secondary level.

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(ii) Lack of teachers: Another issue

that has come to the front of is the lack of teachers especially on the primary and secondary levels. This causes schools to work with as few as one teacher to teach all the subjects.

(iii) Lack of enrollment: The number

of out of school children stands at 22.8 million. This means that even if infrastructure is available, regressive norms and worsening economic and security situation has caused limited enrollment of children at the primary levels.

(iv) Gender Disparity in enrollment:

Another alarming trend is the gender disparity between boys and girls in the enrollment statistics.

Female enrollment has dropped to alarming levels. Out of all the 22.8 million out

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of school children, more than 60% are girls which highlight growing levels of socially regressive practices.

(V) Lack of funding: In FY 2024, funding for education stands at a dismal 1.8% of the GDP. Since there is also corruption at multiple levels, the actual spending is considerably less than the stated figures.

(2) Quantitative issues

(i) Quality of education and outdated nature of curriculum:

The current educational system is ill-suited to serve the need of Pakistan's economy. What is being taught in schools have little to no correlation to the local or global requirements from students. This is evident in the statistic that in Pakistan, the number of

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research publications does not correspond to increase in problem solving capacity.

(ii) Quality of teaching:

The teaching methods often emphasize discipline and blind adherence to rules instead of fostering critical thinking.

(iii) Language gap:

Another issue is that Pakistani students spend a long portion of their academic career focusing on learning English. While students from urban areas excel, students from rural areas suffer because of weak foundational understanding of English. This perpetuates colonial era inequalities.

c) Solutions:

1) Addressing both the quantitative and qualitative issues should be prioritized. Increase in schools, teachers and funding should be complemented with improvement ⁱⁿ quality of the provisions.

(2) Home grown solutions should be prioritized as opposed to importing best practices from other parts of the world which in turn are ill suited to the specific environment that exists in Pakistan.

(3) Capacity building of the provinces should be looked at as education is a devolved subject.

(4) Consensus-oriented and evidence-based policy-making should be adopted to prevent subjective opinions from dominating.

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(5)

The feasibility of adopting artificial intelligence as a cornerstone of educational policy should be assessed as multiple experiments have demonstrated the effectiveness and low cost of A-I in this regard. Pakistan should take advantage of the AI revolution that is happening right now to prevent becoming a consumer of only.

In a nutshell, Quaid-e-Azam's warning should be heeded and education should be made a top priority with bi-partisan support.

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Q 8:

(a) Drift in Pakistan's foreign policy:

- (i) When the world was primarily forming relationships on the basis of national interest, Pakistan put emphasis on its Islamic values of brotherhood and promoted a brand of foreign policy that prioritized emotional dispositions of its people as opposed to pragmatism and rationality.
- (ii) Then the norms changed and the global community emphasized the importance of forming relationships based on economic interests. Pakistan still regarded its values as superior and but had started to embrace national interest as the core value and guiding principle of foreign policy.

(ii) Today great power security competition is back and the world is embracing protectionist measures to shield its economy from worsening global security landscape. It is in these times that Pakistan wants to embrace geoeconomics.

This brief overview has shown that Pakistan's foreign policy has been characterized by drift and has failed to meet and adapt to constantly shifting dynamics.

b) Need for clarity and coherence :

(1) Clarity determines

legitimacy : Pakistan needs to adopt a consistent and clear foreign policy so that

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Other states can predict our response. Clarity also entails confidence and generates legitimacy.

"Clarity in message and action would garner legitimacy"

(2) Clarity ensures effective communication:

Pakistan's inability to frame the Kashmir issue in the light of Indian aggression has allowed the issue to become first a bilateral and now an internal issue of India in the eyes of international community.

This means that lack of clear and effective communication has caused ambiguity as far as important issues are concerned.

(3) Coherence determines seriousness :

Pakistan's claim of "wanting to advance regional connectivity" is in stark contrast against its negligible trade with all its immediate neighbours but China.

In order to ensure the effectiveness of our foreign policy it is important to match it with domestic reality so that the words carry greater meaning.

Guidelines to ^{meet} ~~ease~~ future challenges

1) Cautious over opportunism:

Instead of taking reactionary measures, Pakistan needs to exercise caution.

The global geo-political security situation is fragile and mistakes can have massive

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repercussions especially when the the internal state of affairs is equally delicate.

2) Quality relationships

over quantity of relationships:

Pakistan can still take advantage of its existing relationships by fulfilling its promises and ~~not~~ avoiding placing of undue expectations over its allies.

3) Rationality and Pragmatism as core principles:

Instead of humanizing state-state relationships, Pakistan should adopt rationality and pragmatism as its core principles. This would allow Pakistan to maintain flexibility while also preventing foreign policy from deteriorating to ad-hocism.

