

Q.2 The HTS Islamist
 in Syria

Ans

Introduction :-

On the eve of 07-december morning, the so called rebel Islamist collaboration, headed by Muhammad Al-Shara, Overthrew the dictatorship of the Hafez-ul-Assad family (father of Bashar-ul-Assad) who took over the power in 1971, leading the 'Bath-party-Dynasty' through a militant coup. Contemporarily, the de facto government of Syria lead by 'Hayat-Tahrir-ul-Sham' brings various implication domestically as well regionally and internationally. There are several reason behind the toppling of the President Bashar-ul-Assad, 24 years long, regime. Encompassing atrocities of Assad's regime as well as external

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foreign factors.

Reason Behind toppling of
Basharal-Assad's Regime in
a matter of a week.

There
are several reasons behind the
weakening of the Ex-Syrian
government. Which include local
as well as foreign factors.

We will first examine the
local factors behind toppling
of Assad's regime.

Domestic Reason Behind
Overthrowing of Assad's Dictatorship

Civil Disobedience Since
2011, 'The Arab Spring'

It was the 2011's ~~era~~
eruption of civil ~~is~~ disobedience
in the Arab countries. In a

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wake of a civilian put himself on fire due to atrocities of local administration. Syria, too, was not exempted from the civil disobedience. Different groups appeared from the people disobedience to overthrow the Assad's regime. Though they were not succeeded but made the ground for persistent militant organization. The Assad's regime was stabilized by Iran and Russia support. So, due to the brutal killing of innocent people, Assad's regime lost popular support. And finally vanished at the hand of rebel groups.

② Multiple Ethnicity Group and Religious groups:-

Syria, is historically home to different ethnic groups, including Arabs (90%.

Kurds (8-10%) and Turkmen (1-2%) and Assyrians (1-2%). Similarly, these people have been following different religions such as Sunni-Muslims (74%), Alawites (12%), Shia (3-4%) and Christian (5-6%). Due to ethnic and religious division they could never form an inclusive government to represent a whole community. These different nations have been in conflict with each other, for gaining power. So, due to ethnic and religious division people were divided and make different fronts against Assad's regime.

The 53 years long atrocities of Assad's regime :-

Bashara Al-Assad family belongs to Alawites religious sect. They are minority in

in Syria, Bashar al-Assad father took over the government of Syria through a coup in 1971 and established a de-facto government. They never stepped back to use coercion against Sunni-Muslim majority nation of Syria. According to a report, after falling of Assad's regime they found under ground prisons, man-grievous and different punishment means. Report also added that during 34-year of Assad's government they killed more than a million people through torture in Syrian jails — **BBC (Jan-2025)**. Due to these horrible killing and punishing people gave the reason to struggle against dictatorship government. And the Assad's regime never enjoyed a popular support in the country.

External factors involved in Assad's Regime toppling:-

Following are the reasons behind toppling

① Weakening of Hezbollah militant group due to Israel invasion in Southern Lebanon

② Weakening of Iran Support after multiple skirmishes with Israel directly.

③ Lack of Russian pre-occupation in Ukraine war

④ Support to HTS - by Ukraine and United States

⑤ Turkey Supporting rebel group.

① Weakening of Hezbollah:-

Since

2011, civil uprising Hezbollah militant group of Lebanon

(Iran proxy) was the main

military support for Assad's regime. They carried ground as well as aerial (through firing missiles & drones) carried out operation against different rebel groups. Due to Israel declaration of genocidal war in Gaza and West Bank, Hezbollah supported the Hamas. Because of which Israel carried out devastating air strikes against Hezbollah in Lebanon (Southern Ge. While at the same time killed Hassan Nasrullah, a leader of Hezbollah since 1990s which greatly weakened the Hezbollah military power. According to, Washington time, report of Oct-2024, Israeli airstrikes almost 40% destroyed the Hezbollah military sites. And made Hezbollah unable to support Assad's regime.

② Losing Iran Support :-

Iran, too, suffered from Israel military operation directly as well as in the shape of proxies such as Houthis, Hamas and Hezbollah. For the first time Iran and Israel carried out direct missile attacks against each other in the second half of 2024. Due to pre-occupation of Iran in the Middle-East, Syrian Ex-regime could not get the Iranian support, as they, historically, enjoyed.

③ Russian Pre-occupation in Ukraine :-

Russia was one of the main foreign ally of Assad's regime, which kept them in power. After, Feb-22, 2022, direct invasion of Ukraine

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and followed by the colonial western economic sanctions, weakened the Lucia both militarily and economically. They could not bear another meddling in other country affairs. And that, too, for military support. So, Kadhafi regime lost a dependable partner in the shape of Russia.

④ Ukraine and United state

Support of Da Rebel group :-

After Russian invasion of Ukraine, Ukraine and western allies are trained and supported the rebel groups in Syria. According to Al-Jazeera News, report rebel in different part of Syria received direct military training from Ukrainian Army and United state support, too. Such a measure strengthened and more

equipped the Islamist rebel in Syria and succeeded in their 13-year long fight against Assad regime.

① Turkey Role in Syria:

Turkey, historically, has been directly involved in Syrian internal affairs. Due to the presence of Kurd's militant, fighting against Turkey, in the western part of Syria. Turkey to abolish these forces supported the rebel groups in Syria, which toppled down the Assad regime at the end.

Implications of the Unprecedented change in Syria

Following are the implications

Domestically :-

① Probability of forming another Dictatorship Government:-

After through throwing ^{Read's} authoritative government, there are even still chances of formation of another dictatorship. Though, it has been denied by the Hayat-Tehri ul Shura govern interm government and especially the group leader Mohammad Al-Shura, on the occasion of meeting numerous foreign delegates from around the world. In the interview to

-BBC news channel, the de-facto leader denied the chances of forming the dictatorship or the government like Afghan Taliban since August - 2021. He further added that there will be election in the country, probably, in

next 40-50 years. But still one of the implications can be that they may establish a radical Islamist government.

② Further escalating Human Right Violation:-

Still, it is too early to decide that the current interim government will remain liberal and take care of human basic rights. Remember, the group is pure Islamist group and ~~is~~ historically believed a radical Islamic ideology. If they follow their old ideology, it will further weaken the human right practices.

③ Give Birth to New civil War:-

Syria, has been a sanctuary

different militant groups such as Al-Qaeda, Islamic State (ISIS), Syrian Democratic Front (SDF) etc. Even, Hayyat Tahrir al-Sham, took over the government with the support of different small groups. In the presence of these groups, eruption of new civil war can never be denied.

Internationally :-

Israel's Ambitions :-

After falling of Assad's regime, Israeli airforce carried out record airstrike, more than 450, in a single day on the Syrian soil. (Al-jazeera) And further advance their occupation in Golan height, annexing recent Harman, too. So, ~~main~~ Israel making excuse of security

threats can invade the much weakened Syrian state.

② A New Ground For Proxies

Wars :-

Iran, Russia, and Chinese coupled with North-Korean block can use the Syrian soil to ~~it~~ weaken the United State and broadly western influence in the region. Turkey, too, is a direct influencer over HRS-regime and want to make a government to have their support. Similarly, Arab giants such as Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Egypt will also want to have influence over the new regime. Such ambition, have already exemplified by the visit of delegation of Turkey, US, Germany, France, and Russia.

Conclusion

After For being in power for almost 34 years, Assad's regime even didnot lost a week. And swiftly escaped the post of government. It was the result of many year of atrocities of Assad, regime and lost of support from Iran, Russia and Hezbollah militant group. Assad Regime by itself even didnot fired a single bullet and handover the government. Such a Unprecedented change will increase the chances of another authoritarian regime as well as weaken the country internally. It can also entangle the historical coalition idea, by different proxal support of international powers. However, the HTS should focus on forming inclusive democratic government and the foreign forces should help to stabilize the war weared Syria.

Q3

State owned
- - - - - privatized ?

Ans

Introduction :-

The relationship of state owned enterprises (SOEs) and the budgetary economy of Pakistan has never been pleasant one. Every year Pakistan suffers a losses in hundred of billion due to state owned enterprises, which include, Pakistan Steel Mills, Pakistan International Airline, Pakistan state oils, water and power Development Authority etc. Due SOEs liabilities, the country faces continuous fiscal deficit in governmental budget. These enterprises should be privatize in order to ease the burden on the budgetary economy, get benefit from private sector and boost the performance of these respective

Sectors and many more benefits.

The privatization process should involve four phases encompassing preparatory phase, reconstructing phase, Transition phase and post-transition phase monitoring. Through proper planning and analysis these state owned enterprises can be converted from liabilities into opportunities for the country's economic growth.

History and Current Situation of the State Owned Enterprises:-

① From 1960s - 1990s:-

During the military rule of 1960s, the then president and government gave emphasis on the market control economy. which followed the civilian government of "Pakistan's people party" which, as usual, reversed the

measure taken by the military government and nationalized the economy of the country and dismantled the private sector of the country. The country again went through the privatization process during PPP's government from 1988-90, and similarly follow the Sift in Pakistan Muslim League (N) government during 1990s. However, till date due to various factors such as lack of political will, judicial activism and weak civilian government could not privatize the enterprises on larger scale.

Burden of State Owned Enterprises on the Budgetary Economy:

The One of the reason behind the stagnant growth of Pakistan economy and budget deficit

are the losses perpetrated by the state owned enterprises.

According to current finance minister - Anoop Kumar - The country's economy faced more than ₹900 billion losses in 2023 and approximately ₹450 billion in 2024. Topped by the energy sector losses. So, every year the budgetary economy faces such a losses due to state owned enterprises.

Why these should be privatized
OR

Benefit of Privatization of State owned Enterprises

① Ease the Burden on Fiscal Budget:-

As previously mentioned the last two year losses of SOE. After privatization

the government will face the brunt of such a huge loss. And would be able to direct the money to more social welfare development projects.

② Will Bring the Money in Investments

For instance, if any of the foreign investor agreed to buying the Jharkhand state owned enterprises will bring the investment in the country.

Which according to **Economic**

Survey 2023-24, is less than 1% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). And will help in the growth of over-all economic growth of the country.

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③ Enhance the Efficiency and Productivity :-

After privatization, the private sector will work hard to increase the efficiency and productivity of these enterprises.

As private sector believes in efficiency and productivity.

According to book - Pakistan in

Search of Stability - after privatization of the banking sector of Pakistan contribute R.S 2-4 billion annually in the national economy of Pakistan. So, privatization will enhance the efficiency and production of these enterprises.

④ will Boost Competition :-

Privatization of the state owned enterprises will boost the competition between the different sector of the country.

How State Owned Enterprises can be Carried Out:-

following are the phases
to carried out privatization
process.

① Preparation phase:-

① Establish a privatization authority:-

Set up a dedicated
authority, such as the ~~privatization~~
privatization Commission of Pakistan.
It will oversee the privatization
process. This authority should be
well skilled (technocrats) and
independent.

② Conduct a Feasibility Study:-

Assess
the viability of privatizing each
SOE, considering factors like
market demand, financial performance
and regulatory framework.

3- Develop a Privatization

Strategy:-

Create a comprehensive plan outlining the objectives, and timeline for privatization.

② Phase-II - Restructuring Phase:-

① Reform and Restructure SOEs:-

Implement original and operational reforms to make state owned enterprises more attractive to private sector.

② b- Address Governance Issues:-

Strengthen the corporate governance and improve financial management and enhance transparency.

c- Reduce Debt and Liabilities:-

Work to reduce the burden and liabilities of SOEs to make them more financially stable.

Transition phase - III

(a) Select a Transition Method:

Choose a sustainable transition method, such as a public offering, private sale, or concession agreement.

b- Conduct Due diligence :-

Perform thorough due diligence to assess the SOE, financial, operational and legal status.

c- Set a Price :-

Determine a fair and competitive price for state owned enterprises

Phase = IV: Post Transition Phase

This phase will include monitoring and evaluation, address regulatory issues and reinvest proceeds.

- The private sector usually runs according on the basis of competitions. According to 'The Economist' Chinese's government only owned 30% of the state enterprises. And the efficiency and competition of Chinese firms is not so secretive any more.

⑤ Corruption and Mismanagement:

Corruption and mismanagement are of the chronic diseases of Pakistan's institutions. By privatisation it will reduce corruption and mismanagement of the enterprises.

According to - 'Transparency International' Corruption perception index - Pakistan ranks 140th in the world.

So, by privatizing the state owned enterprises it will help to curb the corruption and mismanagement.

Conclusion:-

State owned enterprises have been one of the daunting challenge for the stakeholders of Pakistan. Because, it has hindered the growth of economy in the country at front. After privatization of state owned enterprises can boost the efficiency and productivity of those enterprises. Similarly, will ease the financial burden of the state. Coupled with reducing corruption and mismanagement.

The four phase privatization process encompassing preparation phase, restructuring phase, transition and post-transition phase should be follow. As it has been carried by by countries like china, Singapore and other East Asian countries.

Q4 Russia - china growing - - - - -
- - - - - Discuss.

Ans Introduction :-

China is rising with unbelievable speed to be the world's largest economic and military ~~power~~ ^{power} giant. With Russia being playing the role of a younger brother. ~~They are~~ Their economic, strategic and geopolitical collaboration is a ~~the~~ growing threat against the incumbent world order designed by United States after second world war. They are challenging the U.S led order by increasing collaboration to a record level and boosting military partnership in the region. Similarly, by forming the strong collaboration in the global south, through multipolar organisations.

① Russia - China Economic Collaboration to challenge the US led Neo-liberal world Order :-

② Through Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) :-

China's massive infrastructure development project, which aims to connect china with other parts of Asia, Europe and Africa. Russia has expressed strong support for BRI and has signed several agreements to cooperate with china on project. Through Belt and Road Initiative the economic collaboration has increased by multiple fold.

b- Energy Cooperation :-

Russia and china have been increasing their energy cooperation, especially Russian

Invasion of Ukraine. According to 'Reuters' - approximately, 60% of the energy of Russia is imported by China. Further added, "Russia's Gazprom has signed 30-year gas supply deal with China."

c- Currency Swap Agreement:-

In the recent 'BRIC+' Summit in 2024 Oct, Kazan city of Russia. According to 'The Economist' both China and Russia agreed to transform the trade from using US dollars to local currencies. which would be a big blow to US led order, if implemented successfully.

d- Creation of a New International Monetary Order

Both Russia and China

have agreed to develop a new inclusive Monetary international order to avoid the unilateral Sanctions of western order. The New York time - Through the platform of BRICS, Putin emphasized on the formation of global South led international monetary order. And china was a keen supporter of it.

② Russia - China is growing Strategic Collaboration to challenge US led World Order

a- Joint Military Exercise :-

China ^{Naval} emerging ^{Naval force} and even has crossed the Naval force of United state according to some experts. And the Russia largest military force. Such a mighty collaboration will severely threat the US

led order. According to Reuters - China - Russia joint military exercises including the ~~Vosto~~ 'Vostok' in 2018, was the largest - joint military exercise in the modern history. Such a massive military amalgamation will certainly increase the might of United State in the globe.

b- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) :-

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation of the Security oriented organization mainly lead by China and Russia being considered as the opposing force against US lead NATO military cooperation. The Wall Street Journal - declared SCO is one of the biggest threat to United State and Western established

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military supremacy across the globe.

c- Through Belt and Road Initiative :-

Originally, announced by Chinese president Xi-jinping in 2013, BRI has engulfed Asia, Europe and Africa. Russia being a strong supporter of the form. In one of the report of **Cable News Network (CNN)** - China has developed approximately 94 ports in different countries across the world. US too, is considering BRI as one of the strategic threat to their hegemony in the world.

d- Diplomatic Support

Russia and China have been cooperating providing diplomatic support to each other

on various international issues, including Russian invasion of Ukraine, Syrian issue, Gaza conflict and North Korean Nuclear issue.

③ China and Russia growing geo-politic cooperation is challenging US led World Order:-

① Joint Support For Multipolar World:-

Russia and China have been advocating for multipolar world order, and challenging the incumbent United State world Order. Putin - "It cannot be further tolerated, that the US led world order would impose unilateral economic sanctions. In order to leverage their world ambitions. Through platforms like Shanghai

Cooperation Organization and BRICS both china want to establish inclusive global south multipolar world order.

b- Cooperation in EuroAsian Economic Zone:-

Through the platform established by Russia, of EuroAsian Economic zone both china are advancing their geopolitical ambitions to have influence in the region and make a collaboration a stronger one.

c- Through Establishment of Regional Organizations

Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS established. Both china and Russia aims to boost the collaboration in the region

and increase interdependence of a countries. To make a strong front in the face of United States led world order.

d- Through North-Korea - China - Russia - and Iran Nexus :-

All four countries including North-Korea, China, Russia and Iran are staunch of the United state hegemony in the world. All of the above mentioned countries has recently increased their economic, military and diplomatic support - Reuter.

Alliance of such a strong nuclear countries will definitely harm the United state led world order.

Conclusion:-

unabridged To conclude, United State has never been fair while in treating the China and Russia and broadly global South, using their own established world order.

After the robust economic rise of China coupled with military capabilities, and Russia acting as a junior partner. The US led world order has faced the colossal challenge of tackling economic, strategic and geopolitical collaboration of both both China and Russia.

Q6

Islamabad

Recommendations.

Introduction :-

Since, the Aug-15, 2021, take over of Kabul, by Taliban of Afghanistan. The Terrorist attacks on the Pakistan soil has been increased in multiple fold. As it was estimated by the Pakistan authorities that Taliban take-over would ease the tension on the western border. But it expressed completely different. Due to Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (Al-Khwarizm) presence in both Afghanistan, has increased the terrorist attack on Pakistan side. And has further escalated the fragile relationship between Islamabad and Kabul. However, taking into account the local as well regional perspective the relationship between Islamabad

and Kabul can be improved.

Reasons of Tension Between Kabul and Islamabad

(2) Presence of Tehreek-i-Talibani - Pakistan on Afghan Soil:-

After the Taliban take over of the Kabul, the TTP (Al-Khwarizj) has enjoyed the safe sanctories in Afghanistan. Both of them are ideological partners, and helped each other during the time of crisis. As Haqani group of Sirajuddin Haqqani, has closed relations with Hafeez Gul-Bahador group particularly and other faction of TTP. Due to the tribal tradition of hospitality (Mehmannawazi) these groups have given a safe heavens in Afghanistan. As it was confirmed by the interim government

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minister of defence of Afghanistan saying that they are their quest in Afghanistan. The presence of TTP is also confirmed by United Nation' (UN) - According to their recent report 5000-6000 of TTP militant are present in Afghanistan. And are being strengthened and equipped after Taliban Take over.

b- Pakistan demands from Afghan - Government :-

Pakistan authorities have persistently demanded the dismantling of TTP heavens on Afghan soil. In order to reduce their attack on Pakistan military forces and civilians. In the recent press conference of deputy prime minister Ishag Dar - demanded from the Kabul - de-factor government to remove the TTP

militant from the area near to Pakistan border. Due to Pakistan continuous request and lack of cooperation from Kabul have harmed the Pakistan-Afghan relations.

2- Increase in the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan Terrorist attacks in Pakistan:

During the last 2-3 years terrorist attacks on Pakistan soil have increased manifold. And particularly by the TIP militant groups. Their attacks have become more sophisticated and destructive. According to 'The Centre for Research and Security Studies' - Dec-2024, report 279% increase in the terrorist attacks since 2022. Report further added that, total of 444 terrorist attacks were carried, with Cap. Kpk and Balochistan accounting for most of them.

which took the lives of 685 security forces and total 1612 lives in 2024 only. So, such a horrible situation of the security has escalated the concern with Kabul of Pakistan government.

d- Pakistan Carrying out Air-Strike in Afghanistan:-

Pakistan military carry out air-strikes in Afghanistan has further deteriorated the bilateral ties. According to Pakistan's defense minister - they accepted the allegation of carrying out air-strike without Kabul permission on Afghan soil. These attacks were carried out twice in April and December 2024. The Afghanistan government severely condemned the Pakistani operation and warned of military use in case of further attacks.

c- Deployment of Afghan Taliban military force on Pakistan Border and carrying out attacks.

After december-2024, military air-strikes of Pakistan air force. In response the Taliban government supported as well launched militant attack on Pakistan security force. Which according to Pakistan state media took the life of sixteen people including military personals and civilian. Such an unprecedented attack on the border by Taliban government, further deteriorated the bilateral relations.

Recommendation For Bilateral Cooperation

OR

Possible Recommendations For Easing the Tensions.

(a) Cultural Collaboration :-

Afghanistan being a ~~Pak~~ Pashtoon majority country and Pakistan having the largest Pashtoon community in the region. Provides immense potential for cultural collaboration across the border. For instance, following the footprint of Central Asian countries, they can enhance cultural collaboration which will make the relation strong as ever.

b- Economic Collaboration and Trade :-

Despite of the neighboring countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan economic and trade interdependence is limited. Afghanistan being landlocked country and Pakistan facing export problems can increase economic collaboration. Following the model of European nation through ~~EU~~ EU

how these countries have gone from arch rivals to one of the closest allies in the world. So, increasing economic interdependence the border skirmishes will be almost inattainable to carry out.

② c- Taliban Government following the international law:-

According to international law, no country should let their country to be used for attacks on the other country.

Afghan regime should not allow any militant group to use their soil against any state. will further erase the cloud of wars.

② d- Joint measures against the growing threat of terrorism:-

Indeed Pakistan has been hit the worst by

by Terrorism, but Afghanistan, too, is facing the growing threat of terrorism elements in the country.

For instance, the presence of Islamic State (IS-KP), which carries out terrorist attacks in Afghanistan. In December according to Afghan authorities militant attacks in Kabul killed the important minister of Kabul government. So, joint measures will help both countries to counter terrorism as well as develop a good relations.

5- Pakistan taking help of Russia and China to pressurize the Kabul - government

Pakistan being a close ally of both China and Russia should take their leverage to force Afghan government to take necessary measures against TTP on Afghan soil. China since

Taliban take over is increasing investing and supporting Taliban regime. Russia, too, has settled the unofficial ties with Taliban. So, taking advantage of Chinese and Russian engagement with Kabul can help Pakistan.

Conclusion

There is no doubt in it, that in the modern world involving in conflicts helps no one. Pakistan and Afghanistan should understand this reality and should sort out the plan for future peaceful collaborations. Both side are not benefiting from lingering relationship and involvement in border clashes and supporting militant against each other. Establishing cultural, economical and strategic partnership will help both side to achieve ~~stabil~~ peace and economic stability.