

Question 1

Evaluate the role of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in the Socio-political awakening of Indian Muslims. How did his reforms influence the later demand for a separate homeland?

(A) Introduction:

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is considered as a key reformer for reforming the muslim society in the subcontinent during colonialism in the 19th century. During **War of Independence 1857**, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was posted in Benjor in a british indian government institute as a clerk. He saw muslims socially and politically backward, who are burning in the flame of fire due to unjust, oppressive atrocities of britishers. "Muslims were in a deep state of misery, they were politically, socially and educationally downtrodden" - Ayesha Jalal (The Struggle for Pakistan)

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan awakened Muslims, uplift them educationally, morally and

made them capable of competing
britishness and hindus in the
socially and political aspects of
life. Later, Sir Syed's reforms influenced
the demand for Pakistan due to
their idea of two nations theory.
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's "Trinity
of Ideas", Educational
reform movement "Aligarh"
and "Literary Revolution"
awakened muslims and thus
muslims became able to get
their rights in an ethical way
rather than a rebellious mutiny.

(2) Historical background

British east India company's
purpose was to pursue trade in
India. But britishers initiated
"Colonialism" and started settling
in the subcontinent. Gradually
britishers started taking interest
in the politics and meddling
in the affairs of mughals
emperors. After several wars of
Mughal emperors, Nawabs with
the britishers, uprising of Marhattas
and Sikhs deteriorated the
muslim leadership in India.

Third Battle of Panipat (1756)

Sikhs were defeated at the
hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali,

Later Battle of Plancy (1757),
Battle of Buxar (1764)
Britishers defeated Nawab of
Bangal. War of independence
(1857) was a final blow to
the Britishers and Mughal
emperors. Britishers completely
confiscated the India and
ruled for almost 100 Years.

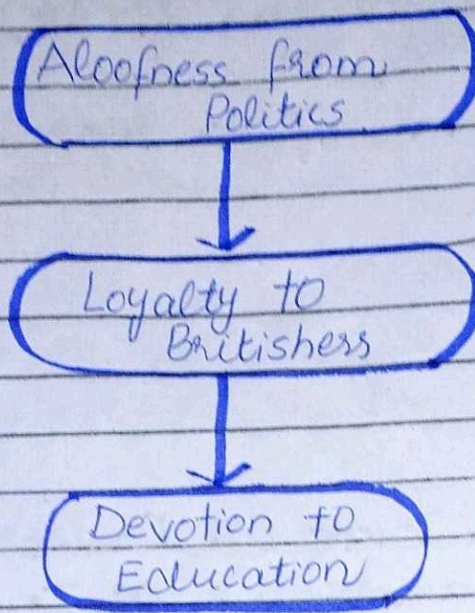
"After War of Independence
the landscape of India
was entirely changed.
Muslims were in the
crippled condition;
Hindus started gaining
loyalty of Britishers".

S.M. Iram Rabbani
(History of Muslim Civilization
in the British India)

(C) Sir Syed Khan's Trinity
of Ideas; a driving
force for Muslims
awakening.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan envisioned
the crippling and downtrodden
situation of Muslims. He
presented the trinity of
Ideas for Muslims betterment
and urged them to follow

these ideas



(a) Devotion to Education:
Aligarh Movement initiation
for Muslims Socio-Political
awakening:

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan urged muslims to pursue Modern and western education which was important in that time for the social and political uplifting of muslims.

1864



Gharipus Scientific Society

1875



MAO Highschool Aligarh

1877



MAO college Aligarh

The purpose of these societies and institutions were to translate english modern school of thoughts into urdu and persian.

"It was very accurate envision of Sir Syed; to uplift muslims from the backward situation; otherwise muslims were remain the slaves of britishers and later on of Hindus".

~ (Jawahar Lal Nehru)

Sir Syed's Muhammadden educational conference (1886)

was a remarkable step to prevail the educational sense of common populace and the purpose of conference was to publish the efforts of educational institutions that were established for the socio-political awakening of Muslims.

(b) Sir Syed's literary work for eradicating the mistrust between britishers and Muslims:

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan penned down the thoughts in the form of books and Risalas to bridge the gap between Muslims and Britishers that was eroded during the War of Independence.

Explained the Reasons of 1857 Revolt in favour of Muslims

Risala Asbab-e-Baghawat (1858)

Sir Syed's literary work

Risala Ahkam u. Taam Ahl ul Kitab (1880)

For removing the hatred among the hearts of Britishers that Muslims and Christians can eat together according to the Muslim Islamic principles.

Loyal Muhammadans of India (1860)

To bridge the gap and to eradicate the misunderstandings that Muslims of India are loyal to them

(b) Aloofness from politics:
Sir Syed considered politics a distraction for Muslims

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan convinced Muslims to stay away

from politics and first to concentrate on education and moral upliftment, he urged muslims to pursue western and modern education first and after getting awareness can participate in politics.

“ Aloofness from politics of muslims when they were socially and politically downtrodden was not to marginalize muslims from political arena but to uplift muslims morally first ”

K.K. Aziz
(The making of Pakistan)

(C) Loyalty to Britishers:
a key idea of Sir Syed to eliminate the hatred from the hearts of both factions

Sir Syed himself served britishers and gained their loyalty. Britishers awarded Sir Syed the honorary title of (“Knighthood”) due to his services during the war of independence.

Sir Syed realized that it was necessary to fetch the loyalty of britishers in order to gain the fundamental rights of Muslims. For this he wrote "**Risala Asbab-e-Baghawat**" and "**Loyal Muhammadans of India**".

"Ulema envisioned; loyalty to britishers; the Pro-british stance of Sir Syed; but in actual there was no other choice for muslims to compete for the fundamental rights".

~ S.M. Iram
Rabbani

(D) Seeds of demand for separate homeland in the reforms of Sir Syed

Sir Syed was the first reformer who pursued the idea of "**TWO Nation Theory**" in his reforms and writings he depicted muslims and hindus as two separate nations, which later became the light for getting

Separate homeland

(a) Activities of Politics: Muhammad educational conference and Islamia college Peshawar:

Islamia college Peshawar and
Muhammadan educational conference
; conference for formation of
All India Muslim

League (1906) and

Islamia college Peshawar a
branch of Aligarh movement in
the frontier region became the
hub for political activities
of Muslims. And later,

Students from Aligarh Movement
were the future reformers
for getting the separate
homeland for Muslims.

(E) Conclusion :

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was
undoubtedly a key reformer
for awakening the Muslims socially
and politically. His trinity of
ideas, educational reforms and
literary work played a
key role for Muslims betterment
and later for getting a
separate homeland. Without

his efforts and visionary thought of two nation Theory, the idea of getting a separate homeland would remain a utopia.

Question 2

Constitutional Crisis in Pakistan between 1947 and 1973.

How did competing power centers delay the establishment of a stable constitutional order:

(A) Introduction

After severe crisis related to migration, oppression and bloodshed, muslims got their separate homeland in 1947. Pakistan was "moth-eaten" according to **M.K. Gandhi**. Economic, political, structural and social conditions of Pakistan were crippled. Pakistan was in a state of severe economic crisis. Because during partition Pakistan did not

received enough industrial units, banks and factories. Amid such chaos Pakistan faced several Constitutional crisis as well.

First Constitutional draft was **Objective Resolution (1949), Bogra Formula, Constitution of 1956, 1961, 1973, Martial Laws, doctrine of necessity and dissolution of Assemblies** are a broader

factors of Constitutional crisis.

Pakistan drafted its first Constitution after several upheavals within **~9 Years** which later abrogated also.

“ There was a permanent ideological, east vs west and provinces vs center conflict; that created a permanent deadlock for the formulation of the constitution ”

~ Hamid Khan
(Political and Constitutional History of Pakistan)

(B) Ideological vs Secular conflicts: created dead lock for the constitution making

After the creation of Pakistan, Constitution making was necessary. Pakistan inherited **Government of India Act (1935)** but it was a continuous conflict whether to develop the Constitution of Pakistan on western style or strict Islamic theology. Ulama Karam sought to formulate according to the **"Strict Islamic theology"**. Quid-e-Azam sought to lay the foundation of the constitution on secular basis; which means politics and religion must be separated.

(i) Objective Resolution (1949): skeptical to liberal factions

Liaquat Ali Khan formulated the Objective Resolution that was not clear, whether the democracy of Pakistan is based on Islamic Sharia or western style. Both parties criticized the objective resolution that it does not possess

The clear vision

(C) Bridging the East vs West Pakistan conflict by Bogra Formula:

East Pakistan was skeptical of West Pakistan regarding didn't getting fair distribution of share in the upper and lower houses. In this issue,

M. Ali Bogra formulated the "Bogra formula" by equal and fair distribution to both the wings **1:1 (175 seats each wing)** in the senate and National assembly. Bogra formula was seen as workable for many segments of society.

However, its ultimate outcome was failure because it couldn't be integrated into the 1956 constitution.

(D) Dissolution of Assemblies: unconstitutional action justified causes constitutional crisis:

In Oct 1954, Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the first constitutional assembly led to the constitutional upheaval and **Mulvi Tameez ud din**

Challenged the unconstitutional action of Ghulam Muhammad in the province's high court, where the judge ruled in favour of Tameez ud din. But later the Federal court overturned the ruling and justified the dissolution of Assembly under the guise of **"Doctrine of necessity"**, which was the first step towards furthering the constitutional crisis and legitimizing the unconstitutional acts, which later eroded the spirit of democracy.

"Justifying and legitimizing the dissolution of Constitutional assembly was the first cruel step towards the weakening of democracy in Pakistan; which later further its roots."

~ G.S. Chaudhary
(Constitutional Development in Pakistan)

(E) One unit Scheme: Creation of deadlock on the constitutional debate:

Amid the chaos, PM M. Ali Bogra in order to overcome the conflict between east and west Pakistan formulated One unit Scheme, which resultantly merged the eastern and western provinces created a deadlock on the ongoing constitutional and distribution of seats debate. Iskandar Mirza justified it by saying:

"The purpose of this unified scheme is to overcome the administrative difficulties in the two parts of the country separated by over 1000 miles and to create a more balanced political structure"

~ Iskandar
Mirza (President
of Pakistan)

(F) Abrogation of 1956 Constitution = a remarkable step towards the constitutional upheaval:

The 1956 Constitution was no doubt a major step towards the democracy but the abrogation of the constitution in **Oct 1958** created constitutional crisis in Pakistan. General Iskandar Mirza dismissed the government and declared Martial Law and appointed General Iskandar Mirza as COAS to Chief of Martial Law Administrator.

“After 9 years of efforts, 1956 constitution was a ray of hope for democratizing the nascent state of Pakistan but abrogation of the newly formed constitution darkened that hope”.

~ Ayesha Jalal

(The Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia)

(G) 1962 constitution
enactment: Legitimizing
military rule but
stabilized constitutional
making crisis:

1962 constitution was enacted
and formulated by General
Ayub Khan after forming Basic
democracies and indirect elections.
The enactment of 1962 constitution
stabilized the constitutional
crisis in Pakistan but it
legitimized the military coup
and undermined the spirit
of democracy.

"A centralized
authoritarian presidential
system designed to
legitimize military
rule rather than
democracy but it
overcame the
constitutional chaos".

~ Hamid Khan
(Constitutional and political
History of Pakistan)

But east Pakistan felt politically
marginalized by strengthening
hegemony of west Pakistan.

(H) Consensus based parliamentary constitutions of 1973: Disputes over Islamic clauses and federalism:

After 1971 Secession of Pakistan, civil government overtook and power, 1962 constitution abrogation of Pakistan by Yahya Khan and various civil and national wars chaos, Bhutto took the power and formed a constitution committee to draft the new constitution of Pakistan.

After so much conflicts and disputes related to Islamic clauses, whether the structure should be on centralized approach or federal, provincial autonomy **14 Aug, 1973** was the day of enactment of the constitution.

(I) Conclusion:

Pakistan's constitutional crisis was the result of political instability, institutional imbalance, repeated interruptions of the democratic process. Instead of allowing elected bodies to develop and evolve, bureaucratic and military interventions repeatedly dissolved national assemblies.

These interruptions prevented the growth of constitutionalism, Strengthened authoritarianism tendencies and deepened center - province conflict.

"The constitution and the government will be what the people decide".

~ Q. A. M Ali Jinnah

Qb

Critically Evaluate Pak-US relations in the Post-9/11 era.

How has the relationship fluctuated between cooperation and mistrust?

(A) Introduction

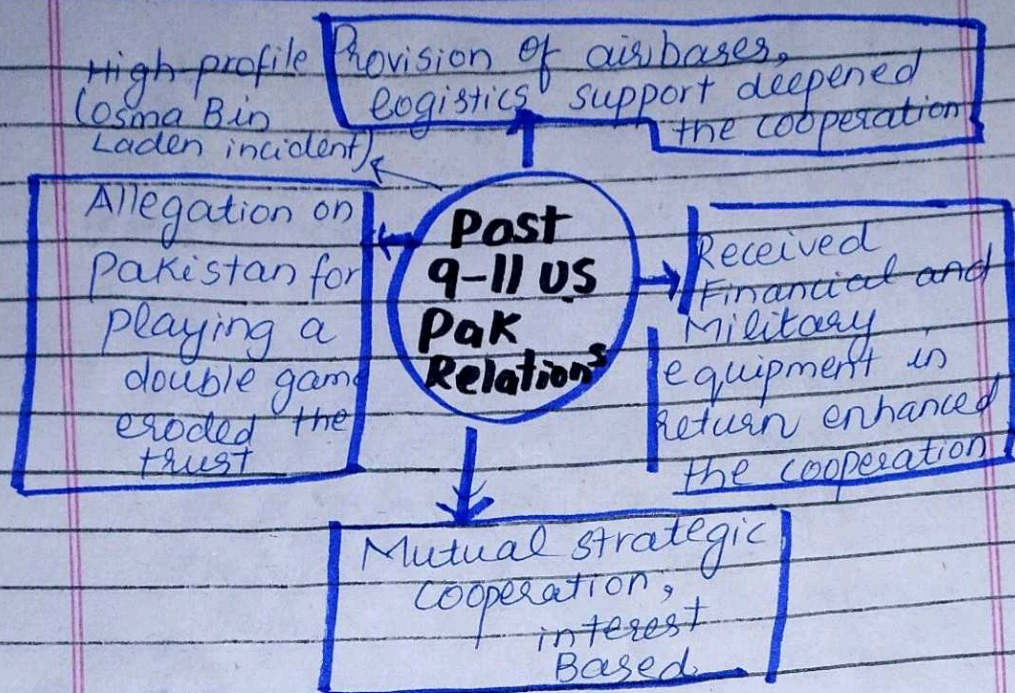
Pakistan's foreign policy has always been interest based regarding military modernization, technological upgradation and economic progress. After inception of Pakistan in 1947, Pakistan joined the "US-backed Western

bloc". For Pakistan it was a golden chance to enhance and grow economically because in return of joining western block and adopting Anti-communist policies, **formation of cento (1954), Seato (1953)**

it proves the cooperation with the U.S. After Soviet-Invasion on Afghanistan Pakistan provided military bases to the U.S for the surveillance of Russia and to counter the Soviet, to prevent the spread of Communism but resultantly creation of the Afghan Taliban led to the terrorism, which resultantly lead to the incident of 9/11, in return to the favour of Pakistan's cooperation, Pakistan's military was modernized and enhanced and millions of dollars poured to Pakistan. Pakistan's relation to U.S was related to **Counter-terrorism** efforts in the form of Taliban which were infiltrating the borders.

"Pakistan is the front-line ally in the fight against terrorism"

~ U.S Secretary of State (2003)



(B) Post 9-11 US-Pak Relations

(1) Mutual Strategic Cooperation and interest based:

Both countries relations were mutual strategic and interest based. US needed Hegemony on Afghanistan by countering the terrorism and Pakistan in return needed financial and military support. According to **IMF (2021)**, Pakistan gained **\$33B** aid during war on Terror in military, economy and reconstruction assistance. Countering terrorism and training cost **\$5B**.

2.) Provision of military air bases, logistics and intelligence : enhanced the Pak-US cooperation:

Pakistan provided immediate assistance on War on Terror. Peshawar air bases and Balochistan air bases were for the surveillance on Russia. Moreover, Pakistan's logistics support to USA and intelligence based sharing further enhanced the trust and deepened the cooperation. (2001-2010).

“Pakistan's geological landscape was the important for USA to encompass Afghan Taliban; and the landscape needed the financial support for the development; deepened the cooperation between U.S.A and Pakistan”.

~ Hussain Haqqani
(Magnificent Delusions:
Pakistan and USA)

It was indeed a mutual strategic interest for both the nations.

(3) Pakistan's receipt of financial support: to build the trust between the both states:

In return Pakistan was provided by Coalition Support fund, military aid, weapons, training, helicopters, surveillance equipments and logistical support. Pakistan's infrastructure enhanced, education, health and also support for resettlement of internally displaced persons from tribal areas.

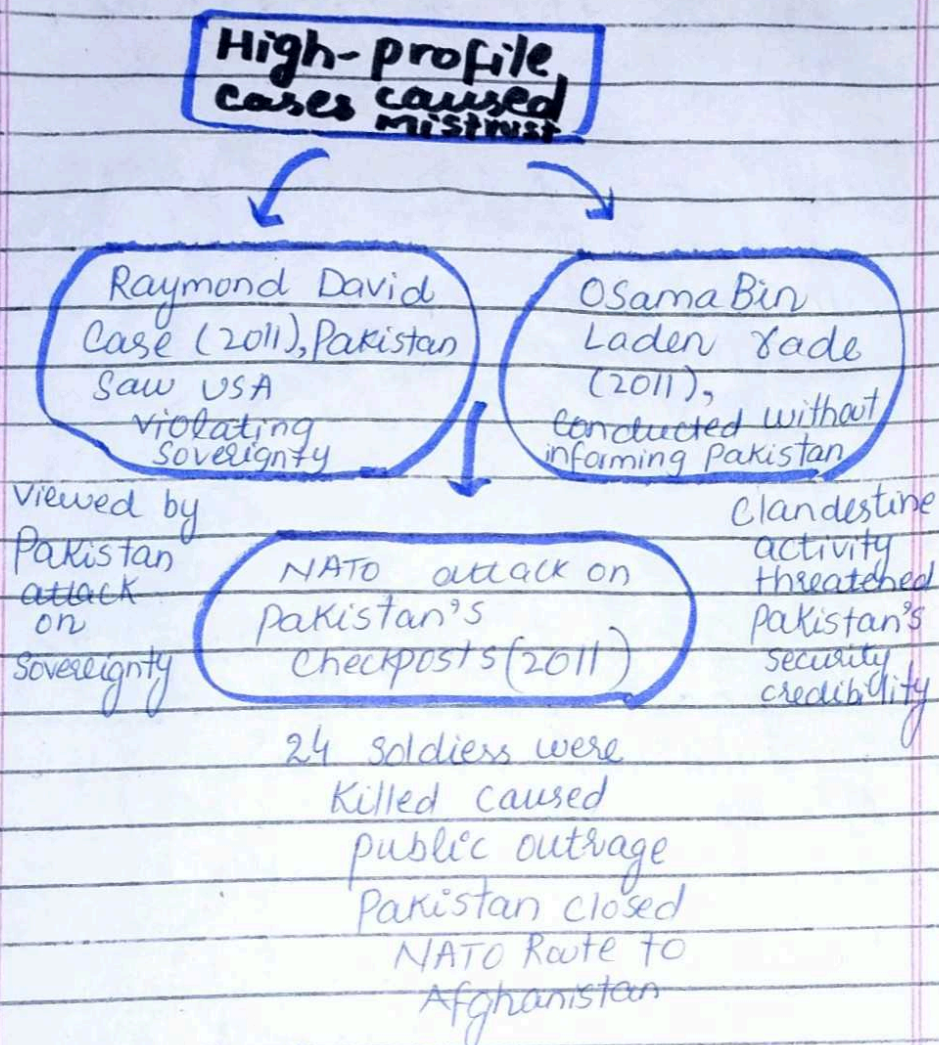
Coalition Support Fund (CSF);

reimbursement for Pakistan's army operations against militant
to build the mutual trust and confidence.

(C) Rising Mistrust: Accusing Pakistan of playing double games:

USA suspected Pakistan for playing double games, supporting Taliban and insurgents while receiving aid. Pakistan was also angered by drone strikes in Pakistan in tribal areas violating its sovereignty. There were high profile cases that further

eroded the trust.



(D) Tactical Cooperation amid Skepticism: Stabilized relations to some extent:

Amid all those issues Pakistan provided supply routes and intelligence but US aid was conditional and sometime withheld. Pakistan simultaneously tried to maintain influence in

Afghanistan. Both states
viewed their activities with
suspicion.

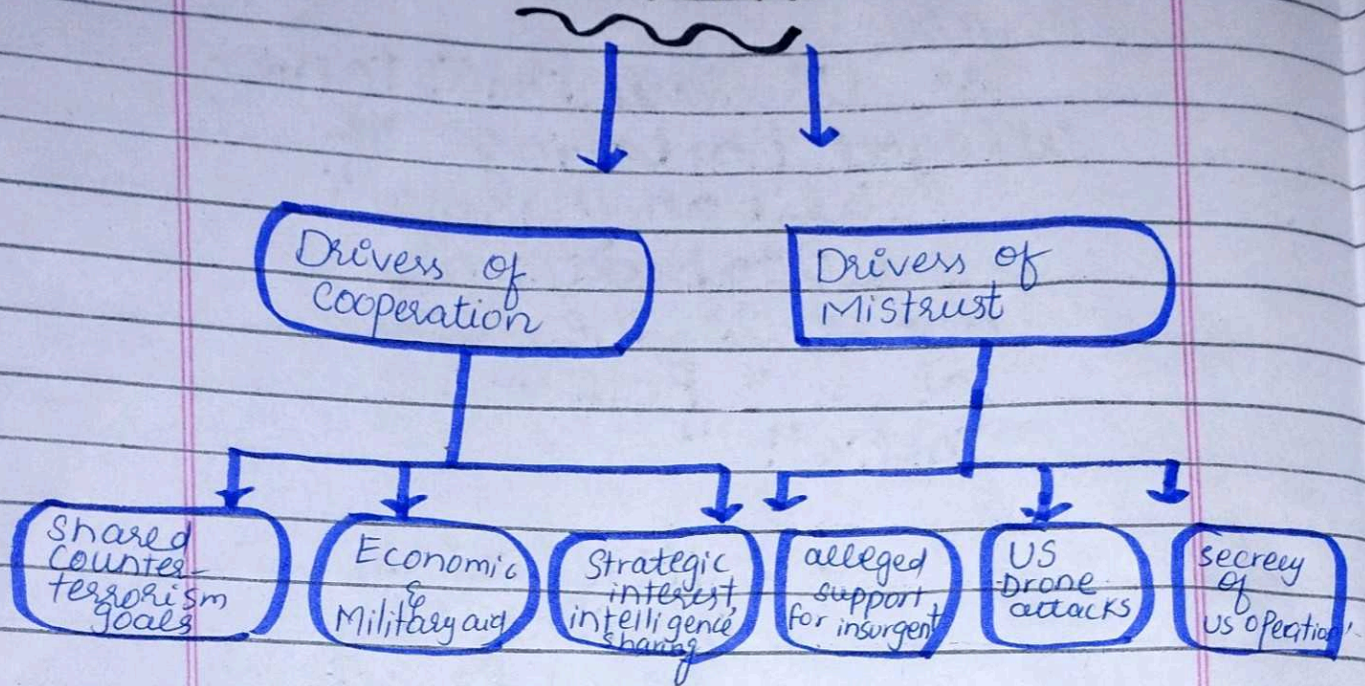
“ US saw Pakistan's
alleged harboring of
Taliban/Haqani
as destabilizing
and cuts the aid
as a "Pressure
Tactic". ”

~ United States
Institute of
Peace Report
(2011)

(E) Pragmatic Engagement:
Post Withdrawal from
Afghanistan:

After withdrawal of US troops
in 2021, Both countries foreign
policy is based on pragmatic
engagement. USA focuses on
countering terrorism, regional
stability and peace. Pakistan
seeks strategic leverage vis-a-
vis Afghanistan and India.
Trust is pragmatic rather
than deep, fluctuating
depending on operational
cooperation and regional
events. (UN 2024 Report)

Overall Assessment



(F) Conclusion :

The Pakistan-USA Post-9/11 can not be fully described as trustful. Both countries relations were based on strategic mutual trust. It has been a pattern of pragmatic cooperation punctuated by a deep mistrust. Both countries rely on each other strategically, but sovereignty concerns, conflicting regional interests and covert operations have ensured that trust remains conditional and fragile. Recently, the relations are more pragmatic related to pursuing counter-terrorism and

peace and Pakistan's interest
in improving fragile economic
situation.

Q7

**Critically Analyze Pakistan's
National Security Paradigm.
Should Pakistan Shift
from a Security centric to
a geo-economic model?**

(A) Introduction

Pakistan's national security paradigm since independence has been largely security centric and defense oriented, shaped by, Geopolitical insecurity, Persistent conflict with India (Kashmir, Wars of 1947, 1965, 1971, 1999 Kargil, 2025). In addition, arm has historically dominated and influenced the policies and state priorities. Moreover, Internal Security threats, militancy, Sectarianism and political instability remained a core issues. Also, Pakistan's nuclear program reinforced the focus on survival and unconventional symmetry with India. Pakistan's heavy military spending limits

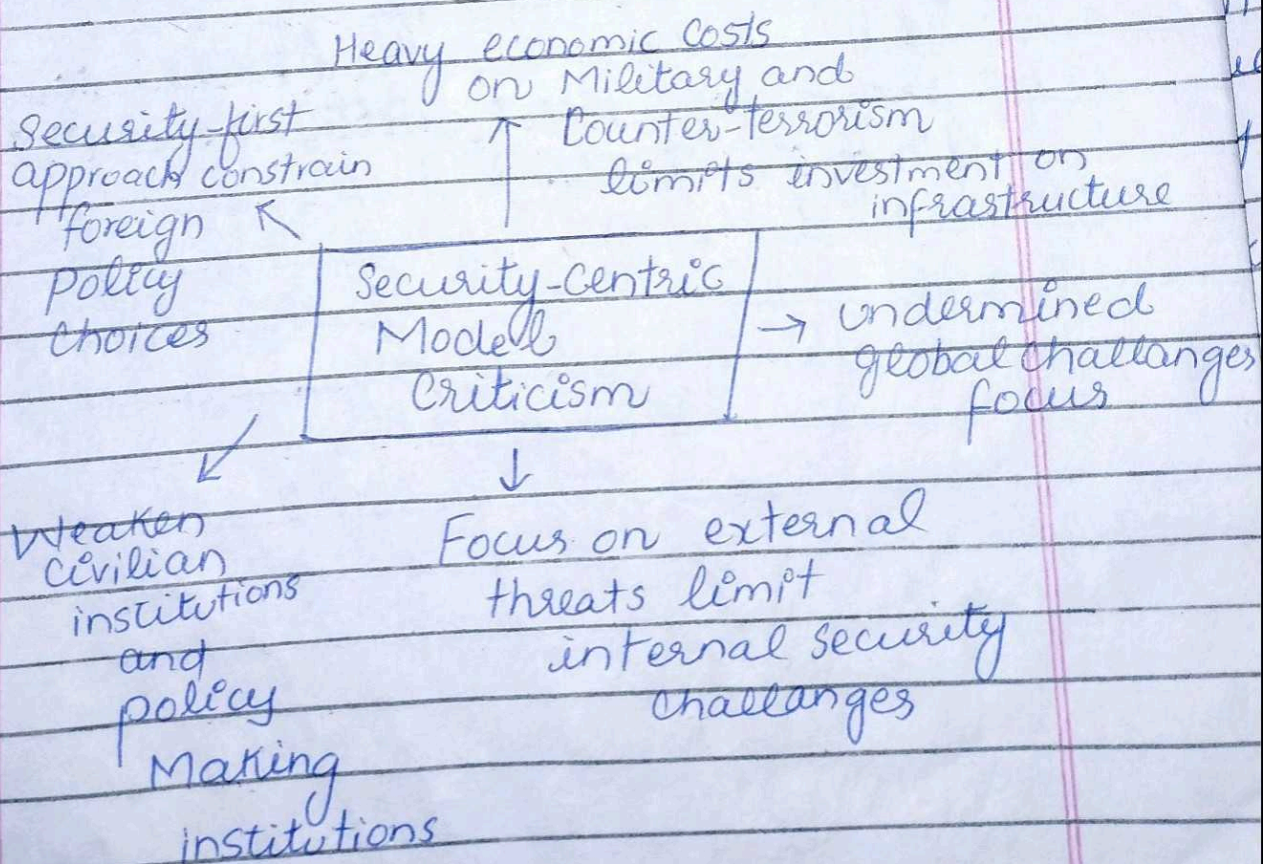
investments.

"Heavy Military
Spending limits
investments in
infrastructure, education,
health and human
capita."

~ Economic
Survey of Pakistan (2021)

A Security centric approach struggles
to adopt the globalization, trade,
energy and climate challenges
that require non-Military
Solutions.

(B) Criticism of the Security Centric Model:



1) Heavy costs of Military limits investment on infrastructure and public social development:

Heavy defense spending reduces investment in health, education and infrastructure. Pakistan's military expenditure **4-5% of GDP** between **2014-2020**.

In 2019, Pakistan spent **\$10.3B** on defense, limiting funds for health and education, thus limiting the spending on public social development. (LWB-2020)

Moreover, "Focus on India-Centric defense limited engagement in regional diplomatic initiatives; SAARC." ~ SiPRI: 2020

2) Focus on countering extraneous threats limit internal security confrontation:

Pakistan's wholly focus on obstructing and countering external threats limit the internal security issues confrontation. Security-centric policy initially ignored insurgencies from (2007-2014), Pakistan faced **60,000 death** due to

Militancy, primarily in FATA
and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
Highly Security centric approach
lead to the neglect of internal
Security threats. (South Asia
terrorism Portal: 2010)

3) Security-centric approach weaken civilian institutions and policy making institution:

Security centric approach
Specifically continual interruption
of military and military
intervention in policy making,
leads to the weakening of
civilian institutions. Army
domination in foreign policy
deteriorate the credibility and
sovereignty of Pakistan.

This undermined the economic
progress of Pakistan as
well. ~ constitutional
and Political History of Pakistan.

4) Security-first approach undermined grave global challenges addressal:

Security first approach limited
the addressal of grave
global challenges such
HDI of Pakistan is

168th | 193 is a grave concern. Similarly, Poverty rate in Pakistan 44.7% according to ~ UNDP, 2025.

Meanwhile, the Nordic countries which are geo-economic centric are on the top of list.

In addition, Pakistan is among the top 5 climate vulnerable countries according to GCI-2025.

Overall Assessment of Pakistan's National Security Paradigm

Strengths of Pakistan's Security Centric Paradigm

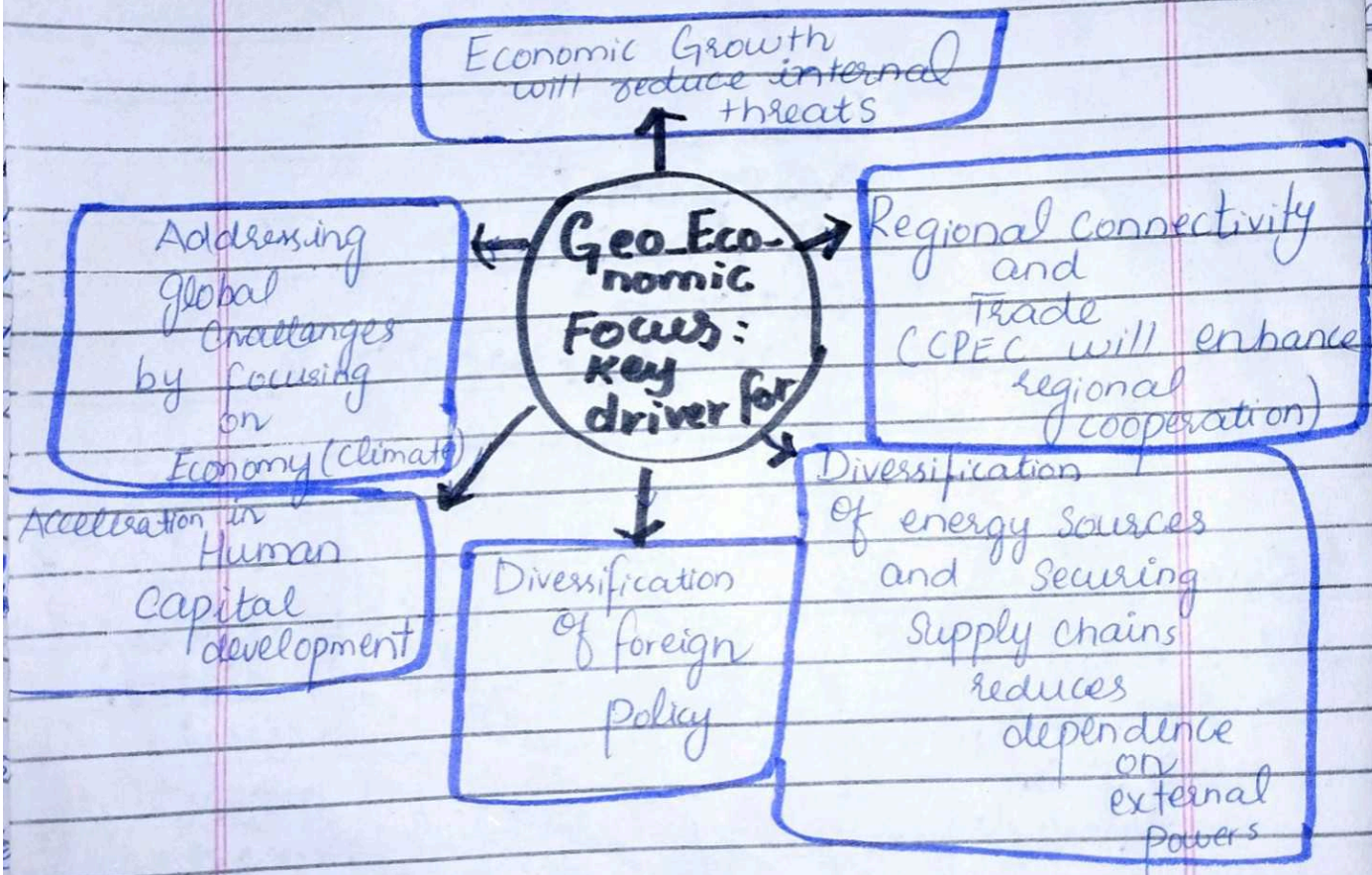
- Credible Deterrence against India
- Nuclear Program deterrence
- Engagement in Afghanistan and strategic alliances enhanced Regional Leverage
- Military led, Governance has

Weaknesses of Pakistan's Security Centric Paradigm

- Heavy economic costs on military limit spending on infrastructure
- weakening of civilian institutions
- Undermining major global challenges.
- Security-first approach constrain

(C) Need for Paradigm Shift: Geoeconomic Security

Modern threats require a broader understanding of national security, integrating economic growth, global trade liberalization, connectivity and human development enhancement alongside military strength.



(1) Countering internal threats: outcome of geoeconomic centric model:

Internal threats such as Countering militancy and

insurgency by adapting geo-centric economic model

A strong resilient economy reduces vulnerabilities to internal unrest and external pressure. ~ (Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2024)

2) Paradigm shift to geoeconomic approach strengthen the connectivity and trade:

Investments in infrastructure and trade corridors such as **CPEC, TAPI, CASA-1000** enhance influence and interdependence with neighbors and reduce reliance on foreign aid and loans. ~ (Planning Commission of Pakistan, 2020)

3) Diversification of foreign policy by adopting geoeconomic model:

Economic participation and partnership, trade diplomacy and regional cooperation provide leverage beyond military deterrence. Just relying on security centric approach limits foreign policy approach

while adopting economic centric model diversify the foreign policy such as trade relations with China, Russia and India. ~ Haqqani: Economic Condition of Pakistan, 2024

4) Resilience to global shocks: an outcome of paradigm shift from security centric approach.

Pakistan is vulnerable to global shocks such as climate vulnerability, Human development Index is lower, poverty rank is low, education, corruption list is showing Pakistan's lower ranking

[Global Index Ranking of Pakistan]

→	HDI (Human development Index)	164 th /193
→	CPI (Corruption Perception Index)	135 th /180
→	GII (Global innovation Index)	99/139
→	EFI (Economic Freedom Index)	150 th Freest economy

All these rankings can only be improved by adopting Economic centric Model by shifting from security centric approach.

5) Critical Analysis:

Pakistan's national security paradigm has historically been security centric, prioritizing military strength, nuclear deterrence and strategic depth.

While this approach has ensured survival, deterrence and crisis response it also has imposed heavy economic costs with defense spending average **4-5%**

of GDP, reliance of foreign military aid and underinvestment in human development

(UNDP, 2020) Moreover, over-emphasis on external threats weakened civilian institutions, limited strategic flexibility and neglected domestic socio-economic

Challenges. A hybrid paradigm balancing credible military deterrence with economic resilience offers the most pragmatic path to long-term resilience, strategic autonomy and sustainable national security.

6) Conclusion

In conclusion, Pakistan's Security-Centric Paradigm has historically ensured survival and deterrence but has come at significant economic, social and national

Security increasingly depends on economic resilience, human development and regional integration.

"National Security is not just about armies and weapons; it is about a nation's economic strength, social cohesion, and the resilience of its institutions."

~(Pakistan's National Security dynamics by Haider Z.)
