Q.1

Formation of provinces is a recurring discourse in Pakistan. Critically Evaluate the hurdles and give recommendations.

(A) Introduction:

The creation of provinces has been a recurring political and administrative debate in Pakistan. Provinces are necessary for administration of country effective. Pakistan is a large populated country having population of **245 Million** according to **Pakistan Bureau of Statics**. It is very difficult to manage such large population within four provinces only. **Turkey** is smaller country than Pakistan but has **81** provinces. Same is the case for Taiwan and Afghanistan having 22 and 34 provinces. In Pakistan, there is a recurring discourse over formation of new provinces such as **12 provinces** by dividing Punjab into south, central and North punjab, Same is the case for dividing such larger province Balochistan into West, east Balochistan, Makran, Waziristan and KPK into Hazara province. No Major constitutional change has occurred since the creation of Gilgit-Baltistan (2009 Reforms). various Key hurdles are existed

Such as Constitutional complexes, Ethnic and identity Senslivities, political calculations, resistance and power and Resource and financial constraints and Bureaucratic Resistance also lack of consensus and number of boundaries

(B) Key hurdles in creating New provinces

1- Constitutional Complexities : requirement of assent of 2/3rd majority from Assemblies

By passing Bill from National assembly and for the approval of bill regarding any constitutional amendements require 2/3rd Majority, which is very difficult to achieve, is a major hurdle regarding formation of new provinces in Pakistan.

2. Loss of political control fear:
Current provincial leaderships, especially in punjab and sindh perceive the division of provinces as loss of administrative control and their ability to influence federal politics. Their control over large centralized bureaucracies will be reduced. Political families, entrenched networks and feudal landlords fear losing decade long strongfoothold.

3. Concerns over NFC Award Share: potential reduction of Share in already existing provinces:

NFC Award is a long controversial issue in Pakistan. Marginalized provinces already accused center to distribute the federal budget unevenly. Creation of more new provinces will further complicate the issue In **Ministry of Finance**, The concern is documented which states that

" the formation of new provinces will require further structural recalculation of provincial share" - 7th NFC Award Report

4- Fear of losing influence in Senate:

under Article **59** of the constitution every province larger or smaller will get equal share in the Senate (23 each). This means by division of provinces, Punjab's Senate dominance will be diluted, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan will lose comparative influence - **Parliamentary committee on constitutional Reforms (PCCR) 2010 Report**

5- Ethno-Nationalistic lens: reduction in historical owner ship:

Ethno groups in Pakistan link political boundaries with cultural survival. Any proposal to redraw provincial boundaries is viewed through a ethno nationalistic lens. This will further aggravate the ethnic rhetoric in Pakistan.

6- Fear of Ethnic Marginalization: Major hurdle in redrawing boundaries:

Ethnic groups fear that new provinces weaken their dominance in demographic rich areas. The **Sindh Assembly Resolution** (2010) opposed dividing Sindh as it would undermine sindhi National identity.

7- Pashtun-Hazara Tensions in KPK: demanding a separate province:

The Hazara movement emerged after the renaming of NWFP as KPK in 2010, with Hazara communities demanding a separate province to escape perceived pashtun political domination. Several protests in Abottabad regarding this issue is perceived as threat for the formation of New provinces.

8- Financial constraints: High Administrative Cost of New provinces:

Pakistan is already a crippling economy, its administration is relying on foreign debts and loans. New provinces will require **New Assemblies, High Courts, local governments** further aggravate the financial conditions of Pakistan. **PSDP-2019 Review.**

9- Weak provincial revenue generational capacity: heavily reliance on federal Funds:

Provinces collect only **8-10%** of their own revenues on average. Most provinces rely heavily on federal budget. This makes it difficult for any new province to sustain itself financially in its early years. **WB-2021 Report.**

10- Resistance from established bureaucracies: realignment of bureaucrates seems challenging:

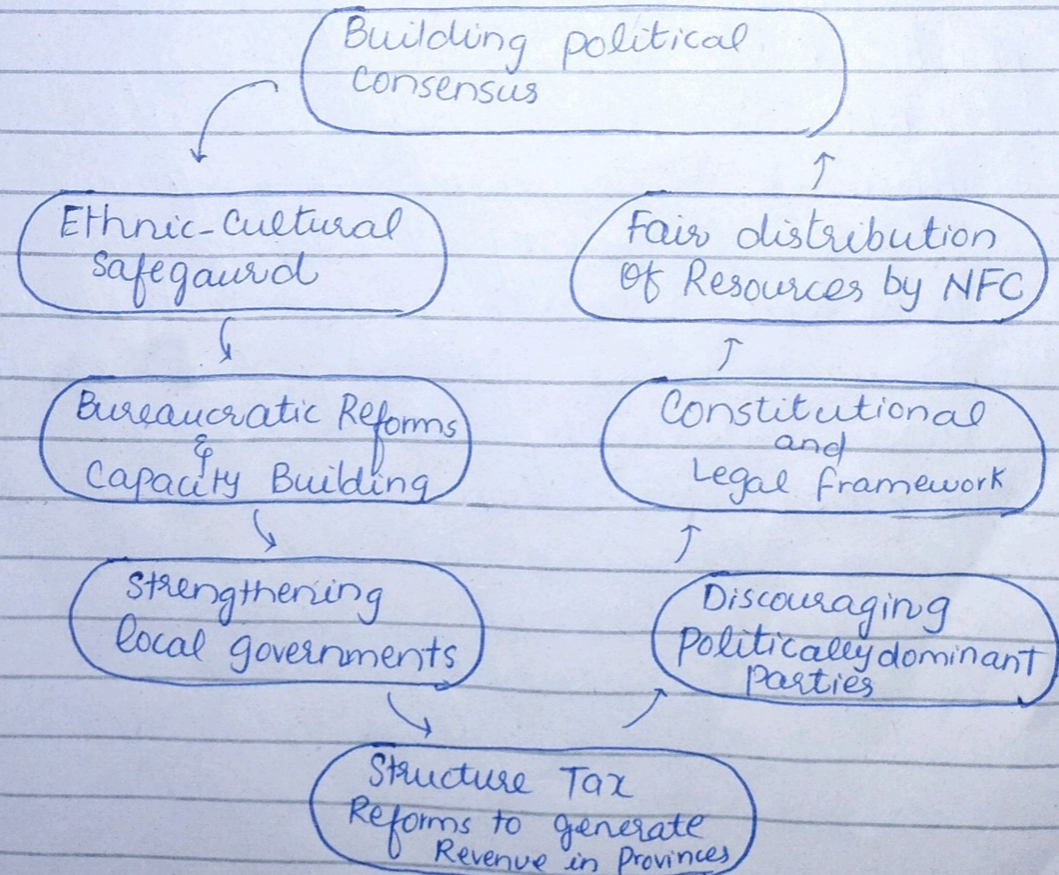
The existing federal and provincial bureaucracies often opposes the creation of new provinces seems challenging. Senior officers fear of losing power and realignment of administration, reorganization and redistribution would require new strategies. **PIDE-2020**

11- Lack of consensus on number of Boundaries:

Various complications emerged on creating no. of boundaries. While division of South punjab a lot of controversial decisions in National and provincial assembly emerged Such as while dividing there were 3 plans, one group was in favour of establishing **Bahawlpur** as one prince Same like rooted back to colonial era, where Bahawlpur was a princly state and another unit of South punjab by merging DG Khan and Multan. But, it faced opposition by stating the fact that other princely states will also demand such division.

(PSDP Review 2019)

(C) Recommendations to over come hurdles of New provinces:



(D) Conclusion:

The debate over new provinces is complex, multidimensional and recurring. While the idea promises better administration and governance framework, enhanced political participation, thorough adress of marginalized areas by better people-government interaction, equitable resources distribution and political representation of marginalized people but multifaceted hurdles have delayed the process such as financial constraints & lack of fiscal capacity, lack of consensus, constitutional and legal complexities and bureaucratic inefficiences. But it can be reformed by broad political consensus, safegaurding ethnic, linguistics and cultural safegaurds, bureaucratic reforms and capacity building.

If Pakistan approaches the establishment of new provinces strategically, legally and inclusively it could strengthen federalism, reduce regional grievances. Otherwise, it may exacerbate ethnic, political and financial instability.

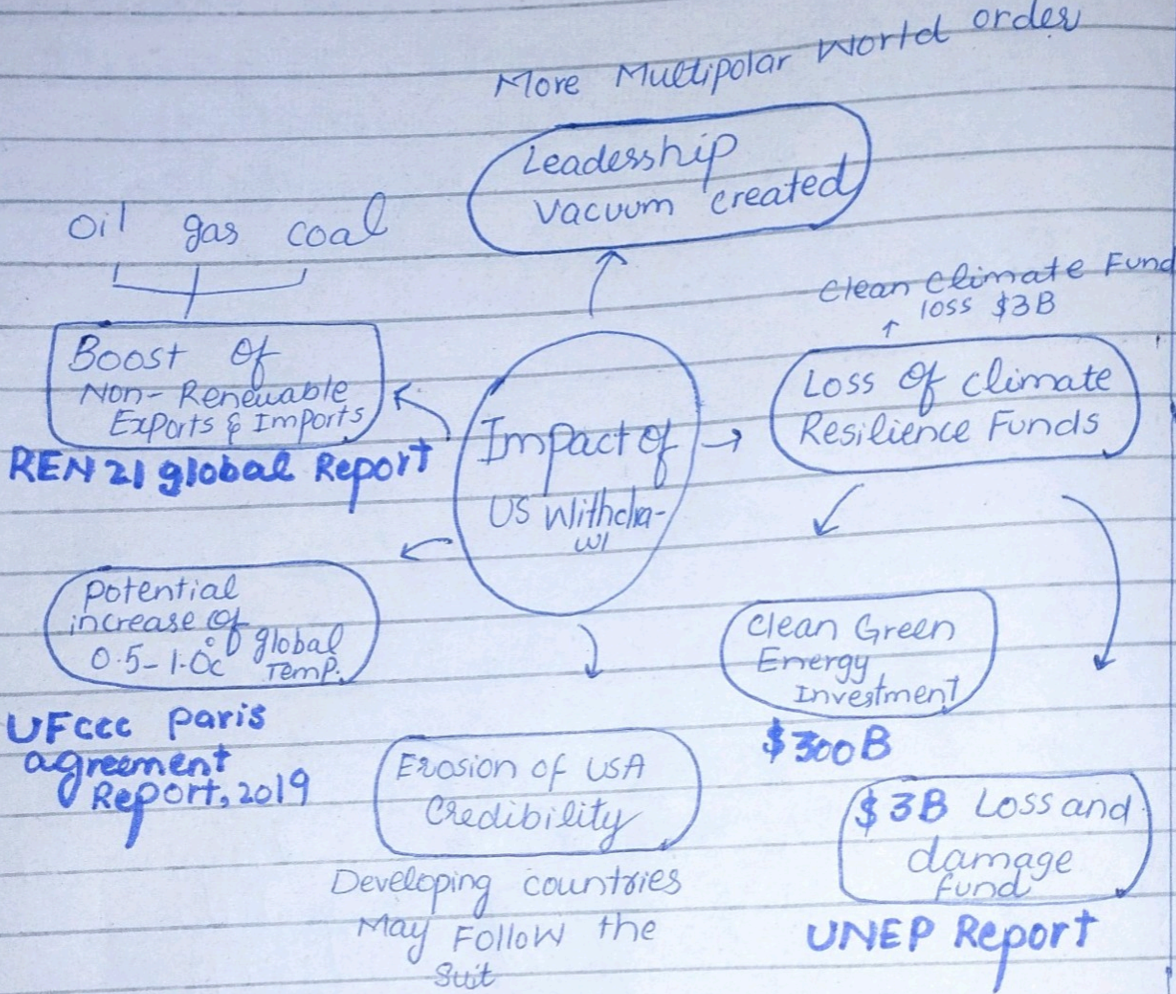
Q3

Trump once again Pulled out of the Paris agreement. Critically evaluate the future efforts against Climate change in the absence of World leader.

(A) Introduction

Various Climate protocols have been established historically. Montreal protocol (1987), Koyoto protocol (1997) and Paris agreement (2015) to protect Ozone layer and for reduction of Global house gas emission. USA have historically joined and withdraw these agreements periodically. Recently, Trump has officially withdraw from COP 30 convention and World view it a power vacuum. The ongoing COP 30 in Brazil 10-21 November is striding to address such sensitive issue despite USA withdrawl. Myriads of policies that can be applied without USA leadership such as Climate Club or carbon pricing setting, Accelerated Renewable energy Transition, increase climate finance for developing countries, Nature based solutions, Global collaboration on Sustainable fuels Joint Reasearch and Development programs.

(B) Impact of US Withdrawl from Climate change leadership



(C) Future Efforts against Climate change without US leadership:

1- Strengthening Multilateral collaboration:

China, EU and India are the Cargest Green house gas emitters. By multilateral collaboration can shift towards reduction of green house gases. Also, collaboration via ASEAN, SCO would be effective.

2- Increase in global finance contribution for mitigating Climate change risk:

USA Withdrawl lead to loss of **>15%** Global clean energy finance donation for developing countries, in the absence of US China is contributing majorly ~ **$10B** in Energy Transition program.

3- Acceleration in Renewable Energy Transition:

USA Withdrawl from **JETP** is a major set back but EU and China are major investors in Clean energy research and development.

4- Joint Research and development Collaborations:

Joint research and development Collaboration, Sustainable agriculture and Asian Development Bank's green initiative is Strengthening the role of curbing climate Change without USA leadership. Moreover, Setting Carbon, carbon club or penalities is another breakthrough for mitigating climate change risks.

5- Adoption of global programs for carbon sink:

Carbon pricing \$50 / tonn of CO_2 is carbon clubbing and adoption of global program for sinking of Carbon via protection of Amazon, Columbia basin, Congo Basin states and Southeast Asian Rainforest is a major adoption.

6- Enhancing NDC Transperancy framework:

National determined contribution (NDC) framework 66-72.5% enhancement is a major stride of cutting GHG emmission (IPCC)
Also, Monitoring and strict accountability mechanism framework of updating NDC is a major effort.

7- Discouraging New coal based plants by Multilateral financing penalities:

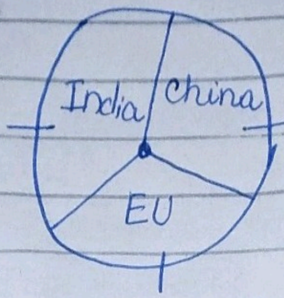
Coal-based power plants are among the largest contributors of GHG emission. They emit CO_2, SO_2, NO_x and particular matter. IPCC reported it a major contributor. Policy recommendations for the discouragement of New coal based plant in the COP 30.

8- Strengthening bilateral and regional climate agreement:

Countries can pursue bilateral and regional climate agreements independent of USA. Platforms like **G20, Climate Ambition Alliance** helping coordinating joint emmissions reduction targets and technology transfer. **(UNFCC Report)**

9- Filling leadership vacuum by other global actors:

European Union and China are the other potential global actors that can fill the power vacuum. EU by committed to **net-Zero** emmission by 2050, carbon trading system and funding renewable projects. China leading in solar, wind and electric Mobility, pledging carbon neutrality by 2060. India investing heavily on International solar Alliance. These Multilateral efforts demonstrates that climate action can continue even without USA leadership.



Investing heavily on International Solar Alliance Without USA Leadership

leading in solar, Wind, EVs investment, Carbon Neutrality till 2030

Committed to Net-zero emission by 2030

(C) Critical Evaluation

Negative Aspects

Loss of global leadership

Loss of Funds

Multipolar Fragmented world

loss of USA credibility

Boosting potential global Temp

Positive Aspects

Regional & Bilateral collaborations

China + EU investments hike

Clean R & D innovation

Diversification of climate resilience

(D) Conclusion

USA Withdrawl from Paris climate agreement has negative and positive aspects. World is viewing it as a loss of major global leadership, loss of Green Climate financing, threat to Smaller Island nations that were dependent on USA funding and leadership would be more fragmented. However, countries are striving towards future efforts for climate resilience, inclusive multi-lateral collaboration, fixing carbon pricing, investment on renewable energy resources, accelerated joint research and collaboration, protecting nature Amazon, Peru, Columbia forests and Congo basin States as well as Southeast Asia rain forests. Moreover, enhancing IPCC framework, UNFCC Mechanism and strict monitoring and reviewing of NDC. Withdrawing major power from curbing a grave issue should not discourage smaller nations to achieve the long term goal for long-standing issue.