

Question No: 6

(1) Introduction

Pakistan was a staunch supporter of Taliban regime before 9/11 attack. However, 9/11 caused a major foreign policy shift in Pakistan. It became a major non-NATO Ally of U.S. The relations between both countries revived at defence and intelligence cooperation. Pakistan acquired loans and removal of sanction from nuclear installations. The relations were not uniform because of Osama Bin Laden's covert U.S. operation, breaching sovereignty of Pakistan. Again after U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan, relations between both countries defused for some time. Now, there is a revival of cooperation between U.S and Pakistan, based on critical minerals, counter-terrorism, q-may conflict and countering of China's role in South Asia. Hence, Pakistan-U.S relation have remained transactional with recent rise of high level dialogues and optimism.

(2) Background: Pak-U.S Relations Before 9/11

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Before 9/11, Pakistan was under sanctions due to its nuclear installations. Additionally, Pakistan was facing debt crisis, economic instability, and unstable regional relations, especially with India. Attack of terrorist on Pentagon and World Trade Center reshaped Pakistan-U.S relations.

(3) Pakistan-U.S relations after 9/11

(a) Pakistan emerged as Front line Ally of U.S.: United States asked Pakistan's support for war on Terror after heinous terrorist attack on U.S soil. In inclination with global policy shift, Pakistan became a non-NATO ally of U.S and pledge cooperation in this regard.

(b) U.S provided economic benefits to Pakistan in return of cooperation for counter-terrorism efforts (War on Terror): As Pakistan was facing economic instability, Washington removed sanctions on nuclear program of Pakistan. This act highly benefitted Pakistan. Additionally, loans and grants started to flow in Pakistan.

(c) Pakistan allowed use of its air and ground for War on Terror (WOT):

- Being an ally of U.S, Pakistan gave permission to U.S to use its soil (Peshawar air Base) and air to deploy NATO troops for counter-terrorism.
- (d) Covert operation of U.S on Pakistani soil developed mistrust between both countries: Despite staunch cooperation of Pakistan, U.S held a covert operation and killed Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad. It not only created mistrust between both countries but also became an embarrassment for Pakistan's international image.
- (e) Breach of Pakistan's sovereignty and Stance of Pakistan: Washington breached Sovereignty of Pakistan, in retaliation Islamabad denied cooperation and ordered to remove NATO troops. Relations deteriorated for some time.
- (f) U.S withdrawal from Afghanistan and reduced cooperation between Pakistan and U.S: In 2021, U.S withdrew from Afghanistan and after withdrawal, a silence emerged in Pakistan - Washington relations. This highlighted transactional, interest based relations of U.S with Pakistan.
- (g) Recent Revival of relations due to counter-terrorism efforts of Pakistan and dynamics of May conflict:

As Pakistan has staunch ^{and clear} stance on counter-terrorism efforts, in this regard it made huge efforts and identified terrorists that were involved in Afghan Airport attack. This attack had killed U.S troops back in 2021. This was highly appreciated by U.S. Additionally, Pakistani government acknowledged Donald Trump's role in may conflict. These two factors became catalyst in revival of relations between both countries.

(h) Increasing cooperation between Washington and Islamabad:

Donald Trump, U.S president, has pledged to resolve decades-long Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan. Additionally, there is high level collaboration over critical minerals, counter-terrorism efforts. Additionally, U.S aims to counter China's & deepening contributions in South Asia. Hence, these multiple factors have reshaped recent engagements between Pakistan and U.S.

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(4) How relationship fluctuated between cooperation and mistrust

(a) High level collaboration between U.S and Pakistan swiftly after 9/11

Relationship between U.S and Pakistan has remained changing with extremely high and drastically low levels. The cooperation enhanced after 9/11, to curb terrorism across regions.

(b) Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad and Covert operation of Washington created mistrust

A mistrust built up when U.S found Osama Bin Laden, a highly wanted terrorist, on Pakistani soil. Contrarily, cooperation undermined due to Washington's breach of sovereignty of Pakistan.

(c) Cooperation of Pakistan with China (CPEC) raised concerns in United States

Pakistan signed a major infrastructural project with China called China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). It will provide China access to central Asia, Middle East and western countries bypassing Indian Ocean. This agreement raised concern and enhanced mistrust between Pakistan and U.S.

- (d) Sidelining of Pakistan in U.S. foreign policy priorities after its withdrawal from Afghanistan: created mistrust in Pakistani Government; When U.S. withdrew from Afghanistan in 2021, after that Pakistan saw its sidelining from U.S. foreign policy, especially during Joe Biden's government. It enhanced mistrust because of conditional relations between both countries.
- (e) Pakistan's acknowledgment of Donald Trump's role in ^{ceasefire} ~~may~~ conflict: A catalyst of cooperation; The 6-day conflict between Pakistan and India became a major event to reshape relations. India deliberately refused ~~an~~ whereas Pakistani government acknowledged Donald Trump's role in ceasefire, enhancing cooperation.
- (f) U.S. interest in critical minerals of Pakistan: Enhancing cooperation

Currently, U.S. seems highly interested in critical minerals in Balochistan region. It has become another dynamic for increasing cooperation between both countries.

(4) Critical Analysis

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Despite fluctuating relations after 9/11, there is a huge chance for Pakistan to convert current engagements into strategic deals. Instead of focusing on timely engagements, Pakistan should sign long-term, bilateral benefitting deals, such as critical mineral deal to secure national interest of Pakistan.

(5) Conclusion

To sum up the above discussion, 9/11 reshaped foreign policy of Pakistan from Afghan supporter to ally of U.S. In year long Counter-terrorism war of U.S., relations fluctuated between cooperation and mistrust. It is a high time, Pakistan should transform this fluctuating relation into strategic engagements with Washington.

QNo. 3

(1) Introduction

Energy crisis is one of the major challenge for Pakistan. These crisis impact social, economic, and political ~~aspe~~ conditions of Pakistan. Energy crisis affect development projects and hinder economic stability. The weakness lies in energy agreements with International power producers, transmission and distribution lines, and weak governance. Additionally, institutional weakness, and corruption further compounds the challenge. Governance reforms and agreements' renegotiations are required to cope with this challenge.

(2) Explaining Pakistan's energy crisis from neo-economic perspective

(a) Rising circular energy debt perpetuate Pakistan's dependency on foreign lenders ; Pakistan faces

recurring circular energy debt that exacerbate energy crisis of Pakistan. Currently, Pakistan faces 1.6 Trillion Rupees in ~~2025~~ debt. This huge debt impedes major reforms and economic stability of Pakistan.

(b) Costly Production of commodities reduce competitiveness in International market ;

Energy is crucial factor that control prices of goods. As production cost increases, so it reduces overall competitiveness of Pakistani goods in global market. For instance, in India and Bangladesh production cost is low as compared to Pakistan. Hence, energy crisis undermine exports and competitiveness of Pakistan.

(c) Energy crisis hinder development projects in Pakistan ;

While paying recurring debts, it shrinks budget of Pakistan to invest in development projects annually. Therefore, energy crisis impact long-term development projects in Pakistan, reducing its economic rise.

(d) Economic dependency undermine independent decision-making of Pakistan ; Debt crisis perpetuate

dependency of Pakistan on international lenders like IMF and W.B. Therefore, Pakistan makes decisions on the basis of conditionalities of IMF to reform energy sector and taxation. Due to lack of independent decision-making, Pakistan

(a) can't make long-term policies, weakening its economy

(b) Structural weaknesses that hinder sustainable energy policy

(a) Contentious agreements with independent power producers (IPPs)

The major challenge in energy sector of Pakistan is contentious agreements with IPPs. Owing to capacity clause, Pakistan pays trillions of dollars to IPPs without even production of electricity. Pakistan had signed these clauses in 1995, 2005, 2011 and 2015, weakening sustainable energy policy.

(b) Higher dependency of energy production on imported coal

Imported coal is bought in dollars whereas public pay in rupees. There is huge difference between both currencies. Pakistan's huge dependency, i.e. almost 60% reliance on imported coal, is another weakness that impedes sustainable energy policy.

(c) Outdated distribution lines in energy infrastructure

The distribution lines are outdated that are responsible for major line losses. They are in urgent need of renewal. According to a report, Pakistan's distribution losses are almost 16%, hindering sustainable energy policy.

(d) Huge Transmission losses in energy supply ;

Likewise, transmission losses are also high. India's transmission losses are 9% as compared to Pakistan's 17%, highlighting major structural weakness that hinder sustainable energy policy of Pakistan.

(e) Weak governance mechanisms in energy management

Additionally, weak governance is a major flaw. Due to weak accountability, theft of electricity, kunda system contribute to low recovery. These factors further amplify the weaknesses of sustainable energy policy of Pakistan.

(f) Untapped domestic resources of Pakistan ;

Pakistan is rich in natural resources such as coal,

natural gas and critical minerals.

Additionally, the country can produce sustainable energy from solar, wind power, and hydel projects. The untapped natural resources can alleviate energy crisis of Pakistan.

(9) Low Recovery from major areas; The energy sector recovers less as compared to supply of energy. In some areas of FATA, there is no concept of billing, highlighting urgency of reforms.

(4) Critical Analysis

The energy crisis hamper economic growth of Pakistan with major structural flaws in distribution, transmission and governance mechanism. Pakistan should renegotiate agreements with IPPs, update transmission line and shift towards domestic resources to cope with energy crisis.

(5) Conclusion

To conclude, energy crisis is a serious challenge with huge debt, high price of production cost, less competing goods, manipulated decision-making, and economic instability. It is due to structural weakness in transmission and distribution lines, governance issue that demand multi-faceted reforms to ensure sustainable energy in Pakistan.

(1) Introduction

Pakistan faced major constitutional crisis in initial years of independence. The country depended on Act of 1935 for almost 9 years. Then, first constitution of 1956 was dissolved in two years of its formation. After military intervention, the government formulated constitution of 1962, presidential system. After long military rule, democratic, parliamentary constitution adopted in 1973, which is continue today. Stable constitutional order delayed due to multiple player such as military interventions, judicial legitimization of military interference, doctrine of necessity, lack of political will, and complex issue of seats between East and West Pakistan.

(2) Constitutional crisis in Pakistan between 1947 and 1973

(a) Act of 1935 adopted as constitution at the time of independence

When Pakistan got independence, it adopted Act of 1935 with some changes until new constitution was to be formulated for Pakistan. However, the country remained for 9-years until 1956.

(2) Role of foundational Leadership of Pakistan: Objective Resolution

Initially, leaders like Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan were working diligently to strengthen institutions of Pakistan. For this purpose, Liaquat Ali Khan gave Objective Resolution on 12-March 1949. It served as a basis for Constitution of 1956.

(3) Demise of Liaquat Ali Khan created leadership crisis in constitution making

However, demise of Liaquat Ali Khan led Pakistan into crisis of leadership.

After that frequent government changes, political turmoil, Urdu-bengali issues, and power struggles delayed constitution making in Pakistan.

(4) Doctrine of necessity; initiated constitutional crisis of Pakistan

First constituent assembly was dissolved by Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and later it was legitimized by judiciary on the basis of doctrine of necessity. It became a turning point for continued constitutional crisis in Pakistan.

(5) Military interventions dissolved
First constitution of Pakistan

On account of instability and Lahore riots, General Ayub Khan dissolved constitution and imposed Martial law. It started a series of constitutional crises in Pakistan.

(6) Constitution of 1962: Concentrated
power with the president

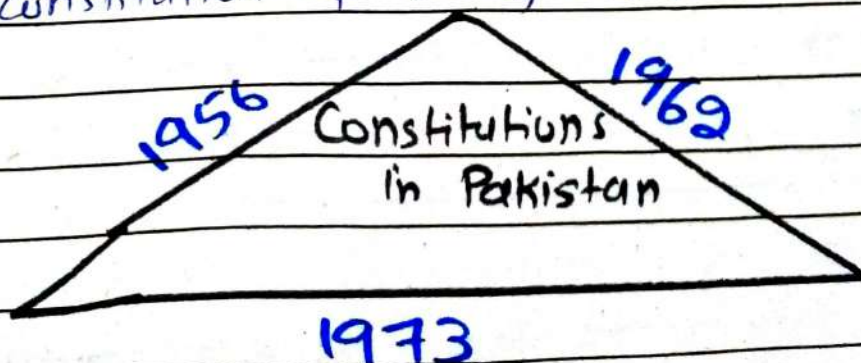
General Ayub Khan gave constitution of 1962. However, it was presidential system with powers centered at the president, undermining democracy of Pakistan.

(7) Separation of east Pakistan and
democratic revival after second
military rule in Pakistan

After 1970 elections, crisis emerged between East and West Pakistan, leading to separation of East Pakistan.

After separation, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto introduced parliamentary and democratic constitution of 1973, which is still continue today.

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(3) Competing power centers delayed the establishment of stable constitutional order

(a) Dominant role of military in civilian institutions : Stable constitutional order was frequently intervened by military rules in 1958, 1966, 1977 and 2009. Due to military-civilian power imbalance, they delayed the establishment of stable constitutional order.

(b) Role of Judiciary in impeding stable constitutional order in Pakistan

Due to doctrine of necessity, though it aimed to control unrest and instability in Pakistan, Pakistan faced major crisis. Hence, judiciary's decisions of legitimization of military rules also delayed establishment of constitutional order.

(c) Weak civilian institutions and lack of political will in formulating constitution in Pakistan

After death of Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan,

- civilian institutions remained weak and lack of political will to resolve the dilemma further delayed stable constitutional order.
- (d) Lack of consensus between East Pakistan and West Pakistan;
major obstacle in stable constitutional order

East Pakistan constituted 54% of total population of Pakistan. There were disagreements over seats distributions between East and West Pakistan in National Assembly and Senate. Hence, it became another factor in delaying stable constitutional order in Pakistan.

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(4) Conclusion

To sum up the above discussion, Pakistan's constitutional journey has remained tumultuous from 1947 to 1973 with delays in making, military interventions, ~~se~~ conflict between East and West Pakistan, and lack of political will. Major power ~~in~~ in delaying stable constitutional order were imbalanced relations between civilian and military, and judiciary's decisions, that maintained controlled unrest but delayed stable constitutional order in Pakistan.

Q No. 5

(1) Introduction

Religious extremism is rising in Pakistan with frequent sectarian conflicts, extremist ideologies and unrest in the country. The major reasons behind its rise are ~~the~~ porous border with Afghanistan, non-uniform education system in Pakistan, political polarization among leaders, religious misinterpretation, militarized operations in marginalized areas and inequitable resource distributions. It is mainly the product of internal policy choices as compared to external geopolitical pressures.

Pakistan's involvement in Afghan Jihad war, war on terror, mediation with TTP, socio-economic gaps and weak rule of law are some of the weakening steps that have role in rise of religious extremism in Pakistan.

(2) Rise of Religious Extremism in Pakistan

(a) Establishment's backing of Mujahideen against A USSR war in Afghanistan

In 1970s-1980s, Pakistan's establishment supported, trained, and funded Afghan mujahideen in war against USSR. These mujahideen after the war involved in different proxies and contribute in perpetual religious extremism in Pakistan.

(b) Pakistan's involvement in War on Terror and rising extremism in Pakistan

After 9/11, Pakistan joined War on Terror to counter terrorism with United States. However, it highly impacted Pakistan's internal security situation and extremist ideologies in the state.

(c) Taliban sanctuaries ~~in~~ near Pakistan-Afghanistan border

Pakistani military has identified multiple sanctuaries of Taliban extremist groups across the border in Afghanistan. Pakistan has taken kinetic measures to counter them, however, reluctance of Taliban government to cooperate, is another cause of rising religious extremism in Pakistan.

(d) Role of madrasah education: creating distinct gaps within Nation

The education system of Pakistan including madrasah education remain highly neglected. Hence, some of madrasah instill extremist ideologies in students, enhancing extremism in Pakistan.

(e) Inequitable resource distribution among provinces: rising resentments and extremist views in public

The unequal resource distribution is another cause. Due to neglect ^{youth in} marginalized areas such as FATA, Balochistan, K-P are easily manipulated because of rising poverty and lack of job opportunities.

(f) Weak rule of law in marginalized areas; create vacuum for influence of extremist ideologies

Law enforcement authorities have remained weak in rural areas of Balochistan and K-P. Hence, extremist groups easily manipulate these people and perpetuate religious extremism in Pakistan.

(3) Internal policy choices contribute more as compared to external geopolitical factors in Religious extremism in Pakistan

(4) Support of Proxy groups in Afghan-Jihad war in 1980s; Pakistan's policy to support and fund mujahedeen was one of the policy options that created foundation for extreme ideologies to rise.

(b) *Weak law and order near* Afghanistan Border allowed infiltration of religious extremist in Pakistan

Porous border of Afghanistan allows infiltration of extremists across the border. Pakistan's priority should be electrical fencing to control their entrance in Pakistan.

(c) Low socio-economic development programs in marginalized areas encouraged impact of manipulation of extremists on youth

Due to lack of political will

there are lesser socio-economic development programs in backward areas. This policy of inequity create resentment and enhance extremist views in public.

(d) Perpetual educational gaps across the country;

Non-uniform education system i.e madrasah education has a major role to continue religious extremism in Pakistan.

(e) External geopolitical factors in rise of religious extremism

In addition to internal policy options, external factors have also contributed in religious extremism in Pakistan. For instance, U.S' pressure to involve in WOT and India's proxy wars in Balochistan are also major reasons for rising extremism in Pakistan.

(5) Critical Analysis

Analyzing both internal and external factors, internal policy options seem more influential ~~to~~ on rising extremist in Pakistan. It can be countered through multiple steps such as education reforms, border security with Afghanistan, development programs in alienated areas, and major projects to counter extremist ideologies.

(6) Conclusion

To sum up, religious extremism is rising in Pakistan due to education gaps, porous Pakistan-Afghanistan border, previous policies of supporting mujahideen, and weak rule of law and governance in backward areas. As compared to external geopolitical factors, internal policy options are major contributor in this challenge. They require multi-faceted solutions such as focus on education, governance and security dynamics to restore peace in beloved Pakistan.