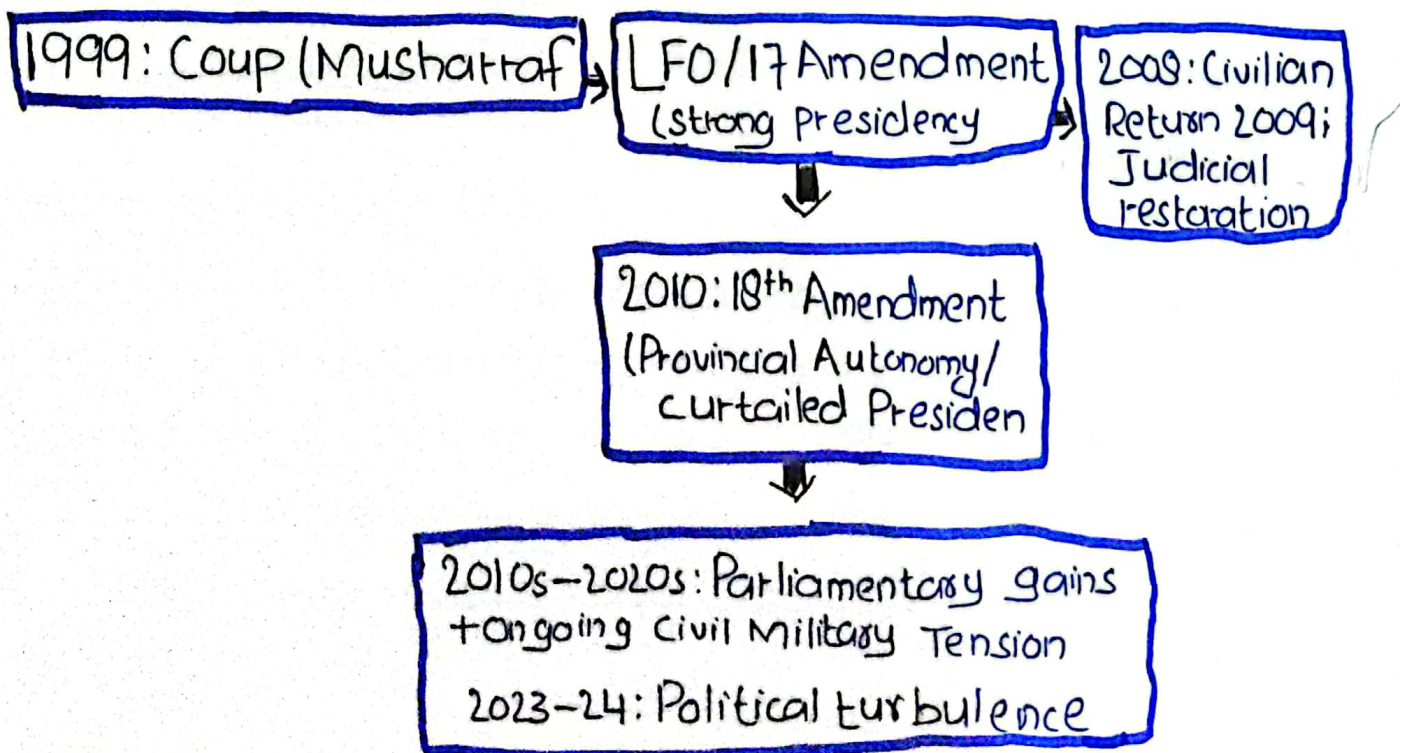


Q.NO2. Critically evaluate the evolution of Pakistan Political system and culture after-1999.
How has constitutional developments in this era shaped democratic continuity and governance? Explain

1. Introduction:

Since General Pervez Musharraf's 1999 coup Pakistan's political system has oscillated between military dominated rule, constrained democratic gains, and powerful judicial and parliamentary contestation. Constitutional amendments and legal instruments from 1999 to the present have alternately consolidate executive/military power and restored and strengthened federalism and parliamentary authority producing a mixed outcome for democratic continuity and governance partial institutional strengthening at province level (notably via the 18th Amendment) but persistent weaknesses in civil military balance, rule of law and accountability.

Post-1999 High-level Evolution



2. Critical evaluation themes and effects

A. Executive vs Parliament

Effect: The 17th Amendment (and Musharraf's LFO) strengthened the presidency and executive reach; the 18th Amendment later reversed many of those powers; returning Pakistan toward parliamentary governance and rebalancing centre province relations. Net effect: Constitutional pendulum swings have produced episodic strengthening of Parliament but no permanent insulation from extra-constitutional pressure.

B. Federalism and Provincial empowerment

Effect: 18th Amendment restored provincial autonomy (legislative lists, ministries, institutions) and altered fiscal and administrative relations improving the constitutional basis for decentralised governance but straining federal fiscal capacity and coordination (implementation gaps remain).

C. Civil-military relations:

Effect: Despite constitutional reforms, the military remains a decisive political actor: coups, influence over security and foreign policy and periodic interventions into party politics and governance. Constitutional fixes alone have not broken the structural pre-eminence of military.

D. Judiciary and rule of law:

Effect: Judicial activism (2007-2009) checked executive overreach but produced politicised litigation and tension with elected branches. Recent legal and constitutional changes and episodes of alleged coercion of MPs raise concerns about the independence of institutions and the use of legal tools for short term political advantage.

E- Political culture :

Effect: Politics post 1999 has been characterized by Personalized leadership, weak internal party democracy shifting alliances, and electoral volatility all of which weaken policy continuity and institutionalisation of democratic norms.

3. How constitutional development shaped democratic continuity and governance

- 1 - Corrective reforms (18th Amendment) improved federal balance and parliamentary competence positive for democratic continuity and local governance -
- 2 - Authoritarian legalisation (17th Amendment/LFO) and adhoc constitutional changes under pressure weakened constitutional stability and allowed executive and military encroachment -
- 3 - Judicial-politics interplay both defended and politicized law producing short-term gain for rights and accountability but raising medium-term institutional fragility -
- 4 - Overall: Constitutional amendments have delivered uneven democratic consolidation structural military influence, weak political parties and episodic institutional capture limit sustained democratic governance -

4 - Short Policy recommendations

- ⇒ Strengthen political parties
- ⇒ Security-civilian interface reform
- ⇒ Fiscal federalism fix
- ⇒ Judicial reform for independence
- ⇒ Electoral and anti-corruption institutions -

5. Conclusion:

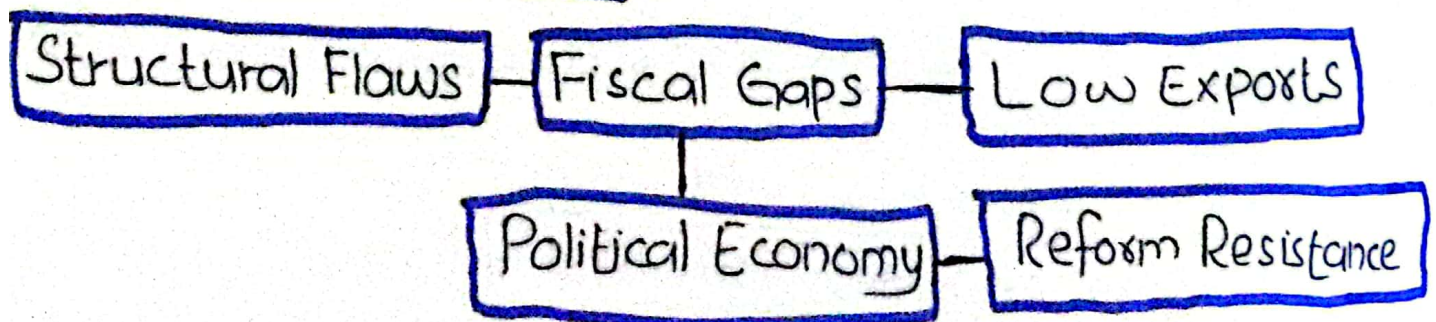
Constitutional reforms since 1999 produced uneven democratic consolidation. The 18th Amendment marked a strong return to parliamentary federalism yet persistent military influence, weak parties and politicized institutions continue to challenge democratic continuity and effective governance.

X

Q3. The current economic challenges of Pakistan are challenges of Political Economy or the issues are deep rooted in structural flaws in our economy - Take a side and suggest policy measures to address these challenges.

Ans. Pakistan's current economic challenges are primarily the result of deep rooted structural flaws in the economy through political economy failures (short-term policy-making, patronage, weak governance) strongly amplify and lock in those structural weakness - Fixing Pakistan's crisis therefore requires sustained structural reforms backed by credible political commitment and governance improvements.

Causes of Crisis



1. Chronic macro-imbalances follow structural causes:
Recent ^{urr} fiscal deficits, balance of payments stress, and dependence on short term foreign financing are not accidental they reflect an economic model with weak domestic revenue mobilization, small export base, and capital intensive, low value export structure.
2. Narrow tax base and weak tax administration - Low tax to GDP ^{ratios} and complexity and evasion are structural without broadening the tax base and fixing administration, fiscal gap persists.
3. Low export diversification and competitiveness. Exports are concentrated in a few sectors (textiles, a few commodities). Productivity, technology adoption, and value addition are low structurally limiting Fx earnings.
4. Energy and infrastructure inefficiencies. High circular debt, transmission losses, and energy pricing distortions raise costs across the economy, reducing competitiveness. These are long standing structural bottlenecks.
5. Financial sector and credit deficiencies. Weak intermediation, low formal finance penetration for SMEs and agriculture, and limited long term credit hamper productive investment.
6. Human capital and governance deficits. Education, skills and depth reform (e.g, vested interests blocking reforms, short electoral horizons, politicized institutions). But these political factors mainly operate by preventing structural fixes; they are amplifiers rather than the root cause.

Policy prescription - objectives and Pillars



Overarching Objective: Stabilize macroeconomy + launch a credible, sequenced structural reform program to raise revenues, broaden and deepen exports, reduce energy infrastructure bottlenecks and expand productive finance while safeguarding the poor during adjustment

Pillar A - Macroeconomic stabilization (short term)

1. Credible fiscal consolidation: medium-term framework with binding targets for primary balance anchored to realistic revenue targets and prioritized recurrent (health, education, poor infrastructure).
2. Monetary policy credibility: inflation targeting framework (or operationally independent central bank to anchor expectations and rebuild reserve buffers).
3. External financing ~~mobilization and public finance reform~~ strategy: transparent, multi-track approach combine reserves rebuilding concessional loans for investment and export promotion to reduce import dependency.

Pillar B - Revenue mobilization and Public finance reform

1. Broadening the tax base - remove exemptions that favour narrow interests, introduce simplified presumptive regime for small firms and phase in a progressive property and wealth taxation where administratively feasible.
2. Fix tax administration: digital filings, large taxpayer units, data matching and clear anti evasion penalties

3. Public expenditure review: reallocate from low impact subsidies to human capital and growth enabling public investment rationalize energy subsidies with targeted safety nets.

Pillar C - Export competitiveness and Industrial Policy

1. Export diversification program: target clusters (textile value addition, agro processing, light engineering, IT services) with time bound capability building, improved logistics, and WTO-consistent incentives.
2. Trade facilitation: single windows, port efficiency and reduced non-tariff barriers.
3. R&D and skill push: incentive for technology upgrading vocational training tied to industries.

Pillar D - Energy, infrastructure and governance of SOEs

1. Energy sector reform: cost-reflective tariffs phased with protection for the poor, strict measures to reduce circular debt, Privatization where efficient and investment in renewables.
2. SOE reform: corporatize and commercialize state enterprises; clear performance contracts; sell non strategic assets.
3. Infrastructure financing: leverage finance, PPPs, and ring fenced project finance to avoid sovereign balanced sheet stress.

Pillar E - Financial deepening and SME finance

1. Expand access: credit guarantee schemes, microfinance scaling and digital finance to reach SMEs and farmers.
2. Long term finance: develop domestic bond markets and pension fund channel for infrastructure and industry financing.

Implementation and governance

1. Build a credible reform compact; a time bound, publicly announced reform plan with measurable milestones, co-signed by major political parties and business confederation to reduce the risk of reversal.
2. Independent monitoring: a technically competent, semi autonomous fiscal council to monitor MTFF progress and Publish periodic scorecards.
3. Communication and sequencing: front-load easy win (tax administration, trade facilitation) to create momentum before politically harder reform (energy pricing, SOE restructuring).
4. Compensation and coalition building: use targeted transfer and phased implementation to blunt elite resistance; create reform coalitions in provinces and sectors.

Conclusion:

Pakistan's crisis is fundamentally structural magnified by political-economy failures. Lasting stability requires structural reforms in taxation, exports and energy backed by political consensus and social safety nets.

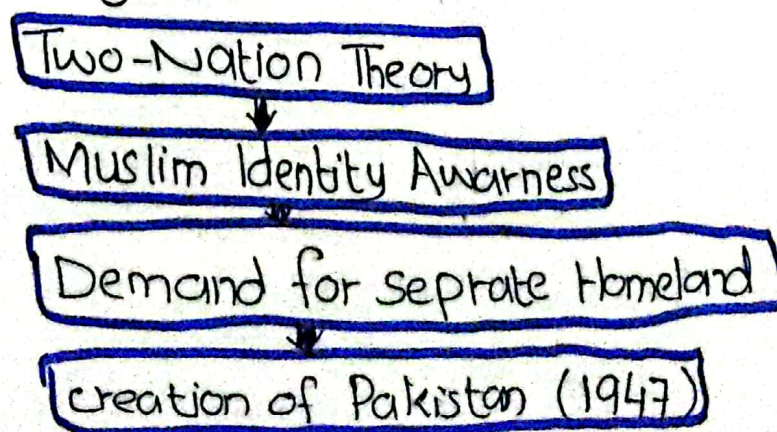
Q6. Discuss the role of ideology in Pakistan's nation-building process. How the interpretation of ideological contours evolved over time in Pakistan's political and social discourse?

Ans: Introduction:

The creation of Pakistan was not a mere geographical division but the realization of a powerful ideological vision - The Two Nation Theory - It asserted the Muslims of the subcontinent were a distinct nation with their own culture, civilization, and values. This ideology became the spiritual foundation of Pakistan's statehood and continues to shape its political and social evolution. However, the interpretation of this ideology has evolved from secular constitutionalism under Jinnah to religious nationalism, Islamization and now debates on inclusive identity and pluralism.

1. The Ideological Foundation of Pakistan

- Muslims are separate nation from Hindus -
- Their political, social and moral values require independent development
- Islam provides the moral framework for governance and social justice -

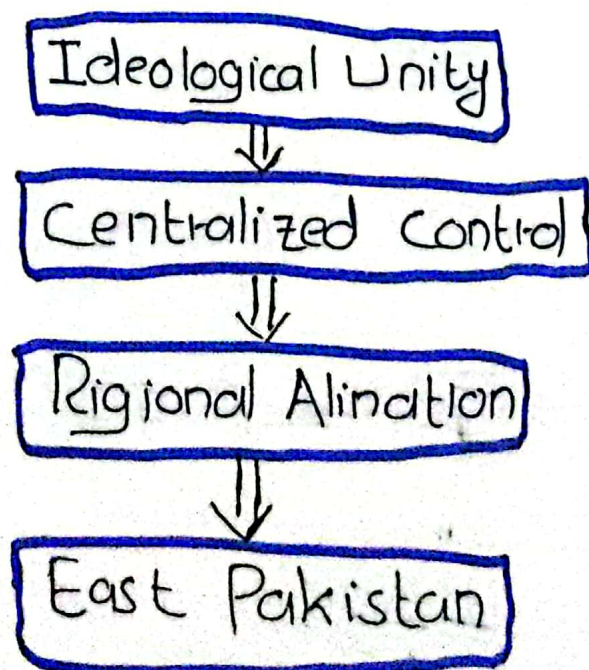


2- Ideology and Nation-Building (1947-1971)

After independence, ideology served as the unifying force for a multi-ethnic society. However, practical challenges emerged:

- **Constitutional debates (1949-1956):** The Objective resolution declared sovereignty belongs to Allah, making the first institutionalization of Islamic Ideology.
- **Cultural integration issues:** Ethnic and linguistic diversity tested ideological unit - particularly in East Pakistan, where economic disparity and identity alienation grew.
- **Military and bureaucratic dominance:** The ruling elite used ideology to legitimize centralized authority, sidelining regional aspirations.

Outcomes: Overemphasis on ideological unity without socio-economic justice contributed to the disintegration of East Pakistan in 1971, showing that ideology alone could not sustain nationhood without equitable governance.



3. Reinterpretation under Bhutto and Zia (1971-1988)

After 1971, the ideological focus shifted:

- **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1972-1977)** Introduced "Islamic Socialism" - blending Islamic values with egalitarian economic to rebuild national unity -
- **Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88)** Launched Islamization - Sharia-based laws, Hudood Ordinances, and Islamic education - transforming ideology into a tool of political legitimacy -

This phase deepened religio-political consciousness but also created sectarian division and intolerance diverging from Jinnah inclusive ideals.

4. Ideological Evolution in Contemporary Pakistan

Since the 1990s, ideological discourse had adapted new realities:

- **Democratization:** Civilian government emphasized moderate Islamic democracy and constitutionalism -
- **War on Terror and extremism:** Pakistan faced internal ideological conflict - between religious militancy and constitutional pluralism -
- **Youth and globalization:** Emerging discourse promotes a civic, inclusive and development nationalism based on education, economic empowerment and tolerance -

Evolution of Ideological Interpretation

Jinnah's Vision (1947): Democratic Islamic state



Objective Resolution (1949): Islam as guiding principle



Zia's Islamization (1977-88): Theocratic tendencies



Modern Era (2000s-2020s): Inclusive and civil nationalism -

S. Critical Evaluation

- **Positive Role:** Ideology provide moral legitimacy, cultural coherence, and resistance against external ideological domination.
- **Negative Role:** Its politicization fostered intolerance, ethnic alienation and sectarian polarization.
- **Current Challenges:** To reconcile Islamic values with democracy, human rights and diversity.

Conclusion: Ideology has served as Pakistan's guiding principle in state-building, constitution-making, and social identity. However, political manipulation of religion has caused polarization. The path forward lies in reviving Jinnah's inclusive vision of an Islamic yet democratic Pakistan anchored in justice, tolerance and equality.