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## PART-II

### QUESTION # 4

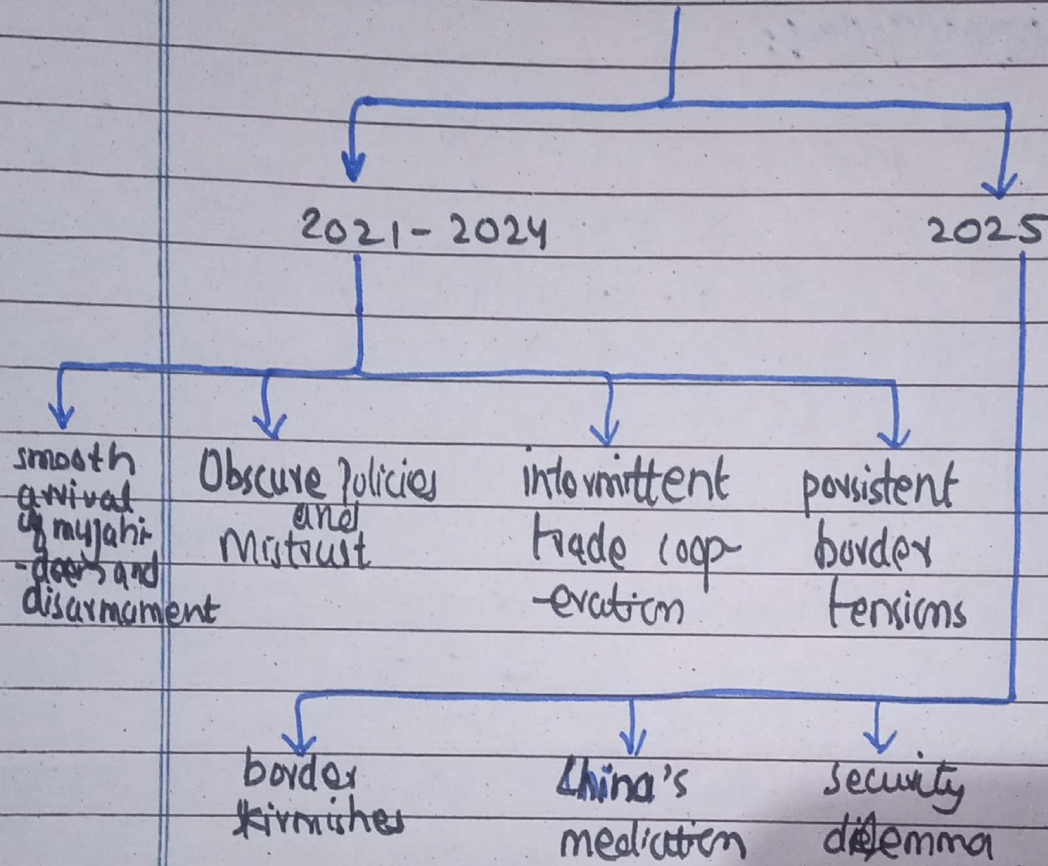
#### ANSWER:

#### A. INTRODUCTION:

The trajectory of Pakistan-Afghanistan relations in the post-2021 period of current regime in Pakistan remains staggering. Initially, this era marked the start of new cooperation between the two countries as apparent from the government to allow the mujahideen to return to their areas after their disarmament. However, the reality remained frozen in the past due to obscure and uncertain policy of relations between the two neighbors. Moreover, the border security challenges, refugees issues and regional re-alignments have further exacerbated and strained the mutual relations by igniting the mistrust, security dilemma and hate rhetorics along with many other influences.

#### B. TRAJECTORY OF PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN RELATION IN POST-2021 PERIOD:

## PAK-Afghan Relation Post 2021



4) 2021 - 2024 PERIOD: COMPAR-  
-ATIVE PEACE BUT UNCERTAIN  
RELATIONS

a) ~~ARRIVAL~~ RETURN OF MUJAHIDEEN  
VIA DISARMAMENT: AN OPTIMISTIC  
SPARK OF IMPROVING RELATION

After the end of war on  
terror, Pakistan's government alle-

wed the mujahideen from the border areas to return to their native lands but after they accepted the policy of disarmament. This marked the apparent improvement in the relations of the two neighbors. However, it proved to be only a short term improvement.

## **b) OBSCURE POLICIES AND INCREASING MISTRUST.**

The relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan took a sharp turn furthering obliterating the chances of mutual relations. Moreover, both countries did not express their clear policies of engagement with each other. So, the relations remained uncertain.

## **c) INTERMITTENT TRADE COOPERATION: THE ONLY SOURCE OF LIMITED ENGAGEMENT.**

During the post-2021 era, Pakistan and Afghanistan continued their engagement through limited (growing) trade. However, even the economic cooperation did not grow smoothly - it remained patchy.

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leading to end of transit trade for  
-ilities frequently

#### **d) PERSISTENT BORDER TENSIONS FUELED THE STAGNANT RELATIONS:**

The frequent border closures remained a common observation through this era. Due to lack of cooperation and formal engagements, the historic border closures frequently persisted. However, the violations from both sides remained limited in this time of 2021-2024.

#### **(ii) 2025 - THE PERIOD OF ACTIVELY STRAINING RELATIONS:**

##### **a) BORDER SKIRMISHES:**

The 2025 year is proving to be a year of active hostility between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The violent confrontations on the borders have resulted in the loss of civilians lives on both sides. However, the temporary ceasefire was soon achieved on humanitarian grounds. So, the borders of the countries are volatile currently further undermining

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the relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan

## (b) CHINA'S MEDIATION TO EASE TENSIONS:

China intervened between the two neighbours to ease the recurring tensions. As a result, a tri-lateral dialogue series held in Kabul between Pakistan and Afghanistan with the mediation of China. Both sides expressed their concerns on security. However, the dialogue seemed to end in failure as both countries exchanged a violent stand off most recently.

## (k) SECURITY DILEMMA: ~~THE SILENT QUAG-~~ -MIRE OF THE RELATIONS

During 2005, security dilemma reached its peak as Pakistan's side has consistently reaffirmed its non-tolerance towards the security threats it faced from Afghan side. However, the other side's lack of interest is adding to further stagnate the relations and compelling the military confrontation.

### **C) IMPACTS OF BORDER SECURITY, REFUGEES ISSUES AND REGIONAL ALIGNMENTS ON BILATERAL TIES:**

#### **a) BORDER SECURITY ISSUES LED TO TEMPORARY CLOSURE OF BORDERS AND DIPLOMATIC DISPARITY:**

The persistent concerns and realization of border security issues have caused not only the closure of borders but also deepened the diplomatic disparity between the two. The Foreign minister of Pakistan recently declared that the state of Pakistan won't cooperate or engage with such a state until it addresses and take meaningful action against the groups that are causing the turmoil at the bordering areas. Therefore, the border security issues have deepened the chasm between the two neighbours by initiating a diplomatic cutoff and temporary reluctance between the two countries.

#### **b) REFUGEE ISSUE : INCREASING HATE RHETORIC BETWEEN THE**

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## TWO COUNTRIES:

The issue of repatriation of Afghan refugees also increased the stagnation among the bilateral ties. As Pakistan's government launched its policy for return of refugees after hosting them for more than 2 decades, it resulted in the severe backlash from Afghan government. The reluctance of Afghan government to get back the refugees and rehabilitate them led to emergence of hate speech toward Pakistan among Afghan citizens. The ~~legitimate~~ government used it as a tool to satisfy their further allege Pakistan of humanitarian violations. Such actions by the Afghan government also deepened the mistrust among the two neighbours, compelling both to move in opposite direction.

## (C) STRATEGIC REGIONAL RE-ALIGNMENT DECREASES THE CHANCES OF CLOSE COOPERATION:

The most recent strategic realignment by the Afghan and Pakistan governments in the region further reduced the chances of close cooperation in

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The new relations thereby leave the bilateral ties at risk. Pakistan realigned itself with the international hegemon, a rival of the Afghanistani government. In the similar fashion, Afghan government shifted its alignment towards the regional rival of Pakistan. These realignment in the region further sabotage the sanctity of the bilateral ties.

## D) CONCLUSION:-

Although the historic roots of uncertain relations do impact the bilateral ties but the contemporary issues like security concerns, repatriation of refugees and re-alignment of alliances can prove to be detrimental for Pakistan, making both the Eastern and Western border hostile. Therefore, there is a need of strategic dialogue which could address and solve the concerns of both countries, thereby paving the way for smooth bilateral relations.

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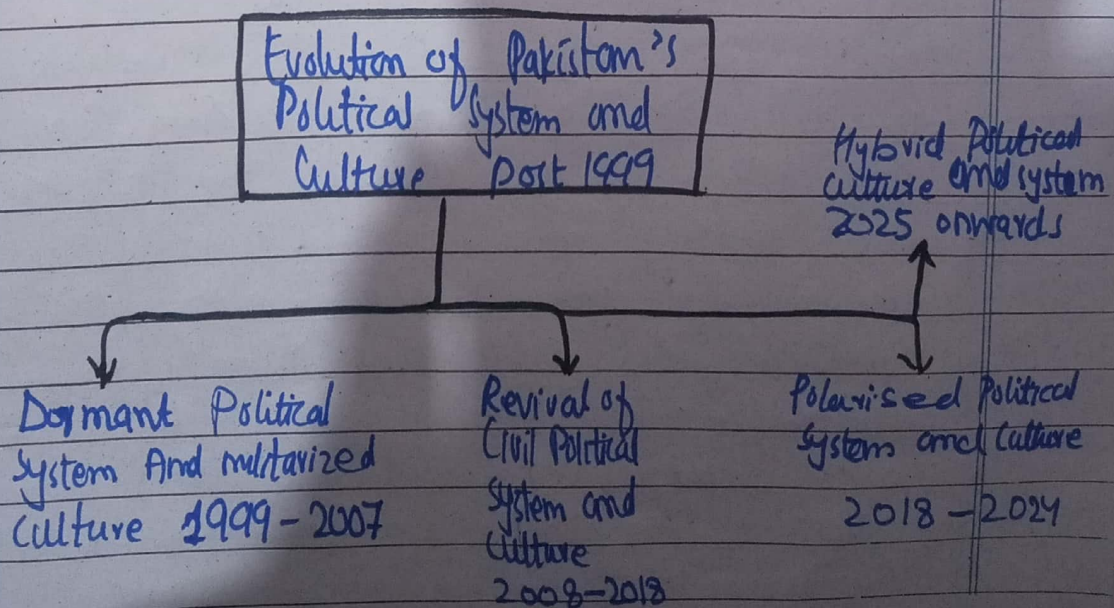
## QUESTION #2

### ANSWER

#### 1) INTRODUCTION:

The political system and culture of Pakistan showed rapid evolution after 1999 from being dormant and militarized to democratic to a hybrid political system. These changes are dominantly influenced by the conditions and the nature of rules that remained in the entire era. Moreover, the constitutional developments also remained an important factor in shaping the democratic continuity and governance.

#### 2) THE EVOLUTION OF PAKISTAN'S POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CULTURE AFTER 1999:



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## A) 1999-2007 : THE ERA OF DORMANT CIVIL POLITICAL SYSTEM AND MILITARIZED CULTURE

Pakistan political culture has rapidly evolved. During the era between 1999-2007, the civil political system remained dormant. The democratic element of the political system that is the presence of opposition was suppressed. However, the political culture remained heavily militarized. Hamid Khan termed this era as the era of political chaos.

### ACQUISITION OF LEGITIMACY BY RESTRICTING / LIMITING THE POLITICAL ESSENCE :

During this era, the devolution of power was done to local level. But this time not to improve the services delivery to the public, according to the historians the move was purely based on acquiring the legitimacy of a militarized political culture by undermining the accountability mechanisms at the federal level. So, during the 1999 to 2007 era, the political dissent remained suppressed.

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and the militarized political culture was glorified.

## B) 2008 - 2013 : THE REVIVAL OF CIVIL POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CULTURE

After the elections, the victory of a<sup>10</sup> civil party (PPP) marked the revival of a civil and democratic political system in Pakistan. The right of raising dissent remained active during this era. However, due to emergence of terrorism across the country in these years, government needed the role of military but it remained limited to defence perspective only.

## 2013 - 2018 : THE INITIATION OF POLARIZATION IN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CULTURE

The transition of one civilian government to another in 2013 though preserved the roots of civil political culture. But, simultaneously, it increased the polarization among the political entities. Therefore, 2013-2018

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era marked the start of a new political system and culture.

### C) POLARIZED POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CULTURE: THE ERA OF 2013-2024

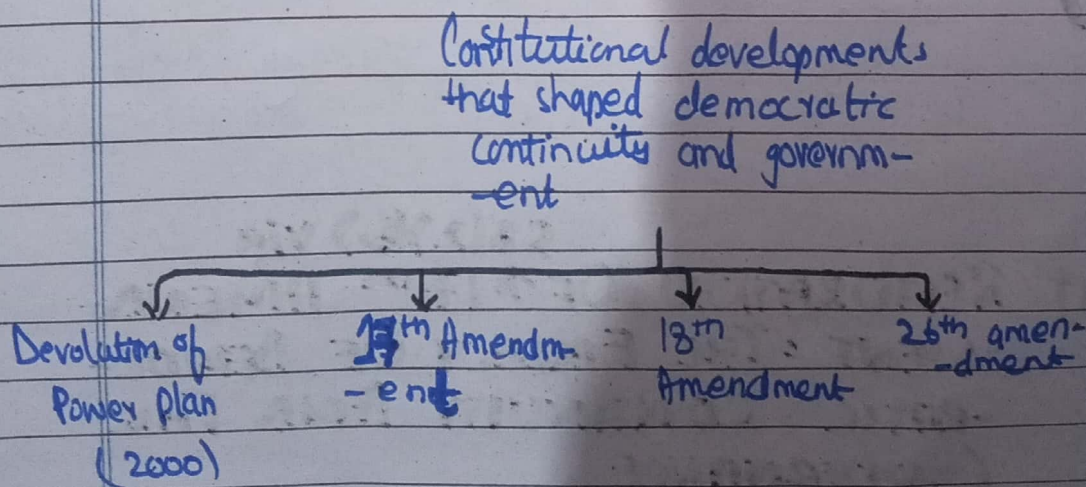
The polarized political culture became evident when a new political party ousted the serving prime minister through vote of no confidence. The party became the governing figure after winning the election. However, the same party was ousted by the alliance of other parties in 2021, thereby, marking the peak time of polarization of political system and culture. The system remained polarized even during the interim government formed to conduct fair elections for smooth transition of government. The extremes of ideas <sup>led to</sup> delayed the elections. However, elections held in 2024 and a coalition government was established. The structure still retained the aspects of polarization strongly in its political culture and system.

### D) THE HYBRID POLITICAL SYSTEM AND CULTURE IN 2025:

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The year 2025 marked the initiation of a hybrid system which was acknowledged by the current defence minister at national and international platforms multiple times. It was the first time in the political history that the role of chief marshal law administrator was legalized. In the similar fashion, the civilian institutions are collaboratively headed by many retired and serving generals. Therefore, the 2025 year of 2025, marked the beginning of a hybrid political culture and system.

### 3) CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS FROM 1999 to 2025 THAT SHAPED DEMOCRATIC CONTINUITY AND GOVERNANCE:



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## A) DEVOLUTION OF POWER PLAN: UPHOLD THE SANCTITY OF DEMO- CRACY AND TRANSPARENT GOVERNANCE:

Under this plan, local government were empowered. The devolution of powers to the grass-root levels reflected and strengthened the democratic essence and ensure the existence of a transparent governance. Since, democracy in a true sense requires or demands the devolution of power to civilians and their check on the government, this move made reflected the strong democracy's presence as acknowledged by histo-  
-rians. Therefore, this move proved to be a safeguard of democracy despite the apparent presence of military dictatorship, thereby led to a smooth and long withstanding governance.

## 53(2)(b) via B) RESTORATION OF 17<sup>th</sup> AMEND- -MENT: THE FALLACY OF DEMOC- -RATIC CONTINUITY AND FAIR GOVERNANCE

The restoration of 53(2)(b) article shattered the strong influence

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of devolution. As the article vested powers in one person which diverges with the true essence of democracy and fair governance. Therefore, this move halted the democratic continuity by concentrating powers in the President, thereby undermining the transparent governance.

### **C) 18<sup>th</sup> AMENDMENT : A MILESTONE TO CONTINUE THE DEMOCRATIZATION AND FAIR GOVERNANCE**

The passing of 18<sup>th</sup> amendment proved to be milestone in increasing the inclusivity of governance and democratization. Since, it curtailed the presidential powers to avoid the concentration of power and considered abrogation and suspension of constitution high treason, it increased the chances of continuous democratic government and a transparent governance. Therefore, the constitutional development through 18<sup>th</sup> amendment proved to be milestone in influencing and shaping democracy and governance in the country.

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#### 4) CONCLUSION=

Although the significant constitutional development allowed the democratic essence to continue leading to more effective governance, the current developments seem to be challenging and halting the ways of long acquired democratic and governance paths. However, the political evolution simultaneously evolved more rapidly by continuous transitions between authoritarian, civil, polarised and hybrid political systems and cultures.

**QUESTION #7****ANSWER****A) INTRODUCTION:**

Pakistan's - hazardous-environmental-development model takes Pakistan to the top vulnerable countries. It is due to the realist prevailing perspective that undermines even the adaptation and mitigation efforts both at local and national levels. Additionally extensive use of non-renewable energy source, persistent deforestation, least investment in green programmes, focus on green and clean energy tools and deliberate ignorance by masses further increase Pakistan's vulnerability and add it to most affected countries. However ~~some way~~ <sup>some way</sup> to overcome it ~~by making~~ <sup>by making</sup> creating large carbon sinks through Afforestation and reforestation techniques, promoting use of renewable energy sources by offering incentives, integration at national and local levels to increase public awareness.

**B) POSITION OF PAKISTAN IN TOP MOST VULNERABLE COUNTRIES DUE TO ITS HAZARDOUS ENVIRONMENTAL**

## DEVELOPMENT MODEL:

### (i) OVER-RELIANT MODEL OF NON-RENEWABLE ENERGY-

Pakistan's model for environmental protection remains hazardous due to its overdependence on the non-renewable energy sources. Despite some efforts to clean transition to clean energy use, the implementation remains limited. One climate expert said in this context that Pakistan did not learn from its previous disasters and adhered to the same disastrous policy.

### (ii) DELIBERATE LOSS OF CARBON SINKS : WEAK REGULATORY MODEL

Pakistan currently contains around 5% of green cover of its land. However, the internationally recommended is 12%. This cover is continuously shrinking due to continuous cutting of trees by general public and mafias. Due to weak regulation of the model, Pakistan lacks the ability to save its carbon sinks.

### (iii) LIMITED INVESTMENT IN GREEN PROJECTS:

Under the Paris agreement, all the countries were bound to decrease their reliance on conventional energy sources by significantly investing in green projects. However, the investment remains limited. Even if it is initiated, it stays limited to metropolitan cities and capital. This conscience overlooking and lack of investment in green investment also presents the hazardous nature of environmental model of Pakistan.

### (iv) IMPOSITION OF TAXES ON GREEN ENERGY TOOLS DISCOURAGE THEIR USE:

In the FY 2021 spending bill, a tax of around 10% was imposed on the imported solar panels, which have no alternative in Pakistan yet. Many policymakers and environmentalists criticized this move as more costly and discourages the use of green tools. Therefore, the imposition of taxes on the renewable energy tools also present another problem in the model that

that make Pakistan ~~for~~ vulnerable and add it to top 20 countries suffering from extreme climate change.

#### **(V) LACK OF PUBLIC AWARENESS EXACERBATE THE CLIMATE VULNERABILITY OF PAKISTAN: THE PRE-VALENT REALIST PERSPECTIVE**

The lack of public awareness also undermine the environmental-protectionist policy and make it hazardous. This is mostly attributed to the prevalent realist believe among the masses who considers it as a myth. This lack of awareness also let them continue with the destructive environmental practices thereby adding Pakistan to top 20 vulnerable countries.

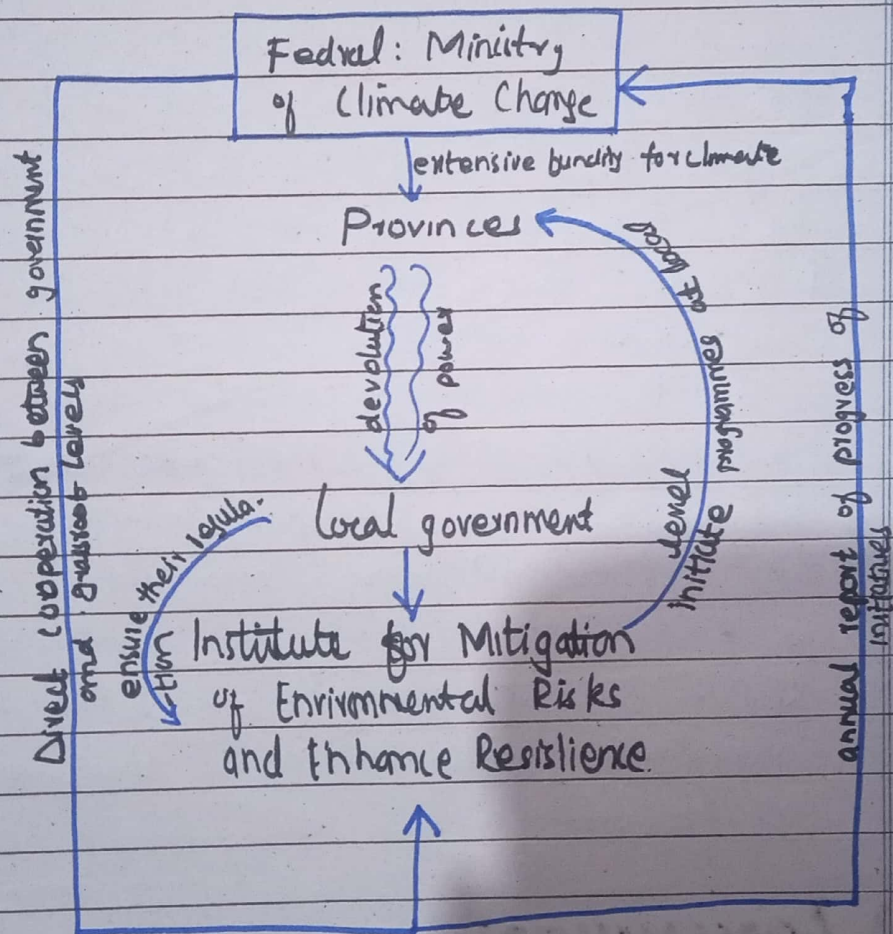
#### **(VI) PUBLIC-GOVERNMENT DISPARITY: LACK OF COLLECTIVE AND INTEGRATED EFFORTS**

Due to disparity between public and government at grass root levels, the integrated and collective effort remain idealistic. It is one of the significant reasons which deepened and widened the

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gap between policies and implementations, ultimately compelling Pakistan to the best of V20.

## (C) RECOMMENDATIONS : A STRATEGY TO MITIGATE ENVIRONMENTAL RISKS AND ENHANCE RESILIENCE :



An effective strategy to mitigate the environmental crises and enhance resilience in the country can be achieved by initiating devolution of powers (of power) to grassroot levels.

once it is done, make the institutes completely controlled by local governments for mitigation efforts and enhancement of resilience. The local governments of all provinces will receive extra fund for climate resilience from the centre. The fund will be allocated under strict regulation of local government to the designated institution for the specific initiative. The progress in the initiative will be regulated by the local government regularly. Moreover, the designated institutions of all provinces will be in direct contact with the ministry of climate change and with each other. All the institutions will share the annual progress to the ministry. Ministry can also direct or bind them to start a certain initiative. In this way, effective environmental risks mitigation and resilience can be achieved.

## (D) CONCLUSION:

Although the hazardous environmental model of Pakistan is the reason which compels it towards V20, it can be overcome now in time. Otherwise, the realist prevalent perspective will

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only leave the country with in misery over-  
-siding the concepts of environmental  
protection and justice