

PART-II

Date:

QUESTION #2

ANSWER:

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan is the country that appeared on map in 1947 after gaining independence from British Raj in India. Since then, Pakistan is facing abnormal transaction of government. Pakistan was in the control of military dictators for more than 35 years. The military intervention has stifled the growth of democracy in the country. Pakistan has witnessed around 3 martial laws in its history that abrogated constitution and dissolved democratically elected provincial and National assemblies. Alongside with political changes, Pakistan has to face constitutional crisis as well. Pakistan has witnessed around 3 constitutions in its history. The latest one is 1973 constitution. Each new constitution is different from previous one. This changes in constitution along

amendments in constitution has affected governance and democracy in both positive and negative way.

POLITICAL EVALUATION IN PAKISTAN AFTER 1999:

1) MUSHARAF DESCENDANCE TO POWER:

Musharraf deposed Nawaz from seat and imposed emergency that put constitution in abeyance. Court vindicated the emergency on the basis of elimination of corruption from the country and to strengthen the economy. Musharraf held election on non-party basis for provincial and national assembly. Before this, he held referendum and become president of the country. He also passed 17th amendment that shifted power fulcrum to president.

use more specific and self explanatory headings:.....

2) JUDICIARY IN ACTION:

Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudry initiated proceedings against

Musharraf for holding two positions.
 Chief of Army Staff and President.
 Musharraf ousted Chief Justice -
 Iftikhar Chaudhry. Started -
 Domestic and local pressure forced
 government to leave the seat.

(3) ARRIVAL OF PPP AND 18th AMENDMENT:

Fresh election for provincial
 and National assembly was
 conducted in 2007. PPP came to
 power. The main work that is
 considered as hallmark steps in
 political history is 18th amendment
 that happened in PPP's tenure.
 18th amendment brought many changes
 to political arena. PPP became
 the first civilian government
 that completed its term of 5
 years.

(4) DESCENDANCE OF PML-N TO POWER:

After completion of PPP's tenure,
 new general election held in
 country in 2013. PML-N became
 ruling party. PML-N has to

face tough opposition from PTI-
Ultimately, Nawaz was ousted from
PM's seat because of Panama
Case.

(5) PTI ON THE POWER SEAT:

After struggle of decade, PTI
became the ruling party after
winning 2018 elections. Imran Khan
became PM. However, the government
failed to strengthen economy due
to COVID episode. Vote of no
confidence was initiated against
him and he was ultimately
removed from power.

(6) COALITION GOVERNMENT:

After the removal of Imran Khan
from office, PDM took over the
government responsibility. Fresh
elections were conducted in
2024. The coalition against
succeeded in creating the
government. However, there are
many controversy surrounding the
legitimacy of coalition government.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS THAT SHAPED DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE:

(1) 18th AMENDMENT: REVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY:

18th amendment was promulgated in PPP's tenure. It is considered that this amendment has altered 1/3rd of constitution. Following are some of the provisions that shaped democracy and governance:

(a) REMOVAL OF ARTICLE 58 2(b) AND 112:

18th amendment has removed article 58 2(b) and 112(b) that was used by dictators and president to dissolve national and provincial assembly and to remove democratically elected leaders.

(b) AUTONOMY TO PROVINCES:

18th amendment has granted autonomy to provinces. Many of the subjects are transferred to provinces. Tax collection power was

also granted to them. They are made co-equal owner of provincial resources. This has proven to be crucial step in improving government.

(c) SET-UP OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT:

Article 140-A has made the set-up of local government as provincial subject and urged the provinces to conduct elections of local government. This has brought government closer to local people.

(d) NFC AWARD: FISCAL DECENTRALIZATION:

Provinces are given substantive portion of fiscal share. Provinces are given 52.7% of financial share that can be revised each year. However, the revised share cannot be less than the previous.

(e) PROTECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS:

18th Amendment has protected fundamental rights. Article 10A allows free and fair trial. Article 17A guarantees right

to information and article 25A guarantees right to access free education.

(f) CARETAKER SETUP:

18th amendment makes it mandatory to establish caretaker government for conducting elections. This was meant to make election fair.

(g) SELECTION OF ECP CHIEF:

The selection of ECP chief was made more transparent. PM and leader of opposition selects one name and then send it to Parliamentary committee that has both opposition and government member. The committee finalizes one name.

(2) 26th AMENDMENT:

(a) CHANGE IN PROCESS OF JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT.

The process of judicial appointment is totally changed with the passage of 26th amendment. Parliamentary committee is formed that consists of

Parliamentarians and judges to make appointments. Parliamentarians have majority so selection majority depends on ~~them~~.

(b) CLIPPING JUDICIAL OVERREACH:

26th amendment has removed suo moto power of Supreme Court and transferred it to judicial committee of Pakistan. This has clipped judicial overreach.

(c) RISK OF EXECUTIVE OVERREACH

There are high risk of executive overreach in judicial matters - as power to select judges now predominately lies with parliamentarians. Supreme judicial commission now ~~can~~ initial proceedings ~~against~~ any judge on the recommendation of judicial committee that has parliamentarians majority. This puts judges job at risk.

(d) BLOW TO TRICHOTOMY OF POWER:

Trichotomy of power asserts that judiciary, legislative and executive

should be separated. However, 26th amendment seems to have given clean chit to executive to interfere in judicial matters. This will affect judicial check on executive and legislative.

CONCLUSION:

Pakistan is considered to be the country that is rich in potentials and resources. However, it fails to take advantage of its potential due to poor governance and undemocratic transaction. Government of Pakistan should take steps to strengthen democracy. Once democracy is strengthened, good governance would also be realized as former is the product of latter.

QUESTION #3

ANSWER:

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan is facing worst economic crisis of history. The government is unable to recover the economy of the Pakistan. Government of the Pakistan tries to employ temporary solution to strengthen the economy of Pakistan. The nation, that depends on debts and gets false sense of complacency after slight improvement in economic parameter by receiving in debts, cannot improve its economic health. The government seems to make hollow claims of austerity but forgets the meaning of austerity when question are raised about their life style and luxuries. The challenges that Pakistan is facing is ~~pre~~-dominately due to structural flaws in our economy. We still depend on outdated models of economic recovery that has not failed to soothe our economic wounds.

CHALLENGES DUE TO DEEP STRUCTURAL FLAWS IN OUR ECONOMY:

It seems that most of the challenges that Pakistan ~~are~~ facing are mainly because of our flawed economic structure. Following are the flaws.

(a) BURGEONING CURRENT ACCOUNT DEFICIT DUE TO DEARTH OF EXPORTS:

Pakistan has been facing balance of payment crisis due to lack of export and ~~bulk~~ import. In fiscal year 24, Pakistan imported goods of around \$50mn and exported around \$27.5mn.

(b) RELANCE ON REMITTANCES:

Pakistan economy largely depends upon remittance that is not reliable source of foreign earning as compare to export earning.

(c) MUSHROOM GROWTH OF DEBTS:

Pakistan has now become habitual

of receiving debts to temporarily stabilize its falling economy. Debts always come interest that are now felt as burden on national economy. Pakistan has around 75% debt

(d) UNFAVOURABLE CONDITION FOR FDI:

The conditions in Pakistan is not suitable for FDI. The growth pattern of GDP is erratic. Pakistan faces energy crisis, political turmoil, security issues and red tapism. These conditions shatter the confidence of investor.

(e) POOR FISCAL DISCIPLINE:

It is visible that Pakistan is facing poor fiscal discipline. The work of provinces and federal is duplicate. Parliamentarians are enjoying luxurious life style and perks. There are number of cases of corruption.

(f) HIGH COST OF PSDP:

Government is facing huge costs of PSDP. In FY 25, government

allocated \$26tr to PSDP Pakistan needs to look for public private partnership, instead of enhancing the burden on nation exchequer.

(g) **NFC AWARD:**

NFC award transfers substantial portion of federal earnings to provinces and makes them free rider.

(h) **POOR ALLOCATION OF SUBSIDIES:**

Government gives subsidies to department that does not deserve them. Subsidies should be targetted and it should be evaluated if the department is giving more output or not.

(i) **PAYS AND PENSION:**

Government of Pakistan has allocated \$1.03tr to pensions and pays. This is extra cost that government is bearing. Iran was once defaulted because of huge cost of pays and pensions. There is need to devise strict policies regarding pays and pension.

1st part of the answer is not properly answered.....

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS TO ADDRESS THE CHALLENGES.

(1) INCREASE EXPORTS BY REVIVING LOCAL INDUSTRIES:

Pakistan should increase exports by developing local industries. It must bring ~~technology~~ to home that give boost to ~~export~~. It should also diversify its export base.

(2) CREATE FERTILE CONDITIONS FOR REMITTANCES:

Pakistan should make agreements with friendly countries to employ its youth. It should channelize remittance ~~transactions~~. It should create visa free labour.

add and highlight references/examples against these arguments.

(3) ADJUST DEBT PAYMENTS:

It should bring more and more fiscal discipline and revive national institutes to increase their earnings. It should re-adjust ~~its~~ debt payment using 8 ~~pivots~~ - climate justice, geographical location and G77 forum.

(4) FERTILE GROUNDS FOR FDI:

It should create fertile grounds for FDI. It should eliminate terrorism, political crisis to bring investor. It must also provide one window operation to investors.

(5) GIVE RISE TO PRIVATIZATION:

There are many national assets that are causing huge losses. State should privatize them and earn profits from them.

(6) BRING PENSION REFORMS:

Pakistan should create self contributory pension scheme in which employ contribute a portion of its salary in funds that is then used to do business. The profit of that business will be used as pensions of employ.

(7) MINERAL ECONOMY - A HIDDEN TREASURE:

It is estimated that Pakistan has around \$6 tr mineral reserve. Pakistan

should attract investors by doing geological survey and marking mineral hotspot. These mineral reserves can revive the spirit of economy.

(B) **STRENGTHEN REVENUE COLLECTION:**

Pakistan should strengthen revenue collection. It must bring all tax evaders under tax net. It should also impose taxes on real estate, agriculture and retailers.

CONCLUSION:

Pakistan is suffering from worst economic crisis. The previous mentioned steps have potential to revive the economy of Pakistan. There are many countries who are suffering from worst economic crisis but today they are economic giants because of reforms. Pakistan should learn from these countries and strengthen its economy.

QUESTION #5

ANSWER:

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan and US relations are just like roller coaster with many ups and down. Pakistan joined SEATO and CENTO in its initial days and became USA's ally. USA then cuts its aid to Pakistan and started creating relations with India. Pakistan helped USA president Nixon to visit China that improved relation between both. Then, USSR invasion in Afghanistan between two. Pakistan then tested nuclear weapon that opened the passage of Pressler amendment meant to impose sanction on Pakistan. Pakistan then sided USA in war on Terror that opened the gates of USA aid. USA then accused Pakistan of double game and started improving ties with India. It also weaponized India that created insecurity in Pakistan. The current era of Trump seems to golden era of US-Pakistan relation as both has made many agreements.

CONTOROUS OF RECENT WARMING OF TIES BETWEEN USA AND PAKISTAN

1) PAK ALLODES FOR CEASEFIRE AND INDIA'S REJECTION:

Pakistan and India has recently faced clashed in May. They were at the brink of war when Trump brokered ceasefire which Pakistan accepted whole-heartedly and India rejected it. This improved relation between both countries.

2) SANCTION ON INDIA - VACUUM FOR PAKISTAN:

USA imposed sanctions on India for importing Russian oil. This has opened gateway of bonhomie between two nations.

3) NOMINATION FOR NOBLE PRIZE:

Trump has been struggling hard to achieve Noble prize. Pakistan gets into the president good book by nominating him for noble prize.

(4) FAVOURABLE TRADE ^ENEGOTIATIONS:

USA has initially imposed 29% tariffs on Pakistan. Pakistani delegation was successful in lowering the tariffs from 29% to 19%.

(5) COOPERATION IN MINERAL SECTOR:

USA has shown keen interest in Pakistan's mineral reserve because of its semiconductor industry. Pakistan has also sent its first shipment of rare-earth metal to Missouri based company USM.

(6) JOINT VENTURE TO EXPLORE PAKISTAN'S OIL RESERVE:

Trump has asserted that Pakistan has huge oil reserves of \$9 bn. He also said that both countries should explore these oil reserve jointly.

7) DESIGNATING MAJEED BRIGADE AS GLOBAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION:

USA has designated Majed Brigade as global terrorist organization.

Majeed Brigade is ^{most} lethal splinter of BLA that is involved in many suicide attacks in Pakistan.

(9) RE-IGNITION OF KASHMIR ISSUE:

Pakistan and India latest Stand-off has given rise to Kashmir issue. Trump also offered to ^{play} mediator role in Kashmir issue that seems to be beneficial for Pakistan.

NATURE OF COOPERATION

The cooperation between the two countries seems to be a transactional cooperation rather than strategic partnership because of following reasons.

(1) DONALD TRUMP - A BROKEN REED

Trump is not a reliable partner in international politics. Trump politics is marked by complete flips. One one hand, he initiated peace talks with Iran regarding its nuclear programs. However, on

other hand, trump used its bunker buster bomb to assist Israel. Therefore, Pakistan should not ~~rely~~ and dependent is on trump's ~~intends~~ as he can flip anytime.

(2) **USA STRATEGIC INTEREST IN PAKISTAN RARE EARTH METAL:**

USA's semiconductor industry is dependent on rare earth metal import. Trade war between China and USA has halted the import of these metals from ~~China~~. USA wants to find alternative import partner to strengthen the production of chips that are crucial components of modern weapon, vehicles and etc.

(3) **INDIA IS CENTRIC TO USA INDO PACIFIC POLICY,**

USA knows that Pakistan is all weather friend of China. USA cannot use Pakistan to stop the rise of China. It would shift its policy to India ~~once~~ the trump completes its ~~term~~ over office. Therefore, the cooperation between the two is not strategic.

(4) 'DO MORE' POLICY OF USA:

Pakistan's foreign policy makers are well-aware of America's 'Do More' policy. Pakistan has suffered a loss of \$110bn in War on Terror, sacrificed around 83000 lives. Yet, USA still said do more. Therefore, this cooperation is temporary that would be stopped on completion of US interest.

(5) US INTEREST IN AFGHANISTAN: BAGHRAM AIR BASE

USA wants to get hold of Baghrum air base in Afghanistan. The basis of interest of USA in this base is its close proximity to China. USA wants to pursue its containment policy of China. It may use Pakistan to pressure Afghanistan to hand over this base to USA. Therefore, this partnership has some hidden motives as well.

CONCLUSION:

Pakistan should not stretch its

relation with China in new
developments in its relation with
USA- Pakistan should use this
cooperation to strengthen its economy,
eliminate terrorism and seek climate
justice- Pakistan should focus on
independent policy instead of
becoming a client state.

QUESTION 4

ANSWER:

INTRODUCTION:

Pakistan and Afghanistan are brotherly countries that have faced many ups and downs in their relationship. Afghanistan blocked Pakistan membership into UNO. Pakistan reciprocated with friendly gesture and financed Afghan Mujahideen to help Afghanistan during Soviet invasion. Then came War on Terror episode that strained relation between the two. However, Pakistan was accused by foreign powers about playing double game. After ouster of US forces from Afghanistan, the relation between the two remained frost due to many factors.

FACTORS THAT STRAINED RELATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES:

- (1) **TERRORISM: AFGHAN SUPPORT FOR THEM:**
Pakistan has accused Afghan government of

providing safe heavens to TTP that is causing terrorism in Pakistan. Pakistan has employed multiple solutions to persuade Afghan government to halt supporting TTP but all went useless. AM Shahbaz has openly admitted that Afghan government is supporting them. Pakistan has recently carried out strikes and ground operation on TTP which was responded by Afghan Army. The two countries first time engaged in direct fight. Though, the ceasefire was brokered but it has ultimately strained the relation between the two.