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RWP-08-074

Pakistan Affairs

Q2

Climate Change: A Non-traditional Security Threat To Pakistan

Introduction:

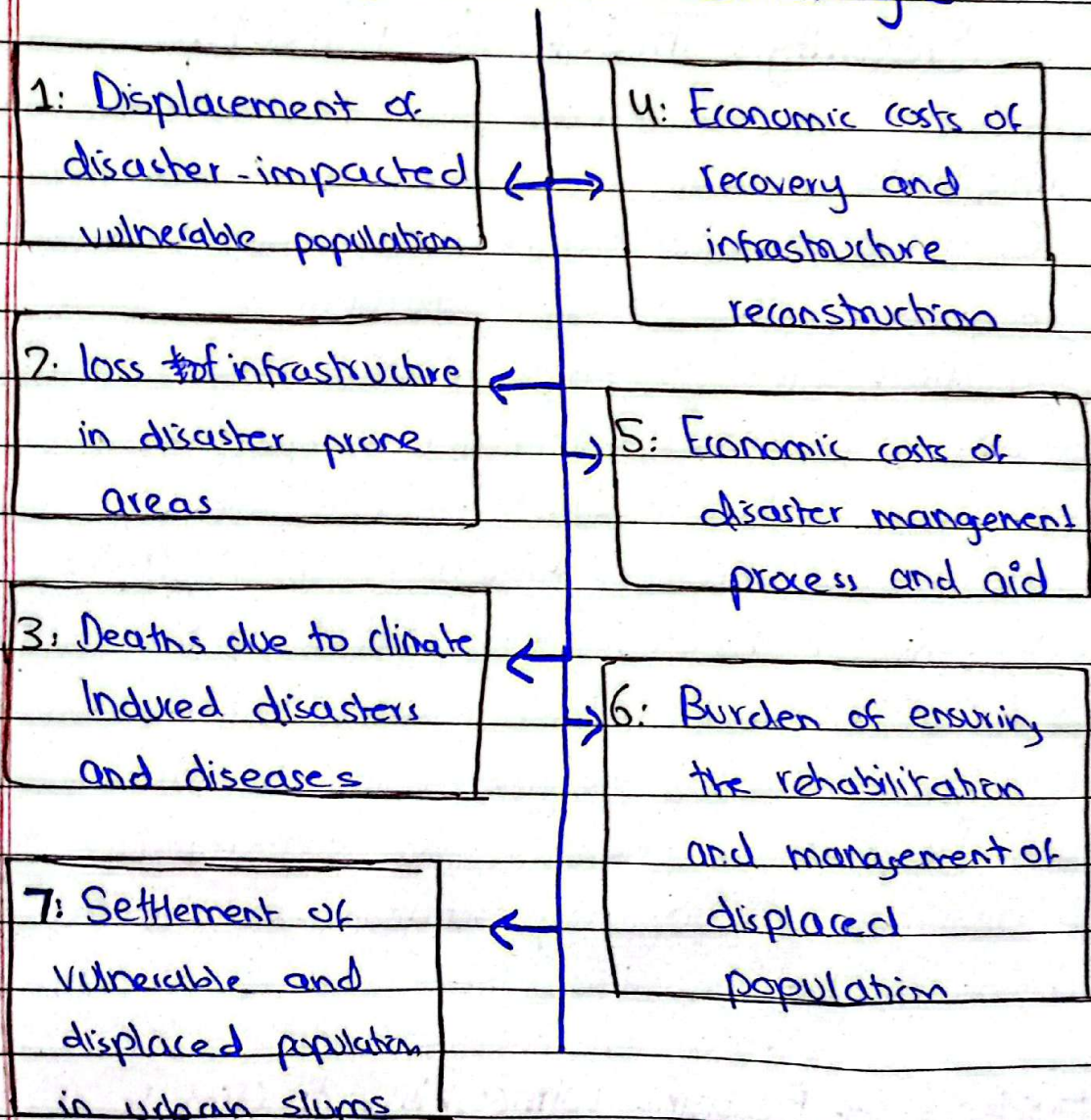
Climate change has emerged as a major non-traditional security threat for Pakistan as it is a direct threat to social, political and economic security of the country. Being one of the most vulnerable country to climate-induced impacts, despite contributing less than 0.5% to global carbon emissions, Pakistan is in a critical position to build strong institutional mechanisms and revitalize the existing environmental protection acts and climate change policies to help country reduce its vulnerability to rising and intensifying, climate change impacts.

Evidence of Pakistan's vulnerability to Climate Change:

Floods of 2022, 2025, droughts in Sindh, Glaciers in Gilgit Baltistan, heat waves in Punjab and Sindh

have resulted in numerous casualties and displacement within the country in the past few decades which highlight Pakistan's vulnerability to the crisis.

Socio-economic Implications Of Climate Change



1: Displacement of Disaster Impacted Vulnerable Population:

Climate changed and the extreme weather patterns in the form of floods, cyclones, heat waves, repeated droughts have displaced millions from vulnerable areas. This displacement forces people to leave behind their livestock, property assets and are forced to settle within urban areas and restart their life with minimal means of livelihood.

2022 floods displaced 33 million people according to several NDMA, UNDP reports.

2: Loss of Infrastructure In Disaster Prone areas:

Floods and cyclones have had a massive impact on infrastructure especially in Gilgit Baltistan and KPK. Infrastructure near floodplains are the worst impacted, affecting both local population and their businesses, source of livelihood and local communities. Schools, houses, markets, roads, bridges are the worst impacted which was evident in both 2022 and 2025 floods.

According to a report published, only 30% of schools damaged by floods and disaster impacts in Sindh have started functioning properly after 2022 floods in 2025, remaining schools are still under rubble.

3: Deaths and Burden on Health Sector due to disaster induced impacts and diseases:

Pakistan has had to deal with health emergencies due to extreme climatic variations. Heat wave related death and diseases, spread of water-borne diseases in response to floods, deaths due to infrastructure collapse in response to floods, malnutrition in response to impact on agricultural sector in drought prone areas are a major threat to Pakistan's health sector.

2022 floods claimed the lives of 1700 people and 2025 floods are estimated to have claimed more than 600 lives.

4: Economic Costs of Recovery and Reconstruction.

Pakistan despite having a low GDP growth has to contributed 10% of its GDP for climate and disaster management. The economic costs of recovery from disasters and infrastructure reconstruction are a huge burden on already crippling economic conditions.

5: Economic Costs of Disaster management and Aid Provision:

NDMA, PDMA, DDMA require funds for their

functioning. On-site emergency responses, provision of aid, early warning process, evacuation of local community from disaster prone areas requires funds which again puts burden on federal and provincial budgets.

6: Burden of ensuring the rehabilitation and management of Displaced Population:

Floods and droughts especially induce mass displacements, these displaced population are a responsibility of state. Pakistan has had to face numerous problems and economic costs to provide temporary camps and necessary medical services to displaced population.

7: Settlement of vulnerable and displaced population in urban slums:

Disaster affected population is forced to settle in urban slums, hence increasing the burden on urban areas. Droughts in Sindh have forced a huge number of population to live in Karachi's slums, increasing crime rate, health problems and traffic congestion and pollution related problems in the city which the government is having issues to deal with.

Political Implications Of Climate Change

1: Inability of Provincial disaster management authorities to deal with climate-induced issues and the resultant political blame-game

2: Federal and Provincial tensions on climate and disaster management budget

3: Disgruntlement of Public towards lack of political leaders inefficiency to deal with the matter.

4: External pressures on government to strengthen climate action plan and policies

5: Dependence on foreign aid for climate management and the resultant criticism from public hinders political standing of governing parties.

1): Inability of PDMA and DDMA's to deal with climate induced disasters and resultant blame-game:

Climate change has highlighted the inefficiency of PDMA and DDMA to tackle climate-induced disasters. This has resulted in number blame-game politics between center and provinces on disaster management. Since under 18 amendment of constitution (2010) disaster management has been made a provincial subject.

2): Federal-Provincial Tensions on disaster management and climate mitigation Budget and Funds:

Every time a disaster hits Pakistan, there is a wave of federal-provincial tensions and debates in political forums and parliaments on how inadequate and inefficient fund distribution is the reason of failure of disaster and climate change management. This contributes to political unrest and shift in the focus from efforts to prevent any further disasters to provincial disparity and resource allocation, resulting in no long term solution.

3): Disgruntlement among general public towards lack of political ruling parties inefficiency to manage climate change.

Everytime a disaster hits the country, resentment in displaced and general public rises towards political ruling parties on their lack of efficiency to deal with climate change, which fuels political unrest and reduces public's trust in government.

4): External pressure on government to Strengthen Climate Action Plan and Policies.

Pressure from international organizations ~~to~~ on governments on how to strengthen climate action plan and policies has not contributed to any improvement by government to tackle climate change impacts. Climate action plan and policies have major implementation gaps despite numerous efforts.

5): Dependence on Foreign aid and the resultant criticism from public hinders political standing of ruling parties.

Even though finance minister of Pakistan has announced that Pakistan would not take any foreign aid to tackle with climate change

and disaster management in the aftermath of 2025 floods but will this stance continue is yet to be seen. Previous foreign aid and the resultant loan crisis has fueled public resentment towards repeated cycle of government's inefficiency to deal with climate change.

Pakistan's Institutional Response To Climate-Induced Challenges

(i): Institutional mechanisms to mitigate climate change impacts:

1: Pakistan Environment Protection Act-1997:

PEPA-1997 provides legal framework on how government is supposed to mitigate climate change impacts and ensure long-term environment restoration to reduce disaster severity in the future. It includes penalties on violation of environment legislations.

2: Pakistan Environment Protection Council (PEPC):

PEPC is given the task to ensure the implementation of PEPA (1997). It comprises of ministers, experts,

NGOs, local and provincial ministers to ensure PEPA is being implemented.

- 3: Pakistan Environment Protection Agency:
Federal EPA is tasked with ensuring any new developmental projects align with PEPA and do not become vulnerable in case of any climate-induced disaster.

- 4: Provincial EPA:
Provincial-level EPA is tasked with ensuring developmental projects within province jurisdiction do not violate Environment protection regulations and investigate the vulnerability of new projects.

(PP): Institutional Mechanisms to Deal With Climate Change.

- 1: Nation Climate Change ^{Policy} ~~Act~~ - 2017:
This was the first step-post kyoto protocol to align Pakistan with kyoto protocol green house carbon gas emission reductions and align climate policies of Pakistan with SDGs to ensure long-term resilience to disasters induced by climate in Pakistan.

2: National Climate Action Plan-2018.

Climate action plan introduced under climate change policy was to ensure policy and act implementation to ensure targets are met to tackle national level climate vulnerability.

(iii): Institutional Mechanisms to Deal with Disasters Induced by Climate Change:

1: National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA):

NDMA is tasked with the formulation of plans and policies and budget allocation, early disaster warnings and post-disaster recovery and report generations to identify gaps in Pakistan's climate change response.

2: Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA):

After 18th amendment, PDMA is responsible for ensuring climate response management and disaster management at provincial level based on broad frameworks provided by NDMA.

3. District Disaster Management Authority (DDMA):

Under PDMA, DDMA is tasked with managing disasters and climate response at district level and to ensure resource, are rightfully being allocated to tackle with climate change at district level.

Conclusion:

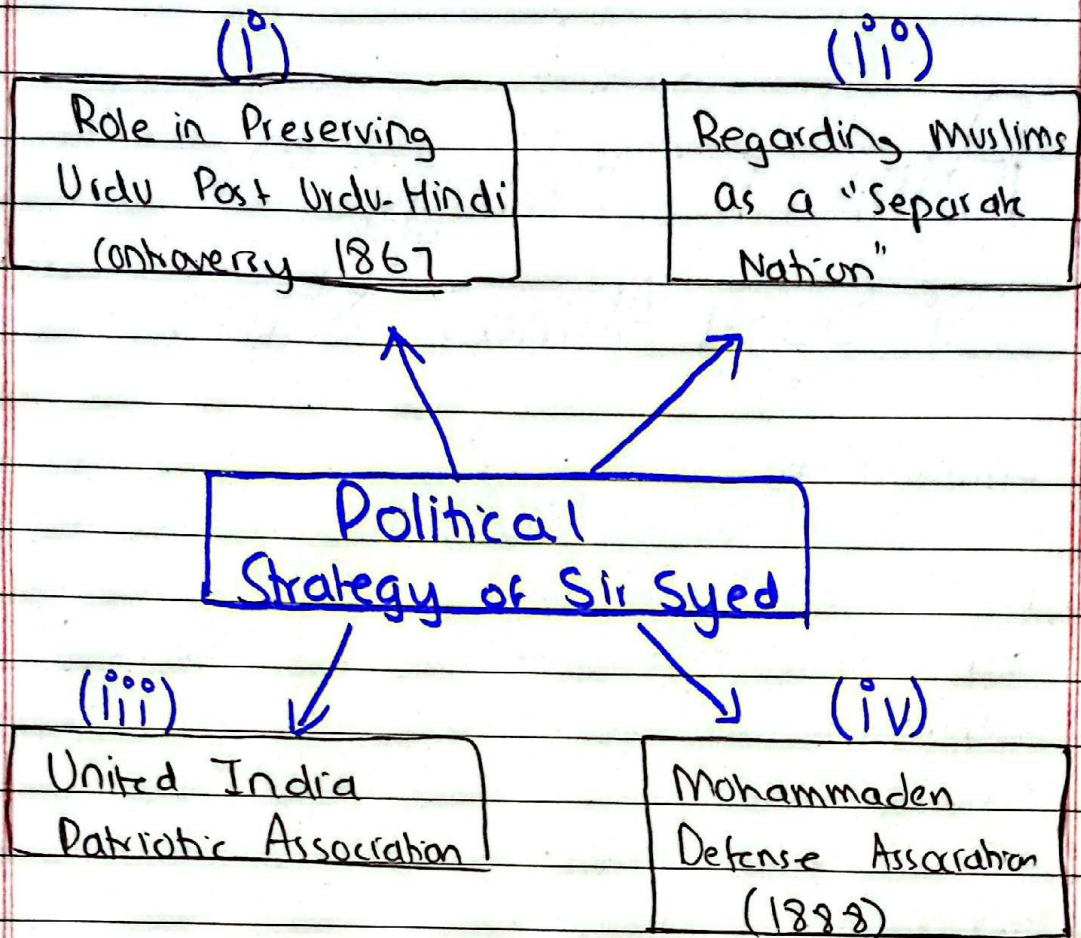
Pakistan's vulnerability to climate change is exposed ~~at~~ every year in the form of public displacement, disaster induced deaths and diseases, economic burden to rehabilitate and reconstruct disaster impacted infrastructure. Political parties and ruling government, on the other hand, undergo blame-game politics, public criticism and external pressure to come up with possible solutions to strengthen climate response. PEPA (1997), NDMA, PDMA, DDMA, EPA, are a step towards right direction, only if they are strengthened enough to ensure climate response is strong enough to reduce disaster impact.

Q1

Political Strategy Of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Introduction:

In the aftermath of 1857, war of Independence, Muslims were under strict British violence and politically very insignificant in the British India. On the other hand, Hindus were using their educational and political awareness edge to gain British amity. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan recognized the gaps which led to Muslims being a target of British and unable to restore their power. His political strategy gave a voice to Muslims and brought them on one page on how to ensure the survival of Muslims in a Hindu dominated British India. His approach had been different from Indian National Congress because he realized INC was beginning to grow resentment towards British demands, which would again result in WOT related implications from British raj. His timely realization gave Muslims a chance to ensure their strong political standing in British India.



(i) Role In Preserving Urdu Post Urdu-Hindi controversy 1867:

In 1867, Urdu-Hindi controversy started in Banarès when Hindus started campaigns against Urdu and ensure dominance of Hindi in British India. This was a cruel awakening and realization for Sir Syed as he was aware of how important language is to ensure a nation's survival. Sir Syed encouraged writers to promote Urdu language and wrote numerous books to ensure Urdu language remains preserved.

(i)

Regarding Muslims as a "Separate Nation"

Sir Syed was a firm advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity but Hindi-Urdu controversy made him change his stance. He then advocated for how Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations and couldn't co-exist in long term. Hence, sowed the seeds for "Two-Nation Theory" and encouraged Muslims to realize their identity.

(ii)

United-India Patriotic Association

Sir Syed established a United-India patriotic association to help Muslims of British India strengthen their political presence and maintain ties with British to equally benefit from them as Hindus were doing. This would help Muslims achieve electoral rights later on and get access to political power establishment especially in Muslim majority areas.

(iv)

Establishment of Mohammedan Defense Association (1888):

Sir Syed established Mohammedan Defense Association, an effort to protect social, religious and political rights of Muslims of British India. This was a step in the right direction for Muslims to realize their political standing and rights in the British India.

Difference of Sir Syed's Approach from Indian National Congress (INC)

(i): Reapproachment With British Raj:

Sir Syed was of the view that reapproachment of Muslims post 1857 War was very important for Muslims to equally benefit from positions offered by British Raj as were being exploited by Hindus. INC later on started to tilt its stance away from British Raj. Sir Syed was aware this could lead to a turmoil and would result in strict resentment from British. Hence, unlike INC, Sir Syed encouraged

muslims to continue maintaining ties with British to ensure electoral right provisions in the future.

(ii): Promotion of modern education to align muslims with modern dynamics and bridge their gap with British:

Sir syed was a firm advocate of modern science and technology studies for muslims for which MAO college and later Aligarh were established. Scientific society and Aligarh Institute Gazette also help muslims develop understanding of modern world. This helped muslims bridge their gaps with British government and further better their ties with them and ensure political awareness among muslims. INC, on the otherhand, was more focused on promoting anti-muslim, pro-Hindu reforms and campaigns to strengthen their dominance in subcontinent.

Conclusion:

Sir Syed acted as messiah for muslims post-WoI. Muslims were powerless and had no political standing. However, sir syed's encouragement to muslims to acquire modern education, preservation of urdu, regarding muslims as a separate nation sowing the seeds for two nation theory, establishment of

All India patriotic association and mohammaden defense association gave muslims a political identity and awareness in a Hindu dominated British India. Furthermore, his approach of reapproachment towards British helped muslims gain electoral rights later, while Indian national congress due to their tilt away from British had to face serious repercussions.

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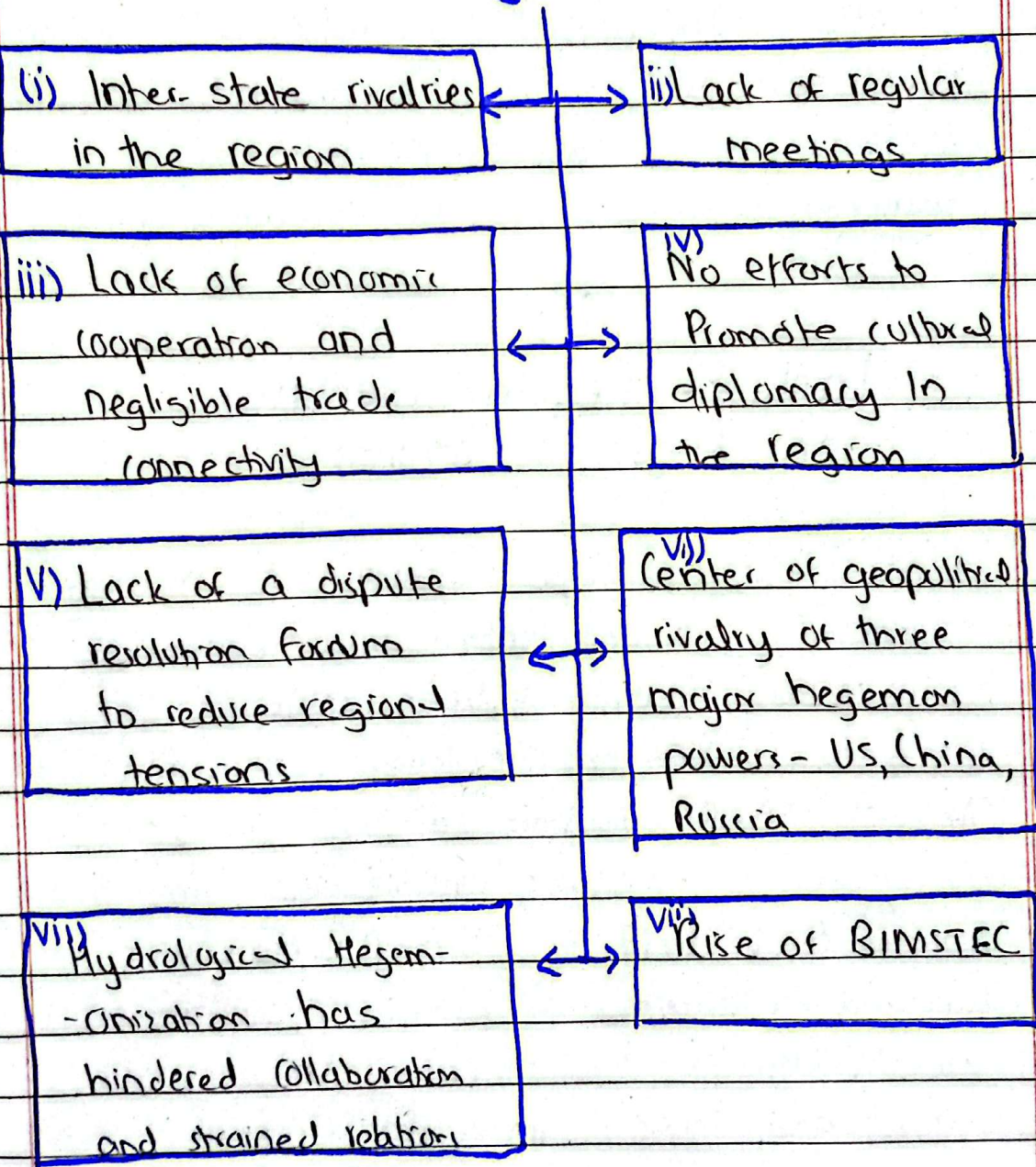
Failure Of South and Central Asia To Deliver Meaningful Integration

Introduction:

South Asia and Central Asia despite being a part of organizations like SAARC have failed to produce beneficial outcomes for the region. Many factors have contributed to their lack of integration and inability to achieve success like ASEAN has achieved in its region over the years. This lack of integration has fueled several economic,

political, diplomatic tensions in the region and despite having established a common forum for collaboration fail to deliver their services.

Reasons for Failure to Integrate



(P)

Inter-State Rivalries in the region:

South and central Asia is prone to conflicts because of historical, ethnic, territorial, regional, resource conflicts. India-Pakistan, India-Sri-Lanka, Pakistan-Afghanistan, etc. All these rivalries have contributed to inefficiency of efforts to integrate on regional forums to promote collaborations.

(Pi)

Lack of Regular Meetings on Regional Forums

Despite setting a proper framework for meeting schedule, South and central Asia regional organizations have not been able to bring the countries on one forum regularly. The last SAARC summit was held in 2014, 12 years ago. Another summit which was supposed to be held in 2016 - Pakistan was sabotaged by India by blaming Pakistan for Uri-attacks. Such rivalries between a state, and tensions among states result in failure of bringing all nations of the region on one forum timely for important regional issues.

(iii)

No efforts to Promote Cultural Diplomacy In the Region.

Despite having a rich cultural, linguistic, ethnic diversity, SA and central asian states have failed to promote their culture across the borders. For any region to thrive, cultural diplomacy is a key step to ensure people to people connectivity via visa-ease, promotion of across the border literature, entertainment. But no efforts are being done to ensure cultural connectivity in the region.

(iv)

Lack of economic cooperation and negligible trade connectivity

Lack of efforts to promote regional connectivity have seriously undermined any efforts to promote trade in the region. The total trade under SAARC's South Asia Free Trade Agreement (SAFTA) is only 5%. Whereas, ASEAN is the 5th largest economy of the world due to its 25% trade. This lack of trade connectivity is one of reason regional economic situation has not gotten

any better over the years.

(V)

Lack of Dispute Resolution Forum to reduce Regional Tensions

Despite being a dispute-prone area, South Asia and Central Asian regional organisations have not been able to strengthen regional level dispute resolution forums.

This has resulted in long-term rivalries which continue to buildup and hinder any regional connectivity efforts.

(VI)

Center of Geopolitical Rivalry for Three Major Global Powers i.e US, China, Russia:

Asia due to geographical location has always been a center of attention for global powers. The resource base of Asia is also one of the reason global actors want a hold in the region. US strategic partnership with India, China's strategic partnership with Pakistan, Russia's recognition of Afghan Taliban government all prove the Asia being a

center for global power interests. Their rivalry ultimately strains the relations among regional actors as well in the form of bloc-politics.

(vii)

Hydrological Hegemonization has strained regional relations and is a hurdle in regional collaboration

Hydrological rivalry and weaponization of water has strained relations over the years making regional connectivity a lost cause.

Regional organizations have been unable to resolve these disputes. India violation of Indus water Treaty, China-India conflict on Brahmaputra river, Pak-Afghan conflict and tension on Afghanistan's construction of Shahtoot dam on Kabul river. All these conflicts have undermined any collaboration efforts.

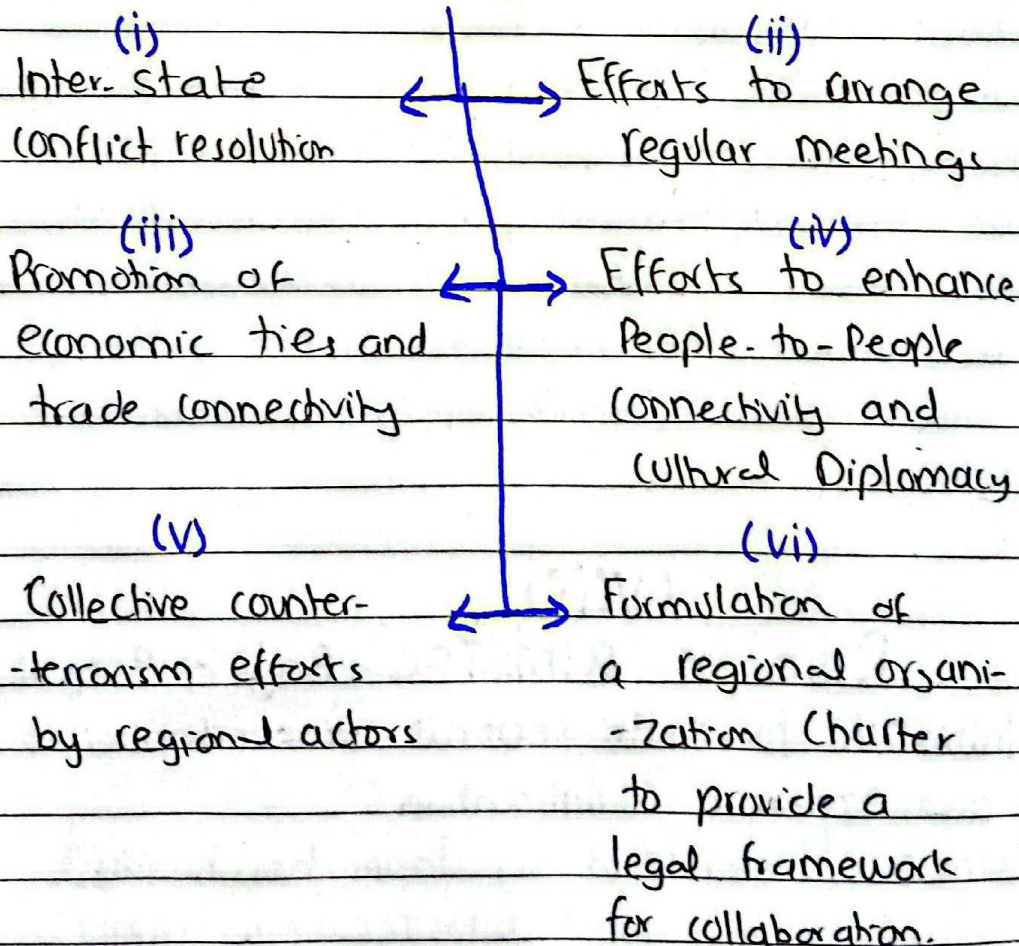
(viii)

Rise of BIMSTEC - Bay of Bengal Initiative for multi-sectoral ~~and~~ technological and economic collaboration

BIMSTEC - established by India has heavily shifted its tilt toward BIMSTEC over SAARC.

Shift of region's major state towards its own interest over regional interest results in neglect of regional organization's efforts to promote collaboration. Moreover, regional rivalries further fuel tensions and hinders collaboration.

Practical Measures for Strengthening Regional Connectivity:



(i)

Inter-State Conflict Resolution

Rising conflicts among regional actors must be addressed by mediation by other regional states using conflict resolution forum of regional organization. Pakistan has been a firm advocate of use of diplomacy to resolve conflict and can use this tactic to improve its ties with regional states.

(ii)

Efforts to Arrange Regular Meetings of Regional Organization's Members:

There is a dire need to step up efforts to promote and arrange regular meetings among regional actors and states. This would ensure their connectivity and collective action on regional issues i.e. climate change, terrorism, water disputes etc. Pakistan can take a lead by reviving SAARC by holding a summit in Pakistan. It will improve its diplomatic standing and provide SAARC an opportunity to revive.

(iii) Promotion of Economic Ties And Trade Connectivity

Efforts to build connectivity infrastructure i.e roads, railways, transit corridors are the need of the hour for the region. Pakistan can promote its collaboration in CPEC and provide Iran and Afghanistan trade routes. Similarly, central Asian republics can also be connected via trade routes to increase regional connectivity.

(iv) Efforts to enhance People-to-People connectivity and Cultural Diplomacy

Lack of regional cultural ties have contributed to rise of tensions among regional states. Efforts to promote ease of visa access, promotion of cross-border entertainment, literature, scholarship and training programs will help diffuse tensions. Pakistan can play a part by arranging training programs for its working force, entertainment industry workers, scholarships programs cross-border and ease of access to visa for Asian region.

(V)

Collective counter Terrorism efforts by Regional Actors

The surge of terrorism in Afghanistan and resultantly in Pakistan is a major burden for regions progress. India's blame on Sri Lanka for training and funding terrorism in India is also a regional issue. Hence collective efforts are required to address this issue. Pakistan has been in the past successful to counter terrorism, hence it can take lead in counter-terrorism efforts in the region.

(VI)

Formulation of a Regional Organization Charter to provide legal Framework for collaboration

ASEAN has been able to formulate a regional charter which has played a key role in its connectivity and amity of relations. South and Central Asia's regional organization needs a charter to provide a legal framework for collaboration, violation, dispute resolution and strengthening of ties among actors.

Conclusion:

South and central Asian regional integration has been in doldrums due to several factors i.e. rise of BIMSTEC, no efforts to arrange regional regular meetings, lack of trade connectivity, inter-state rivalry. However, efforts to counter terrorism, promote economic and trade ties, arrangement of meeting and revival of SAARC can help ensure regional integration. Pakistan can play its role by using its strengths of counter-terrorism and diplomacy to help revive regional collaborations.

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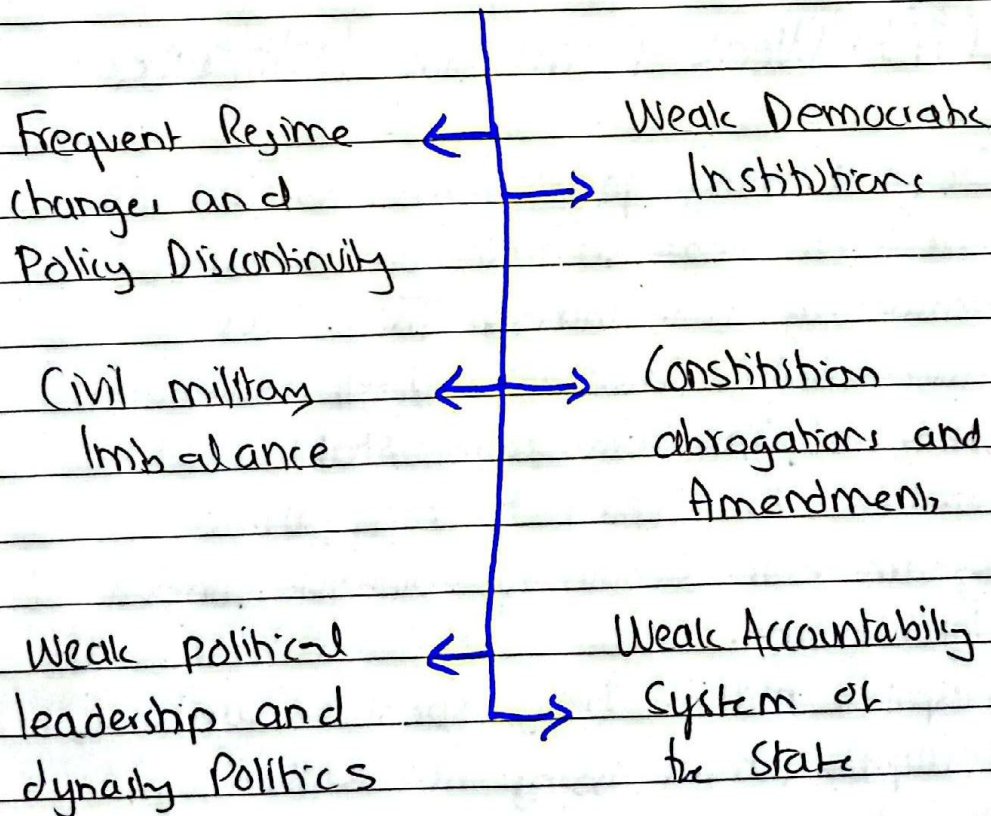
Internal Political Instability And Constrained Economic And Diplomatic Performance

Introduction:

Pakistan's persistent political instability has constrained both its economic development and diplomatic performance. Frequent

Regime changes, weak democratic institutions, civil military imbalance, constitution amendments all have resulted in economic and diplomatic losses and performance constraints. which have undermined and impacted Pakistan's national security and foreign policy.

Structural Causes Of Political Instability



(i): Frequent Regime Changes and Policy Discontinuity

In the seventy eight years of Pakistan, so far 29 prime ministers have been selected but none has been able to complete their tenure without political intervention of opposition masses. This frequent regime change ultimately results in policy discontinuation and fragmented efforts to tackle with national issues.

(ii): Weak Democratic Institutions

Electoral body, parliament and judiciary have been weak in their role to ensure democracy in the country. This has fragmented Pakistan's efforts towards being a ~~dipl~~ democratic state and stalled its efforts to run political governments smoothly without undue intervention.

Despite, millions being spent on elections, corruption, mass rigging has stolen the democratic state, "right to vote" given to the public.

(iii): Civil-Military Imbalance

Frequent military interventions in civilian governments and the inability of political parties to fill the gap due to political ineffectiveness and the subsequent military overtake has created instability in Pakistan's politics for a very long time. These frequent regime changes hinder the governments progress and policy continuity.

(iv): Constitution Amendments And Abrogations

In the initial years, Pakistan constitution has been repeatedly abrogated. Martial laws have also resulted in constitution's undue abrogation. Similarly, political unrest and friction created due to repeated constitutional amendments results in weakening of constitution and its status.

(v): Weak Political leadership and dynashy Politics

Leadership crisis has been a major contributor to Pakistan's political stability. The country has not witnessed powerful and stable leadership after Liaqat Ali Khan's death. Dynashy politics also undermines states democratic standing and fuels resentment among general public for lack of representation in politics.

(vi): Weak Accountability System:

Pakistan's political accountability system has been weak in performing its due function. This creates political instability and is a major hindrance in holding and strengthening political standing. This has led to massive corruption rise and money laundering, ultimately stalling country's economic progress.

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Impact on National Security

(1): Rise In Terrorism:

Lack of political stability results in policy inconsistency hence creating a policy formulation and implementation vacuum, allowing terrorist groups to fill in the vacuum and create fear among the masses.

(2): Economic and Social Impacts:

Political instability creates economic burden since ~~eco~~ political stability is a prerequisite for economic development. Similarly, rise of terrorism, inflation, job loss and rising protests and unrest impacts public and their social welfare in the long-term.

Impacts on Foreign Policy

(i) Political Instability fuels Cross-Border Tensions:

Political instability highlights a state's vulnerability which is exploited by regional rivals, which can ultimately fuel cross-border tensions. Rivals can use propaganda and disinfo to fuel political unrest in their rival states' country.

(ii): Impact on Soft Power Image:

Regime changes, martial law, political unrest, protests, public resentment all can stall and impact a state's soft image in the diplomatic arena and will undermine all efforts to attract and ensure foreign investments.

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Conclusion:

Political instability in Pakistan is majorly due to unstable regimes, civil-military imbalance, weak democratic institutions and electoral process. However, it has also had numerous impacts on diplomatic and national security fronts of Pakistan. The exploitation by regional rivals and terrorist organizations of vacuum created due to policy inconsistency has resulted in a revival of terrorism in Pakistan. Similarly, impact on soft image and resultant loss in attraction of foreign investments will have long term economic repercussions for the state.