

The 18th Amendment

Rai Yasir Farhad

Background-Doctrine of Necessity

- The Doctrine allowed the state to legitimately act in ways that would otherwise be unlawful and unconstitutional
- Governor General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved constituent assembly in 1954
- Maulvi Tamizuddin, the **then** Speaker of Constituent Assembly, challenged the decision in Sindh High Court
- Chief Justice of Sindh High Court, **Sir George Constantine**, declared the decision unlawful
- Federal Sharia Court Chief Justice, **Justice Munir**, declared the judgement of Sindh High Court null and void on grounds of Doctrine of Necessity
- The verdict **paved way for the future judiciary to support unconstitutional and undemocratic actions**, such as military coups.

Centralization of Powers in the Previous Amendments to the Constitution

- The 8th Amendment changed Pakistan's system of Government from a parliamentary democracy to a semi-presidential system
- The 8th Amendment in the constitution made by Gen Zia-ul-Haq strengthened the authority of the president and also granted him the additional powers to dismiss the elected PM's government
- It was used by Ghulam Ishaq Khan to dissolve the democratic governments of Benazir Bhutto in 1990 and Nawaz in 1993
- It was again invoked by Farooq Leghari to dissolve PPP government in 1996

Centralization of Powers in the Previous Amendments to the Constitution

- The 17th Amendment of General Musharraf repealed the 13th Amendment and the president regains the authority to dissolve the National assembly and dismiss the Pakistani Prime Minister (**58-2B**)
- This ensured the concentration power in President
- The 18th Amendment repealed the 17th and the 8th Amendments

Background- Need for Federal Bicameralism

- Ethnic diversity, cultures, languages, and geographical make-up of Pakistan necessitated an institutional structure reflecting pluralism.
- The framers of the 1973 Constitution envisioned that with diverging interests of different ethnic groups
- Pakistan required a system of **federal bicameralism** instead of unicameral legislature, unlike the 1956 and 1962 constitutions.
- **Bicameralism** is also considered the easiest way to accommodate the dualist structure of the state, because it is a method of representing popular national interests and state and regional interests at the same time

Background-Need for a Strong Federal Structure

- Pakistan's history is replete with efforts to grapple with federalism and balance power between the center and its provinces.
- Right from the inception of the state, an inequality in income and service distribution amongst provinces has created immense problems regarding national integration
- With the transition to democracy in 2008, a political consensus on re-allocating several federal-level functions to the provinces emerged.
- The **Special Committee of Parliament Formed by Asif Ali Zardari** suggested Constitutional amendments to create laws so that different provinces are able to freely manage their finances and the issues unique to their province.

The Amendments in the Constitution under the 18th Amendment

Formation of the Parliamentary Committee on Institutional Reforms

- Senator Raza Rabbani headed the 26-membered Parliamentary Committee on Institutional Reforms drafted a bill that proposed the amendment
- It proposed **102 amendments** in the Constitution of **Pakistan(almost 1/3rd of the Constitution)**
- There were 292 votes in favor of the amendment out of 342
- It was passed by the National Assembly on 8th April, 2010 whereas senate approved it on 15th April, 2010
- The President Asif Ali Zardari approved the amendment on 19th April, 2010

The Importance of 18th Amendment

- The 18th amendment did the following changes:
- First, it **restored the parliamentary character of the Constitution** by undoing several key changes made by military dictators on important matters like the powers of the President.
- Second, it **redefined the Parliament-judiciary relationship** by proposing parliamentary oversight on the appointment of judges in the Supreme Court and high courts.
- Third, it **devolved several important functions to Provincial Governments** by abolishing the Concurrent Legislative List in the Constitution and amending the Federal Legislative List.

Curtailing the Presidential Powers

- The 18th Amendment amended **Article 90** which vested all executive power in the President and established him as the supreme political authority in the country
- The amendment to Article 90 took this power from the president and gave it to the PM
- **The Rules of Business** were also taken from the President and given to the Assembly(Federal Government)
- It also abolished the power of the President to delay the Assembly session after the elections and/or to appoint in his discretion a member of the National Assembly as the Prime Minister who, in his opinion, was likely to command the confidence of the majority of members.

Curtailing the Presidential Powers

- Now, the Assembly must meet **21 days** after the elections and elect a Prime Minister, whom the President must call upon to assume the office of Prime Minister.
- It declared the **Legal Framework Order of Musharraf (LFO 2002)** as illegal
- According to this order, the President could dismiss the national or provincial assemblies.
- The office of the PM was empowered through **Article 581 A** which established President as only a ceremonial figure
- It also established that the president has to act on the advice of the PM

Curtailing the Presidential Powers

- **Article 58** was also amended to delete the infamous **2(B)**, which empowered the President to dissolve the National Assembly in his discretion if a situation arose in which the government could not be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.
- After the deletion of **58 (2[b])** and amendment of **58 (1[a])**, the National Assembly can only be dissolved on the advice of the Prime Minister or when a vote of no confidence has been passed against a Prime Minister and no other member of the Assembly commands the majority of the members as ascertained in a session so summoned.

Curtailing the Presidential Powers

- The President reserves the right to be informed on all matters of internal and foreign policy, but he has to act **on the advice of** the Prime Minister (and his Cabinet) in all important matters.
- Furthermore, time limits have been specified for the President to act on the advice of the Prime Minister.
- The period during which the President has to grant his assent to a bill passed by the Parliament has been reduced from 40 to 10 days.
- The President's power **to refer a question to a referendum** in his discretion has also been removed.
- Similar powers of governors in provinces have been reduced likewise.

Curtailing the Presidential Powers

- Moreover, the President could no longer impose **Emergency** in the Country.
- The 18th Amendment amended Articles 232 and 233 which curtailed President's power to impose emergency in a province
- **Article 232 of the Constitution-Emergency Provisions**
 - For the imposition of Emergency, due to internal disturbances beyond the powers of the Provincial Government to control, a Resolution from the Provincial Assembly of the said Provincial will be required.
 - Should the President act on his own the Proclamation will be placed before both the Houses to be approved by each House within 10 days.
- **Article 233 - Suspension of fundamental rights during emergency:**

An order made in this respect by the President shall be laid before both Houses separately rather than before a Joint Sitting of Parliament.

Strengthening Key Institutions

- The **18th** Amendment has greatly strengthened two key constitutional institutions, that is, the **Auditor General of Pakistan and the Election Commission of Pakistan.**
- The auditor-general has been granted a fixed term of 4 years (**Article 168**), whereas, previously, the term was to be determined by the Parliament through an Act.
- Furthermore, the amended **Article 168(6)** makes it mandatory for the President to appoint the most senior officer in the office of the auditor-general as the Auditor General of Pakistan.

Appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)

- The **term** of office of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) has been enhanced from 3 years to 5 years.
- Previously, the President could appoint the CEC in his discretion, but the Amendment prescribes a transparent procedure for the appointment.
- The amended **Article 213** requires the Prime Minister to forward three names to a parliamentary committee after consulting the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly.

Appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)

- The parliamentary committee is to be constituted by the Speaker and comprises at most **twelve members**—50 per cent from the treasury benches and 50 per cent from opposition parties to be nominated by various parliamentary party leaders in the Assembly based on their respective strength.
- Thus, it is no longer the sole prerogative of the Federal Government or even the Leader of the House and the Opposition to appoint someone for one of the most important offices in a democracy.

Appointment of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)

- The amendment establishes that CEC must be chosen through a process of broad-based consultation in the Parliament.
- Furthermore, power and authority has been vested in the Election Commission, rather than the CEC.
- The Election Commission comprises five commissioners, CEC is one of them.
- The other four must have a retired judge of the High Court from each province.
- It is now up to the Commission, instead of the CEC, to make rules for the appointment of officers and staff in the employment of the Commission.

Appointment of Judges

- The most contentious part of the 18th Amendment was the one which dealt with the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court and High Courts.
- A new **Article (175A)** was inserted in the Constitution, which created a Judicial Commission of Pakistan for the appointment of judges to the Supreme Court, High Courts and the Federal Sharia Court.
- The Commission was to comprise the **Chief Justice of Pakistan and six other members**—two senior-most judges of the Supreme Court, a former Chief Justice or a former judge of the Supreme Court nominated by the Chief Justice in consultation with the two judges, the Federal Minister for Law and Justice, the Attorney General of Pakistan and a senior advocate nominated by the Pakistan Bar Council.

Appointment of Judges

- For the appointment of judges of a High Court, the Commission was to have the following **additional members**: the Chief Justice of the concerned High Court, the senior-most judge of the High Court, provincial Law Minister and a senior advocate nominated by the provincial Bar Council concerned.
- Similarly, the Chief Justice of the Federal Sharia Court and the senior-most judge of the Sharia Court were also made members of the Commission for appointments in the Sharia Court.
- Thus, the Commission had **broad-based representation** from the government, the judiciary and the legal fraternity.
- Under this Article, the President was required to appoint the most senior judge of the Supreme Court as the Chief Justice of Pakistan

Appointment of Judges

- However, for all other vacancies in superior judiciary, the Commission was to nominate one person for each vacancy to an eight-member parliamentary committee (the Leader of the House and the Leader of Opposition to nominate two members each from each House of the Parliament).
- The parliamentary committee could either confirm the Commission's nomination against a vacancy within 14 days by a simple majority or reject the nomination by three-fourth majority of its total members.

Other provision regarding the Judicial System of Pakistan

- In addition to specifying a new process for the appointment of judges, the 18th Amendment had three other features that were important for the judicial system in Pakistan.
- First, the Islamabad High Court was created through inserting a new clause in **Article 175** and benches of the Peshawar High Court and the Baluchistan High Court were established at Mingora and Turbat, respectively, through amendment of Article 198.
- Second, judges have been protected against involuntary transfers from one High Court to another.
- Previously, a High Court judge could be transferred to another High Court without his consent and the consent of the Chief Justices of the Supreme Court and High Courts involved, if the period of transfer was less than 2 years.

18th Amendment and the Federal Structure in Pakistan

Pakistan- A federation

- Pakistan is a federation consisting of 4 federating units
- There exists a power distribution formula between the center and the federating units
- Some powers are held exclusively by the center some are held exclusively by the provinces
- However, there also exist some subjects on which both the center and the provinces hold power

Federal and Concurrent Lists in the Interim Constitution

- Therefore, a federal form of government provides two lists (i.e. two lists containing the division of subjects between the center and the provinces) for the governance of the society
- These are called **Federal and Provincial Legislative Lists**
- The third list, known as the **concurrent list**, contains the set of subjects on which both the federal and the provincial governments hold power
- The first interim constitution of Pakistan which was based on the Government of India Act 1935 and the Indian Independence Act 1947

Federal and Concurrent Lists in the Interim Constitution

- It proposed a federal form of government
- It provided for 3 lists for the division of subjects between the center and the provinces: Federal, provincial and Concurrent legislative lists
- The **federal list had 59 subjects, provincial list had 54 subjects** and the **Concurrent list had 36 subjects**
- However, the interim constitution sought for a strong and powerful center where federal list had more subjects and the center had the final say on the subjects in concurrent list

Federal and Concurrent Lists in the 1956 Constitution

- **Article 106** of the 1956 Constitution provided for 3 legislative lists
- **The federal list had 30 subjects, the provincial list had 19 subjects and the Concurrent list had 93 subjects**
- However, through **Article 109**, The Federal government held the **Residuary powers**
- Regarding the division of assets between the center and the provinces, National Finance Commission was established.
- However, its proposals were non-binding

The Federal List in the 1962 Constitution

- **The 3rd schedule of the 1962 Constitution** provided a **Federal legislative List** consisting of **43 subjects** dealt exclusively by the federal government
- It gave residuary powers to the Provinces
- However, **Article 131** of the Constitution enabled strong centralization
- The center had exclusive powers to make laws on four major areas: **National Security, Economy, Financial Stability, Planning and Coordination**
- Only President can nominate the members of the NFC
- This was against the spirit of mutual consultation and federation

The Federal and Concurrent Lists in the 1973 Constitution

- The 1973 Constitution provided for **Bicameralism** : National Assembly and Senate (for the equal representation of provinces in the legislature regardless of their population
- The 4th Schedule of the 1973 Constitution provided for two lists: **Federal and Concurrent List (containing 47 subjects)**
- Federal List was further divided into two lists: **Federal List I containing 59 subjects and Federal List II containing 8 subjects.**
- On these 8 subjects, both center and provinces can legislate

Increased Provincial Autonomy by abolishing the Concurrent List

- The 18th Amendment abolished the **Concurrent Legislative List**
- **Significance**
- This has enabled the provincial assemblies to legislate on a large number of subjects(Education, culture, health, local government, women development) not mentioned in Federal Legislative List
- 39 subjects and 17 corresponding ministries shifted to provinces
- **Article 142(c)** provides that a **Provincial Assembly shall and Parliament shall not** have power to make laws with respect to any matter not enumerated in the Federal Legislative List.
- **Through Article 142(b)**, provinces can legislate in respect of criminal law, criminal procedure and the law of evidence.

Increased Provincial Autonomy by Securing the Fiscal Rights of Provinces

- It proposed an amendment to **the Article 60** of the constitution which deals with the NFC Award
- **NFC:** National Finance Commission is a constitutional body that decides the formula for the distribution of tax revenues among federal and provincial governments, every 5 years
- Prior to 7th NFC : share of federal government: 60% and share of provinces 40%
- 7th NFC Award=57.5% provincial share
- Federal government=42.5%,
- **Amendment of Article 160 (A)** prevents the share of provinces from being reduced
- It also makes it obligatory for center to increase the share of provinces every 5 years
- The amendment also proposes that there should be no Resistance between center and province on the issue of funds

Increased Provincial Autonomy by Securing the Fiscal Rights of Provinces

PROVINCES SHARE BEFORE AND AFTER 7TH NFC AWARD

PROVINCES	BEFORE 7TH NFC	7TH NFC
PUNJAB	57.3%	51.7%
SINDH	23.7%	24.5%
KPK	13.8%	14.6%
BALUCHISTAN	5.11%	9.09%
TOTAL	100%	100%

KPK receives 1% extra from gross divisible pool for extra burden on war on terror

Increased Provincial Autonomy by Securing the Fiscal Rights of Provinces

- It amended the following Articles:
- **Article 161(A)**-- Federal Excise Duty collected on gas "shall not form part of the Federal Consolidated Fund and shall be paid to the province in which the well-head is situated"
- **Article 161 (B)**--stipulates the same for the Federal Excise Duty collected on oil well-heads.
- **Article 167 (4)**--"A province may raise domestic or International loan, or give guarantees on the security of the Provincial Consolidated Fund within such limits as may be specified by the National Economic Council".
- **Article 172 (2)**--‘Lands, minerals and other things of value' underlying the ocean in the territorial waters of Pakistan will be owned by the Provinces instead of the Federal Government.
- **Article 172(3)**--Equal Ownership of Natural Resources(Mineral Oil and Natural Gas within the province or adjacent shall vest jointly and equally in that province and the Federal Government)

Increased Provincial Role in the Issues of Economic Importance

- **Amended Article 157:** It says that the Federal government should consult concerned provincial governments before taking a decision of constructing hydroelectric power stations in the province.
- **Amended Article 156:** It strengthened the **National Economic Commission** which takes care of the economic policies of the provinces and the federal government.
- Therefore, the amendment enabled provinces to manage and supervise their natural resources
- It made sure that there exists no feeling of alienation in provinces regarding economic issues

Providing a say to the Provinces in Dispute Management with the Center

- The amendment added **Article 157 (3)** which proposed that a Council of Common Interests will resolve the conflicts of power-sharing between federation and provinces.
- It also amended **Article 153 (2)** and proposed the following **Composition of CCI**:
- **The Head of CCI**: the Prime Minister
- **The Members of CCI**: the chief ministers of the provinces and three members from the federal government nominated by the head.
- **Article 154** was amended and it made necessary for federal government to constitute the council within 30 days of PM's oath.

Providing a say to the Provinces in Dispute Management with the Center

- The council should have a permanent secretariat and should meet at least once in 90 days
- The CCI shall submit an **Annual Report** to both the Houses of Majlis-e-Shoora.
- The Prime Minister may convene the meeting of the Council on the request of the Province on an urgent matter.
- It also has powers to formulate and regulate policies in relation to part II of the Federal Legislative List and shall exercise supervision and control over related institutions.

Empowerment of Senate

- In 1973 constitution, senate besides being termed as upper house did not have final say in federal matters
- All successful federations in the world are bicameral where senate has a say in legislation
- **The 18th Amendment amended :**
- **Article 91(4)** and hence made the cabinet collectively bound to both the national assembly and senate; formally, the PM's cabinet was responsible only before the National Assembly
- **Article 61:** The days of the Senate from 90 increased to 110.

Empowerment of Senate

- **Amended Article 89:** No ordinance can be issued when either house of Parliament was in session ; formally president can issue ordinance while senate was in session
- Equal representation of senate in parliamentary committee responsible for finalizing the Judicial Commission's Recommendations for the appointment of judges
- Reports of National Economic Commission and CCI are submitted before senate

Provided Fundamental Human Rights and Liberties

- The Articles 8-28 of the 1973 Constitution provide the list of Fundamental Human Rights
- The 18th Amendment added 3 more articles :
- **Article 10 A**-Right for free and fair trail
- **Article 19 A**-Right to Information while maintaining transparency.
- **Article 25 A**-State should provide free Education for all till the age of sixteen

Strong Local Government

- **The 18th Amendment proposed the Revision of Article 140 (A):**
- Local Government System was made a provincial subject
- Each province was asked to create a Local Government System.
- The administrative, political and financial responsibilities were then transferred to the elected representatives of the local governments.
- All provinces have their own provincial acts of local governments

The Palestine Issue

Rai Yasir Farhad



Let us first skim through a brief history of conflict in order to understand it

Historical Background

- The conflict is nearly 100 years old
- Palestine was under control of the Ottoman Empire before the WW1
- At that time, Muslims were a majority in the region as compared to the Christians and the Jews
- The Ottoman Empire collapsed after the WW1 and the region went under the control of France and Britain
- Palestine came under the control of Britain

1917 Pre-British Mandate Palestine



On October 31, 1917, British forces conquered Palestine from the Ottoman-Turks, ending 1,400 years of Islamic rule over the region.

Before the British Mandate in Palestine, Jews made up around **six percent of the total population**.



Source: McCarthy, The Population of Palestine (1990)

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Historical Background

- Britain facilitated mass Jewish immigration process from Europe (where Jews were facing persecution) to Palestine.
- This caused a substantial demographic transformation in the region
- The British, via **the Balfour Declaration 1917**, also specified region for the incoming Jews in Palestine;
- The Declaration, contained the following statement:
- **“His Majesty’s Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object.”**
- This increased the tensions between the Jews and the local Arab population
- Meanwhile, the Zionist Movement was gaining momentum in Europe

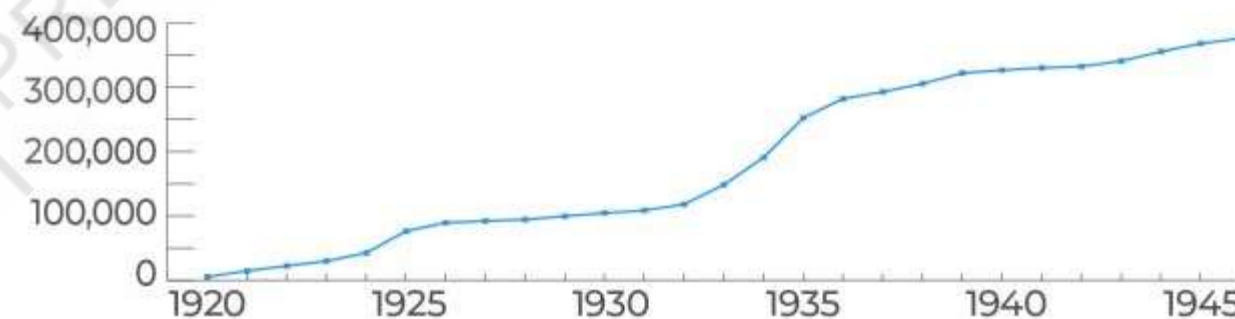
Historical Background

- The Zionist Movement was primarily based on the narrative that Jews should have their own separate homeland meaning that Jews not only make a separate religion but also a separate nation
- Hence, as a nation, Jews must have their own separate homeland
- From 1920s to 1940s, Palestine experienced mass Jewish immigration as the Jews fled Europe due to Holocaust

1920-1946

Jewish immigration to Palestine

An estimated **376,415 Jewish immigrants**, mostly from Europe, arrived in Palestine between 1920 and 1946 according to British records.



Source: A survey of Palestine (1946)

The UN Plan, 1947

- As an aftermath, tensions between the Zionist groups the local Arab population increased, the UN proposed a plan to divide Palestine
- Provided the increased unrest in the region, the UN delved into the matter and via the United Nations Resolution 181, proposed for the partition of the land between Palestinians and Jews.

The UN Plan, 1947

- The Jews accepted the plan
- Palestinians, however, objected to the plan because it allocated approximately 55% of the land to the Jewish state, which included the fertile coastal areas.
- At that time, the Jewish population was roughly equivalent to 33% of the Palestinian population.

1947

UN Partition Plan (Resolution 181)

-  Arab State | 45%
-  Jewish State | 55%
-  Jerusalem under international control

Following the end of WWII, the newly formed United Nations proposed a plan that would grant **55 percent of historic Palestine to a Jewish state and 45 percent to a non-contiguous Arab one.**

This plan was never implemented on the ground.



Conceptual map



The UN Plan, 1947

- The UN plan established Jerusalem as an international city
- In 1981, the UN designated it a World Heritage Site.
- The neighboring Arab countries looked upon the plan as **European colonialism**
- The plan led to the creation of the state of Israel



The First Arab-Israeli War and Nakba

- On 14th May, 1948, the state of Israel came into being
- Immediately after this announcement, the neighboring Arab countries Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Iraq attacked Israel
- The Arab-Israeli War led to the establishment of the State of Israel and the forced displacement of an estimated 700,000 to 800,000 Palestinians to neighboring Arab countries
- Nakba means catastrophe in Arabic
- It created a large population of Palestinian refugees who lost their homes and property.
- The total share of Palestinian land was reduced to approximately 22%, which now corresponds to the occupied territories of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank

The Arab-Israeli War and Nakba

- Israel won the war and now gained control of even more territories than specified in the UN plan
- Israel now gained control of nearly whole of Palestine except Gaza and West Bank
- Gaza was under the control of Egypt while West bank was under Jordan
- Meanwhile, many Jews from the Arab countries came to Israel
- In 1967, Israel and Arab countries fought the Second Arab-Israel War ,as a result of which Israel gained control over Golan Heights (From Syria),West Bank(from Jordan) ,and Gaza and Sinai (from Egypt)
- Israel began to govern Palestinians as soon as it got control over Gaza and the West Bank




The Yom Kippur War (1973)

- It is also known as the October War or the 1973 Arab-Israeli War.
- The war began on October 6, 1973, when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israel on the holiest day in Judaism, Yom Kippur.
- The war lasted for about three weeks and resulted in a significant loss of life and territory, leading to a ceasefire under the mediation of the United States and the Soviet Union.
- In 1982, after Israel-Egypt peace treaty, Israel gave Sinai back to Egypt
- Jordan also, after sometime, also accepted Israel

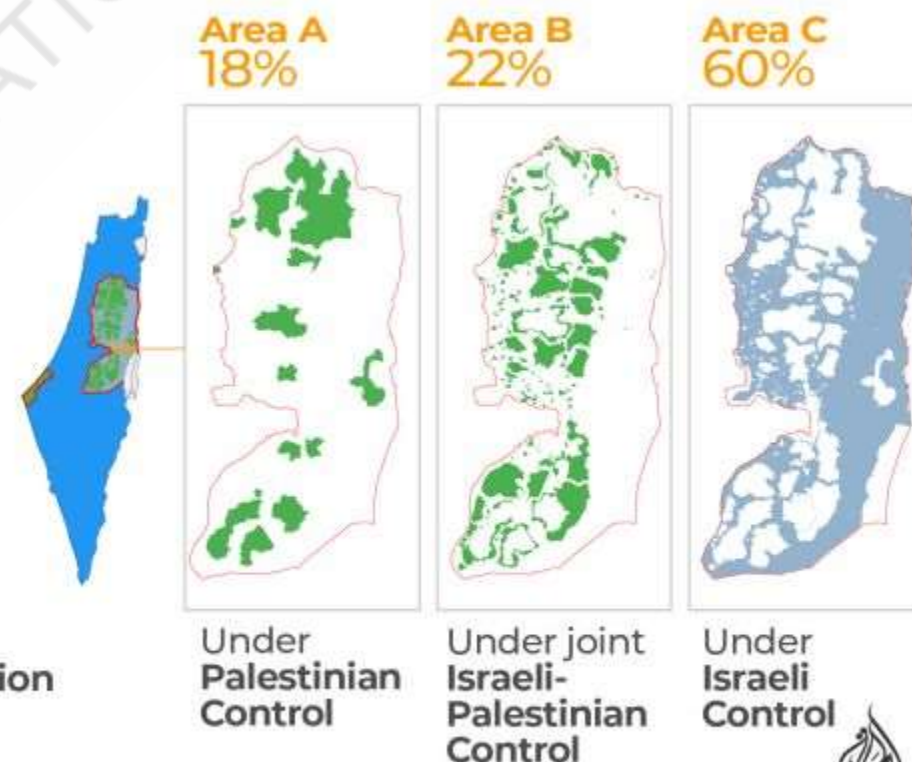
The 1993 and 1995 Oslo Accords

- The Oslo Accords were a series of agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

1993 & 1995 Oslo accords

-  Palestinian (under Israeli occupation)
-  Israeli
-  Area C - (Palestinian under Israeli control)

The occupied West Bank was **divided into three areas** - A, B and C - as part of the Oslo Accords, signed by the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)** and Israel.



The 1993 and 1995 Oslo Accords

- They aimed to establish a framework for Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- The accords marked a significant step in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, leading to the creation of the Palestinian Authority and the hope for a future comprehensive peace agreement.
- Also, as part of the Oslo Accords, Israel divided the West Bank into three areas (A, B, and C) and increased its control over the occupied territories and key checkpoints
- The accords faltered in concluding core issues, such as the delineation of the Palestinian state's borders and the division of Jerusalem. Contrary to expectations, there was an observed surge in Israeli settlements following this agreement

Hamas

- Hamas is a Palestinian political and militant organization established in 1987 during the First Intifada, with Sheikh Ahmed Yassin among its founders.
- Known for its Muslim Brotherhood ideology, it has governed the Gaza Strip since 2007
- It is recognized as a legitimate political entity by some and designated a terrorist organization by others.
- İsmail Haniyeh (recently assassinated in Iran) was the leader of Hamas.
- The Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades is the military wing of Hamas

Hammas

- Since 2007, both Israel and Hamas have launched hundreds of deadly attacks on each other
- Israel has sieged Gaza in order to isolate Hamas and control its attacks on Israeli cities
- Israeli control means that it also controls the food, fuel and electricity of the people living in Gaza
- The Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip regard the restrictions imposed by Israel and heavy air raids on Gaza as a Collective Punishment

What happened on October 7th, 2023?



The October 7 Attacks

- On 7th October, 2023, the Al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas, initiated **‘Operation al-Aqsa Flood’** against Israel.
- This operation began with the launch of 5,000 missiles in its initial phase and involved Hamas members crossing the Israeli border through land, air, and sea routes.
- It was the most unprecedented attack of Hamas on Israel
- It attacked Israeli security forces, destroyed security installations and military bases
- It also killed nearly 1400 Israelis and kidnapped 253 Israelis and foreign nationals as hostages

The Terror launched by the State of Israel

- Within hours, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu addressed the nation, formally declaring that Israel was in a ‘state of war’ and would respond with an unprecedented measure.
- In response, Israeli counteroffensives (bombardment via missiles, jet fighters, helicopters, artillery and armored core tanks)were launched, targeting mostly urban centers in the north and central Gaza, which led to significant civilian casualties, including a considerable number of children.

The Terror launched by the State of Israel

- Furthermore, power, water, and internet disruptions left the Gaza Strip under a near-complete blockade.
- Israel has even bombarded Southern Gaza and refugee camps, and killed over 40005 Palestinians
- The attack on **Al Ahli Baptist Hospital** on the night of October 15th resulted in the loss of 300 to 500 lives, and the strikes on the Jabalia refugee camp on October 31st claimed the lives of over fifty civilians

Understanding the Flash Points Between Palestine and Israel

The Problem of Refugees

- The issue of Palestinian refugees is at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- Dating back to the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the Nakba, and the subsequent Arab-Israeli conflicts, approximately 700,000 Palestinians were displaced from their homes.
- Now, the estimated number of the Palestinian diaspora is about 6 million, registered as refugees in different countries.

The Problem of Refugees

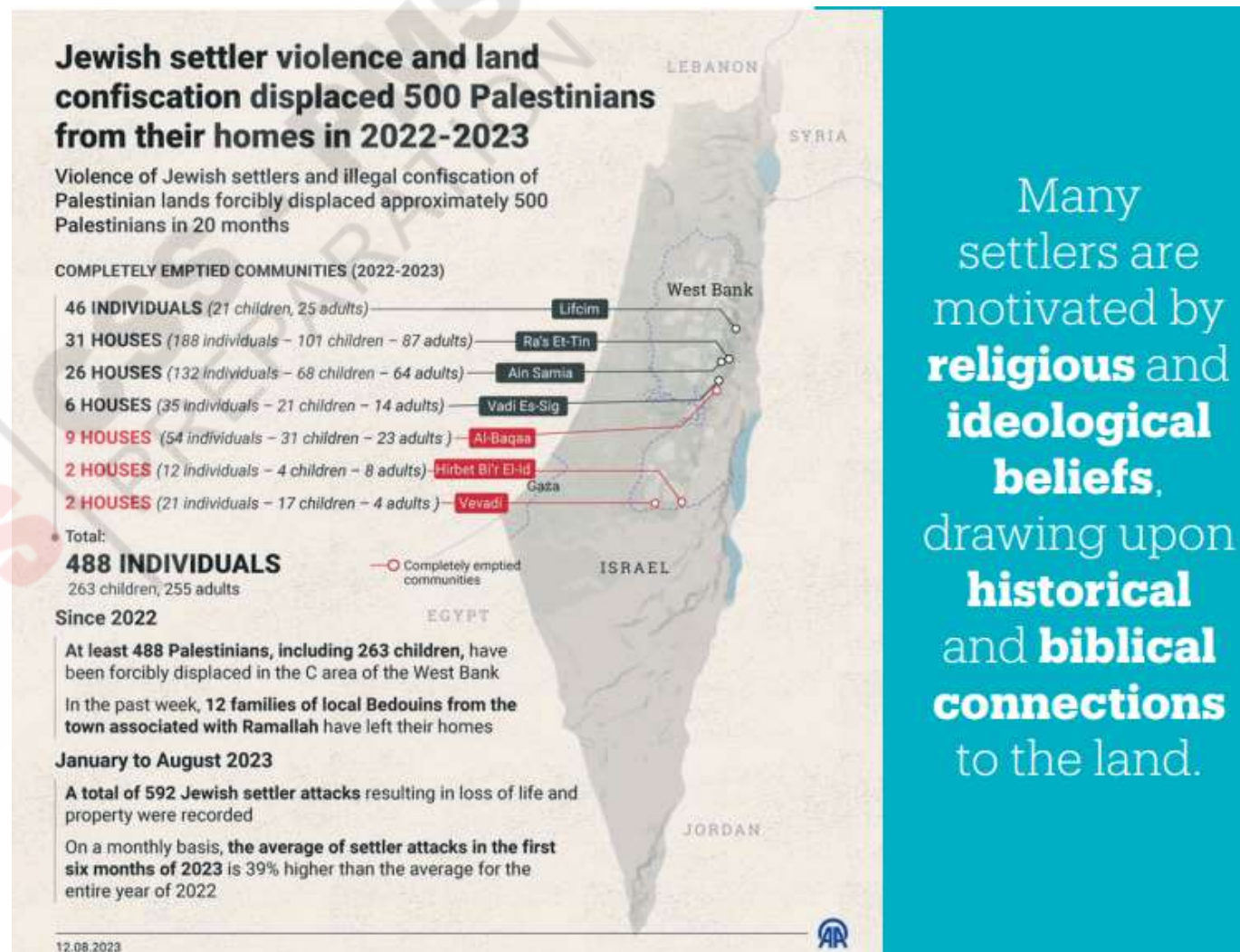
- Israel has not allowed the Palestinians that migrated during the first Arab-Israeli war to go back to their ancestral homes
- It says that this will lead to a significant increase in the population
- It says that this will change the demographic composition of the areas under Israel and hence pose a threat to the existence of separate Jewish state

The Jerusalem Question

- Jerusalem is a city of immense religious and historical significance to both Palestinians and Israelis.
- The status of Jerusalem has been a central point of contention in the conflict.
- Israel considers the whole city of Jerusalem as its capital whereas Palestinians consider East Jerusalem as the capital of the future Palestinian state
- The city's historical and religious importance, including the Western Wall and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, makes it a focal point for negotiations and disputes.
- Resolving the Jerusalem issue involves finding a way for both Palestinians and Israelis to share the city

The Illegal Jewish Settlements in the West Bank

- During the past 50 years, Israel has made numerous settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem where nearly 600000 Jews live today
- These Jews are called **Settlers**
- These settlements are illegal under international law
- The Britain and the UN Security Council has also declared these settlements as illegal however Israel refuses to consider them illegal under any law



The Israeli Blockade of Gaza Strip

- The Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip, in place since 2007, has had a severe impact on the people living in the area.
- The blockade restricts the movement of goods and people, contributing to an economic and humanitarian crisis.
- It has resulted in significant hardships for Gazans, including limited access to essential services, high unemployment rates, and food and energy shortages.
- The blockade remains a contentious issue, with Israel citing security concerns, while critics argue that it has resulted in **collective punishment and human rights violations**.
- Addressing the blockade is a vital element in the pursuit of a comprehensive peace agreement and improved living conditions for Gazans

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- The tension between the Arab world and the US is rising because the US has extended its unconditional support to Israel after the October 7 attacks
- From the beginning, the US has supported Israel.
- The former US President Harry Truman was the first world leader to recognize Israel when it was created in 1948.
- US officials have reiterated their unwavering support for Israel — diplomatically, financially, and militarily.
- The US is also silent on the humanitarian crises and genocide of Palestinians in Gaza
- US also vetoes any resolution against Israel in the UN Security Council

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- Since October 7, the Biden administration has reportedly made more than one hundred military aid transfers to Israel, although only two—totaling about \$250 million—have met the aforementioned congressional review threshold and been made public.
- The Israeli military has reportedly received expedited deliveries of weapons from a strategic stockpile that the United States has maintained in Israel since the 1980s.
- Shortly after Hamas's attack, the United States also agreed to lease Israel two Iron Dome missile defense batteries that Washington had previously purchased from the country.

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- The US unconditional aid to Israel, has totaled \$158 billion (not adjusted for inflation) since World War II — more than the US has given to any other nation.
- While US officials have said that they will not send troops to Israel, the US also remains deeply involved in supporting the Israeli military and security forces.

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- In the wake of the recent attack by Hamas, it is sending guided-missile carriers and F-35 fighters among other equipment, and Congress is likely to authorize additional aid as well.
- Israel is using American munitions to attack Palestinians in Gaza

Table 1. Recent U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel
(in millions of current U.S. dollars)

Law	Foreign Military Financing	Missile Defense	Missile Defense - Iron Beam	Other
P.L. 118-50, Division A—Israel Security Supplemental Appropriations Act, 2024	\$3,500.00	\$4,000.00	\$1,200.00	n/a
P.L. 118-47, Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024	\$3,300.00	\$500.00	n/a	\$95.50
P.L. 118-42, Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024	n/a	n/a	n/a	\$13.00
Total	\$6,800.00	\$4,500.00	\$1,200.00	\$108.50

Source: congress.gov.

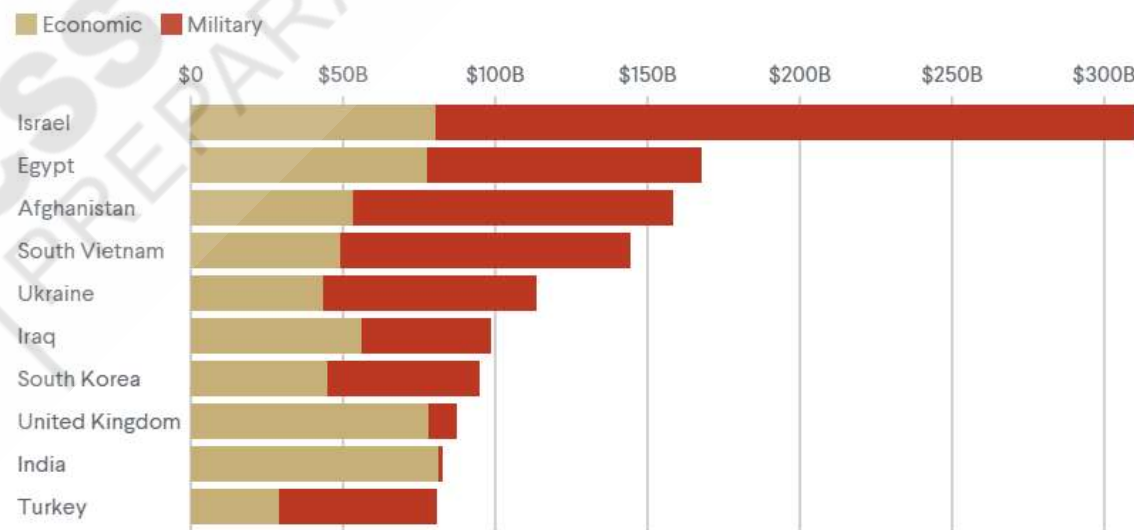
Notes: The "Other" column includes Department of Defense appropriations for counter-tunnel and counter-drone programs, U.S. contributions to binational foundations, and support for migrants.

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- Since the start of Israel's war with Hamas on October 7, 2023, the United States has enacted legislation providing at least \$12.5 billion in military aid to Israel, which includes \$3.8 billion from a bill in March 2024 and \$8.7 billion from a supplemental appropriations act in April 2024.

Israel Is the Largest Cumulative Recipient of U.S. Aid

Total aid from fiscal years 1946 to 2024* (constant 2022 dollars)



*Data for fiscal years 2023 and 2024 is incomplete.

Notes: Data for Israel for FY 2024 is from the March 23 appropriations bill and April 26 aid bill. Military aid for Israel includes missile defense starting in 2006. For Ukraine, data for FY 2022 to 2023 is from the Kiel Institute for the World Economy and data for FY 2024 is from the April aid bill. South Vietnam existed as a country until the end of the Vietnam War in 1975.

Sources: United States Agency for International Development (USAID); Congressional Research Service; Antezza et al., Ukraine Support Tracker, Kiel Institute for the World Economy.

The US' Unconditional Support to Israel

- The extraordinary flow of aid has included tank and artillery ammunition, bombs, rockets, and small arms.
- In April 2024, the Biden administration was considering new military sales to Israel that are valued at more than \$18 billion and would include fifty F-15 fighter aircraft
- The Israeli military is also reportedly purchasing some high-tech products, such as surveillance drones, directly from smaller U.S. manufacturers.
- **“We stand with Israel ... And we will make sure Israel has what it needs to take care of its citizens, defend itself, and respond to this attack.” (Joe Biden)**

Implications of the Conflict

The Unprecedented Humanitarian Crises

- According to **Reuters**, Israel's air and ground campaign in Gaza has killed more than 40005 Palestinians, mostly women and children and driven some 2.3 million people out of their homes
- According to **Aljazeera**, Israel has made Gaza an **Open-Air Prison**
- According **BBC**, majority of people among the dead are not Hamas fighters but civilians
- Nearly 1400 Israelis have been killed and 253 kidnapped by Hamas

The Unprecedented Humanitarian Crises

- Hospitals, mosques, schools, residential areas, urban centers in Gaza have been completely destroyed by Israel
- **The humanitarian loss on this scale was not observed in the wars of 1967, 1948 or 1973**
- **Israel is majorly responsible for such mass humanitarian crises because it has committed heinous war crimes in Gaza**
- Israel is also using water shortage, food shortage, fuel shortage and load shedding as a weapon to carry out its genocide against Palestinians

The Unprecedented Humanitarian Crises

- South Africa filed case against Israel for committing **genocide against Palestinians in the Gaza Strip** in the International Court of Justice
- The ICJ has ruled , **“Israel is forcibly displacing Palestinians from their lands, exploiting water sources, annexing large swaths of the occupied territory “by force” and is violating the right of Palestinians to “self-determination”.**
- It also ruled that Israel must stop all building of settlements in the West Bank and should compensate Palestinians for human rights violations in the occupied territory.

Escalation of Crises Between Hamas and Israel

- There is also an increased risk of **a tunnel war** between Hamas and Israel
- The Vietnamese also fought a tunnel war against the US in the Vietnam War which was won by North Vietnam
- Hamas claims that around 500km tunnels are present in Gaza whereas the US and Israel claim that these tunnels are around 250-260 km long
- Israel has tried its best to destroy these tunnels of Hamas with tunnel destroyers(basically missiles) but in vain
- Hamas can only be defeated if their safe havens- these tunnels- are completely destroyed

Potential of a Regional War

- The Hamas-Israel war is expanding in the Middle East and could possibly turn to be a regional war
- Houthis from Yemen have attacked Israel and these attacks are intercepted by the US
- US has also launched counteroffensive against the Houthis
- These attacks are being launched in one of the most strategic location in the Indian Ocean: **Bab al-Mandeb (located between Yemen and Djibouti)**
- The US, UK, French, Indian and Chinese Navy bases are located in Djibouti hence, it is a very strategic location and any mishap can lead to increased security tensions among the world key players

Potential of a Regional War

- Iran has been consistently supporting Houthis, Hamas and Hezbollah; these organizations are using Iranian drones, missiles and arsenal in their counter offensives against Israel and the US
- If tensions escalate between the Houthis and the US in the Indian Ocean, then US can also possibly launch a surgical strike against Iran
- Moreover, Saudi Arabia was formerly the enemy of Houthi rebels, but after the normalization of relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia is conscious about attacks on Houthis, if attacks on Houthis increase, Saudi Arabia may also enter the war

Potential a Iran-Israel War

- On 1st April, 2024, an Israeli air strike on an Iranian consulate building in the Syrian capital Damascus killed 13 people.
- Iran said it was a violation of its sovereignty.
- Those killed included Brig Gen Mohammad Reza Zahedi - a senior commander in the Quds force, the overseas branch of Iran's elite Republican Guards (IRGC).
- Iran launched more than 300 drones and missiles towards Israel.
- The attack included 170 drones and 30 cruise missiles and at least 110 ballistic missiles

Potential a Iran-Israel War

- Iran has also repeatedly said it will retaliate for the recent killing of Hamas supreme leader, Ismail Haniyeh.
- Israel is widely suspected of carrying out the assassination, though it has not claimed it.
- Iran may also attack Israel over the assassination of a Hamas leader via its long-vaunted Ballistic Missile program.

Increased Nuclear Arms Race

- Both Israel and Iran have their own nuclear weapons
- Last year the global nuclear watchdog found uranium particles enriched to 83.7% purity - very close to weapons grade - at Iran's underground Fordo site.
- Iran has been openly enriching uranium to 60% purity for more than two years in breach of a 2015 nuclear deal with world powers.
- Provided the current pace of escalations between the two, there exist a possibility that both may resort to using nuclear weapons in the war against each other
- This will not only **promote nuclear proliferation** in the region but an **increased nuclear arms race** in the region

Effect on Global Trade

- More than 30% of the world trade passes through **Bab-al-Mandeb Strait**; hence **the global trade is also getting affected**
- If the conflict spreads to major oil-producing nations in the region such as Iran, the global economy could face severe repercussions as energy costs for businesses and households could spike if supply is interrupted.
- The long-term effects of this ongoing dispute could lead to bottlenecks in shipping, increased freight rates, and unpredictable delivery schedules—all of which are likely to significantly increase the cost of doing business in this region.

Effect on Global Trade

- Any expansion of the hostilities beyond the borders of Israel and Palestine could introduce risks to two vital shipping choke points
- The Suez Canal, a critical waterway for various commercial vessels, including container ships, may face disruptions.
- Similarly, the Strait of Hormuz, a backbone for oil and gas shipping, could be affected.

Increased Popularity of Jihadist Organizations in the Arab World

- Jihadist organizations and non-state actors in the region have launched frequent attacks against Israel
- This has led to an increase in the popularity and acceptability of these jihadist groups in the region
- Hezbollah from Lebanon has also entered the war and is getting legitimized by the Arab population

Increased Popularity of Jihadist Organizations in the Arab World

- There is a possibility of increased exploitation of people in the name of Jihad from Iran, Iraq ,Syria and other Arab countries by the non state actors
- Iran, at this time is going through severe economic crises; therefore, it needs to divert the attention of people from the crises
- Moreover, it would try to gain people's confidence by recruiting them in the name of Jihad

Halt in the Normalization of ties between the Arab countries and Israel

- The process of normalization of relations between the Arab countries(Saudi, Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, Egypt and Jordan) and Israel has come to a halt
- The negotiations between them may completely stop if the conflict between Hamas and Israel escalates
- This process may degenerate as well owing to the increasing public pressure of the Arab countries
- The conflict may, however, speed up the normalization of ties between Saudi Arabia and Iran

Increased Tension between the Arab World and the US

- During the first week of the attack, United States President Joe Biden had a planned visit to the Middle East
- He had to go to Jordan to meet a range of Arab leaders (Abdullah II, the King of Jordan, Mahmoud Abbas , the President of Palestine, Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, President of Egypt)amid Israel's incessant bombing of the Gaza Strip.
- But, Jordan cancelled that summit after an explosion at the al-Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza City killed at least 500 people and sparking global outrage.

Increased Tension between the Arab World and the US

- Moreover, on 16th October, 2023, the US Secretary of State Antony Blinken was made to wait for hours for a meeting with Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS), who showed up the next day.
- All of this indicates that due to Israel, the relations between the Arab world and the US are deteriorating
- Therefore, there is shift of the middle eastern countries from the west to east
- Iran and Egypt have already joined **BRICS** and Saudi Arabia is also potentially thinking about joining it

Increased Popularity of China in the Middle East

- China is gained an important economic position in the middle east
- China is the largest exporter to the middle east
- It is also the largest importer of hydrocarbons from the Middle East
- It is also one of the biggest investors in different sectors in middle east for example, infrastructure projects, large scale solar projects, clean nuclear energy programs in the Middle East for etc.

Increased Popularity of China in the Middle East

- China also played the role of broker in the Saudi-Iran Rapprochement
- Hence, the popularity of China is rising in the region and is likely to increase more
- **China** also advocates a two-state solution, arguing that the **Palestinian** people are fighting for national rights and that this should be supported to the end.
- China also called for Chinese-Arab summit on the Palestine Issue held in Beijing on

30th May, 2024

Possible Solutions to the Ongoing Israel-Palestine Conflict

- There are two possible solutions to the Palestinian-Israeli crisis. Either one would involve considerable compromises on both sides.
- **The “one-state solution”** would be to join Israel and the Palestinian territories in one country. The problem for Israelis is that the state would no longer be a Jewish state but one that includes an equal number of Palestinian Christians and Muslims. The problem for Palestinians would be making sure they would have full rights of citizenship.
- **The “two-state solution”** would be to have a country of Israel alongside a country of Palestine (comprised of the West Bank and Gaza).

Possible Solutions to the Ongoing Israel-Palestine Conflict

- The world leaders are favoring the two state solution for the region.
- Joe Biden said, “ the best way to achieve peace remains a two-state solution for two people, both of whom have deep and ancient roots in this land, living side-by-side in peace and security”
- Since Hamas controls Gaza, some people have said the reality is that **it's now a three-state solution** with Gaza being a separate state.
- However, it's not workable simply because Israel or the United States would not talk to a terrorist organization.

Civil-Military Relations

Rai Yasir Farhad

Introduction

The civil-military relations of any country are reflective of the quality of democracy in a country

They also indicate the internal and external security environment of a country

Pakistan has seen an imbalance in the civil military relations since its inception

Political Theories Relevant to Civil-Military Relations

Theory of Samuel P. Huntington

Samuel P. Huntington, a prominent political scientist, developed a comprehensive theory of civil-military relations, which he articulated in his seminal work, "**The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations**" (1957).

Huntington is in the favor of civilian supremacy and military professionalism

❑ **The Nature of Civil-Military Relations**

The central question in civil-military relations, according to Huntington, is how to maintain civilian control over the military while also ensuring that the military remains effective in fulfilling its role of national defense.

❑ **Huntington points out two types of control of civilians over the military :**

➤ **Objective Control vs. Subjective Control**

❑ **• Objective Control:**

Huntington advocated for what he termed "objective control" as the ideal form of civil-military relations.

Theory of Samuel P. Huntington

Objective control seeks to maximize military professionalism by granting the military autonomy in its specialized sphere of war fighting and defense while ensuring that the military remains politically neutral and subordinate to civilian authority.

This approach aims that military remains subordinate to the civilian institutions

This approach allows the military to develop its expertise without undue political interference.

❑ Subjective Control:

In contrast, "subjective control" involves the civilian leadership exerting direct influence over the military's internal affairs, often by politicizing the military or integrating it into political structures.

While this may ensure civilian supremacy, it can undermine military professionalism and effectiveness, as the military becomes entangled in political conflicts and loses its focus on its primary mission

Civilian political leadership plays a significant role in the important military transfers

Theory of Morris Janowitz

Morris Janowitz was a pioneering sociologist whose work on civil-military relations, particularly in his book "**The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait**" (1960), has had a profound influence on the field

Janowitz says that military is not an autonomous institution but that one that is deeply imbedded in the societal and political fabric of a nation

❑ Convergence Theory

Unlike Huntington, who advocated for the autonomy of the military under "objective control", Janowitz emphasized the importance of the military being integrated with civilian society.

He proposed the "convergence theory" which suggests that the differences between military and civilian institutions would diminish over time, leading to a more integrated and cooperative relationship between the two.

Theory of Morris Janowitz

❑ Citizen-Soldier Model:

Janowitz advocated for the concept of the "citizen-soldier," where military personnel would retain strong ties to civilian society and embrace democratic values.

This model contrasts with Huntington's ideal of a professional soldier who is distinct and separate from civilian life.

Janowitz believed that the military should reflect the democratic character of the society it serves and that soldiers should be both warriors and citizens

Theory of Morris Janowitz

❑ Complex Professionalism:

Janowitz introduced the idea of "complex professionalism," which goes beyond technical expertise in warfare to include political acumen, understanding of international relations, and commitment to democratic values.

He believed that military officers should be educated not only in military tactics but also in political science, economics, and sociology, to better understand the environment in which they operate

Harold D.Lasswell's Theory

Harold D. Lasswell's **concept of the Garrison State** is one of his most influential contributions to the study of political science and civil-military relations.

Introduced in his 1941 essay “**The Garrison State**”, the Garrison State refers to a political and social system in which the military assumes a central role in the politics, governance and organization of society.

In such a state, national security is the primary goal of the state and it may come at any cost: cost of democracy in the country, economic welfare of the citizens or erosion of the civil liberties

Such a state also resorts to the measures like surveillance or sensor ship in the name of national security

Harold D.Lasswell's Theory

This concept of **Garrison State** is characterized by the following key features:

Dominance of Military Values and Authority

Security as the Supreme Value

Erosion of Civil Liberties

Compromised human development

Harold D.Lasswell's Theory

Continuous State of emergency/War

Preparedness of war amid an actual or a perceived threat

Economic directed towards Military support

Focus on arms production

Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy examples of Garrison state

The Savior Syndrome Theory

This theory proposes that if everything goes wrong, the military dictatorship can set things alright

Example: For example, Major General Akbar Khan planned a military coup (known as the **Rawalpindi Conspiracy**) against Liaqat Ali Khan's Cabinet in February 1951

The coup was planned due to the general discontent of Pakistani army officers with the performance of Liaqat Ali Khan

Reasons for Current Imbalance in the Civil-Military Relations of Pakistan

Colonial Overhang

The British colonial governance was based on the **revenue extraction structures** with heavy concomitant reliance on coercive instruments of state.

Colonizers wanted to maximize their control over their colonies by curtailing the civil liberties of the people and ignoring human development institutions

The reliance on army, bureaucracy and the feudal landlords was the centerpiece of colonial governance, which was replicated in new Pakistani state's governance structure

The pre-eminence enjoyed by the **Commander in Chief (CinC)** in the British colonial era was unparalleled, compared to democratic countries.

The **Commander in Chief** enjoyed the title of His Excellency and ranked second only to Viceroy.

Colonial Overhang

He was also a member of the Viceroy's Executive Committee and upper legislature as per the Government of India Act 1919.

Most of the powers enjoyed by him were retained in the Government of India Act 1935.

Commander in Chief was so strong that he had declared participation in WWI without the government's clearance.

India, after independence, managed to curtail the supreme powers of its military institutions allowing space for democracy to flourish

Pakistan, however, failed to do so for a number of reasons

Threats faced by the newly born state of Pakistan

Unfair Boundary demarcation

The Death of Quaid-e-Azam

Division of Military Assets

Geographical Problems(Kashmir threat and problems regarding the Accession of the Princely States)

Administrative Problems

Political Problems (India's threats)

Sectarianism

Threats faced by the newly born state of Pakistan

Drugs and Narcotics

Economic Problems

Refugees and the Accommodation Crises

Insurgencies in Baluchistan(BLF,BLA, the Majeed Brigade)

Afghanistan Irredentist claims (it refused to accept the Durand line)

India's control of rivers

Poor Governance

•Pakistani society is now so fractured, inundated with sophisticated weapons, brutalized by civic violence and overwhelmed by the spread of narcotics that is no longer possible for any civil government to operate effectively without the Army's support- **Hassan Askari Rizvi**

Weak Political Parties and Civilian Governments

Deficit of Pragmatic leaders at the time of inception

Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan left a vacuum in civilian leadership

Muslim league, though emerged as a representative Muslim political party, had deep cracks and divisions

Influence of landlords and aristocrats in Muslim League

No party to pragmatically handle the initial problems with the East wing

Weak Political Parties and Civilian Governments

Failure to make the constitution in first 9 years

At the time of independence, Pakistan lacked a well-developed political infrastructure.

There was an absence of strong political parties, and the civilian bureaucracy was still in the process of establishment.

The military, by contrast, was already a well -organized and disciplined institution, which allowed it to play a dominant role in governance.

Ayesha Siddiqa, a prominent Pakistani political scientist and author, says,

- “The top political leadership of all political parties has willingly turned their organizations into patronage platforms, negotiating resources from the Pakistani establishment on the one hand, and supporting kleptocratic redistribution of the country's resources on the other.”

Weak Political Parties and Civilian Governments

Ayyub Khan was appointed as Defense Minister in 1954 because no one in the civilian government was willing to take this responsibility

According to Ejaz Haider, a Pakistani Political Scientist,

■“ The civil-military relations in Pakistan suffer a structural malady wherein the civilians create conditions and encourage military's participation in national politics. In order to discourage their participation, they need to govern well.”

Weak Civilian Oversight Over Defense Affairs

The top tiers of civilian oversight are the parliamentary committees.

Regrettably, they do not have effective expertise in defense and security affairs.

The Cabinet Committee of National Security in its present form needs to have more civilian members, along with a strong secretarial support.

The present National Security Division does not have the requisite expertise in hardcore military matters and needs capacity enhancement.

The National Security advisor needs to be a civilian with expertise in the traditional and non-traditional security aspects; there are only few such civilians having key knowledge of traditional and non-traditional security challenges

A Gulf Between the Intellect of Politicians and Military Officers

The intellectual capabilities of military with regards to their field are way above the ones in the civilian government

There exists much more professionalism and meritocracy in military whereas the civilian governments are maligned by dynastic politics and patronage networks

The Military also has a rigorous system of managed attrition, operating on a strict pyramid structure, where at each level people are let go instead of automatically progressing.

A Gulf Between the Intellect of Politicians and Military Officers

On human resource development in the military, **the former Prime Minister, Shaukat Aziz**, recorded his impressions in a book in the following words:

▪The Military has a professional meritocratic system for hiring and promoting officers. I witnessed this first hand when President Musharraf invited me as Prime Minister, to attend the Army's Promotion Board. Even coming from the corporate world and seeing internal human resource processes in any leading private companies, I was impressed. **The Army's system of promotion is professional, transparent, and merit driven.** Every proposed case was discussed in various independent committees and there was a frank debate about each candidate. Reviewing the HR and personnel processes in civilian institutions would be useful and relevant aspects of the Military's process to be adapted

Weak Institutions e.g. Judiciary

The judiciary in Pakistan has played a significant and complex role in the civil-military imbalance, often contributing to the consolidation of military power over civilian institutions.

Judiciary gave legal Cover to the Martial Laws and military intervention in politics

The judiciary's involvement in this imbalance can be understood through its actions in **legitimizing military coups, its doctrine of necessity, the concept of "judicial independence,"** and its handling of cases involving the military Validation of Military Regimes

Maulvi Tameezuddin Case

Weak Institutions e.g. Judiciary

Dosso Case

Begum Nusrat Bhutto Case

Zafar Ali Shah Case

Judicial PCOs (Provisional Constitutional Orders):

- Military regimes have used PCOs to ensure that the judiciary remains loyal.
- These orders require judges to take new oaths of office under the military's legal framework, effectively purging the judiciary of any dissenting voices

Military's Economic Empire

In Pakistan, the military's economic involvement spans across various sectors, including real estate (e.g. Defense Housing Authorities), industries (e.g.. Fauji Foundation, Army Welfare Trust), financial services (e.g. Askari Bank), and agriculture.

These enterprises are managed by military officers, both serving and retired, and often operate with significant autonomy.

Autonomy from Civilian Oversight:

The profits generated by military economic enterprises provide the military with a significant source of revenue that is outside the purview of civilian oversight.

This financial autonomy allows the military to operate independently of civilian budgetary constraints, giving it greater leverage in civil-military relations.

Military's Economic Empire

Perpetuation of Military Influence:

The economic power of the military reinforces its institutional dominance in Pakistan.

Military-run businesses provide employment opportunities, financial benefits, and social services to military personnel, creating a self-sustaining network that further entrenches the military's influence in society.

This economic entrenchment makes it difficult for civilian governments to challenge the military's authority.

Summary of the reasons of Pakistan's military involvement in politics

Ishrat Hussain, in his book, **Governing the Ungovernable**, gives a summary of the reasons of the direct and indirect intervention of the military into politics :

1. The armed forces emerged as a superior, disciplined, and highly professional organization and continued to hone their efficiency and skills.
2. The political institutions remained entangled in continuing wrangling and became weak over time and some of them enlisted the support of the military to dislodge their adversaries.
3. The civilian institutions were mired in corruption, nepotism, and favoritism, resulting in wide disaffection and dissatisfaction among the public at large with the state of governance.

Summary of the reasons of the military involvement in politics

4. In the absence of an organized and informed civil society, there was very little public outrage.
5. The relatively improved economic performance during the three military regimes, of Ayyub, Zia, and Musharraf, compared favorably with the dismal performance of the civilian leaders.
6. The periods preceding the army takeovers were characterized by political instability of the civilian governments in power.
7. The US and Western nations found it convenient to deal with a strongman rather than a group of bickering politicians who could not deliver on their commitments.

Democratic Control of the Armed Forces Criteria (DCAF) and Civil-Military Relations

Democratic Control of the Armed Forces Criteria (DCAF)

DCAF is the criterion on the basis of which one can analyze the civil-military relations of a country

DCAF can be determined by some **key indicators** as follows:

Include civilian authorities' control over military's "missions, composition, budget and procurement policies

➤ According the constitution of Pakistan, civilian government has the **de jure control** however the military retains the **defacto control**

The oversight of military performance by active democratic parliamentary and judicial institutions, a strong civil society and an independent media

➤ The Parliamentary committees in Pakistan need to perform more professionally asking tough questions on defense affairs

Democratic Control of the Armed Forces Criteria (DCAF)

The civilian expertise in the defense affairs

➤ With regards to Pakistan, this is the area where significant improvement is needed on the part of civilian institutions to provide effective policy guidelines

The non-interference by military in domestic politics

➤ The ground reality is that the incompetent civilian leadership themselves involve military into politics and the civilian affairs for help in domestic and international affairs

The ideological neutrality

➤ The military and civilian government needs to have same ideology with regards to the issues of national security ; in Pakistan, this ideology is more often than not similar

Democratic Control of the Armed Forces Criteria (DCAF)

The minimal role of the military in the national economy

➤ In Pakistan, though military runs huge corporate networks, it contributes positively to the national economy via taxation; their welfare projects generate revenues ; however, many state owned enterprises (NHA,PIA, Pakistan Steel)incur huge losses and deliver poorly

An effective chain of command within the military that goes up to civilian commander in chief in order to ensure military's accountability

➤ In Pakistan, military personnel is answerable to their COAS; however, the civilian Commander in Chiefs play poor to ensure military accountability

The democratic rights of the armed forces personnel

➤ In Pakistan, though military courts are specified for the legal issues of military personnel, however, this aspect is overshadowed; one does not have enough information about the democratic rights of military personnel as military information is mostly kept secretive.

Major Interests and Concerns of Pakistan's Military

Interests of Pakistan's Military:

According to **Sir Hasan Askari Rizvi**, interests of the military are as follows:

National security is obviously paramount;

➤ Military wants to directly control the important policies (for example, Foreign policy ,Pakistan's Nuclear Policy, Kashmir issue, Baluchistan issue, Afghan question) with regards to the national security of Pakistan

Overseas weapons and equipment procurement

➤ The weapons are procured from foreign countries, therefore, military directly analyzes the foreign policy of Pakistan with regards to that country

Military autonomy and civilian non-interference in internal organizational matters

➤ In Pakistan, COAS resists the Ministry of Defense tempering with his personal recommendations, including important promotions and transfers

Interests of Pakistan's Military:

➤ The military wants civilian non-interference in the military affairs to maintain coherence and discipline in the military

Any unilateral cut in defense expenditure by civilian leaders

➤ Pakistan military although ready to discuss the budget issues with the civilian leadership, it strongly opposes any reduction in the defense budget

➤ Due to **traditional security threats** (for example, the increasing involvement of India in causing terrorism in Pakistan and the terrorist activities of non-state actors (TTP, BLA)), and **nontraditional security threats** (floods, drought, climate change), the military wants no cuts in the defense budget

Ensuring Socio-Political stability

➤ The military expects civilian government to ensure Socio-Political stability; they observe how the political adversaries handle law and order , they also examine the state of corruption in civil institutions etc.

Recommendations to develop pragmatic Civil-Military Relationship In Pakistan

Recommendations

These recommendations aim at helping Pakistan **transition from a security state to a development state**

For this, a combination of subjective and objective control needs to be exercised

Military officers to get exposure to the complexities and challenges of the civilian organizations

➤ Military Officers should be sent to civilian institutions on brief training programs so that they can observe how civilian departments work

Reforms in Political Parties

➤ Intra-party democracy culture must exist in political parties so that pragmatic leaders handle government tasks

➤ A transparent decision making system must exist within political parties; these parties should also introduce reforms in the election process to reduce the role of money in elections can be reduced

Recommendations

- In this way, a common man with minimal money but with political insight can also participate in important decision making processes
- A system of **shadow cabinet** should also be introduced to train the potential national security advisors and heads of parliamentary committees

Armed forces should not be employed on non-military tasks beyond matters of routine

- Otherwise, the military develops the tendency to operate beyond their constitutionally demarcated ambit which is detrimental to pragmatic civil military relations

The military also needs to develop respect for civilian institutions ; their training courses should inculcate in them the obedience to the civilian leadership

Recommendations

The civilian leadership, on its part, should avoid personalized and non-institutionalized decision making especially on matters of national security

➤ The civilian leadership must be trained about threat assessment, defense budgeting , handling of non-traditional security threats

Comprehensive training of the committees of Senate and National Assembly

➤ The national security advisors and their co-opted members (all civilians) in such committees must have expertise in traditional and non traditional security threats, nuclear strategy, defense and foreign policy related issues

The Ministry of Defense (MoD) should be properly resourced to provide meaningful policy guidance and administrative oversight over the armed forces

➤ The MOD should have a permanent cadre of defense bureaucracy with proper oversight mechanism, the cadre must be trained about threat assessment, defense budgeting and traditional and non traditional security threats

Lessons Pakistan can learn from the Civil-Military Relations of Other Countries

Case in point: Turkey

The Civil-Military Relations of Turkey

1. The Turkish model of civil -military relations offers a unique example of how a military that was once deeply embedded in national politics gradually became subordinate to civilian rule.
2. This transition from military dominance to democratic control provides valuable insights into the dynamics of civil-military relations and the factors that can lead to a rebalancing of power between civilian and military institutions.
3. **Historical Background and Role of the Military**
4. **The Turkish War of Independence:**
5. The Turkish military's prominent role in the national liberation movement and the founding of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established it as a key institution in Turkish society.

The Civil-Military Relations of Turkey

The military was seen as the guardian of the secular, nationalist principles of Kemalism, and it considered itself the protector of the Turkish state against internal and external threats.

Constitutional Guardianship:

The military's self-appointed role as the guardian of the constitution and the secular state was institutionalized after the 1960 coup.

The 1961 Constitution, drafted by the military established the National Security Council (NSC), which gave the military a formal role in governance.

The NSC allowed the military to influence national security and political matters, effectively making it a **"state within a state."**

Transition to Civilian Control

Rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP)

Erdogan's Leadership:

- The early 2000s marked the beginning of a significant shift in Turkish civil-military relations, largely due to the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) under Recep Tayyip Erdogan.
- The AKP which came to power in 2002, capitalized on public discontent with the military's frequent interventions in politics and positioned itself as a pro- democracy, pro-reform party that sought to curtail military influence.

European Union Accession Process:

- Turkey's ambition to join the European Union (EU) played a crucial role in reducing military influence.

Transition to Civilian Control

- The EU's membership criteria required the reduction of military influence in politics and the strengthening of democratic institutions.
- The AKP government used the EU accession process as a framework to implement a series of reforms that curtailed the military's power, including changes to the NSC, which reduced the military's representation and shifted its advisory role towards a more civilian-controlled institution.

Judicial and Political Reforms

Ergenekon and Sledgehammer Cases:

The AKP government also launched a series of high - profile legal cases against military officers, including the Ergenekon and Sledgehammer cases, which targeted alleged plots by military officials to overthrow the government.

These cases resulted in the arrest and conviction of several senior military officers, significantly weakening the military's political influence.

Transition to Civilian Control

Constitutional Amendments:

- The AKP pursued constitutional amendments that further reduced the military's autonomy.
- Key changes included reforms to the military judiciary, limitations on the military's ability to intervene in politics, and the restructuring of the NSC to make it more civilian-dominated.
- These reforms were instrumental in shifting the balance of power away from the military and towards elected civilian authorities.

2011 Resignations of Military Leadership Resignation of Military Chiefs:

- In 2011, a major turning point occurred when the top military leadership, including the Chief of General Staff, voluntarily resigned following a standoff with the AKP government.
- The resignations were a clear indication that the military no longer held the upper hand in civil-military relations and marked a significant shift towards civilian supremacy in Turkey.

Lessons from the Turkish Model

Importance of Good Governance:

- The AKP's success in diminishing the military's role in politics was closely linked to its strong economic performance and good governance.
- By delivering economic growth, reducing poverty, and improving public services, the AKP gained widespread public support, which enabled it to challenge the military's influence.
- This suggests that civilian governments can successfully assert control over the military if they have strong public backing and can demonstrate effective governance.

Role of External Actors European Union Influence:

- The EU played a critical role in supporting democratic reforms in Turkey by setting clear conditions for membership that included reducing military influence.

Lessons from the Turkish Model

- This external pressure provided the AKP government with the leverage needed to push through significant reforms.
- **The Turkish experience highlights the potential impact of external actors in shaping civil-military relations in favor of civilian control.**

Civil-Military Balance and Democratic Consolidation Long-Term Civilian Control:

- The Turkish model illustrates that achieving a sustainable civil-military balance requires both structural reforms and a commitment to democratic principles
- The AKP's ability to assert civilian control over the military was not solely due to legal and institutional changes but also because of its strategic approach to governance and public engagement.
- However, maintaining this balance requires continuous vigilance to prevent the reassertion of military influence, particularly in times of political crisis.

SEQUENCE OF PRESENTATION

- Currency of the Topic
- Statement of Problem
- Scope
- Introduction
- Issues & Challenges/ Analysis
- Conclusion
- Recommendations
- Q&A
- Bibliography

Previous Critique

- 33rd SMC participants visited MoCC.
- Contact Senior person in MoCC.
- Mention of MoCC ongoing project.
- Success stories (living river initiatives, Clean green index, Glof project)
- Adaptation and mitigation measures
- Mangroves forests of Indus delta
- International Commitments
- Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and Carbon Market
- Achievements of the Ministry
- Flag ship projects
- Afforestation added

CURRENCY OF TOPIC

Published on
June 13, 2023



STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Climate change is an unfortunate modern reality which has adverse effects both on mankind and the planet earth. The shifting weather patterns have not only threatened the food security and economic wellbeing of states but have also affected the planetary/ecological health and global security. Climate change is mostly caused by developed states' industrial activities and Pakistan's contribution is negligible, yet it must execute difficult mitigation and adaptation measures to combat climate change while juggling entangled in economic, political and social challenges.

SCOPE

To analyze the major causes contributing to Climate Change Conundrum and draw policy recommendations at Regional, National and Provincial level to mitigate its largest impact.

INTRODUCTION

- Pakistan, contributing 0.9% to GHG emissions, but Vulnerability to Climate Change Threats
- The frequency and intensity of weather extremes in the period after 1991, is much higher than the period 1950-1990
- Climate extreme events are occurring in the form of erratic monsoon rains
- Frequent and intense floods, droughts, heat waves, forest fires etc.
- Enhanced Melting of Glaciers and GLOF events
- Sea level rise threatening coastal areas

LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR CLIMATE CHANGE

- Pakistan Environmental Protection Act, 1997
- The updated National Climate Change Policy- 2021
- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 1992
- Paris Agreement, 2015
- Kyoto Protocol to UNFCCC 1997

ISSUES & CHALLENGES / ANALYSIS

- Pakistan is not a significant contributor to global warming, but it is on a high-growth trajectory of carbon emissions linked to fossil fuel use.
- Pakistan lost 9.75 kha of tree cover (2001-21)
- Pakistan has the highest rate of urbanization in South Asia
- Pakistan updated NDCs commit to abate overall 50% of Pakistan's projected GHG emissions by 2030.

ISSUES & CHALLENGES / ANALYSIS

- The floods in 2022 have caused more than 1,700 deaths and displaced more than 8 million people.
- The damage to infrastructure, assets, crops, and livestock has also been massive, with more than \$30 billion in damages and economic losses.
- Heat waves are reducing crop yields, causing water scarcity, and increasing the risk of wildfires.
- Extreme variations in temperature are likely to increase the pressure on human health, livelihoods, and ecosystems.
- This may lead to economic losses. increased energy demand and decreased worker productivity

Pakistan and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change

- Pakistan ratified the Paris agreement in November 2016
- Pakistan's priority contributions will result in an estimated saving of around 1.7 MtCO₂ on account of two shelved coal power plants
- 24 Mt CO₂e on account of the introduction of Electric Vehicles,
- 22 MtCO₂e on account of stabilizing energy mix 40-60 in favor of renewable energy

Pakistan Updated NDC 2021 Commitments



Initiatives/ Achievements of Pakistan

Policies And Regulations



**National
Climate
Policy**



**Framework
for
Implementati
on**



**Nationally
Determined
Contributions**



**National
Adaptation
Plan (on-
going)**



**National
Action Plan**



**National
Forest
Policy**



**Biodiversity
Strategy &
Action Plan**



**National
Hazardous
Waste
Management
Policy**



**Electric
Vehicle
Policy**



**National
Clean Air
Policy**

Initiatives/ Achievements of Pakistan

Programmes/Projects



GLOF- II



Sustainable Land Management



Climate Smart Agriculture



REDD+ Readiness



Living Indus Initiative



Green Economic Stimulus



Ecosystem Restoration Initiative



Responsible Production & Consumption



Single use Plastic Ban



Clean Green Pakistan Index



Recharge Pakistan

ACHIEVEMENTS

- External facilitators
 - UNFCCC and the Paris Agreement
 - Sustainable Development Goals
 - Financial investors focus on climate risk
 - Socially responsible investors
- National drivers
 - SBP Green Banking Guidelines
 - PBC's CERB wanting to contribute to SDGs
 - Existing water and energy crises require efficiency focus
- National capacity
 - Environmental science/engineering degrees offered in 15 Higher Education Institutions
 - NDMA

Ten Billion Tree Tsunami Programme - Overview

ECNEC Approval: 29-08-2019

Admin. Approval: 26-09-2019

Duration: 4-Years (FY: 2019-20 to 2022-23)

Phase 1 Plantation target = 3.296 billion

Project Cost: 125.184 Billion PKR (800 million USD): 50% cost sharing basis with Provinces.

Sponsoring Agencies : GoP through MoCC and Provincial Forest and Wildlife Departments

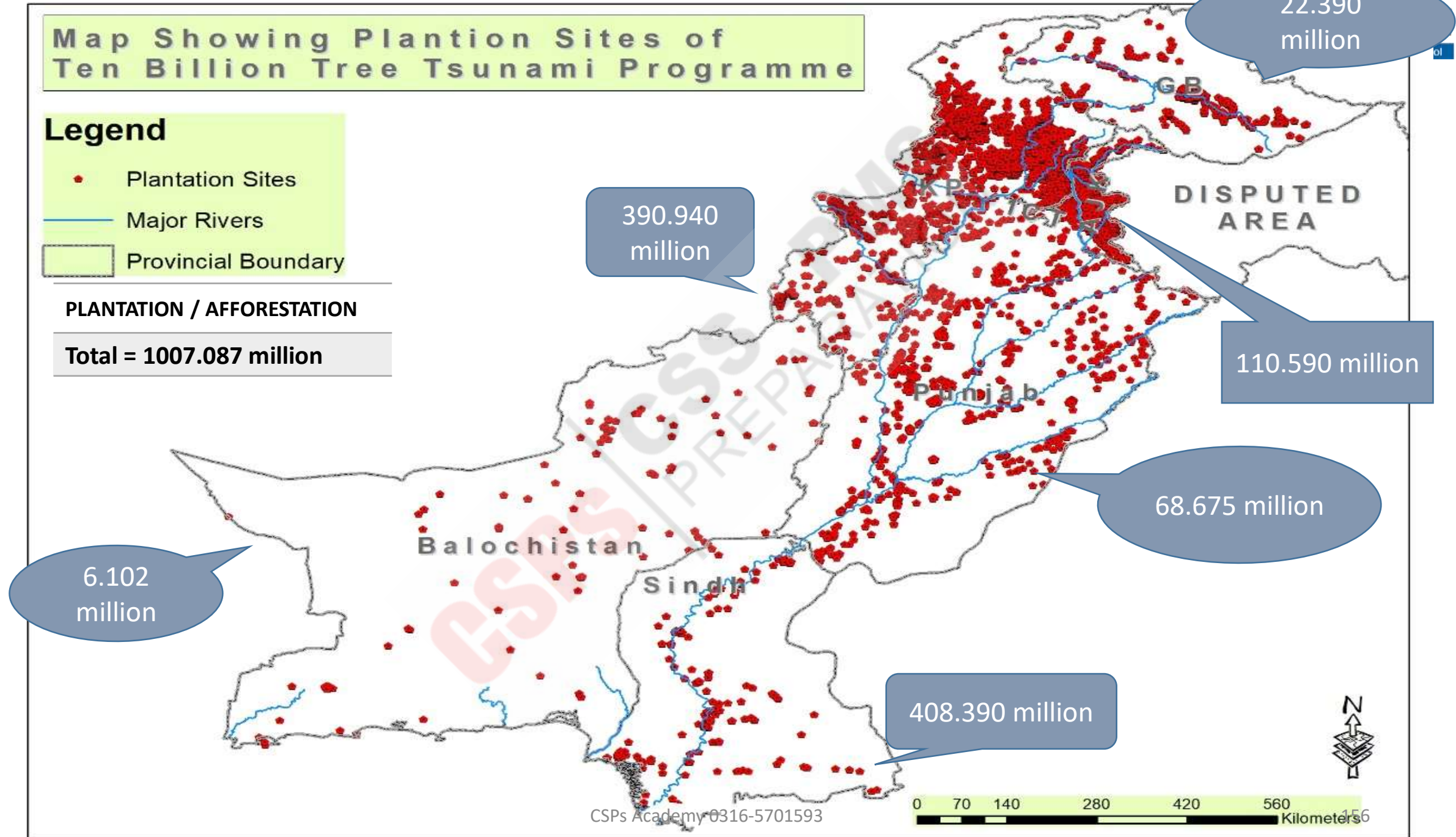
Map Showing Plantation Sites of Ten Billion Tree Tsunami Programme

Legend

- Plantation Sites
- Major Rivers
- Provincial Boundary

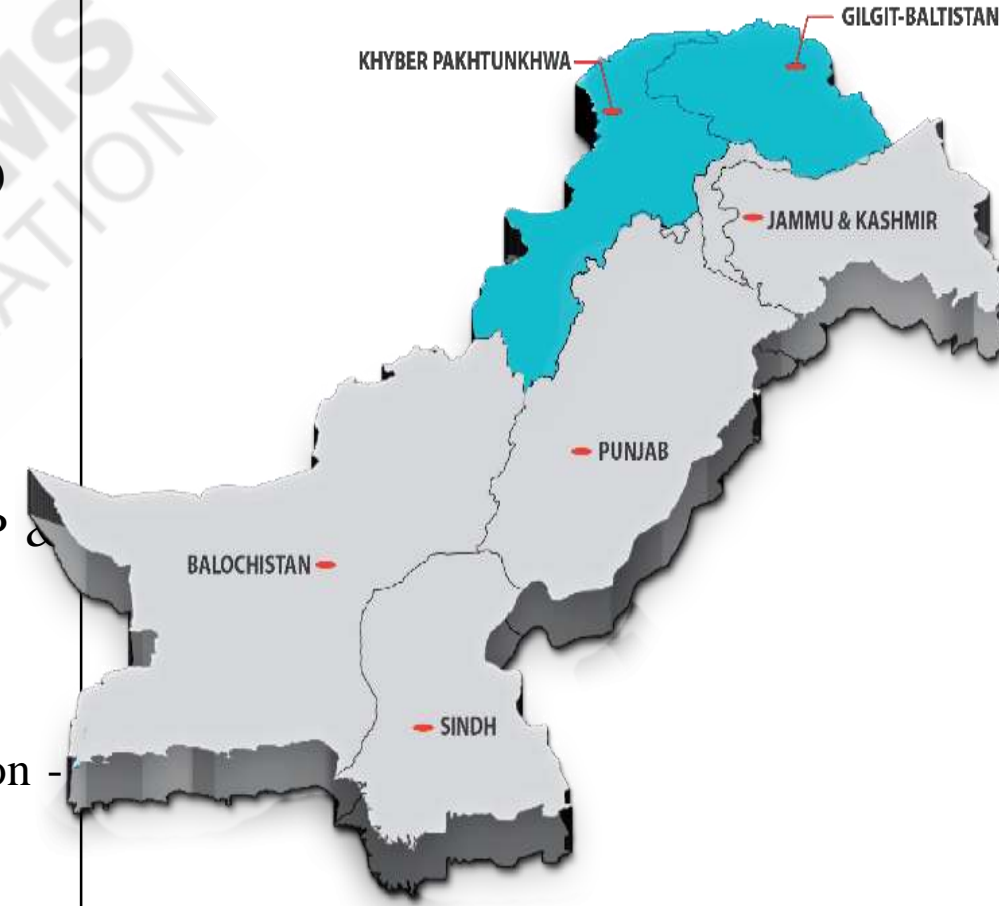
PLANTATION / AFFORESTATION

Total = 1007.087 million



GLOF-II Project Overview

- **Donor:** Green Climate Fund (GCF)
- **Implementing Partner:** Ministry of Climate Change (MoCC)
- **Responsible Party:** United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- **Geographic focus:**
 - 10 Districts of Gilgit-Baltistan
 - 8 Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
- **Beneficiaries:** Communities from 24 valleys from 18 districts in KP & GB
- **Timeline:** 07 years (2017-2024)
- **Budget:** \$36.96 Million (GCF), PKR 50 Million (In Kind Contribution - Government of GB)
- **Components:**
 - Strengthening National and Sub-national institutional capacities
 - Scaling up of community based EWS and long-term measures through capacity building and strengthening



GLOF-II Interventions for Shisper for 2022

Completed Irrigation Channel



Plantation



Irrigation Channel



Automatic Weather Station

Gabion Walls

Delta Blue Carbon Project.

- To enhance the resilience of local communities on climate change and promote sustainable management of mangroves in Indus Delta
- fish stocks are reviving, and the livelihood of local people is improving.
- Despite challenges, mangrove cover is increasing in the Indus Delta
- The protection, restoration and sustainable management of these tidal wetlands is an environmental emergency
- Secure and enhance these coastal mangrove forests for their vital provisioning, regulating, supporting and cultural services.

Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and Carbon Market:

- MoCC has conducted a study “Introduction of Carbon Pricing Instruments in Pakistan,” in collaboration with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).
- National Committee on Establishment of Carbon Market' NCEC constituted in November 2019.
- The NCEC has initiate the initial steps around capacity development and information exchange for carrying this agenda in a professional manner.
- local “carbon trading” and participate in international carbon market
- Carbon pricing mechanism potential in Pakistan.

Pakistan Adaptation

- Key Adaptation Sectors & Supporting Actions
- Pakistan Clean Air Program
- Euro-5 standard fuel availability and production
- Cost-effective innovative disaster risk management solutions
- GIS mapping to identify climate change/health impacts hotspots
- Credible national water, weather, and climate database to tackle natural disasters
- Switching to zig-zag brick kiln technology

Pakistan Adaptation

- Blue carbon
- Carbon captured by the world's ocean and coastal ecosystems.
- MoCC & World Bank has conducted Blue Carbon Assessment for Pakistan to figure out to protect and bolster blue carbon opportunities.
- Recharge Pakistan
- Recharge Pakistan through Integrated Flood Risk Management and Building Resilience to Climate Change through Ecosystem-based Adaptation.

CONCLUSION

The threat of climate change conundrum is a clear and present danger facing Pakistan and its consequences have been increasingly apparent in the form of recent disastrous floods and prolonged droughts. However, if Pakistan adopts a clear strategy to overhaul its climate related diplomatic, regulatory, institutional, planning and financing infrastructure, it can convert this challenge into an opportunity. These policy measures will not only safeguard the long-term livelihoods and food security of our people but also earn Pakistan a respectful place among the comity of nations.

RECOMMENDATIONS (1/4)

Planning & Development

- Development investments need to be climate-proofed leading to climate-resilient development planning and transition.
- Climate Smart Agriculture needs to be promoted. Water conservation to be promoted (e.g. high efficiency irrigation systems at farm level).
- Population control planning strategy as it has a multiplier effect.
- Massive reforestation and Afforestation
- Adoption of alternate renewable energy.

RECOMMENDATIONS (2/4)

Regulations & Governance Tools

- Reviewing private and public sector housing societies rules to adopt vertical growth to plan and shape urbanization and halt diminishing green areas.
- **Regional Coordination & Diplomacy:**
- Leveraging international instruments like COP-27 Loss & Damage Fund

RECOMMENDATIONS (3/4)

Regulations & Governance Tools

- Harmonizing Environment Policy with Climate Change Adaptation Policy followed by a coherent action plan.
- Clearance of right of way along rivers and removal of encroachments (declaration of red zones).
- Water efficiency policy for per capita and Tube wells use (e.g. water meters for pay as you go and drip irrigation techniques for crops etc.).
- Tax holiday regimes by FG and Provinces on Green procurements for industry, energy and mass transit.

RECOMMENDATIONS (4/4)

Securing Climate Financing

- Need to develop climate tagging and expenditure system to track climate change expenditures.
- Green Banking and Green Bonds by involving the private sector for promotion of green economy approaches for a climate-resilient economy.
- **Awareness & Sensitization:**
 - General awareness for public through media campaigns
 - Sensitization of Government officers
 - Green Pakistan youth force to foster climate sensitivity among youth

Thank You

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Pakistan Affairs

RAI YASIR FARHAD

The Indian Councils Act 1919/ The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 1919

Background

WW1 started in 1914 and ended in the year 1918

In this war, Indians supported the British and expected that in return for their support, the British Government would agree to their demands once the war ends

In 1916, Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League decided upon the demands of Indians in a joint session and signed the **Lucknow Pact**

Via this Pact, they both arrived at common demand to put before the British : the right of self-government for India

In such circumstances, **Lord Chelmsford** was sent to India as new **Viceroy**

Background

The British Government, regarding India, was following the policy which implied that instead of fully curing the political ailments of India, occasional doses in the form of constitutional reforms should be given as a momentary relief

However, the political developments in India had made Indians fully aware of such tactics

In the wake of the WW1, **the Home Rule League** had become quite popular with the Indian people

Indians argued that if Britain was fighting for democracy, why was it hesitant to allow democracy flourish in India

Background

Meanwhile on 20th August, 1917, the new **Secretary of state for India, Edwin Montagu** gave a declaration known as the **August/Montague Declaration** in the British parliament

In this declaration, he said that the goal of British policies in India will now be an increased association of Indians in every branch of administration of self-governing institutions and the progressive realization of responsible governments in India

He advocated for a representative Indian government to be formed in India for Indians

Background

Therefore, in order to implement this declaration, Montagu and Chelmsford compiled a detailed report about constitutional reforms in India

They were of the view that a responsible Indian government can only be established gradually

They also proposed that the establishment of a responsible Indian Government had been impossible provided the lack of education and political awareness of Indians

Key Features

Changes in Control of Government of India

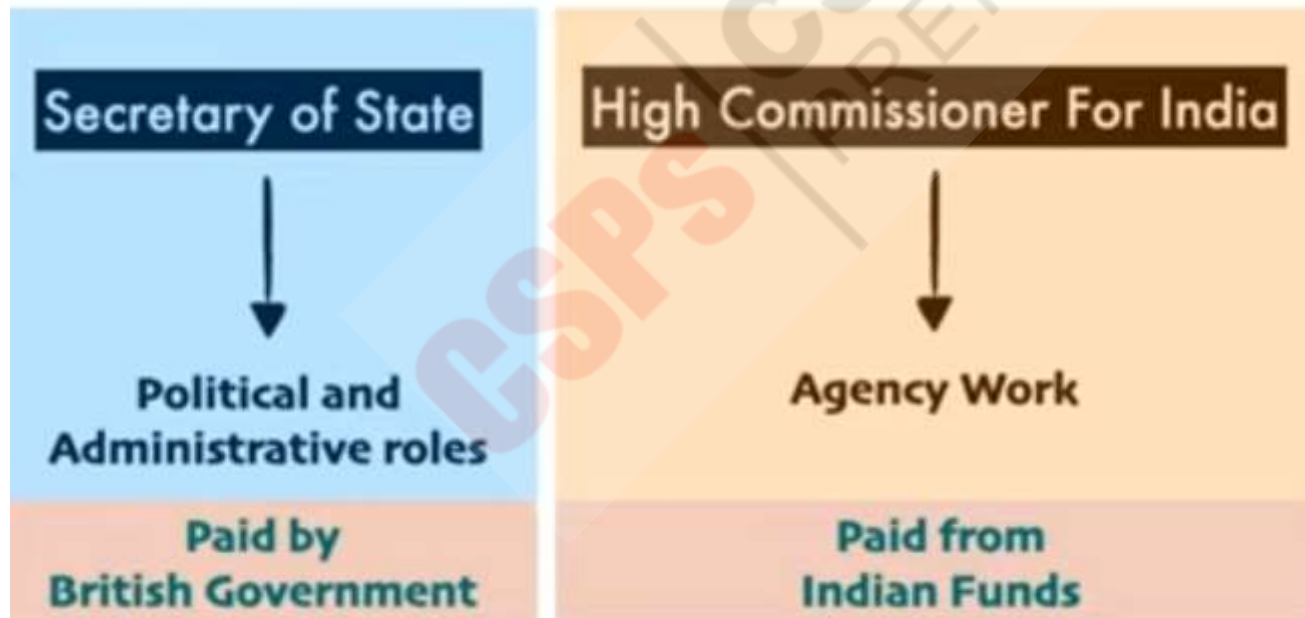
In Lucknow Pact, INC and AIML objected that the salaries of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs (who was the cabinet minister in British parliament) should be paid by the British government and not from the Indian funds

The Secretary of State for Indian Affairs used to do both the political and administrative work, and the agency work (work that an embassy performs)

The British government, via the Indian Councils Act 1919, created the new office of **High Commissioner for India** in London

Changes in Control of Government of India

Now, the following changes were brought about:



Changes in Administration

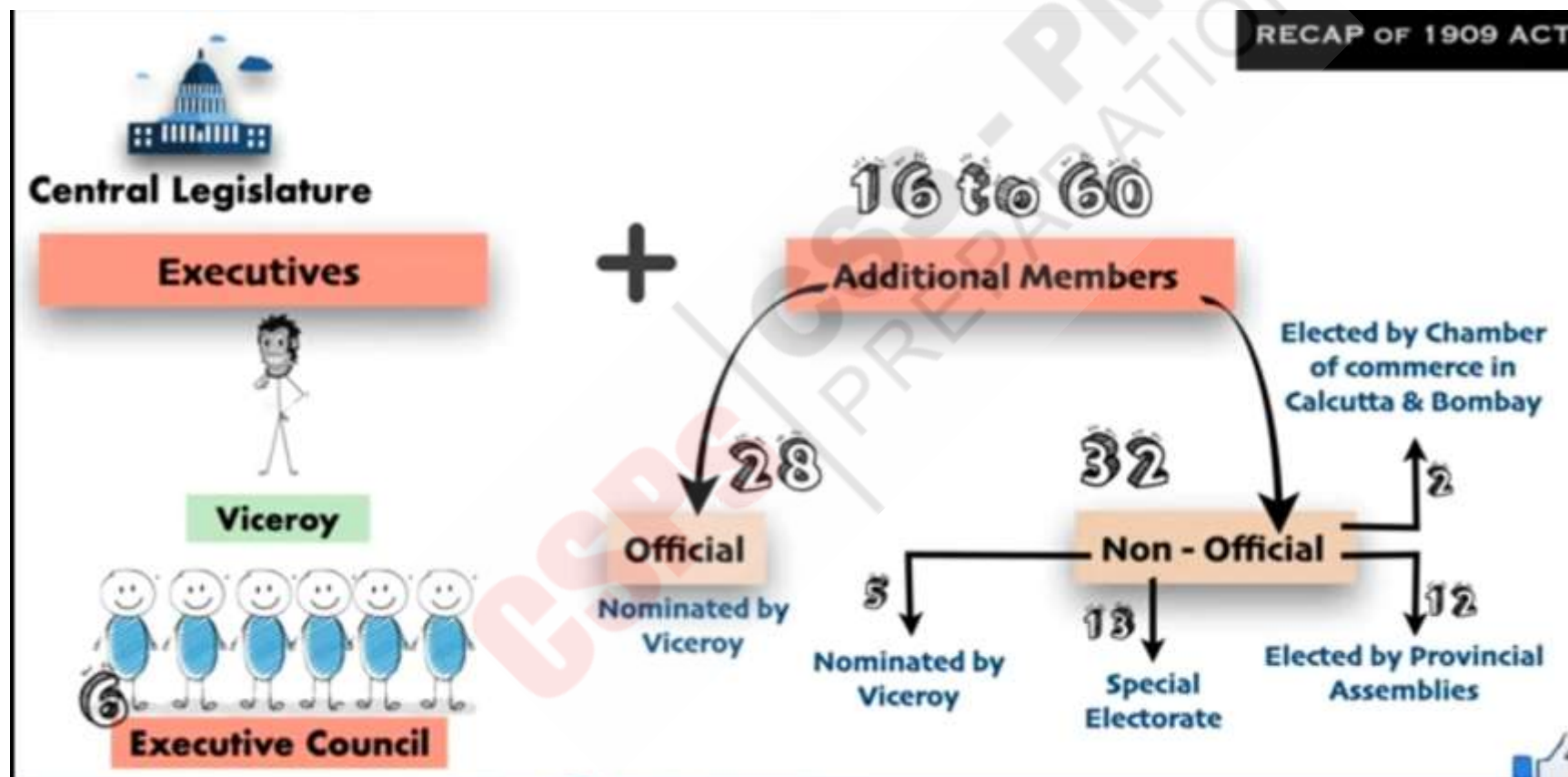
The Viceroy enjoyed Ordinance power given by the Indian Councils Act, 1861

Moreover, the executive council of Viceroy consisted of 6 members (1 Indian as proposed by the Minto-Morley Reforms 1909)

With the Indian Councils Act 1919, the number of Indians in the Viceroy's Executive Council was increased to 3

The total number of members in the Viceroy's executive council were still fixed at 6

Structure of Central Legislature as per the Indian Councils Act 1909



Demands of the Lucknow Pact regarding Central Legislature

In Lucknow Pact, the Muslim and the Hindu leaders decided that the number of additional members should be increased to 150

Out of 150, at least 75 should be Indians and one-third of these 75 seats (25 seats) should be of Muslims

Muslims also proposed that they should have the right of separate electorates on these 25 seats

It was also proposed that the term of the Legislative Council should be made 5 years

Changes in Central Legislature

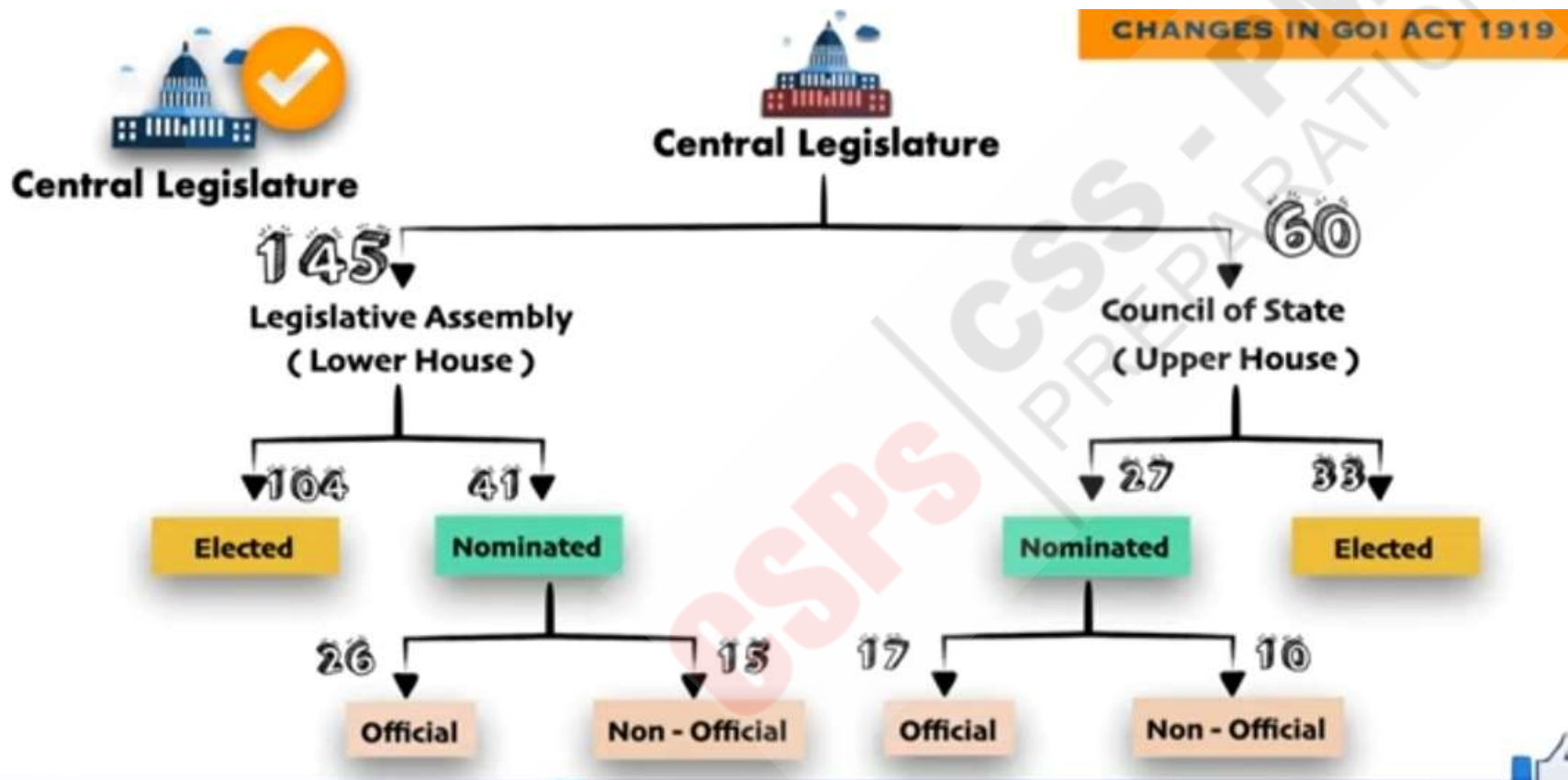
Under the Indian Councils Act 1919, a bicameral central legislature was setup

The Lower House was known as the **Indian Legislative Assembly** while the Upper House was called the **Council of State**.

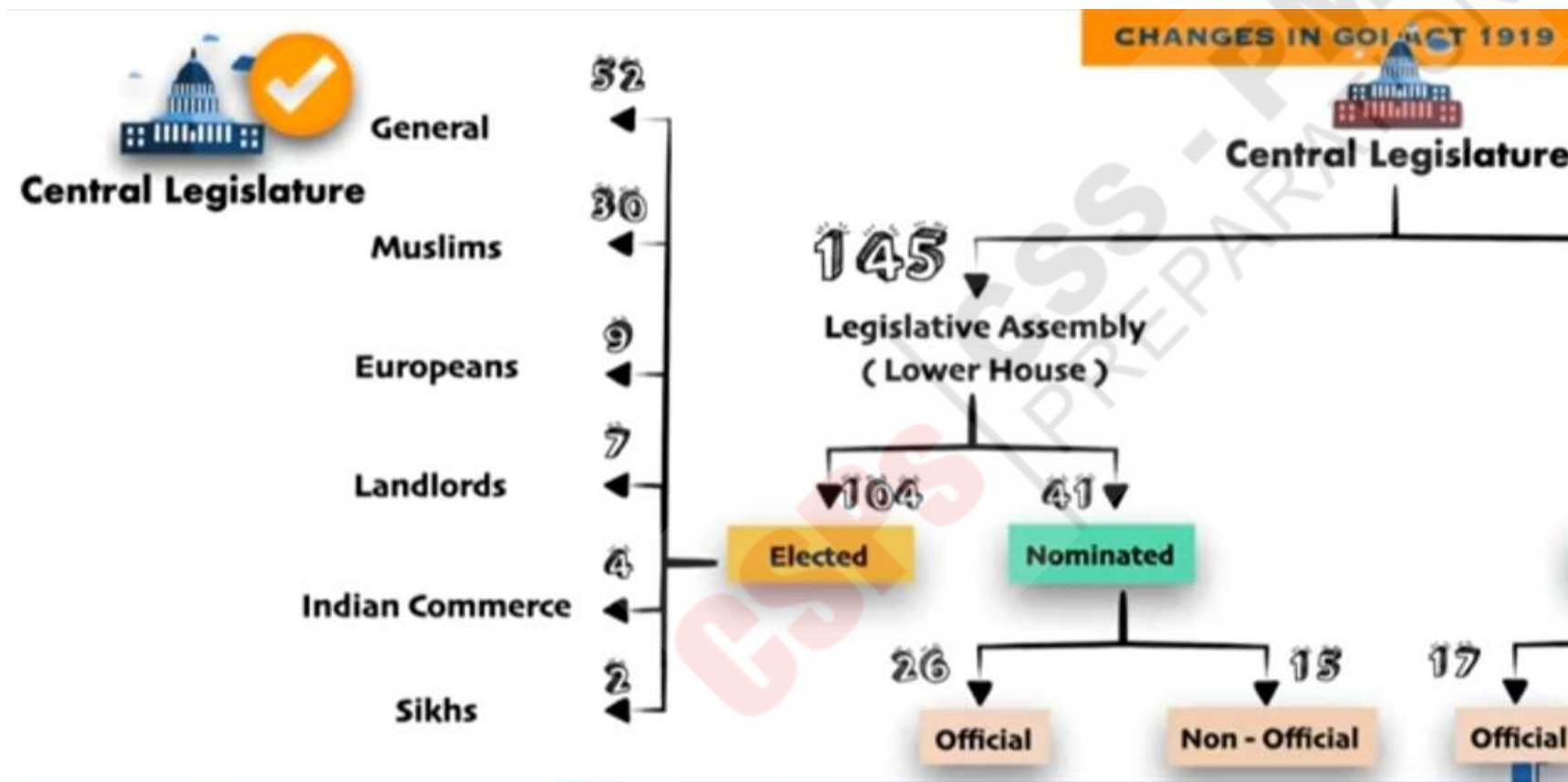
The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members while the Council of State had 60 members.

Members of the Lower House were elected for three years whereas the members of the Upper House were elected for a period of five years.

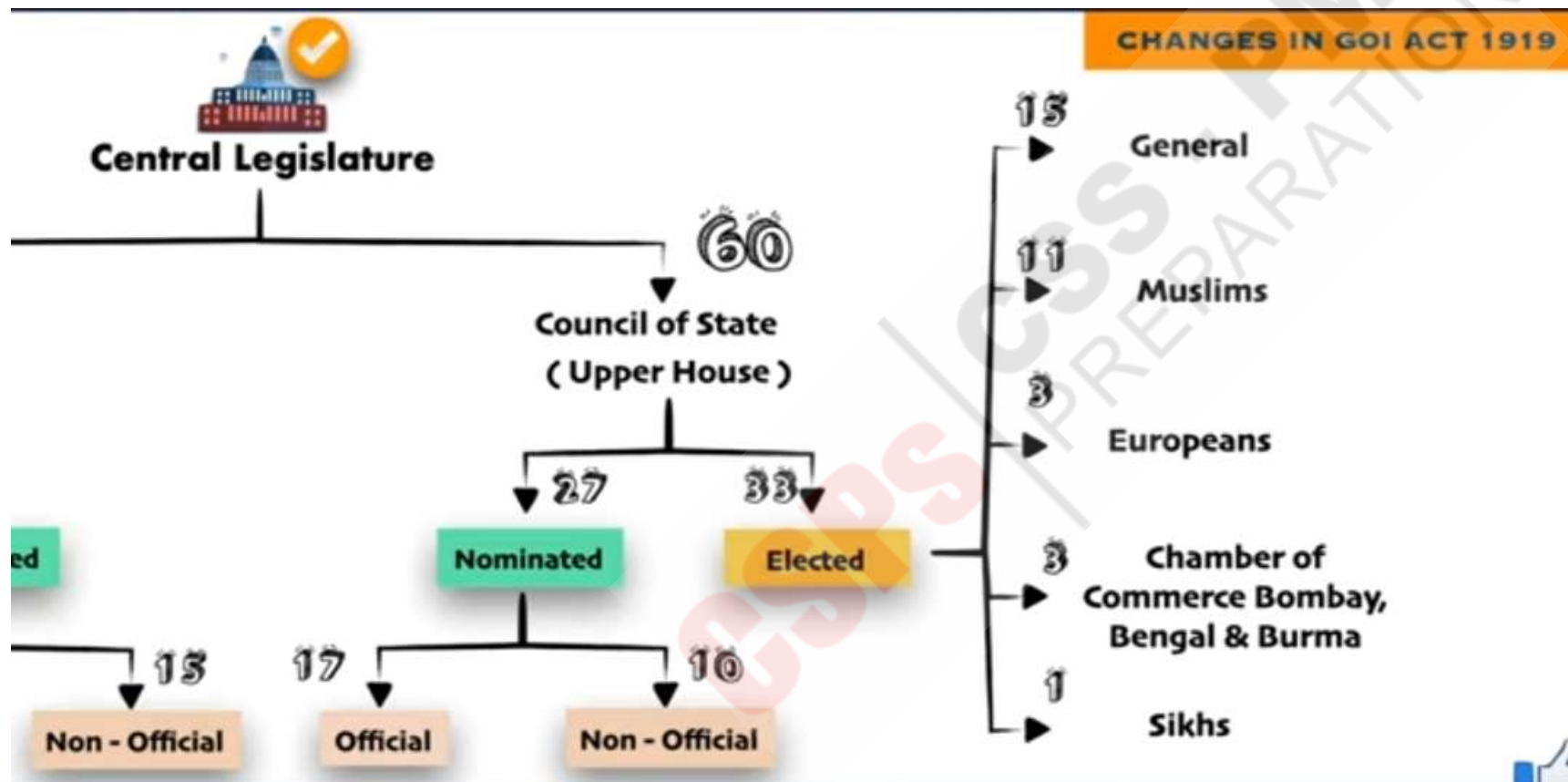
Structure of Central Legislature



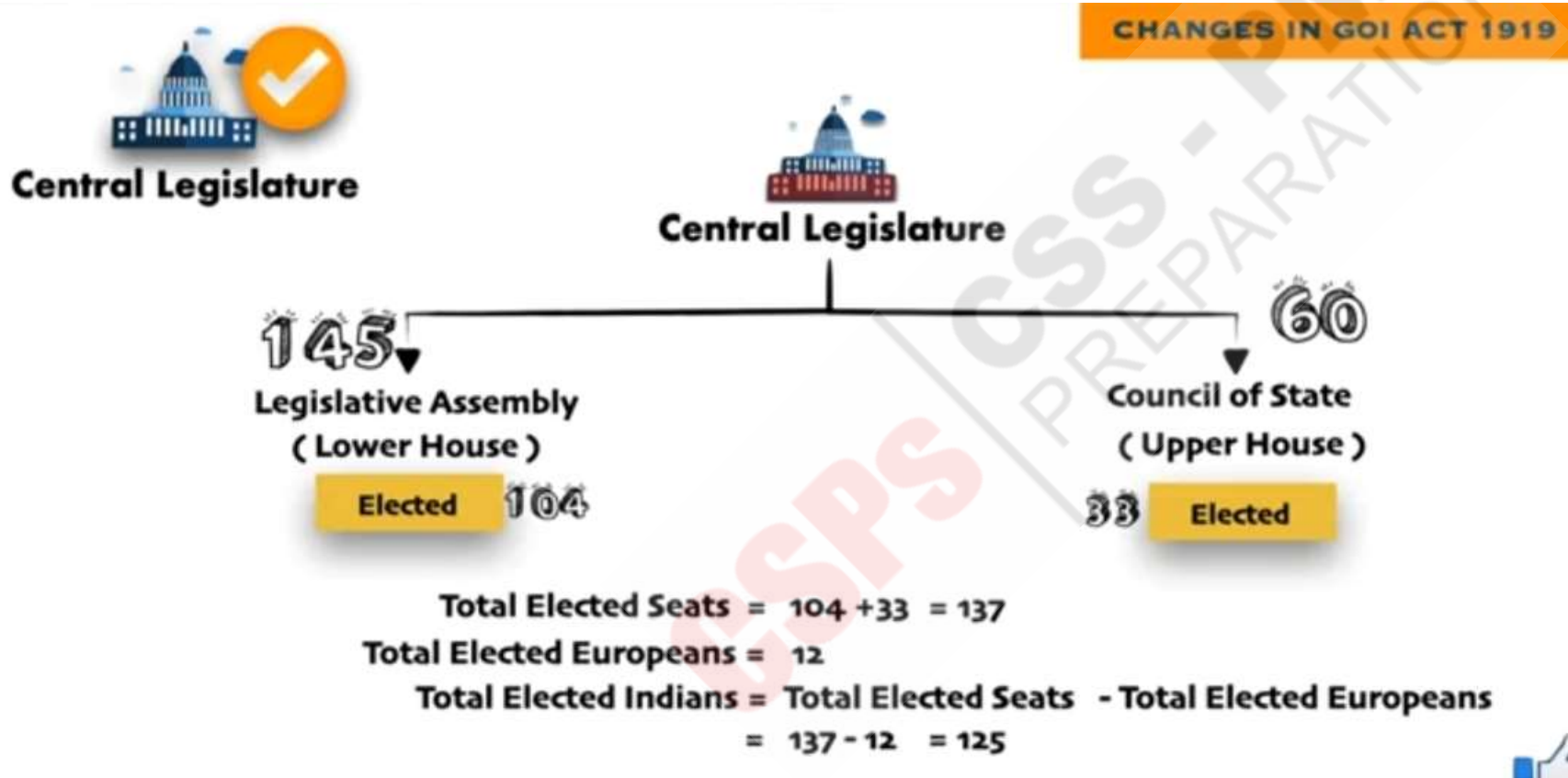
Division of Elected Seats in Legislative Assembly



Division of Elected Seats in the Council of State

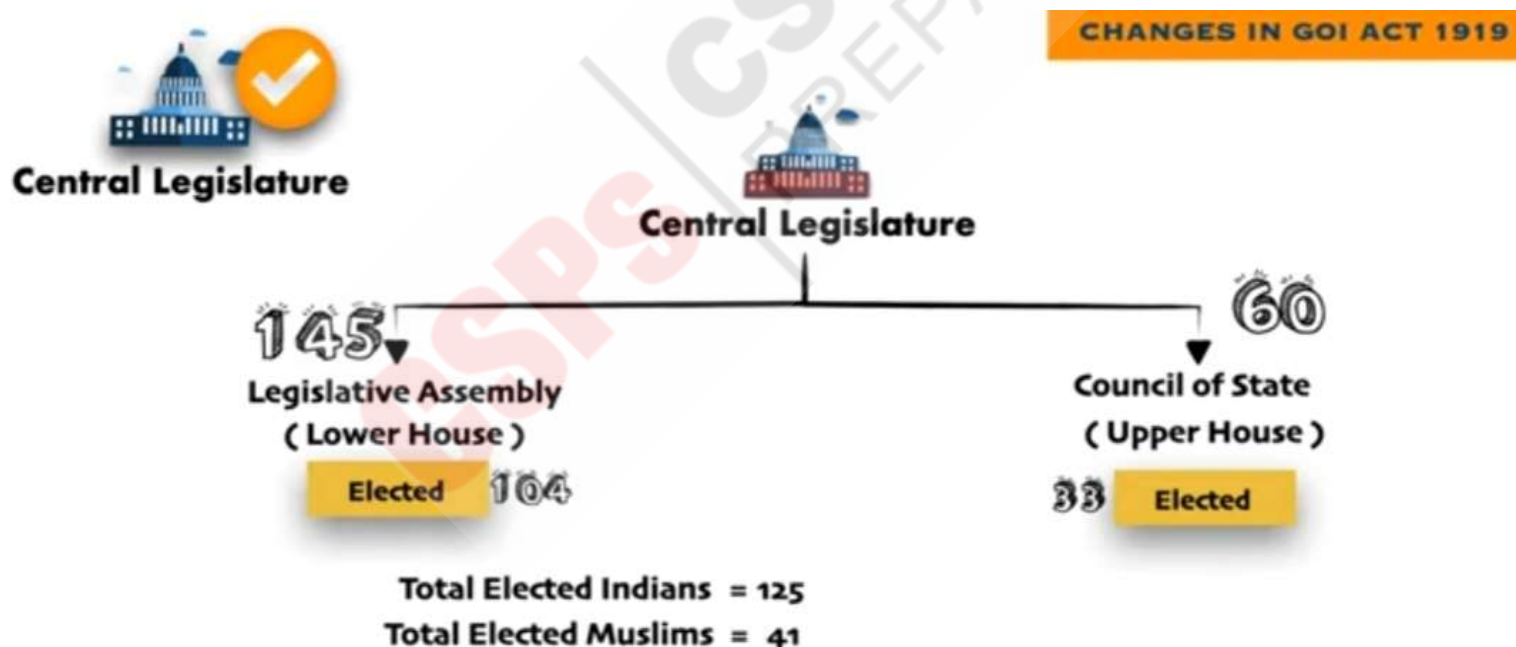


Total Elected Seats for Indians



Total Reserved Seats for Muslims

The Indian Councils Act of 1919 gave Muslims the right of separate electorates on one-third Indian seats



Changes in Central Legislature

Functions of both the houses were almost same except the power of Vote Supply which was available only to the Legislative Assembly (Lower House)

Vote supply meant that the members of Legislative assembly had power to agree or disagree on Government's spending proposals

Moreover, a bill had to be passed from both the Legislative Assembly and Council of State to become law

To resolve any deadlock between the houses, Joint Committees, joint Conferences and joint sittings were provisioned

Structure of Provincial Legislature as per Indian Councils Act 1909

The Provincial Legislature was formed in 7 provinces:

1. Madras
2. Bombay
3. Bengal
4. United Province (U.P)
5. Punjab
6. Burma
7. Assam

In all provinces the number of additional members was increased than those in the previous Act

These additional members could be both nominated or elected

Changes in Provincial Legislature

Provincial legislatures were added in two more provinces: Bihar and Orrisa, and Central Provinces

It was also stated that of the elected members of the provincial legislatures, 3-4 members will be appointed as ministers

However, the most important provision of the Indian Councils Act 1919 was that it **introduced Dyarchy at provincial level**

Dyarchy means double government

Changes in Provincial Legislature

The Indian Councils Act 1861 gave powers to the provincial legislatures to make laws for their respective provinces

However, until 1919, there was no clarity on the division of powers between the provinces and the central legislature

The Indian Councils Act 1919 clearly defined the division of subjects between the Center and the provinces

All subjects were divided into two categories: **47 central subjects and 50 provincial subjects**

The provincial subjects were further divided into two categories: **Transferred subjects and Reserved subjects**

Changes in Provincial Legislature

The Governor and his Executive Council used to administer laws regarding reserved subjects

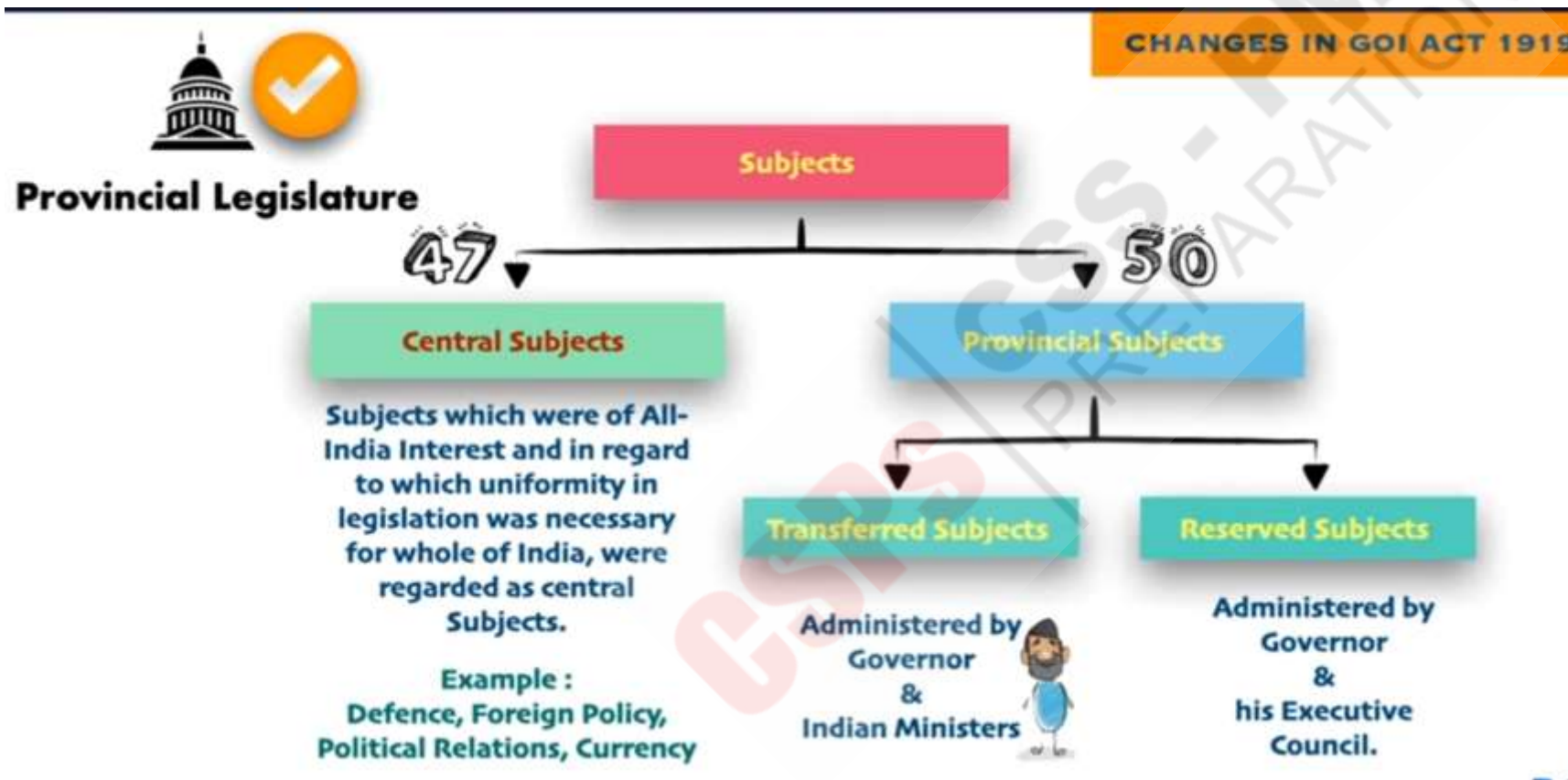
This executive council consisted of only nominated members

Whereas, on the matters regarding the transferred subjects, Governors and Indian Ministers used to legislate laws

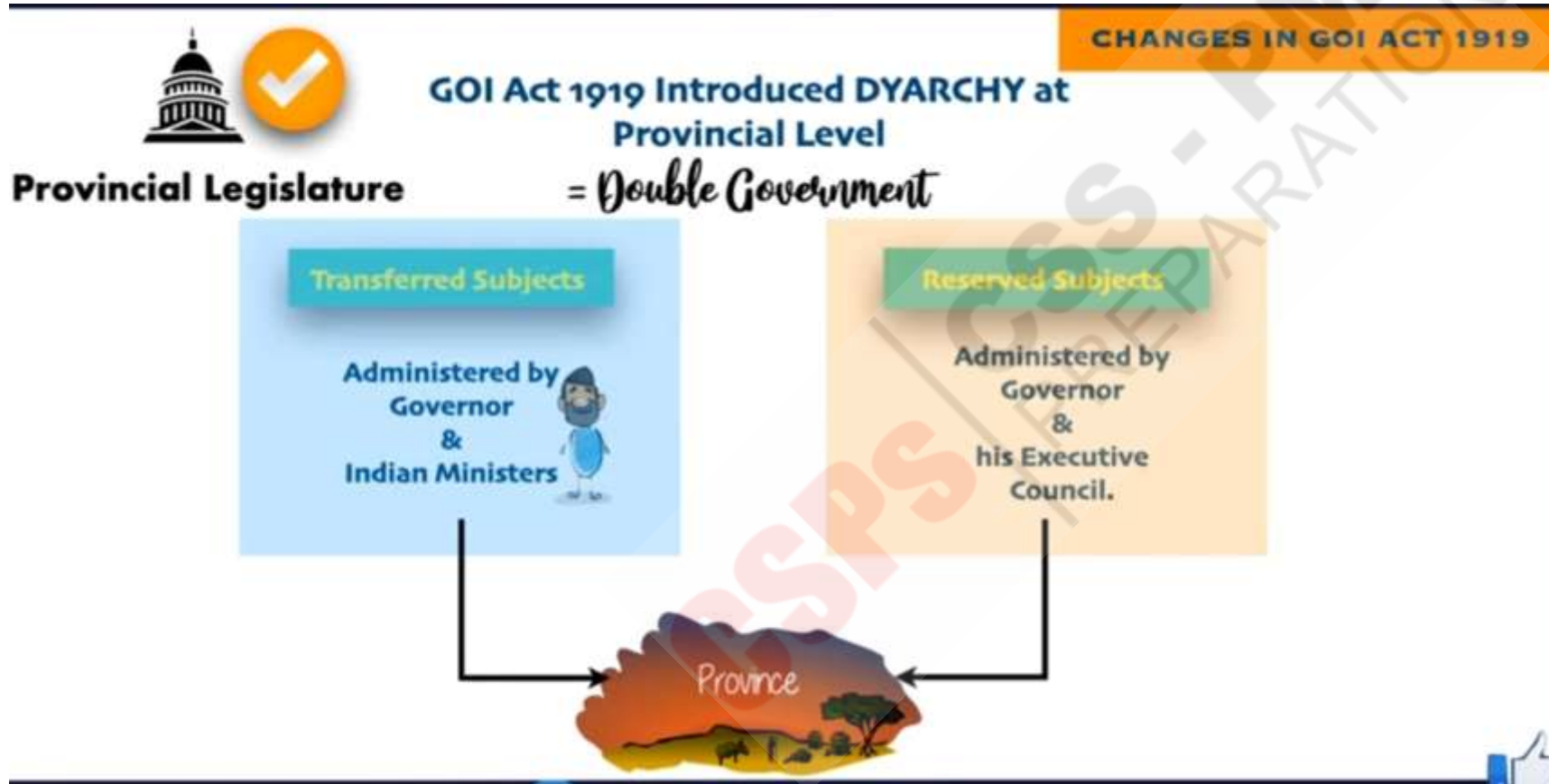
According to the Indian Councils Act 1919, these ministers were basically the elected members

Hence, there existed two law making bodies: Governor + Indian Ministers, and Governor+ his Executive Council

Changes in Provincial Legislature



Changes in Provincial Legislature



Assessment

For the first time, direct election was introduced

Around 65% members in Central legislature and 70% members in provincial legislature were elected

However, the eligibility criteria for voters were so strict that only 17,000 people voted in the elections that followed the Indian Councils Act 1919

The act also provided that after 10 years, a statutory commission would be set up to study the working of the government; this resulted in the Simon Commission of 1927

This act also provided for the first time, the establishment of a public service commission in India

Assessment

Dyarchy was a unique system of government which remained operative in nine provinces for sixteen years. But this system did not succeed due to the following reasons:-

The introduction of **Montford Reforms** synchronized with a very inauspicious combination of circumstances.

The political atmosphere was extremely tense due to the Rowlatt Act.

The massacre at Jallianwala Bagh ended all prospects of improvement in the situation.

Meanwhile, Britain's hostile attitude towards Turkey severely hurt the feelings of the Muslims

Assessment

In such circumstances, the Khilafat Movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement gathered momentum

Assemblies were boycotted as a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

In 1924, an enquiry commission acknowledged that the Reforms could some how have been made successful, had there been no political tensions and had the Assemblies not been boycotted.

Assessment

An important feature of the parliamentary system is that all the ministers are jointly responsible for their work.

The Dyarchy system was an attempt to create a responsible government but this fundamental principle of parliamentary system was ignored.

Under Dyarchy, all the provincial ministers were individually responsible for their actions.

For this very reason it was aptly remarked that under Dyarchy, there were ministers but no ministries.

Assessment

The distribution of provincial subjects was also inappropriate.

Quite cleverly the Government declared all the income-generating departments as Reserved Subjects and all those departments where money was spent, were transferred to the provincial ministers.

Consequently, ministers were left at the mercy of the provincial government.

By keeping the all-important finance department with itself, the Government made the ministers dependent on the Government.

Pakistan Affairs

RAI YASIR FARHAD

The Indian Councils Act 1909/ The Minto-Morley Reforms 1909

Background

These reforms were primarily introduced to bring an end to the agitation against the partition of Bengal

The various anti-Indian steps taken by Lord Curzon during his Viceroyalty, the partition of Bengal, the Universities Act and other measures incited strong anti-government feelings in the hearts of Indians

Meanwhile the inception of AIML in 1906 made Muslims conscious of their need to protect their rights

AIML demanded **2 Indians to be present in the Viceroy's Executive Council** out of which one should be Muslim

Muslims also demanded the **right of separate electorates**

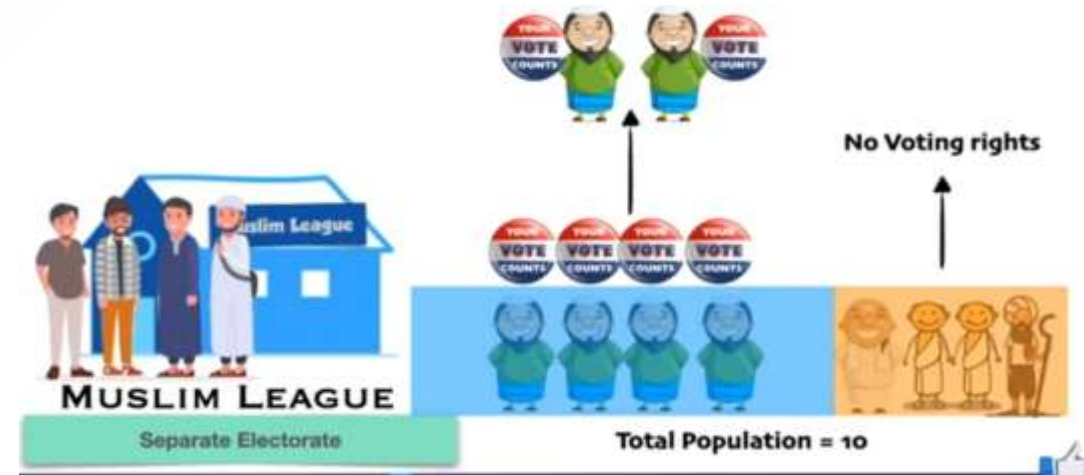
The Concept of separate electorates

Separate Electorates are that type of elections in which minorities select their own representatives separately, as opposed to Joint Electorates where people are selected collectively

In separate (communal) electorates, **only the representative of a particular community contests the elections.**

The Concept of separate electorates

For example, in a constituency of 10 people, 6 are Muslims and 4 belong to other communities then in case of separate electorates for Muslims, only Muslims can contest in elections and have voting rights whereas the other communities living in that area can neither contest in elections nor cast their vote



Background

When Lord Minto became Viceroy, the **extremist factions** in congress were waging a forceful campaign against the partition of Bengal

Minto wanted the continuation of the British Raj over India

He believed that the participation of educated Indians in the government affairs was the only means of continuing the British rule over India

For this, he wanted to win the support of Indians by increasing the number of members in the Viceroy's executive and the Legislative Councils

Background

Viceroy, Lord Minto and the Secretary of State for India, John Morley wanted to give representation to the maximum sections of society, particularly the loyalists (for example the feuds) to win their support for the British government

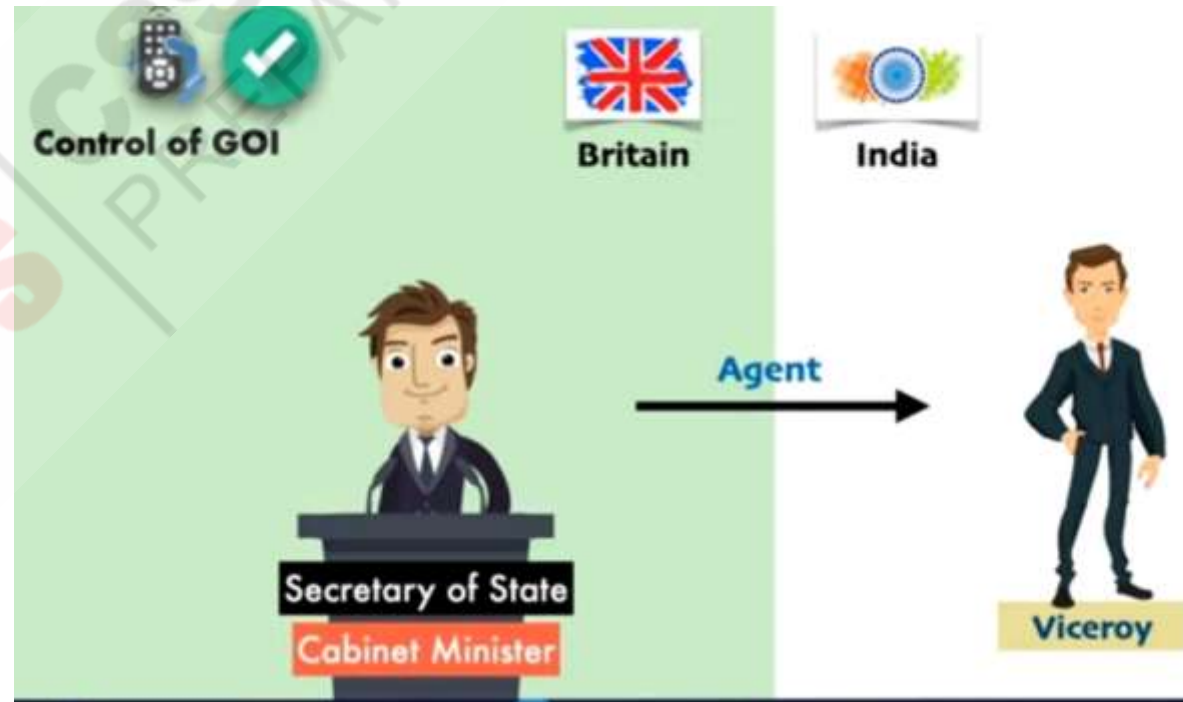
Moreover, in 1906, **Liberal Party** came to power in Britain and it was expected that the British Government will now think about giving more political freedom to the Indians

Key Features

Control of Government of India

By this Act, the Indian Government, like previous Acts, was controlled by the secretary of state for India who while living in the Britain, managed the Indian administration with the help of viceroy

Hence, the Act brought no changes regarding the Control of Government in India



Changes in the Administration

By the Indian Councils Act 1892, Viceroy had a 6 membered Executive Council



Changes in the Administration

Indian Council Act 1909 allowed one Indian to become the member of the Viceroy's Executive Council

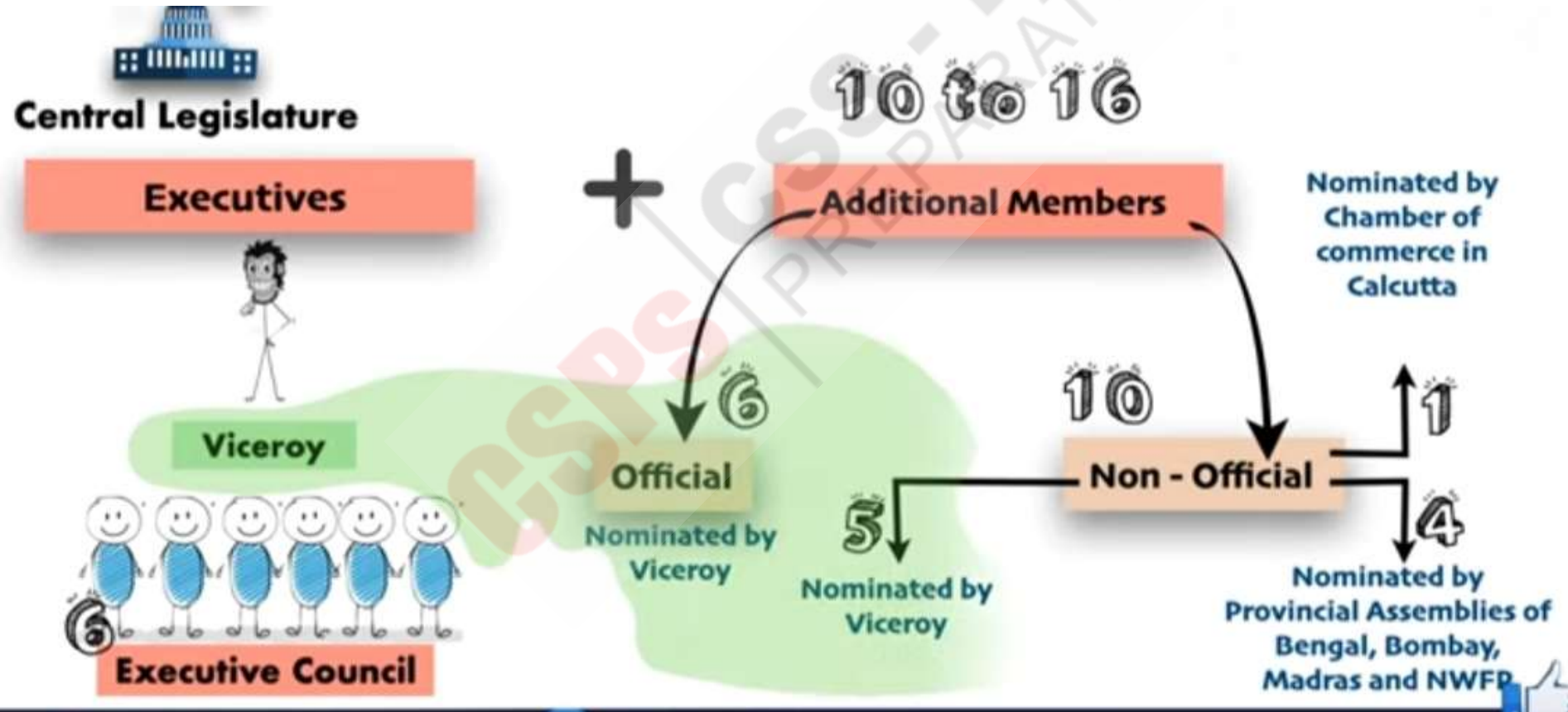
The first Indian to become the member of the Viceroy's Executive Council was **Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (S.P. Sinha)**

He was the **law member** of the of the Viceroy's Executive Council

This change was no welcomed by the AIML as it demanded two Indians in the Viceroy's executive Council



Structure of the Central Legislature as per the Indian Councils Act 1892:



Changes in Central Legislature

Under the Minto-Morley Reforms 1909, the number of additional members of the Viceroy's Executive Council were increased to 60 (no less than 16 and no more than 60)

These additional members included 28 officials nominated by the Viceroy

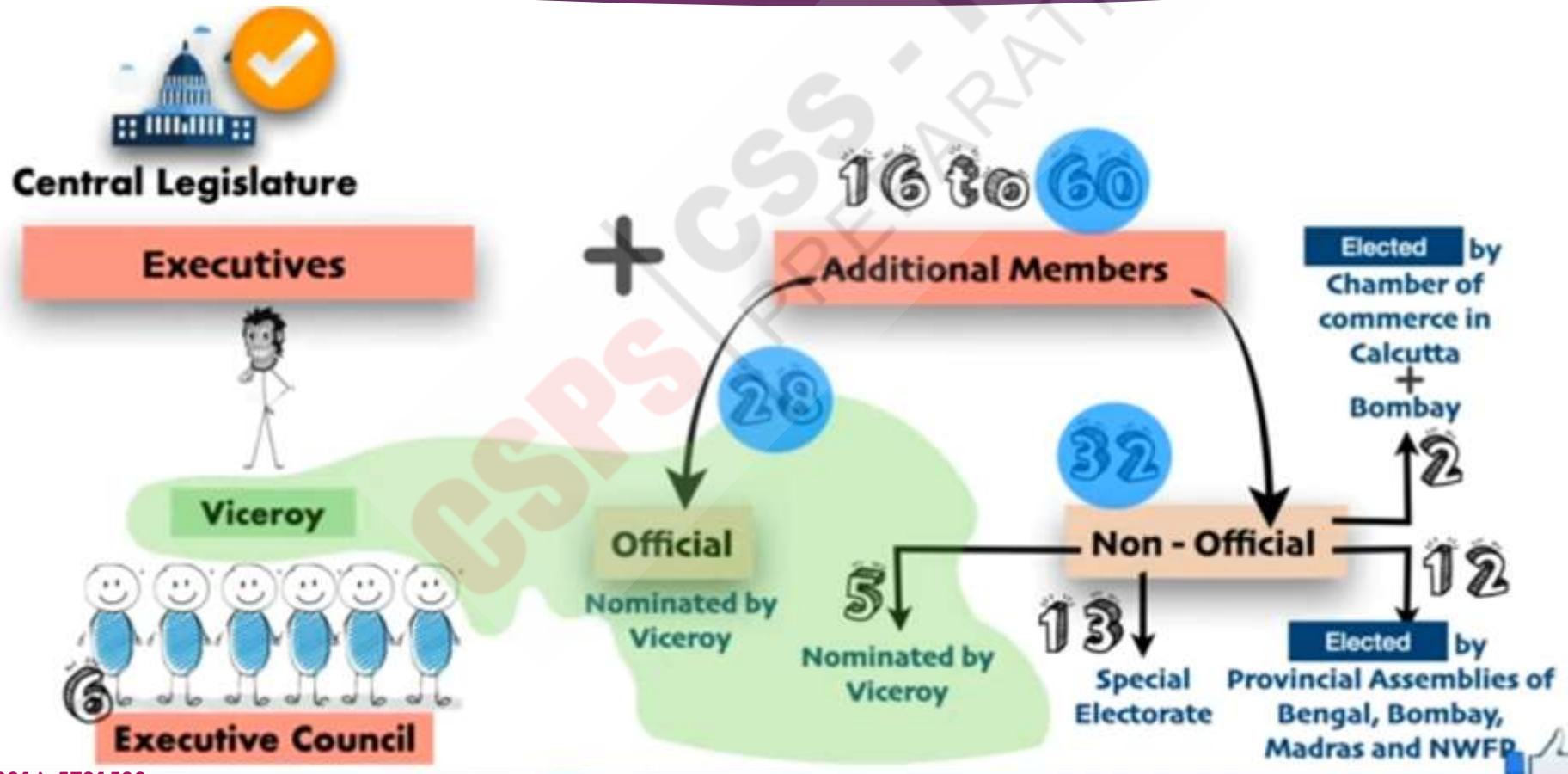
Out of the 32 non-official members, 5 were nominated by the Viceroy

A kind of Indirect election was proposed: 12 non-official members were now elected by the provincial assemblies of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and NWFP

2 non-official members were to be elected by the chamber of Commerce in Calcutta and Bombay

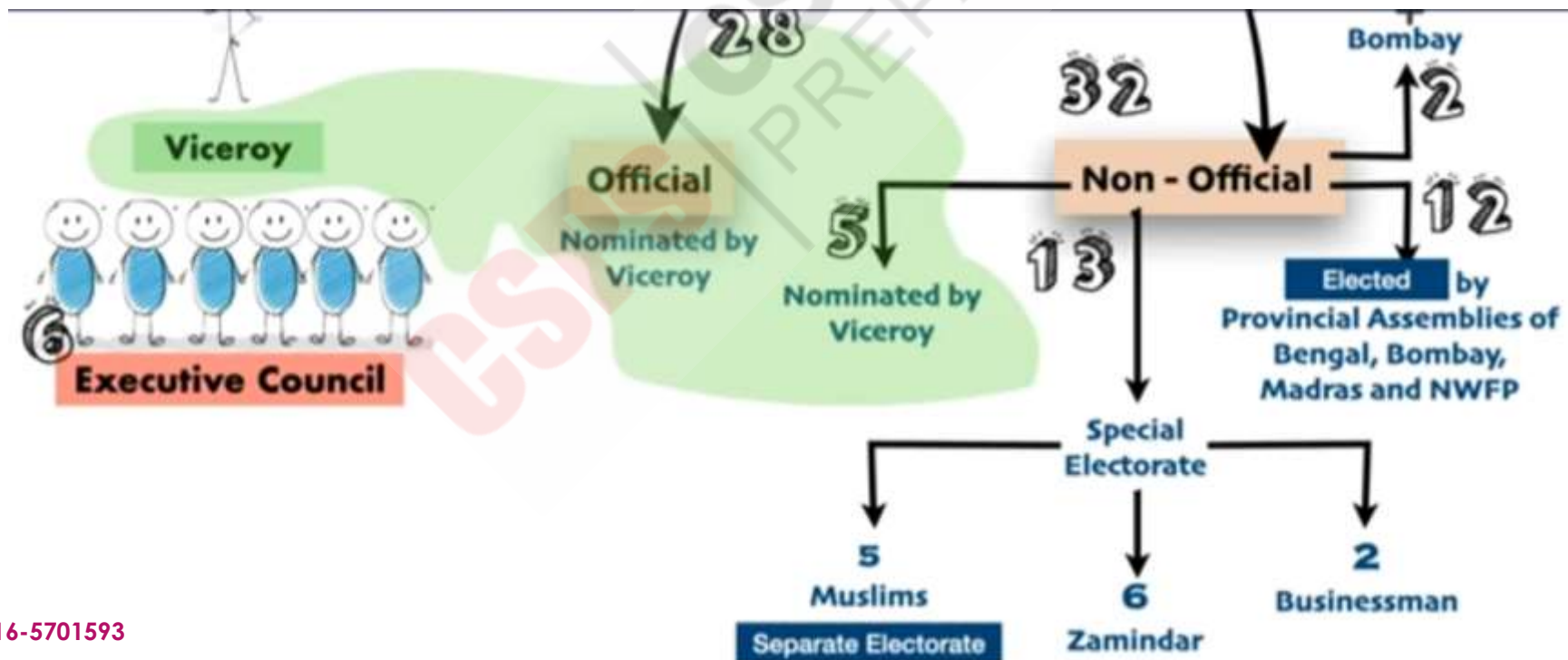
13 non-official members were to be elected by special electorates

Changes in Central Legislature



Changes in Central Legislature

The Minto Morley Reforms 1909 accepted the Muslim demand for separate electorates



Changes in Central Legislature

In the Indian Councils Act 1909, officials were in majority than non-officials in the Imperial Legislative Council

Moreover, there were more nominated members(33)than the elected members (27)

Now the additional members could discuss budget and move resolutions regarding tax amendments

Voting on finance bills was also allowed

Now the members could also ask supplementary questions but at the same time, those in charge of the concerned departments were also given the right to refuse to give answers to the supplementary questions

Changes in Provincial Legislature

Provincial Legislature was now formed in 7 provinces:

1. Madras
2. Bombay
3. Bengal
4. United Province (U.P)
5. Punjab
6. Burma
7. Assam

Changes in Provincial Legislature

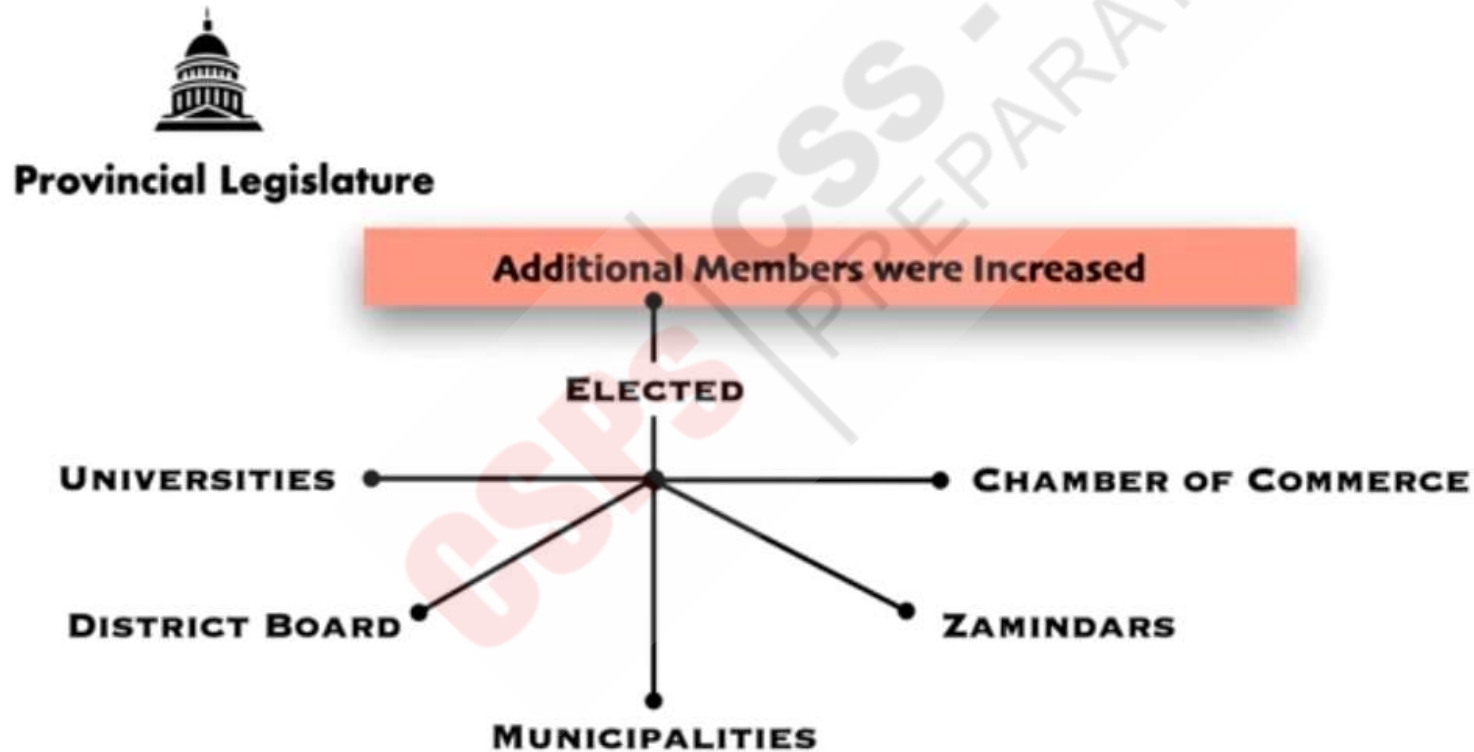
In Madras, Bombay, Bengal and United Province, the additional members were fixed at 50

The number of additional members were fixed at 30 in the provincial legislatures of Punjab, Burma and Assam

This Act also proposed that non-officials can enjoy majority in provincial legislature

The additional members of the provincial legislature were elected from different institutions for example universities and district boards etc.

Changes in Provincial Legislature



Assessment

The Minto Morley Reforms were welcomed in the moderate circles

The major contribution of the reforms was the experience it imparted to the Indian members

The quality of speeches in the Councils improves

The reforms introduced a system of indirect elections in the country but the franchise was extremely restricted and the elections failed to give adequate political training to people

Assessment

The Act did increase Indian participation in the legislative councils particularly at provincial levels

The elected Indians were also enabled to debate budgetary and complementary matters and table resolutions

However, these Indians were not elected by people

Strict qualifications of property and education were imposed on the franchise

Despite all the drawbacks, the Minto-Morley Reforms constituted a step forward in the constitutional evolution of India

Pakistan Affairs

RAI YASIR FARHAD

Indian Councils Act 1892

Background

In 1885, Indian National Congress was formed which united Indian nationalists on a common platform

It also catalyzed the political activism in India and Indian leaders began pressing the government for the further expansion of the legislative councils

Secondly, the universities established at different places across India increased political awareness among Indian people and they started to demand representative institutions

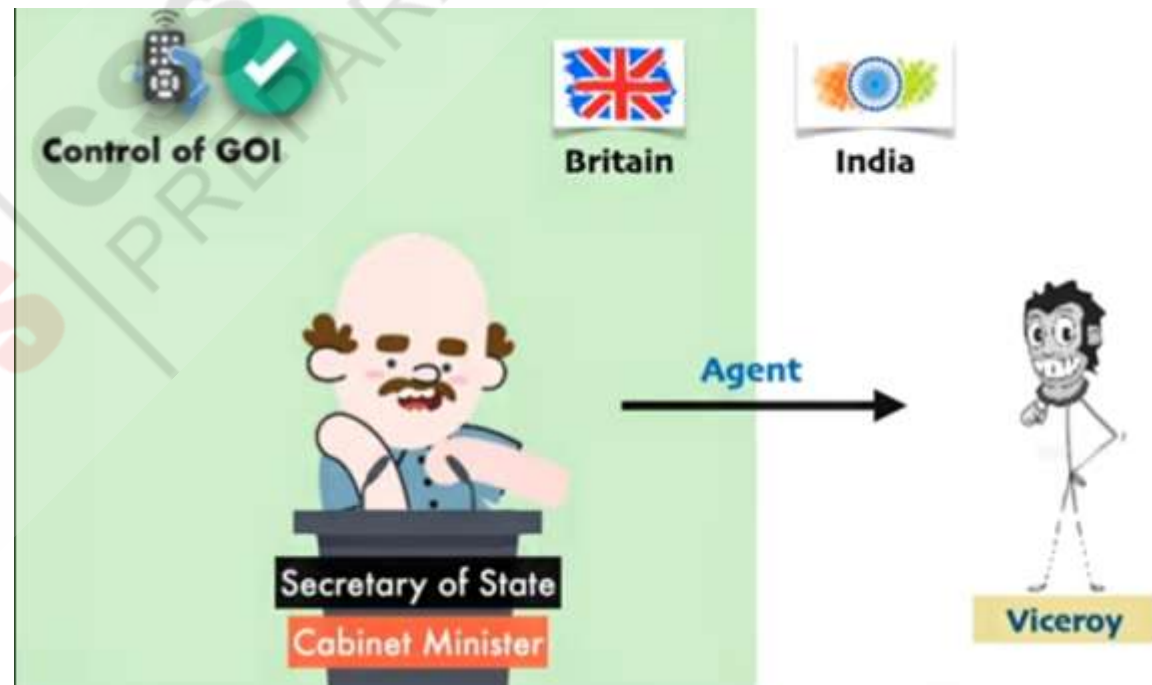
Thirdly, Lord Lytton's repressive policies like the imposition of the **Vernacular Press Act** and the **Ilbert Bill** acted as a fuel to the burning fire of Indian nationalism

Key Features of the Indian Councils Act, 1892

Control of Government of India

The Secretary of State, like in the Indian Councils Act of 1861, controlled Indian administration with the help of Viceroy

Hence, there were no changes in the Indian Councils Act 1892 regarding the control of Government of India



Structure of the Central Legislature as per the Indian Councils Act 1861:

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 increased the members of viceroy's executive council to 6 and they were given separate portfolios

Moreover, the Act also gave power to the Viceroy to issue ordinances with a validity of 6 months

The Indian Councils Act 1892 did not change any thing regarding the executive council of the Viceroy

Structure of the Central Legislature as per the Indian Councils Act 1861:

By the Indian Councils Act 1861, Viceroy, his executive council and 6-12 additional members (officials and non-officials nominated by the Viceroy) were part of legislative assembly

Official members constituted the majority of additional members

Indians were not allowed to be the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council but they could be additional members

The Additional members enjoyed extremely limited powers

Demands for changes in the Central Legislature

The Congress proposed to the British authorities that the changes brought about by the Indian Council Act of 1861 were insufficient

It gave suggestions to be included in the upcoming Indian Council's Act of 1892

Congress proposed that

1. The number of additional members in the central legislature should be increased
2. Additional members should be **elected rather than nominated** by the Viceroy
3. Discussions on financial matters should be allowed in the central legislature
4. Military expenditure should be reduced
5. Indian Civil Services Exam (ICS) should be conducted in India as was conducted in Britain

Changes in the Central Legislature

The number of additional members in the Viceroy's executive council were increased

Now the council was to consist of no less than 10 and no more than 16 additional members

Distribution of Additional members: 6 officials and 10 non-officials

Out of 10 non-officials, 5 were to be nominated by the Viceroy; 4 to be nominated by the provincial assemblies of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and NWFP and 1 member to be nominated by the Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta

The 6 officials were to be nominated by the Viceroy

Changes in the Central Legislature

Even now, no member was elected but all members were also not nominated solely by the Viceroy

On surface, the majority seemed to be of non-officials (10 non-officials VS 6 officials)

However, the Act proposed that the total number members in the Viceroy's executive council and officials should always add up to be greater than the non-officials

Hence, in true sense, officials enjoyed the majority

Indians were still not allowed in the Viceroy's executive council however more Indians could become additional members since the number of additional members was increased

At any given time, 4-5 Indians could be the additional members

Changes in the Central Legislature

Moreover, the additional members were granted limited powers

They could ask questions on matters of public interest

They could now also discuss the budget and annual financial report under certain restrictions

However, voting on finance bills was not allowed

The additional members could also ask questions from the executive Council members regarding their portfolios by sending them a notice 6 days earlier

However, supplementary questions (counter questions on the answer given by the executive council member) were not allowed

Changes in Provincial Legislature

The number of additional members of the Provincial councils was also raised

Now their number was fixed between 8 and 20

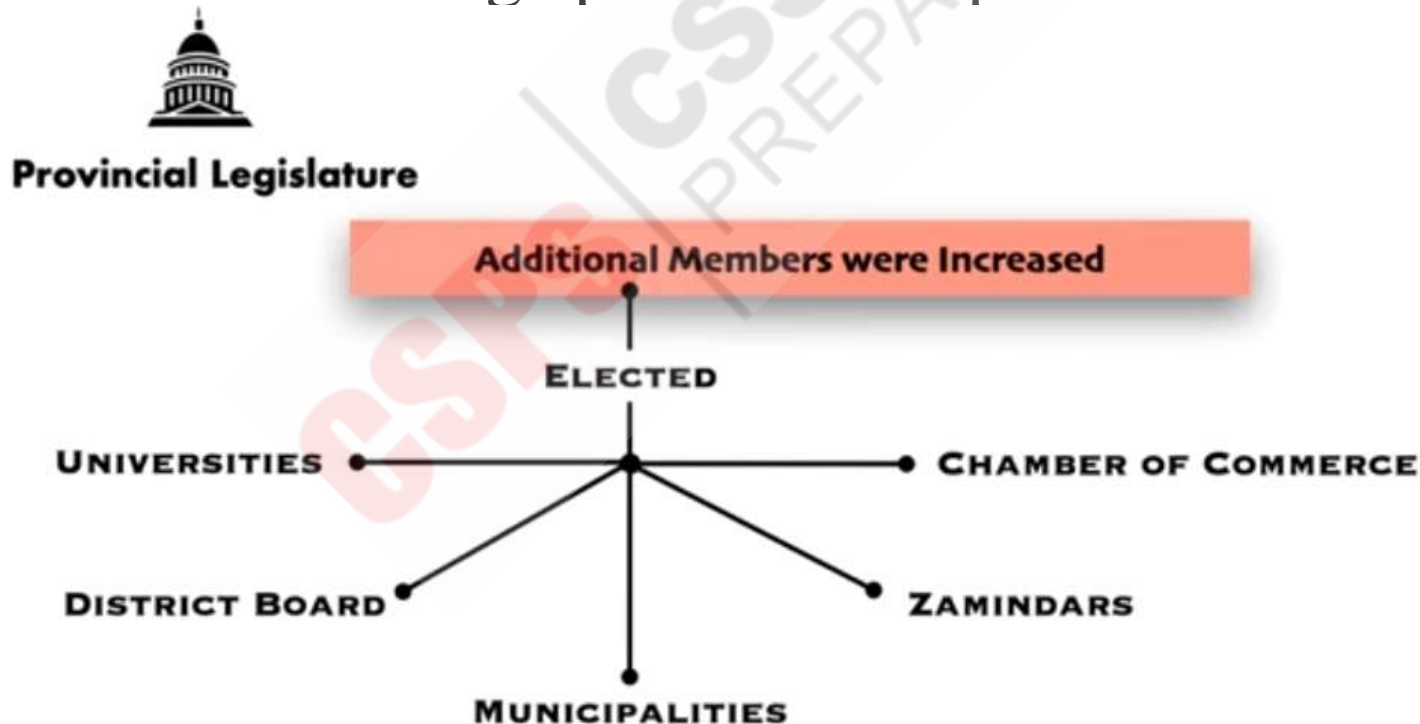
For Bengal, the number was fixed at 20

An important regarding the provincial legislature was that the act initiated the **principle of representation** in the provincial legislature

The additional members of the provincial legislature were elected from different institutions for example universities and district boards etc.

Changes in Provincial Legislature

This was a different change provided the previous constitut



Assessment

The Indian Councils Act 1892 was a **cautious extension** of the 1861 Act which aimed at conciliating the Indian demand for representative institutions

Due to this Act, the number of Indians in the central and provincial legislature increased

In the Viceroy's Imperial legislative Council, Indian leaders like G.K. Gokhale, S.P. Mehta and Nawab Salimullah Khan made their position felt and respected by the government

It was the first step towards representative form of government in India

Some of the demands of the Indian National Congress were accepted, hence the Act re-affirmed the importance of Indian National Congress in Indian politics

Assessment

The non-official members constituted a permanent minority before the official bloc and they could not press any demand against the official bloc

Supplementary questions could not be put; only 13 questions regarding services, railways, revenue and foreign exchange were asked from 1905-1906

Very few questions regarding the political grievances of the Indians were discussed

On many occasions, the Government passed many bills disregarding the strongest opposition by the Indian members ; for example, the **Indian Universities Bill 1905**

Pakistan Affairs

RAI YASIR FARHAD

“

The Indian Councils Act 1861

”

Background

- The British Parliament started to control the East India's Company's rule in India, more.
- The parliament passed **the Regulating Act (1773) and the Pitt's India Act (1784)** which enabled it to indirectly control and supervise the Company's government in India
- However, the 1857 revolt caused the British parliament to pass the Government of India Act 1858
- With this act, India came under the direct British colonial rule.

Background

- Some British administrators felt that the war underlined the need for associating Indians with the process of law making in India
- Therefore, after taking complete control of India in its hands in 1858, the British parliament decided to overhaul the administrative and legislative structures in India
- Hence, the parliament passed the Indian Councils Act 1861 primarily to associate Indians with the law making process

Key Features

Changes in Control of Government of India (GOI)

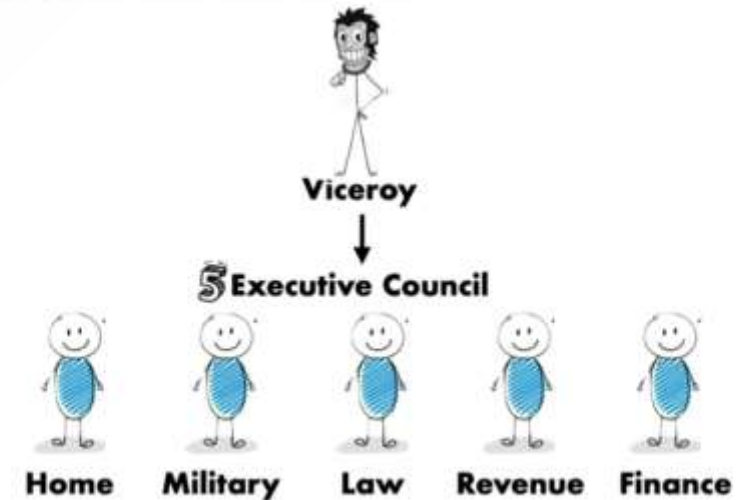
- Prior to the Government of India Act 1858, the East India Company was supervised and controlled by **the Court of Director and the Board of Control**
- However, after the Government of India Act 1858, Secretary of state replaced the Court of Director and the Board of Control
- This meant that now the Secretary of State had the complete responsibility of Indian administration
- The secretary of state used to be a cabinet minister of the British Parliament who also had a 15 member advisory body to help him in administration
- However, the Secretary of state used to live in Britain and the Viceroy (Governor General)of India used to control the Government of India on the behalf of Secretary of state
- In this regard, no changes were brought about in the Indian Councils Act of 1861

Changes in Indian Administration

- **The Charter Act of 1853** established the governor general of India as the British Administrative head in India
- The Governor General also had a 4 membered executive council
- **The Government of India Act 1858** established viceroy (in place of Governor General) as the British Administrative head in India
- The Indian Councils Act 1861 raised the number of members in viceroy's executive council from 4 to 5
- Commander- in-Chief was appointed as an extra ordinary member of the executive council
- Indians were not allowed to be a member of Viceroy's executive Council

Changes in Indian Administration

- Moreover, prior to 1861, Viceroy's executive council used to work mainly as an advisory body
- However, the Indian Councils Act 1861 introduced **the Portfolio System**
- Hence, all the members of the Viceroy's executive council were given separate portfolios
- At that time, there were 5 portfolios for the 5 membered Viceroy's executive council



Changes in Indian Administration

- In 1874, another portfolio namely **Public Works** was also added for which another member was added

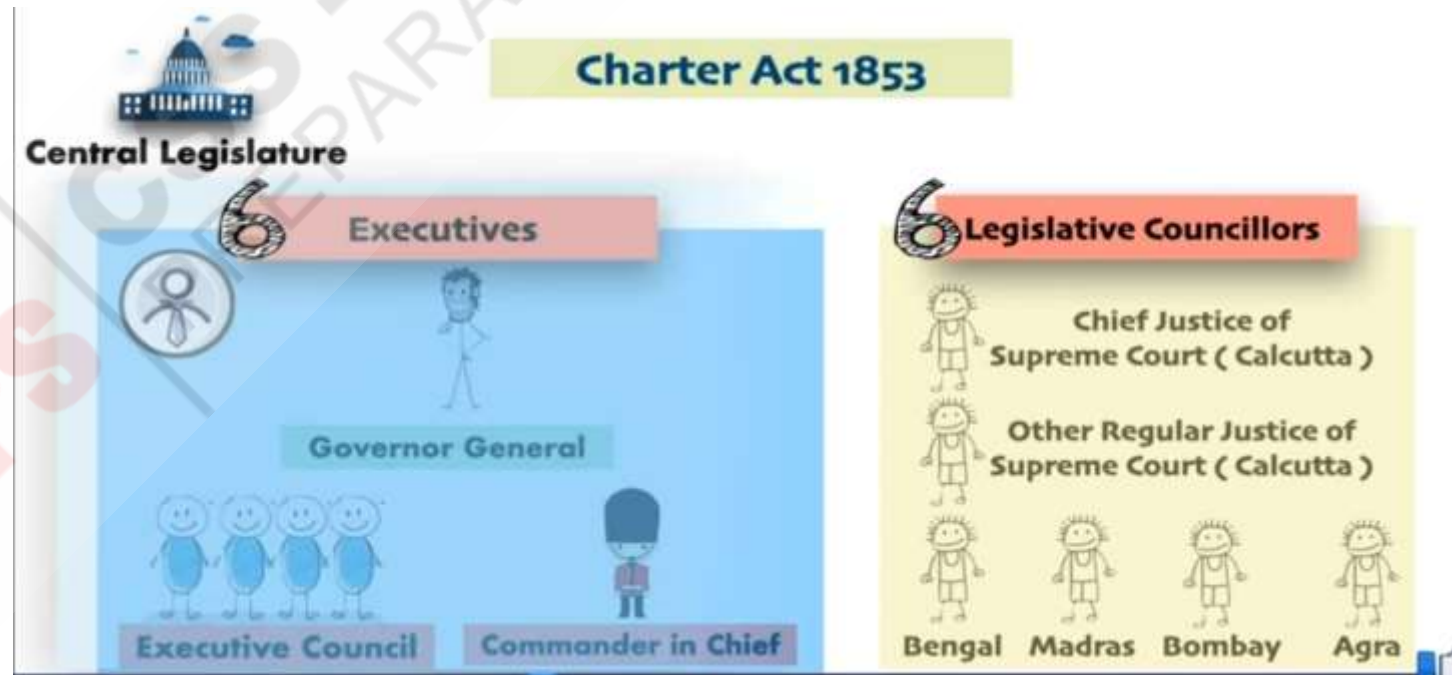


Changes in Indian Administration

- Hence, now the Viceroy's executive Council consisted of 6 members
- The Indian Council Act of 1961 gave the power to the Viceroy to issue Ordinances on urgent matters which require immediate legislation
- The ordinances issued by the Viceroy would work as temporary laws with the validity of 6 months
- The Governor General was also made the President/speaker of the Council who used to preside over the meetings of the Council
- In his absence, a nominee of the Governor General or a senior member used to preside over these meetings

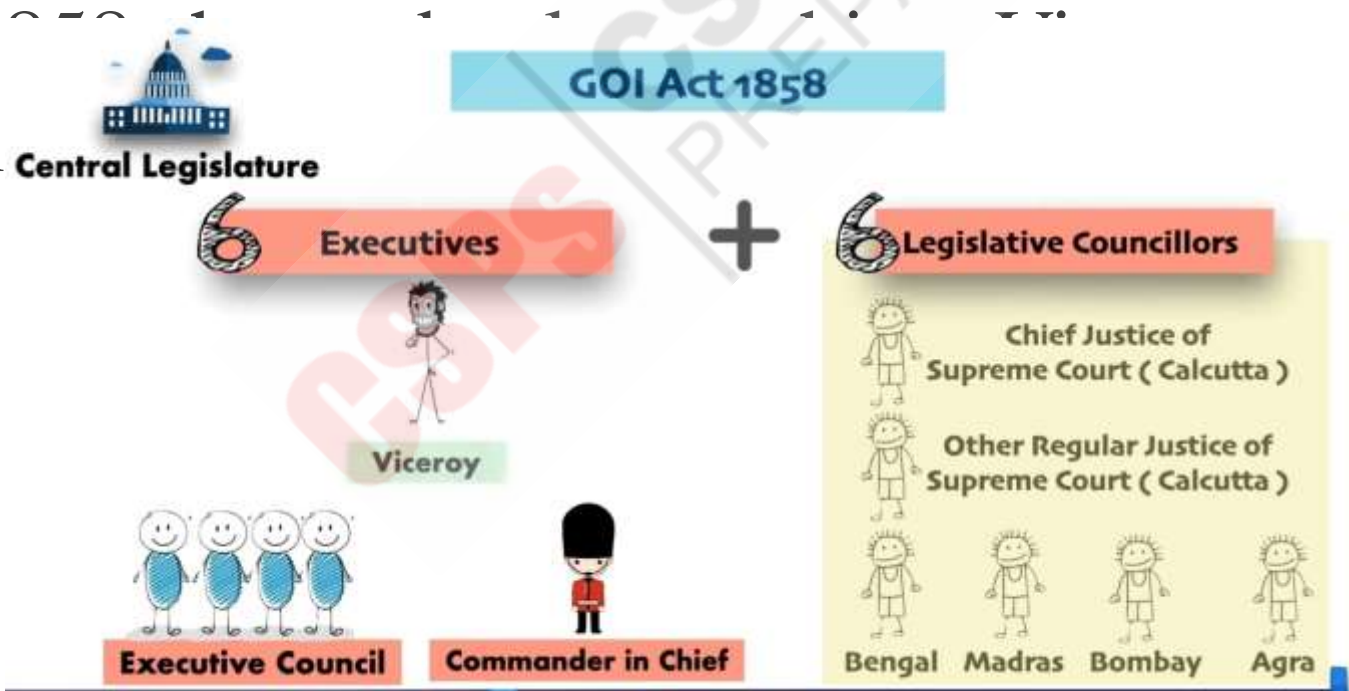
Structure of the Central Legislature before the Act

- According to the Charter Act of 1853, a total of 12 members (**6 executives**: Governor General, his 4 membered executive council and Commander in Chief ; **6 Legislative Councillors**) used to work as a **mini-parliament** to carry out legislative functions



Structure of the Central Legislature before the Act:

- After the Charter Act, the Government of India Act 1858 appointed the Central Legislature as



Changes in the Central Legislature

- The Indian Councils Act 1861 brought about major changes in the central legislature
- It established that the legislative functions were to be carried out by the **Executives** and the **Additional members**
- Not only the members of viceroy's executive council were raised to 6 but also **additional members** replaced legislative councilors
- It was stated that no less than 6 and no more than 12 additional members should be appointed in the central legislature
- These Additional members, however, had no powers: they could neither ask questions from the members of the executive council regarding their portfolios nor move any resolutions

Changes in the Central Legislature

- They could also not discuss financial matters
- The Additional members attended the meetings of the Executive Council only when the council had legislative work on its agenda
- These additional members were to be nominated by the viceroy for a period of 2 years
- The Act also provided that the additional members must include non-officials (non-British officials)
- Indians could also become the additional members. In fact, the first Viceroy of India, **Lord Canning** nominated **3 Indians** (Raja of Banaras, Maharaja of Patiala and Sir Dinkar Rao) as a non official members
- It was also stated that the official members shall constitute the majority

Changes in Provincial Legislature

- The charter Act of 1833 abolished the provincial legislature and the centralized law making in India
- The Indian Councils Act 1861 revived the provincial legislative Councils
- It gave limited legislative powers to the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras
- The Viceroy was authorized to create similar provincial legislative councils in Bengal , NWFP and Punjab
- Additional members were also added in the provincial legislature: no less than 4 and no more than 8 additional members were to be added to the viceroy's executive councils at provincial level.

Other Points

- Any bill related to military, religion, Foreign Affairs and Public revenue could only be passed after the assent of viceroy
- The secretary of state was empowered to dismiss any law passed by the central legislature

Criticism

- The Indian Councils Act 1861 was a mile stone in the constitutional history of India ;however, it had its short comings
- The Imperial Legislative Council worked essentially as a Durbar of Viceroy
- The Additional members were carefully handpicked and their role was advisory only
- The appointed additional members were either Indian prices, big land owners, merchants or retired officers

Criticism

- They could hardly be called representatives of people by modern standards of representative institutions
- Most of the bills were passed without any discussions and the Indian members did not present any opposition to the government
- For example, the universally condemned **Vernacular Press Bill** was passed in a single sitting in 1878 without a single Indian opposing the bill
- Moreover, the non-official Indians did not show eagerness to attend the meetings of the Council

Economic Challenges of Pakistan

Rai Yasir Farhad

An Overview of Pakistan's Economic History

Phase 1: The era of Experimentation (1947-1979)

- When Pakistan came into being, it was economically a weak country
- This is because due to the unfair division of **Red Cliff Award**, the territories that became part of Pakistan had no industries and developed economic sectors
- Thus, Pakistan started its journey with nominal economic assets
- Moreover, India had to pay **55 Crores** to Pakistan from the **Reserve Bank of India**
- Moreover, it took the leadership a period of 9 years to draft the constitution of Pakistan

Phase 1: The era of Experimentation (1947-1979)

- Therefore, due to the political and constitutional crises at that time and hence the failure of leadership to make laws and policies regarding the economy, Pakistan could not come up with a stable and effective economic policy
- Ayyub Khan, in his era, introduced an economic model named **Harvard Trickle Down Model**
- It was a capitalist model that fully support the capitalist elite of Pakistan whose good care of their own interests would ensure a trickle-down effect.
- Ayyub Khan observed that at that time, 66% of the national wealth was held by only twenty-two families as they owned 22 different economic sectors

Phase 1: The era of Experimentation (1947-1979)

- He then thought that if he gave these families the power to run their respective economic sectors, then the families will draft policies that will benefit their own respective sectors.
- In this way, 22 different sectors of Pakistan's economy will be uplifted
- It will have a “**trickle down effect**”, and a person belonging to the lowest stratum of society will get employed
- Hence, the country will prosper due to the ripple effects

Phase 1: The era of Experimentation (1947-1979)

- When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came into power, he replaced the Ayyub's Model with his **Nationalization Model**
- His economic policies got their inspiration from socialism and he started nationalizing private companies where the state got hold on the assets of majority private companies
- It was a total opposite of the Harvard Trickle Down Model

Phase 1: The era of Experimentation (1947-1979)

- The model, however, did not work as planned
- The private sector became the largest sector to bear loss since it could not have its profit; hence, it started investing in other countries
- Large industrial units shifted from Pakistan to other countries
- This was followed by a decline in the economic activity in Pakistan
- As a result, there was a widespread poverty and unemployment in the country

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- This era starts when Zia-ul-Haq dismissed the nationalization policy of Bhutto and imposes Martial Law in the country
- He started working on a new economic model in his own way.
- While he was working on this model, **Soviet-Afghan War** started where Pakistan had to support US and send *Mujahedeen* to fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan
- Zia then decided that since America is pouring humongous sums of money into Pakistan, Pakistan did not need to worry about its economy
- He decided to pause working on the economic policy of Pakistan and focus on the war

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- The war continued for 10 years and for 10 years Pakistan's economy continued to be an '**aid-based economy**'
- America continued to give funds to Pakistan; Pakistan made Nuclear weapons and funded the *Mujahedeen* in Afghanistan with that money
- After the Soviet-Afghan War ended, Zia-ul-Haq died in a plane crash, and Benazir Bhutto becomes the next Prime Minister of Pakistan

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- Benazir observed that till now, Zia ul Haq was managing an aid based economy because of the funding given by America due to the Soviet-Afghan War
- She was presented with the problem to manage the economy after the American aid had stopped primarily due to war and Pakistan's nuclear weapons
- She then thought of taking **Short-term Loans from the IMF** as the government did not have either money or an efficient economy model tailored specifically for Pakistan

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- She believed that Pakistan would develop its economy from the loans and would return the loans once the economy gets the boost it needs
- This is how Pakistan started taking Short-term Loans from the IMF, prior to this Pakistan went to IMF for the Long-term Loans
- This also marks the start of the vicious **Debt-Trap Cycle** in which Pakistan is trapped till the present day

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- Nevertheless, Benazir started working on the economic model after taking the loan; however, as she was in the process of making the economic policy for Pakistan, her government was toppled over
- She was followed by Muhammad Nawaz Sharif as the Prime Minister
- He realized that the loans taken by Benazir had ended without Pakistan having its economic model
- He followed the foot steps of Benazir and went to the IMF, took a short-term loan and started working on his own economic policy for Pakistan

Phase 2: The era of Twisted Economy (1979-2000)

- However, before he could come up with an effective economic model for Pakistan, his government was also toppled over
- The same cycle repeated with the later governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif
- Hence, from 1979-2000, Pakistan's economy could not sustain because of the political instability

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- When General Musharraf came into power, at that time the US had imposed sanctions on Pakistan because the latter had developed nuclear weapons
- Moreover, Pakistan had also fought **the Kargil war** at that time
- However, in the aftermath of 9/11 Attacks, President Musharraf decided siding with the US
- As a result, the US lifted sanctions from Pakistan and started funding it for the **War Against Terror**

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- Musharraf then decided to make his economic model by investing the American Dollars given to Pakistan as an aid
- Musharraf's economic model is called **Consumer Credit Model** also known as **Subsidized Credit Schemes**
- Via this model, Musharraf starting investing the American money on the educated stratum of Pakistan
- He invited the educated people (mostly from the middle-class) who had a business plan and gave them loans at reasonable price so that they can open **Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises (SMEs)**

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- These enterprises were basically small business units aimed at increasing the economic activity and creating employment in the country
- With the passage of time, these small economic units became large Industries which employed thousands of people
- This also gave a temporary boom to the previously precarious Pakistan's economy
- However, the economic prosperity was short-lived

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- In 2007, America stopped giving aid and funding to Pakistan
- This was the time when the industries set up by Musharraf had reached the stage of maturity and had enormous energy needs
- Pakistan fulfills 70% of its energy needs from the oil it imports from the oil-rich states such as Middle eastern countries
- At that time, American funding had stopped and Pakistan did not have enough money to import oil to fulfil the energy needs of its industries
- As a result, the country experienced widespread **Load shedding** as the power was cut from the domestic sector to fulfil the needs of the industrial sector

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- Meanwhile, the **Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP)** came to power
- It lacked the political will and the foresight to deal with the economic issues
- Hence, the industrial sector, the then backbone of Pakistan's economy, consisting of flourishing industries like sports and textile etc., collapsed
- From there arose a new problem of **Circular Debt**
- The PPP could not resolve the economic and energy sector issues and hence the period of PPP is marked as a **Dark Period in Pakistan's economic history** when the economic indicators like GDP growth Rate and Forex Reserves declined, and Fiscal as well as Current Account Deficit increased.

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- When Nawaz Sharif came into power in 2013, he introduced his economic model named **Crony capitalism**
- It was a **capitalist economic system** in which individuals or businesses with close ties to Sharif family and government officials used their political connections to gain an unfair advantage in the marketplace.
- He uplifted only 3-4 economic sectors owned either by his family, friends or acquaintances at the cost of other economic sectors
- Hence, economy boomed in Nawaz Sharif era but the prosperity was limited only to those 3-4 sectors
- Moreover, he also signed **China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)** with China which also boosted Pakistan's economy to some extent

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- Nawaz Sharif was followed by Imran Khan in 2018, who abolished the **Crony Capitalism Model of Nawaz Sharif**
- He introduced a new economic model called the ***Riyast-e-Medina Model*** under which he launched programs such as ***Ehsaas Program*** in order to uplift the poor
- He convinced many people that election of a “**clean**” leader was all that stood between them and the economic prosperity
- He promised his voters that the Foreign exchange would start gushing into Pakistan and billions of dollars would be recovered from the **off-shore accounts of “corrupt” politicians**

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- He also promised that the overseas Pakistanis would send back to Pakistan all their savings and impressed by the clean leadership, foreign investors would pour in more billions
- When he was in opposition, he also railed against the IMF
- His economic policy was, however, a disaster
- Via his **anti-corruption campaign** which started a crack down against the politicians owning industries, he choked up most of the engines of growth in the domestic economy
- He also started a crack down against such industrial sectors as developed by Nawaz Sharif in his time

Phase 3: The era of Problematic Economy (2000-Till Now)

- He also **paralyzed effective decision making** within the government by refusing to sit and talk with the opposition
- Contrary to his election promises, electricity, gas and petroleum prices soared and he also imposed several price hikes attempting to reduce the country's balance of payments
- His government also borrowed a record of **\$16.2 billion in loans** from the International Monetary Fund(IMF), Saudi Arabia, UAE, China and Qatar to prop up Pakistan's depreciating foreign reserves

Challenges to Pakistan's Economy

Inconsistency in Policy Implementation

- The economic policies drafted by one government are declared inefficient by the succeeding one
- The same is the reason why Pakistan could not develop a sustainable economy in its early years
- Every next government blamed the previous one of the precarious economic condition of the country and instead of finding the lacunas in the previous policies and filling them, came up with an altogether different economic plan

Political Instability

- Due to polarized politics, constitutional and political crises such as Martial Law, the misuse of **No-Confidence Vote** against the elected PM and the use of **Article 58-2B** to fulfil personal interests, Pakistan's already weakened economy never had the time it needed to develop into a stable one
- Moreover, the deadlock between the government and the opposition , as happened with the Imran Khan's Government, also results in the failure of government to draft a sustainable economic policy
- Political instability also leads to uncertainty, disrupts economic policies and discourages investment.

Corruption and Governance Issues:

- Rampant corruption and governance inefficiencies severely impact economic development and public trust.
- Pakistan's Politicians and government officials scam general public and use large sums of public money for their own benefit
- Therefore, the economy of Pakistan remains neglected
- According to **Transparency International**, Pakistan ranks 140th out of 180 countries in **the Corruption Perceptions Index 2024**

Policy Framework Issues

- Sadly, the policy makers of Pakistan do not exactly know what policy measures would help make the economy stable
- They do not have the insight to look into the length and breath of economic issues
- They only have a superficial understanding of economic issues and hence they make **Flawed Policies** to tackle them
- For example, our policy makers focus primarily on the development of agricultural sector and fully ignore the industrial one
- At present time, almost 45% of Pakistanis (9-10 Crore Pakistanis) are one way or another involved in the agricultural sector of Pakistan
- The sector only earns 19% of the GDP/ National income

Policy Framework Issues

- On the other hand, 19% of Pakistan's population is employed in the industrial sector which makes up around 30% of the national income
- The progress in the agricultural sector also depends on the efficient water supply and management system which Pakistan lacks
- Moreover, Pakistan also lacks advanced research in the field of agriculture to increase the output
- Commercialization of the fertile agricultural land is also one such problem

Disparities in Fiscal Federalism

- Fiscal federalism means the devolution of finances from the center to the provinces and from the provinces to the Local government
- The government could only manage to release the 7th NFC Award which was signed on 30th December, 2009
- Since then, no NFC Award is released
- Moreover, the Provinces are also reluctant to devolve their financial powers to the local government
- This results in the **lower tax collection** as many people can easily escape tax nets because the local government do not have enough powers to collect tax

Trade Deficit/Current Account Deficit(CAD)

- Trade deficit means the gap between Exports and Imports of a country, the government uses its Forex Reserves to shrink the gap
- It leads to a situation where a government has to take loans to fill the CAD and improve forex Reserves
- **The CAD of Pakistan from July 2022-Aug 2023 is 2 billion dollars- Finance Division Government of Pakistan**
- Exports are declining in relation to imports
- **Exports in FY 2023: Exports during July-January 2022-2023: 16499 million dollars**
- **Imports in FY 2023: Imports during July-January 2022-2023: 36093 million dollars**

Trade Deficit

- The **top exports of Pakistan** are House Linens (\$4.86B), Rice (\$2.55B), Non-Knit Men's Suits (\$2.53B), Knit Sweaters (\$2.01B), and Refined Petroleum (\$1.56B)
- Whereas **the top imports of Pakistan** are Refined Petroleum (\$6.98B), Crude Petroleum (\$5.23B), Petroleum Gas (\$4.58B), Palm Oil (\$3.8B), and Raw Cotton (\$2.44B)
- Moreover, our export also depends upon imported good: In order to export textiles, we have to import raw cotton
- Furthermore, 79% of exports dependent on agriculture, the sector needs reforms to increase productivity.
- Low productivity in agriculture is a major hindrance for the value-added export sectors especially in textiles

Fiscal Account Deficit

- Fiscal Deficit means increasing of the differences between government's earnings through tax collection and revenues ,and government's spending through Budget
- During July-April FY2023, the FAD of Pakistan is Rs. 3,929.3 billion-making 4.6% of GDP- **Finance Division, Government of Pakistan**
- Hence the government has to take loans to fill this gap
- It is primarily due to Poor tax revenue collection
- Pakistan's total public debt reached Rs. 45.9 trillion by December 2021, according to **the Ministry of Finance**.
- The fiscal deficit for the fiscal year 2020-21 was 7.1% of GDP, as reported by **the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP)**.
- The budget of Pakistan for the FY 2022-2023 was Rs 9.5 trillion whereas the revenue collection stood at Rs 7.144 trillion against the target of Rs 7.640 trillion.

Low GDP

- GDP(Gross Domestic Product): GDP stands for the total monetary value of goods produced and services provided within a country during an year's time
- When GDP falls, it means the economy is dwindling
- This is associated with falling incomes, lower consumption rates and hence a lower standard of living
- Pakistan's GDP declined from \$375.449bn to \$341.554 billion in the FY23-**the National Accounts Committee**
- In Fiscal Year (FY) 2022-2023, Industry contracted by 3pc and the GDP growth rate remained a mere 0.3pc

Circular Debt In the energy sector

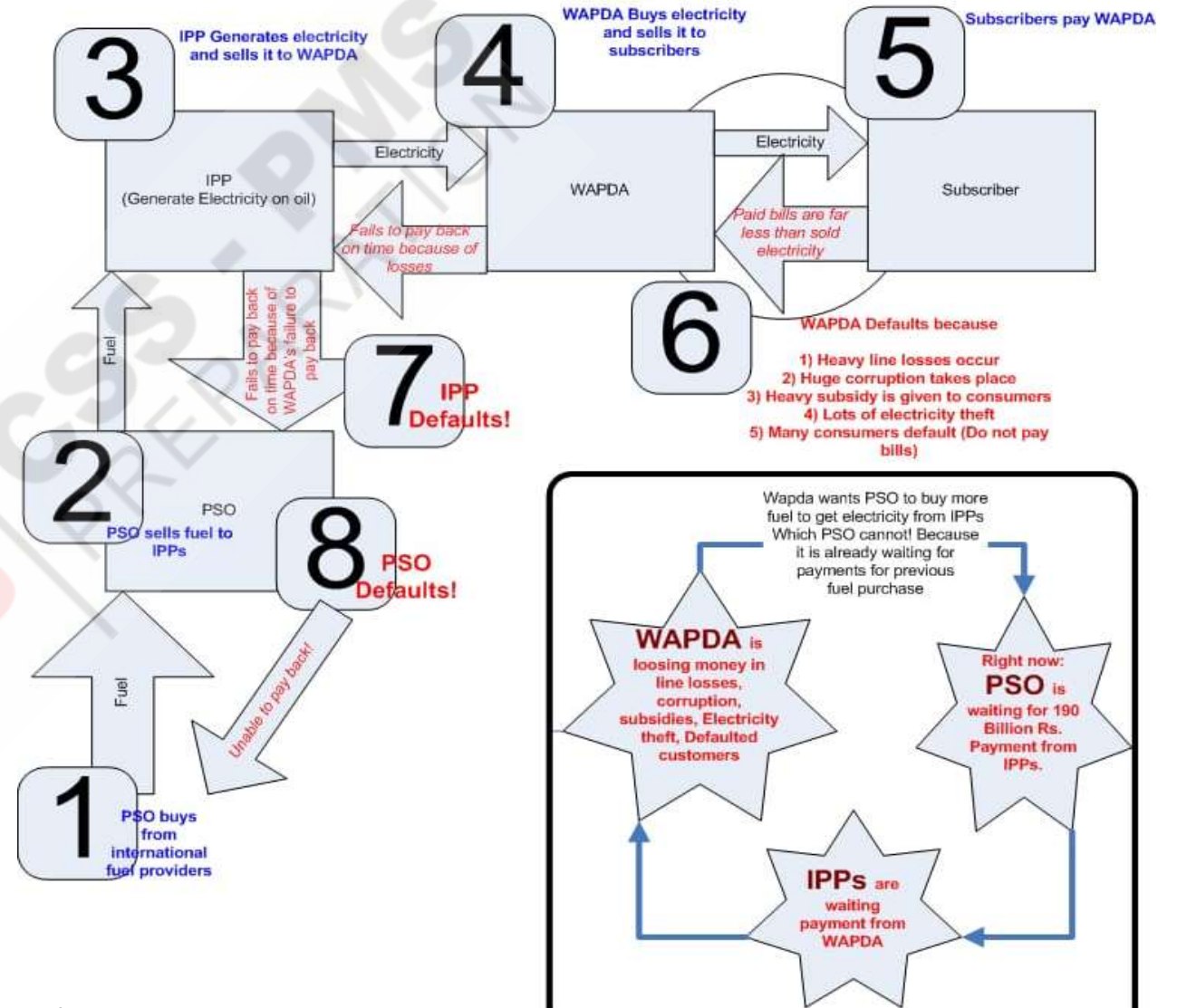
- Circular debt is a financial issue that occurs in sectors like energy where there's a chain reaction of unpaid bills.
- In Pakistan, circular debt is a significant problem in the energy sector, and it poses challenges to the economy as well
- **The Circular Debt works as follows:**
 - 1) The government subsidizes electricity for consumers, hence keeping the prices artificially low.
 - 2) However, the cost of generating electricity, especially from fuel sources like oil and gas, is higher than what consumers pay.

Circular Debt In the energy sector

- 1) As a result, power generation companies (GENCOS) and distribution companies (DISCOS) incur losses because they're not fully compensated for the cost of generating electricity.
 - 2) To keep the electricity flowing, the government **often borrows** money to pay off these debts.
 - 3) However, this borrowing adds to the government's overall debt burden.
 - 4) Additionally, since the underlying issues causing the losses aren't addressed, the cycle repeats, and the debt keeps growing.
- The Circular Debt in Power Sector in the fiscal year 2022-2023 is estimated to be Rs 2.63 trillion-**State Bank of Pakistan**

Circular Debt In the energy sector

- The adjacent diagram shows how the vicious cycle of Circular works



LOOMING Energy Crisis:

- It is an established fact that without sufficient energy, economic development is out of the question.
- The importance of energy supplies is evident in the number of wars fought to acquire them.
- In Pakistan, Chronic energy shortages lead to power outages hence hindering the economic activities of the Industries
- According to a **report by the World Bank**, Pakistan's energy demand is projected to increase by 70 pc by 2030, while supply is expected to grow by only 45pc. This imbalance could lead to further power shortages and blackouts, hurting economic growth and social welfare.
- Pakistan's power generation capacity stood at 38,719 MW as of December 2021, while demand often exceeds supply, resulting in load shedding -**National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA)**.

Low Tax Revenue:

- Pakistan's tax revenue as a percentage of GDP remains low.
- **According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2020-21**, the tax-to-GDP ratio for the fiscal year 2020-21 was 10.9%.
- This is because much of Pakistan's economic activity is cash-based with a limited information trail that the government can use to levy taxation, making evasion easy.
- Low Tax Revenue can be due to one of the following reasons:
- **Tax Evasion:**
- Tax evasion occurs when taxpayers conceal or misrepresent their income to avoid paying taxes.
- Many individuals in Pakistan evade taxes by hiding their income or declaring less than their actual earnings.

Low Tax Revenue:

- The lack of proper documentation and weak enforcement mechanisms also contribute to tax evasion.
- **Complex Tax System:**
 - The tax system in Pakistan is complex and difficult to understand.
 - Taxpayers find it challenging to comply with the tax laws and regulations.
 - The complex tax system also creates opportunities for corruption and bribery
- **Limited Tax Base:**
 - The tax base in Pakistan is limited.
 - The tax system in Pakistan heavily relies on indirect taxes, such as sales tax and customs duties.
 - The limited tax base reduces the government's revenue and hinders economic growth.

Massive Budget Spending on Defense due to Security Issues

- Pakistan faces numerous security challenges (both domestic and international) due to active terrorist Organizations such as **Tehrik –e – Taliban Pakistan (TTP)** and issues on the borders particularly in Afghanistan, Kashmir and India,
- Therefore, Pakistan had to allocate Rs.1. 804 trillion as defense's share in FY2023 Budget
- Even despite COVID-19, Pakistan allocated \$7.85 billion for defense
- Moreover, the War on Terror Post 9/11 and Terrorism in the country costed economic losses of up to 123 billion dollars -Dawn

Debt Servicing

- Debt service is the amount of cash needed to pay back interest and principal amounts on any outstanding debt.
- Pakistan's total public debt stood at Rs67.3 trillion (\$239 billion) on Dec 31, 2023, and accounted for 74.8 per cent of the GDP in 2023 — Rs42.6tr (63.3pc) of this was domestic debt.
- **The International Monetary Fund's (IMF)** current estimate of government revenue is 12.5pc of the GDP and expenditures at 20.2pc.
- The principal reason for the gap is interest paid on debt, which the IMF reckons to be around 8pc of the GDP.
- Interest on domestic debt currently accounts for more than 80pc of the total interest paid by the federal government.

Debt Servicing

- Pakistan spent 84.65% budget on repayment of debt and interest payments in 2022
- Out of Pakistan's national budget of 14.46 trillion rupees for 2023-24, total revenue amounts to 6.9 trillion rupees. A substantial 7.3 trillion is earmarked solely for interest payments, equivalent to 5.7% of GDP. An additional 7.56 trillion rupees is designated for financing further debt- **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**

Population Explosion

- Pakistan's population is around **220 million** – the world's fifth highest
- With a disturbingly high growth rate of **2.4 per cent per annum**, four to five million children are added to the existing numbers every year.
- At this pace, we are likely to have around 300m people by 2030.
- With a consumption oriented economy, the more the population, greater the poverty and decline in the quality of life, lesser expenditure on education , unskilled human capital and hence increased burden on economy

Unemployment

- Unemployment hurts the economy because when people don't have jobs, they can't spend money.
- This means businesses make less money, which can lead to them laying off more workers, creating a cycle of less spending and more job losses.
- Plus, when people are out of work, the government has to spend more on things like **social welfare programs**, leading to a drain on resources
- Pakistan stands at 24th position in the world with 6.5% unemployment rate-**World of statistics**

Unemployment

- The unemployment rate in Pakistan was 4.0% in July-December 2020, with youth unemployment at 8.7%, as reported by the **Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS)**.
- The **International Labor Organization (ILO)** says Pakistan's labor market has yet to recover fully from the Covid-19 pandemic and the following economic crisis, and the number of persons unemployed is projected to reach 5.6 million in 2024, an increase of 1.5m since 2021.
- The ILO also said that the female unemployment rate, which is historically at least 1.5 times that of male rates, could reach a high of 11.1pc in 2024
- Unemployment creates severe challenges for the economy as when the skilled workforce remains unemployed, it causes a shift of human capital from one country to the other and hence a shift in the economic prosperity as well

Inflation

- Pakistan's Consumer Price Index (CPI) inflation averaged 8.9% in the fiscal year 2020-21-**The State Bank of Pakistan (SBP)**.
- In April, 2023, inflation hit a record high of 36.4 percent.
- Rising inflation erodes an economy in the following ways:
- **Reduced Purchasing Power:**
 - As prices rise, the purchasing power of money decreases. This means that consumers can buy fewer goods and services with the same amount of money, leading to a decrease in their standard of living.
- **Uncertainty:**
 - Inflation creates uncertainty in the economy, making it difficult for businesses to plan for the future. They may hesitate to invest in new projects or hire additional workers, leading to slower economic growth.

Inflation

- **Interest Rates:**

- Central banks often raise interest rates to control inflation.
- Higher interest rates can increase borrowing costs for businesses and consumers, reducing investment and spending, which can slow down economic activity.

- **Wage-Price Spiral:**

- Inflation can trigger a wage-price spiral, where workers demand higher wages to keep up with rising prices.
- This can lead to further inflation as businesses pass on higher labor costs to consumers through higher prices, creating a cycle of wage ,and price increases.

Other Challenges to the Economy

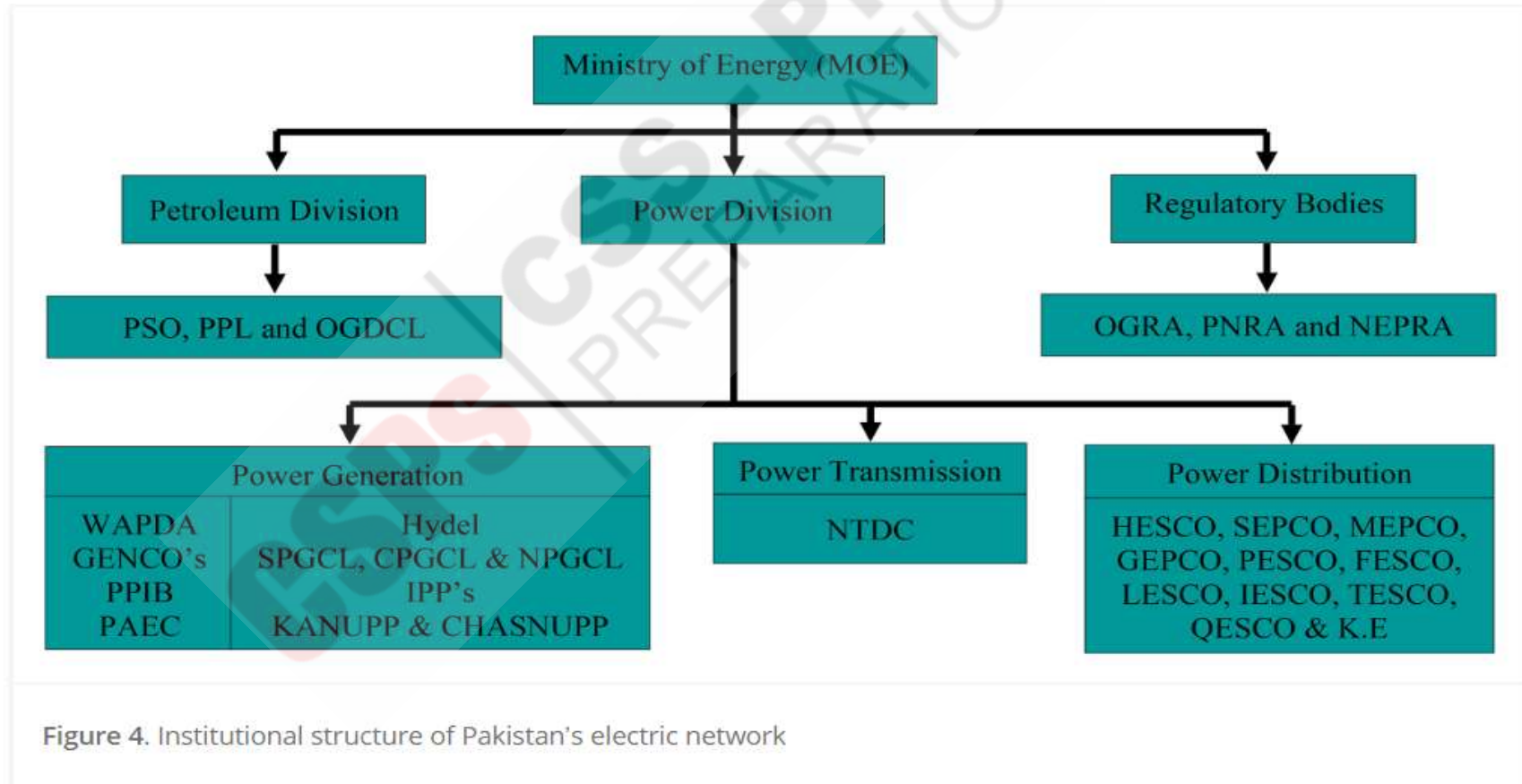
- Dependence on IMF's Bailout Programmes
- Decrease in Foreign Direct Investments and Unemployment
- Inconsistent Macroeconomic Policies due to frequent Regime Change
- Lack of Industrialization and Manufacturing capacity
- Lack of International Market Competitiveness: Low quality and expensive products
- Decreasing Remittances Problem: Sharp Fluctuations -13% decrease in remittances during FY 2023

Energy Crises of Pakistan

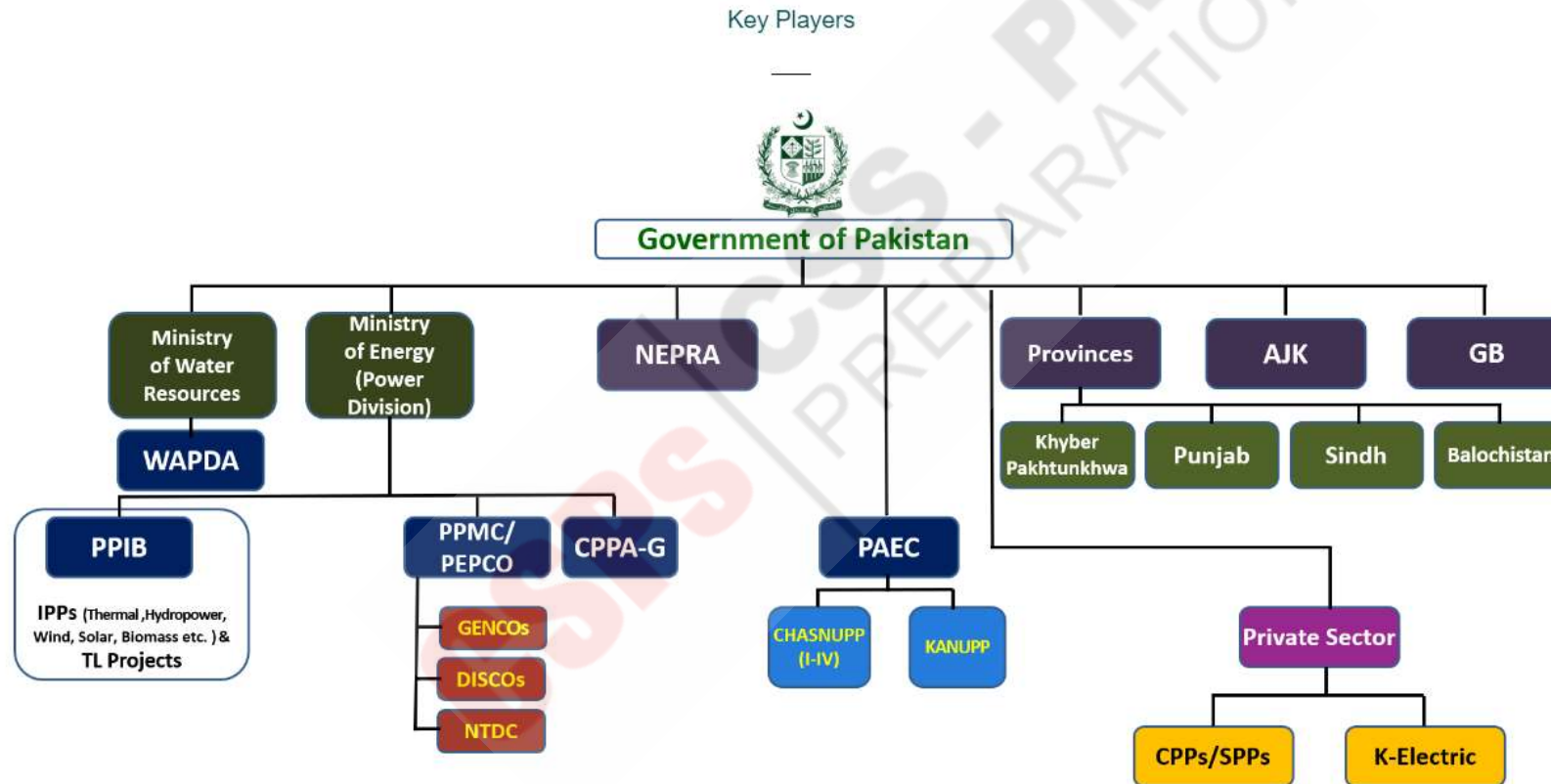
Rai Yasir Farhad

Basic Structure of Pakistan's Power Sector:

- Pakistan's Total Electricity generation capacity is 41557 MW, dominated by thermal power with a 66% share.



Key Players in Pakistan's Power Sector:



Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

- **Unequal distribution of resources during partition-lesser control over resources and industries**
- **Ad-hock Planning**-No research on the power sector ; since partition, political leadership remained stuck to short-term solutions
- **Lack of Innovation**-We have not developed smart technologies and infrastructure to generate energy from our indigenous and abundant renewable resources

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Circular Debt in the Energy Sector

- Circular debt is a financial issue that occurs in sectors like energy where there's a chain reaction of unpaid bills.
- In Pakistan, circular debt is a significant problem in the energy sector, and it poses challenges to the economy as well
- **The Circular Debt works as follows:**
 - 1) The government subsidizes electricity for consumers, hence keeping the prices artificially low.
 - 2) However, the cost of generating electricity, especially from fuel sources like oil and gas, is higher than what consumers pay.

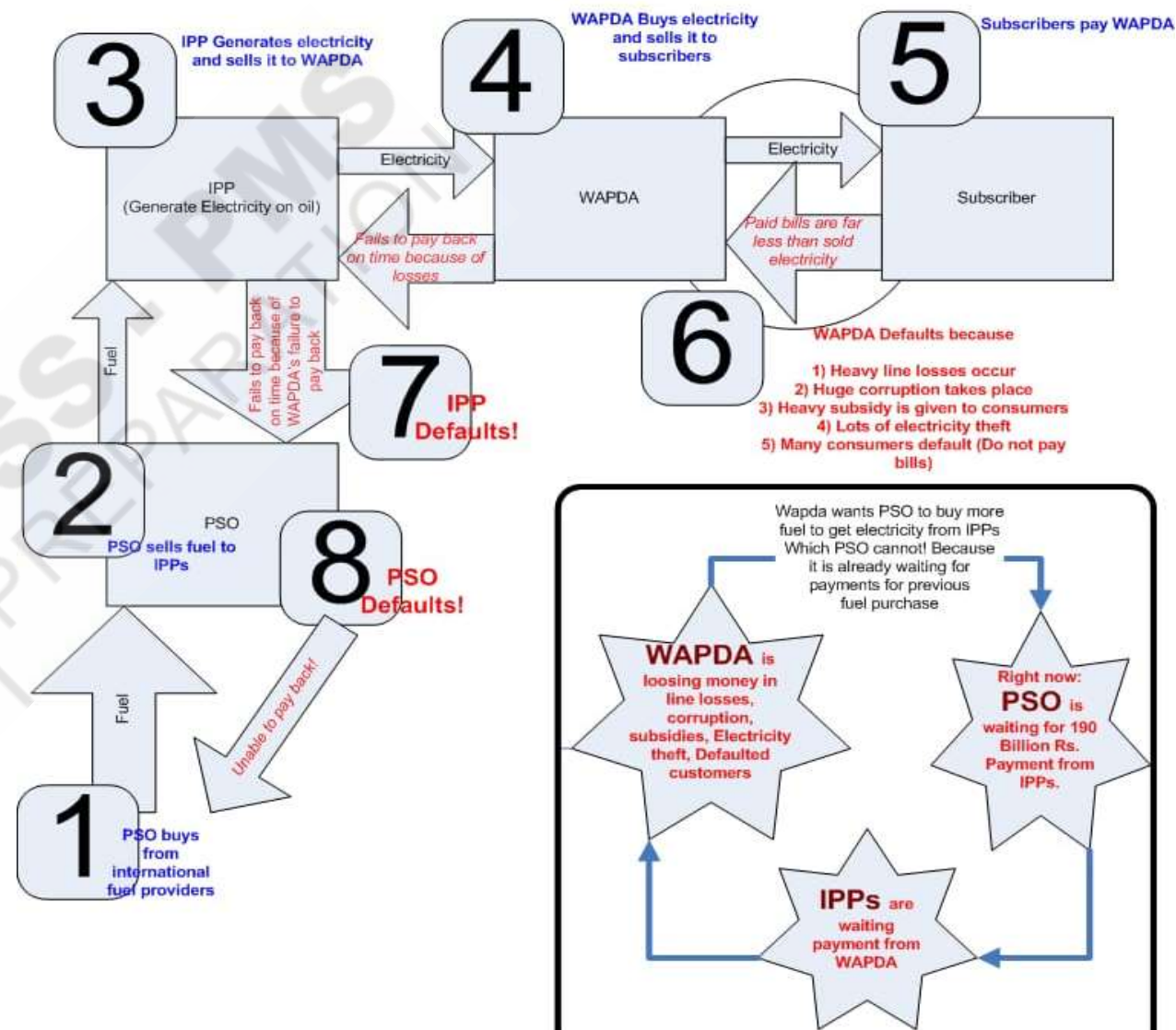
Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

- 1) As a result, **the power generation companies (GENCOS) and the power distribution companies (DISCOS)** incur losses because they're not fully compensated for the cost of generating electricity.
 - 2) To keep the electricity flowing, the government **often borrows** money to pay off these debts.
 - 3) However, this borrowing adds to the government's overall debt burden.
 - 4) Additionally, since the underlying issues causing the losses aren't addressed, the cycle repeats, and the debt keeps growing.
- The Circular Debt in Power Sector in the fiscal year 2022-2023 is estimated to be Rs 2.63 trillion-**State Bank of Pakistan**

- The adjacent diagram shows

how the vicious cycle of

Circular works



Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Heavy Dependence on the Imported Fossil Fuels

- Pakistan is one of major importers of fossil fuels in the world
- We produce most of our energy from imported petroleum products
- As of 2020, fossil fuels accounted for approximately 63% of the total power generation, followed by hydropower at 29%, nuclear energy at 5%, and renewable energy at around 3% - **Pakistan**

Bureau of Statistics (PBS)

- During February 2023, Pakistan imported Petroleum products worth Rs. 123,393 million-**Pakistan**

Bureau of Statistics (PBS)

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Impact of Russia-Ukraine Crises

- Russia is the third largest producer and exporter of oil in the world
- Normally Russia exports 5 million barrels of oil per day
- When the US and EU put sanctions on Russia, the Russian oil was in high demand in market, due to its lesser supply than usual, it underwent a price hike
- Expensive international Oil means an increased Cost of Electricity
- When refineries buy expensive oil, they sell it at higher rates to distributors, which sell them at expensive rates to petrol pumps, which subsequently sell them at expensive rates to the customers

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Divisions Between Center and Provinces:

- The Water Apportionment Accord(1991) deals with the distribution of resources among the 4 provinces of Pakistan
- However, over time, disputes have emerged between the provinces over the distribution of resources
- One such dispute is that of Kalabagh Dam
- Sindh worries extraction of water for dam building and irrigation in upstream provinces will deprive the region of the water it needs for domestic and agricultural purposes
- Kalabagh Dam has a total installed capacity of 3600MW
- Once operational, Kalabagh Dam has the potential to generate 3,600 megawatts of electricity

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Large Transmission Losses

- Pakistan's generation capacity is over 42,000 MW and its transmission capacity stands at merely 22,000 MW.
- In January 2023, a nationwide blackout occurred due to faulty transmission infrastructure
- Electricity produced does not reach the customers due to line losses and faulty girds
- In 2022, transmission and distribution losses were recorded at Rs520.3 billion as 22,298 GWh of electricity was lost by distribution companies.
- The distribution losses for the **Sui Southern Gas Company (SSGC)** stand at approximately 18.28pc, while the **Sui Northern Gas Pipeline Ltd (SNGPL)** reports losses of up to 12.32pc surpassing the benchmark of 2-3pc for line losses in the gas industry

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Underutilizing our generation capacity

- According to the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2021-2022,
- Pakistan's total Electricity generation capacity is 41557 MW.
- Its maximum demand is 31000 MW
- Whereas its transmission capacity is only 22000 MW.
- We also have to pay for the units we do not consume.
- Thus, the units produced bear the cost of this unused production capacity, and the power produced will be costlier per unit

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Increasing Demand of Electricity Due to Population Explosion:

- There exists huge gaps between the demand and supply of energy in Pakistan
- With the exponential growth of the population, there is an extra burden on the already fragile power sector to meet the needs of households, agricultural firms, and industries.
- Households consume the highest percentage of energy in Pakistan:

Table 14.2: Sectoral Share in Electricity Consumption
(July-March) FY2023

Sector	Consumption (GWh)	Share (%)
Household	39,200	46.6
Commercial	6,576	7.8
Industry	23,687	28.2
Agriculture	6,906	8.2
Others	7,664	9.1
Total	84,034	

Source: Hydrocarbon Development Institute of Pakistan

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ **Insufficient investment in innovation to Use Indigenous Resources:**

- In Pakistan, indigenous coal is mainly produced in Balochistan, Punjab, and Sindh provinces.
- Our coal resources are estimated at more than 185 billion tons, of which 175 billion tons are in Tharparkar district of Sindh.
- Investment regarding the innovation to put the indigenous resources to use will not only make Pakistan a self sufficient regarding energy but also boost the economy since the money saved from the import of expensive petroleum products can increase our Forex reserves
- The government, however, has not devised any strategies yet for using the local coal.

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

➤ Shortfall of Tax Revenues

- The government gives subsidies on electricity that have to be paid for from tax revenues
- Only 1% of Pakistanis pay direct income taxes, this creates a shortfall in terms of revenues
- Hence, the government has to turn to IMF loans to meet the shortfall
- The IMF in turn places conditions such as Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) on the government
- These policies serve to increase revenues and decrease subsidies
- Due to such austerity measures, the end consumer has to bear the burden of loans and pay expensive electricity bills

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

- **No Structural Development to get Energy from Renewable resources**
- There is a shortage of small and big dams in Pakistan
- Due to this reason, in rainy season, when the country has surplus water, most of it falls into the sea without any utilization
- The Flood water, if stored, can also be utilized to generate electricity
- There also exists ignorance of government towards Wind Energy
- This why there are only negligible number of windmills on coastal Areas and windy areas like Gharo-Keti Bandar, Jhimpir, and Cholistan Desert respectively

Causes of Energy Crises in Pakistan

- Pakistan's coastal belt has an exploitable potential of 50,000MW of electricity generation through wind turbines.
- Currently, there are only 26 private wind projects operating, producing approximately 1335MW
- Pakistan has a potential of 40 GW of solar power
- However, the high initial costs of solar installations, lack of awareness about solar energy benefits, and inadequate grid infrastructure are all the issues in the way of using solar energy for electricity generation

Other Factors

- Rapid pace of urbanization
- Industrial development at large scale
- Widespread corruption and mismanagement
- Theft of electric power and poor recovery system
- Lack of political consensus on mega energy projects
- Incoherence in energy policies

Significance of Renewable Energy Resources for Pakistan

What are Renewable Energy resources?

- Renewable Energy sources are the natural sources of power that can be replenished over time
- These include sunlight, wind, water, and organic materials like biomass.
- They Generate clean electricity or heat without depleting the earth's atmosphere.
- The share of alternative and renewable energy sources (AREs) has increased from 0% in FY2014 to 6.8% of the electricity's installed capacity in 2023-**Economic Survey of Pakistan 2023**

Potential of Water Resources

- The water flow of the Indus River from North to south can help generate a lot of hydro-electricity in Pakistan



Present status of Hydro Power Projects:

- After Tarbela Dam, Pakistan has not built a single big hydropower project in the last 40 years, except Ghazi Barotha
- At present, WAPDA owns and operates 22 hydel power stations, with a combined installed capacity of 9459 MW.
- Just one-third of the country's electricity is produced from water-**the Water and Power Development Authority of Pakistan (WAPDA)**
- Pakistan has a hydropower potential of some 60,000MW of which only about 9,387MW has been developed by WAPDA in 72 years due to bureaucratic hurdles.

Potential of Hydropower

- The Indus River network holds an electricity generation capacity of 60 to 70 thousand megawatts, triple the total current national electricity demand
- Hydel electricity remains the most cost-effective compared to the other sources with a cost of Rs3.51 per unit.
- This cost efficiency reduces the overall tariff for consumers.
- WAPDA has identified 22 sites for launching hydropower projects to produce cheap power of 15,074 megawatts (more than enough to meet our current energy shortfalls of around 6000 megawatts).
- The Neelum Jhelum touched 969MW generation—its full and installed capacity—twice and then 975MW once contributing to solving the energy crises.

Potential of Hydropower

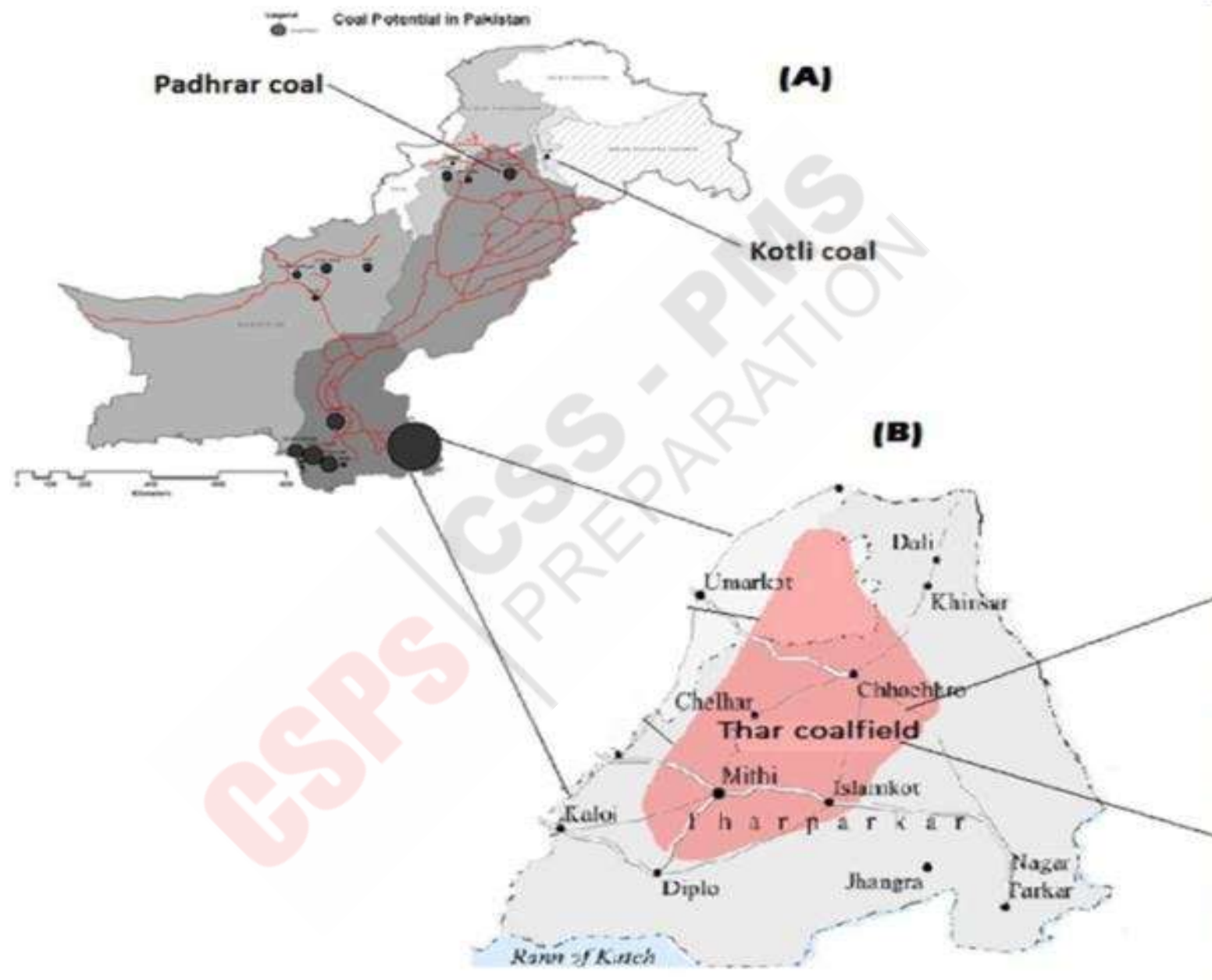
- Dams store water during floods and reduce inundation of land, crops, and property resulting in economic upheavals.
- The 850 megawatts Munda Dam on the Swat River if constructed would have averted the devastating 2010 floods and saved billions of dollars.
- Many international energy experts notice that Pakistan's northern areas have **micro-hydro locations** capable of producing economical and locally supportable small-scale power systems
- The useful life of hydropower projects is 100-120 years
- It operates at nominal variable cost against repeated expenditure for thermal generation

The Potential of Indigenous Coal

- Pakistan has coal reserves of around 186 billion tons- the seventh largest in the world
- 175.5 billion tons reserves of Thar lignite have the potential to produce over 100,000MW electricity at cheap rates for 30 years.
- Its heating value is estimated to be higher than the combined oil reserves of Saudi Arabia and Iran, and 68 times greater than the country's total gas reserves.
- If Pakistan runs all its power plants on indigenous coal, it would save approximately \$2.5 billion in energy imports.

The Potential of Indigenous Coal

- Thar lignite costs \$60 per ton whereas imported coal costs \$420 a ton
- Power production cost based on Thar coal is only 3.39 per unit, which is almost 10 times less than the average electricity production cost-**National Transmission and Dispatch Company (NTDC)**
- Currently, 3.8 million tons of lignite is being extracted annually from the area leased to **Sindh Engro Coal Mining Company (SECMC)** producing 660MW
- So far extracted 11m tons of coal to generate 10.5m units of electricity, which saved \$700m of government spending.



The Potential of Solar Energy

- **Currently 7 solar projects are operative in Pakistan with the cumulative capacity of 530 MW**
- **The Quaid-e-Azam solar park**, Bahawalpur has one of the largest solar plants in the country generating 100 MW peak in a covered area of 500 acres.
- Utilization of just 0.071pc of the country's area for solar power generation would meet Pakistan's current electricity demand- **World Bank**
- In southern Punjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan, for nearly 10 hours/ day, the average solar radiation intensity ranges from **1500 watts per square meter** to **2750 watts per square meter**.
- This can help generate nearly **45 to 83 megawatts of power** each month

Significance:

- Solar energy is the most efficient way of addressing the current energy crisis of Pakistan
 - **Cost saving:** 19 Rs/unit VS 62 Rs /unit (traditional)
 - **Moving Turbines to Create Electricity**
- Solar energy heats oil to produce steam which operates the machinery, mechanical cycles, and the turbines for production of electricity
- Hence, it is pollution free
 - **For Industrial Use:**
- Can be used in the industrial sector to generate heat for production, processing of chemicals, minerals, and foods, oil recovery, and processing of minerals.
 - **Reducing Electricity Costs for businesses:**
- Reduced reliance on expensive electricity from the grid and costly fossil fuel-based generators

The Potential of Wind Energy

- Currently, there are 36 wind power projects in Jhimpir and Gharo in Sindh,
- **Jhimpir wind corridor** is the largest wind farm in Pakistan
- It generates 183.2GWh of energy
- Pakistan has an untapped potential for electricity generation in the form of 100,000 megawatts (MW) from Thar coal, 56,000MW of hydro energy, 150,000MW of wind energy
- Wind projects are estimated to generate 150 megawatts of electricity and provide electricity to about 600,000 homes
- It will save Pakistan \$45 million yearly in fuel imports.
- As a wind turbine's life is 25 years, the wind farms can generate electricity for 25 years without using a drop of oil
- More than one billion dollars would be saved during the entire lifetime of these turbines

The Potential of Natural Gas

- With 30.6 billion cubic meters of natural gas, Pakistan shares 0.8pc of global natural gas production.
- Indigenous gas deposits are depleting at a rate of 10 percent per annum and new wells need to be dug.
- Studies indicate a potential of 3,778TCF gas in place, with 2,323bn barrels of oil.
- These reserves can be used in industrial processes, and as a fuel for vehicles and households.
- Indigenous natural gas production reduces Pakistan's dependency on imported LNG.
- This will lower the cost of energy imports and improve energy security.
- can be provided to fertilizer plants to increase urea production-a key element of fertilizers to boost agricultural yield

The Potential of Natural Gas

- Other Benefits include
 - Cleaner Power Generation
 - Lowering expenditure on Imports
 - Saving the country From Fluctuations in International market
 - Lowering the CAD
 - Lowering the Capacity payments
 - Lowering the fuel payments
 - Lowering the Circular Debt
 - Boosting Industrial Growth
 - Creating Employment opportunities
 - Boosting Exports

The Potential of Forests

- In 2020, forest area for Pakistan was 37,259 sq. km.
- The fish species in the Littoral and Swamp Forests in Karachi, and Pasni can create jobs for local fishermen
- Tropical Dry Deciduous Forests like
 - Tropical Thorn Forests
 - Subtropical Forests
 - Subtropical Pine Forests
 - Himalayan Moist Temperate Forest
- Will lock up carbon will be essential to reduce greenhouse gases
- Produce oxygen
- Lower Temperature
- Attract Tourism

The Potential of Minerals

- High-grade iron and copper ores in **Kalabagh and Reko Diq** can attract investment due to their thermal and electrical conduction properties
- Limestone abundantly found in Pakistan is an essential raw material of cement industry
- Pakistan's largest gold reserves are found in Chagai but it remains unexplored due to law and order situation.
- The rock salt resource estimate in Pakistan is over tens of billion tons
- An increased export of salt will definitely help stabilize the economy

Recommendations to address the problem of energy crisis in Pakistan

- Power conservation
- Mobilization of private sector investment in energy sector
- Reliance on renewable resources of energy
- Diversification of sources of energy generation
- Formulation of holistic and coherent energy policies
- Public awareness

Ethnic Issues and National Integration

Rai Yasir Farhad

INTRODUCTION:

1. Integration literally means fitting together of parts to make one whole; parts have to be compatible.
2. Elements: national unity, cohesion stability, prosperity, strength, feeling of being united.
3. Pakistan facing numerous problems, to safeguard solidarity and security a well united and integrated nation is a must.

MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS:

- According to **World Atlas**, Pakistan's population is composed of following ethnic groups:
- Punjabi 44.7%,
- Pashtun 15.4%
- Sindhi 14.1%
- Balochi 3.6%
- Muhajir 7.6%
- Saraiki 8.4%
- Other Groups 6.2%

FACTORS FOR DIVERGENCE:

- *POLITICAL FACTORS*
- Early debacles, delay in constitution making.
- First constituent assembly dissolved in 1954.
- Lack of political autonomy.
- Separation of East Pakistan, language, culture, economy under representation.

FACTORS FOR DIVERGENCE:

- *ECONOMIC FACTORS*
- Poor governance
- Mismanagement
- Political instability
- Weakened economic system
- Unfairness
- Corruption
- Nepotism
- Abject poverty

FACTORS FOR DIVERGENCE:

- ***ETHNIC RELIGIOUS DIMENSIONS***
- Ahmadi Issue.
- Zia period (too much religion could not integrate).
- Iran-Saudia factor.
- Emergence of fundamentalist political parties and their use by respective governments.
- Extremist Parties created hell in land of pure.

FACTORS FOR DIVERGENCE:

- **TRANS- NATIONAL INTERFERENCE**
- 1980s huge influx of refugees reshaped composition of society.
- Al Qaeda and other non state actors.
- Foreign Intelligence Agencies.
- **EAST PAKISTAN DEBACLE**
- Separation of East Pakistan, language, culture, economy under representation.
- Capital in West Pakistan.

FACTORS OF CONVERGENCE

- Principle of Justice, Fair play complete impartiality.
- All governments used India as threat and tried to unite nation on this point and Kashmir.
- After 1971, all nation lies in same territory.
- Despite diversity there is sense of common identity and unity.
- Improving literacy rate will give awareness.
- All stake holders pursuing agenda of reconciliation.

INSTITUTIONS ENSURING INTEGRATION:

- Council of Common Interest (CCI) u/art 154 COP 1973: Prime Minister Chief Ministers four federal ministries Oil, Gas, Water. Address provincial complaints.
- National Economic Commission (NEC) u/art 156(I) COP1973: presidents to constitute PM, CMs, one member from each province. Four members to be appointed by PM
- National Finance Commission (NFC)
- 18th Amendment

WAY FORWARD:

- Democratic culture, no support for absolute government.
- Continuity of political process ensuring pluralism.
- Decentralization, provincial autonomy, reducing trust gap.
- Political participation and encouraging National Politics parties not regional
- Media

WAY FORWARD:

- Good governance
- Economic uplift of backward areas
- FATA reforms
- Ethnic factors be considered while making National Policies.
- Protecting ethnic minorities
- Regular Census.

CONCLUSION:

- “To make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in cooperation in a spirit that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state with equal rights, privileges, and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make” (**Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah**)

Hydro-politics

Rai Yasir Farhad

What is Hydro politics?

- Water is a source, water is a commodity and a basic right, water is a culture and above all, water is **geo political**
- Hydro politics deals with water related issues derived by surface and underground water, natural and artificial water resources of the basins within borders and outside the borders.
- It has prospects of conflict and cooperation
- Between India and Pakistan, Hydro-Politics is the issue of tug of war regarding the water resources due to the complication of trans-boundary river basins.
- In trans-boundary river basins, states share the area of land that is given out by canal water and its tributaries.

Hydro politics Between India and Pakistan

- Due to shortage of fresh and ground water in India and Pakistan, political stress is increasing.
- This region has witnessed a rapid population growth and urbanization which means consumption of resources particularly water has increased.
- The demand for drinking water has also skyrocketed
- With economic growth and modernization, the discharge of chemicals from factories and pollution have also reduced the clean water availability.
- Both the countries want hold of fresh water resources to increase their agricultural yield, fulfil their increasing energy demands owing to the population explosion and global warming

The River System Of Pakistan

- The river system of Pakistan originates from the snow-covered Himalayan and the Karakoram range.
- The system comprises mainly five rivers that pass mostly through the Punjab province; therefore the name 'Punjab'— '**panj**' meaning five and '**aab**' meaning water (hence called the Land of Five Rivers)
- The five rivers of Pakistan are Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Indus.

River Jhelum

- It is nearly 774 kilometers long and is the tributary of River Chenab.
- It originates from the south-eastern part of Kashmir valley and flows through Srinagar before entering Pakistan.
- Along its journey, it is joined by the largest tributary of the Neelum River near Muzaffarabad.
- River Jhelum also has many dams and barrages constructed on it, with one of the dams being **Mangla** which is the world's largest earth-fill dam and was constructed in 1967.
- It has a storage capacity of nearly 5.9 million acre-feet.
- Rasul Barrage as well as Trimmu Barrage is also built on Jhelum River.

River Chenab

- The Chandra and Bhaga rivers in the upper Himalayas join to form the Chenab River.
- Chenab flows through Jammu and Kashmir.
- It is then joined by the Jhelum River at Trimmu Barrage, a flood control mechanism near Jhang
- On moving further, it merges with the Sutlej near Uch Sharif in Pakistan.
- Chenab River is nearly 960 kilometers long.

River Ravi

- River Ravi, like many other rivers of the region, originates in the Himalayas.
- After it flows through south-west region of Indian Punjab, it moves along the Indo-Pak border and enters Pakistan and merges with Chenab.
- River Ravi is nearly 720 kilometers long.
- It's also called 'The river of Lahore' since the city of Lahore is located at Ravi's eastern bank.

River Sutlej

- Sutlej flows through the historic crossroad region of Punjab in northern India and Pakistan.
- It is located north of the Vindhya Range, south of the Hindu Kush segment of the Himalayas, and east of the Central Suleiman Range in Pakistan.
- Some 550 kilometers long, Sutlej is also called as the Red River.

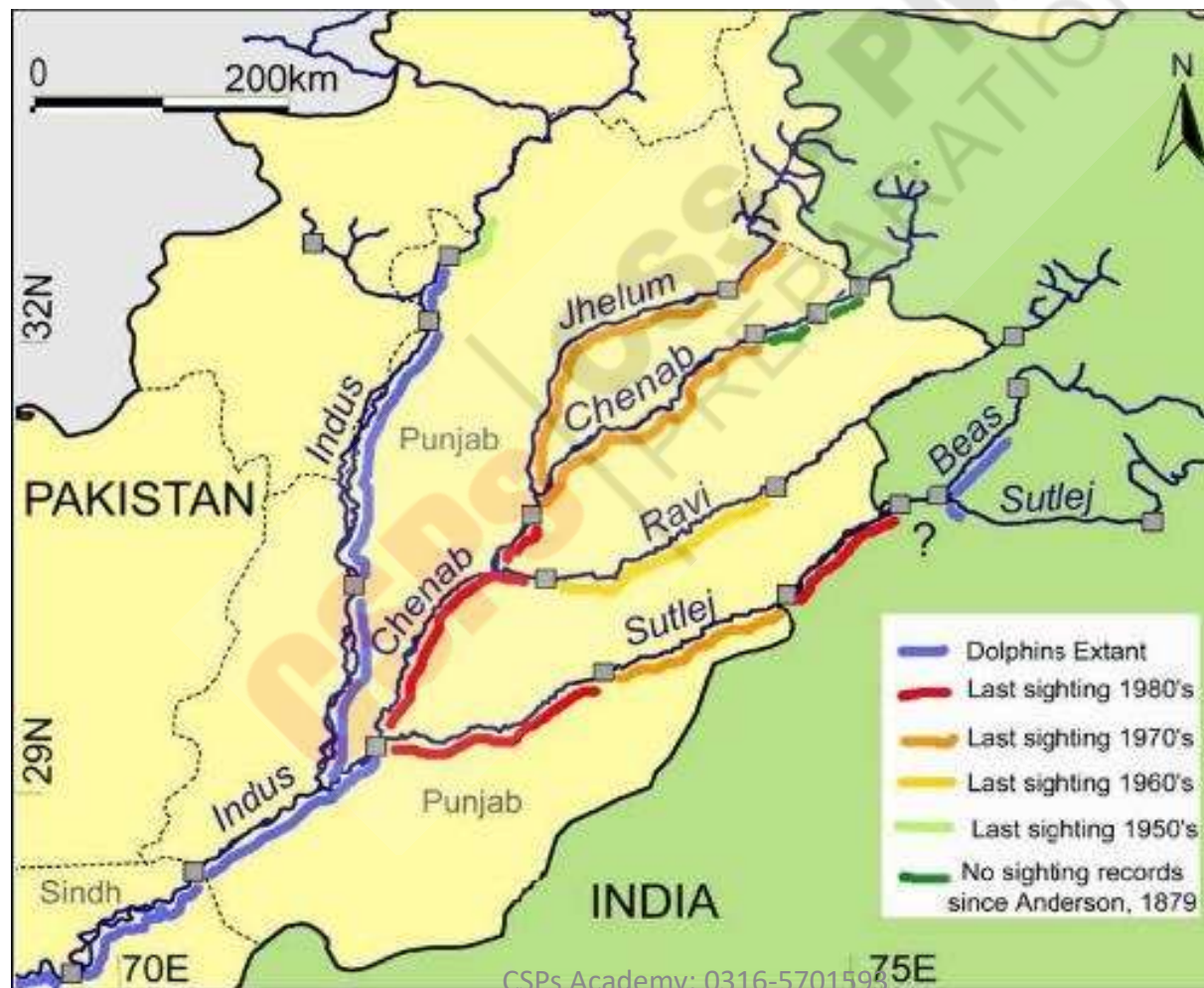
River Indus

- Indus River originates from the Tibetan plateau near Lake Mansarovar in China.
- It rises in and beyond the Himalayas and then through Kashmir, it enters into Pakistan.
- It then runs through Jammu and Kashmir, enters the Gilgit-Baltistan (formerly Northern Areas of Pakistan) region and flows through the entire length of the country and merges with the Arabian Sea.
- The Indus river is the longest river in Pakistan
- It is also the world's 21st largest river in terms of annual water flow.
- With a total length of 3,180 kilometers, it is also Pakistan's lifeline.

River Indus

- The Indus River fulfils the water requirements of Pakistan and is the main support for agriculture.
- Its left-bank tributary in Ladakh is the Zaskar River, and its left-bank tributary in the plains is the **Panjad River** which is formed by the successive confluences of the five Punjab rivers, namely the Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej rivers.
- Its principal right-bank tributaries are the Shyok, Gilgit, Kabul, Kurram, and Gomul rivers.

The River System of Pakistan



The Indus River Irrigation System

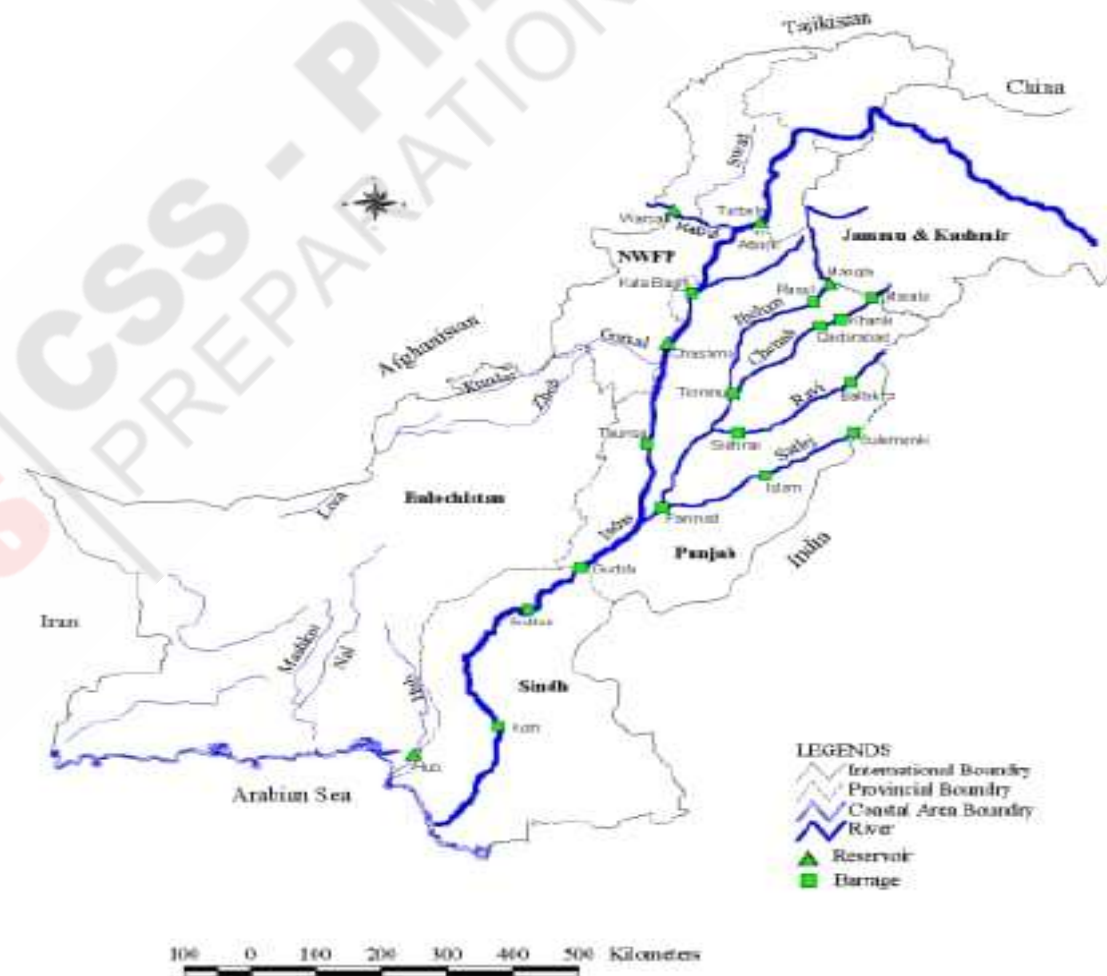
- The Indus Basin system is the major water reservoir in the subcontinent.
- It comprises six major rivers: three western rivers (Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab) and three eastern rivers (Sutlej, Beas, and Ravi).
- The river basin is divided between Pakistan, which has about 60 per cent of the catchment area, India with about 20 per cent, Afghanistan with 5 per cent and around 15 per cent in Tibet
- After entering into Pakistan, all rivers combine with each other near Mithon Kot in Punjab, and at last at the southern province of Pakistan (Sind) it outflow in the Arabian Sea.

The Indus River Irrigation System

- Most part of Indus lies in Pakistan and rest lies in India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and China.
- Pakistan has 59% feasibility of hydro power generation via the Indus and she has used only 6.6 percent.
- For India, 84% feasibility is available in this regard and she has only installed 39.5%
- Indus basin irrigates about 4 million hectares of land in Pakistan

The Indus River Irrigation System of Pakistan

- The figure shows the Indus Basin Irrigation System (IBIS) of Pakistan



Conflict between India and Pakistan Regarding Water

Hastily Division of Water Assets by the British

- In the haste of partition, the division of water assets between India and Pakistan was done in such a way that headworks of the rivers entering Pakistan fell within the Indian territory.
- Thus, **India** emerged as an **upper riparian state** with control over the canal headworks that supplied water to the province of Pakistani Punjab, once the breadbasket of British India
- This left **Pakistan** as a **lower riparian state** at the mercy of India and with a feeling of water insecurity from the very beginning.

The Inter-Dominion Agreement, 1948

- The partition of river ways and boundaries by the British made Pakistan a weak irrigation based state.
- Pakistan has no control on its rivers' main supply due to its geographical location.
- India has the main source of rivers.
- On 1st April, 1948, India stopped the canal waters of Eastern Rivers.
- The two rivers Ravi and Sutlej irrigated Punjab province of Pakistan.

The Inter-Dominion Agreement, 1948

- Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4th May, 1948 on canals water was made between India and Pakistan
- It required India to provide water to the Pakistani parts of the basin in return for annual payments
- India re-opened the water supply to Pakistan.
- This agreement did not settle all issues of water but it worked until 1960

The Indus Water Treaty (IWT), 1960

- In 1951, David A. Lilienthal, former Chairman of **the Tennessee Valley Authority and Atomic Energy Commission of USA** visited India and Pakistan.
- He visited Indus river system and referred this case to the International Court of Justice.
- The head of World Bank, **Eugene Black** suggested to solve the water dispute by sharing Indus system cooperatively
- In September, 1960, both sides came to an agreement and the Treaty was signed by **Pakistani President Ayyub Khan** and **Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru**.

The Indus Water Treaty (IWT), 1960

- The treaty fixed and delimited the rights and obligations of both countries concerning the use of the waters of the Indus River system.
- The treaty gave the waters of the **western rivers**—the **Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab**—to Pakistan and those of the eastern rivers which comprised almost 20 percent of all water in the Indus Basin—the **Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej**—to India.
- Two further provisions were added regarding the allocation of limited water for consumptive use in Jammu and Kashmir, and allowance for India to use water from western rivers for hydropower generation

The Indus Water Treaty (IWT), 1960

- It was decided that India could use western waters only for non-expenditure usages and would not use these rivers for irrigation and storage purpose.
- It also provided for the funding and building of dams, link canals, barrages, and tube wells—notably the Tarbela Dam on the Indus River and the Mangla Dam on the Jhelum River.
- The treaty required the creation of a **Permanent Indus Commission**, with a commissioner from each country, in order to resolve questions about implementation of the treaty.

The Indus Water Treaty (IWT), 1960

- Numerous disputes were peacefully settled over the years through the Permanent Indus Commission.
- In addition, a mechanism for resolving disputes was provided.
- The treaty proposed two dispute resolution mechanisms for situations when India and Pakistan cannot agree and the issue has to go beyond the commissioners
 - 1) The appointment of a Neutral Expert and
 - 2) A Court of Arbitration.
- As the World Bank explains, “questions” are handled by the Commission; “differences” are to be resolved by a Neutral Expert; and “disputes” are to be referred to the Court of Arbitration, a seven-member arbitral tribunal.

The Recent Developments

- On 25th January 2023, India sent a notice to Pakistan using the **Article XII (3) of the IWT**, which states “the provisions of this Treaty may from time to time be modified by a duly ratified treaty concluded for that purpose between the two governments”.
- India asked Pakistan to enter into intergovernmental negotiations within 90 days
- However, Pakistan’s principle stance was to resolve the dispute through a World Bank-appointed neutral expert and arbitration by a World Bank-constituted court in 2015.

The Recent Developments

- The Pakistan Office of the Attorney General issued a statement in response to the notice saying that , **“It is an attempt to divert attention from the ongoing proceedings at the Permanent Court of Arbitration under the Indus Waters Treaty”**.
- He said that India boycotted the hearing of the Arbitration proceedings started on 27 January 2023 .
- On the other hand, India claims that Pakistan has violated the dispute settlement mechanisms mandated in **Articles VIII and IX** of the IWT.

How did India Violate the Indus Water Treaty

- Both parties , under the Indus Water Treaty, were banned to construct any type of construction which has ability to divert natural water route.
- It was made necessary for India to report to Pakistan regarding framework of any type of construction on western waters before its starting
- It was further stated that if India built any dam or barrage on western rivers, it is necessary for her to make downstream water availability within 24 hours
- The IWT's **Article VII** talks about cooperation between the two countries on matters relating to the development of shared rivers and the construction of engineering works on them.
- However, in 2017, India completed the building of the **Kishanganga dam in Kashmir** and continued work on **the Ratle hydroelectric power station** on the Chenab River despite Pakistan's objections and amid ongoing negotiations with the World Bank

How did India Violate the Indus Water Treaty

- Due to population pressure and water shortage India is determined to construct hydro power plants on Chenab and Jhelum rivers.
- India has not been informative in sharing data of engineering features about all the water projects as it's a rule under the provision of the treaty.
- International law gives power to Pakistan to know every information regarding water usage from her rivers
- The structures and storage capacities of Indian projects can slow down water flow for Pakistan
- Geologist **Mr. Bashir Ahmad** ,gave a warning to Pakistan about Indian future intentions regarding Baghliar Dam as **"Indian will use the dam to make Pakistan solely dependent on India. It's going to be a water bomb"**
- **American Senate** also gave an assessment as, **"the cumulative effect of (many dam) projects could give India the ability to store enough water to limit the supply to Pakistan at crucial moments in the growing season"**

How did India Violate the Indus Water Treaty

- In September 2016, Prime Minister Narendra Modi gave statements reevaluating India's policies on the Indus Waters Treaty.
- Later on, In February 2019, Minister Nitin Gadkari announced that the Indian government had decided to stop sharing water with Pakistan.
- In August 2019, Union Jal Shakti Minister Gajendra Singh Shekhawat stated that the work had already begun to stop the water flows into Pakistan under the treaty.

How did India Violate the Indus Water Treaty

- In 2016, the World Bank paused the works on Kishanganga and Ratle projects “to allow the two countries to consider alternative ways to resolve their disagreements”.
- Despite the pause, India continued its works on Kishanganga, and, in 2018, Modi inaugurated the Kishanganga project.
- Pakistan raised its concerns in front of the World Bank.
- In October 2022, the World Bank appointed Michel Lino as the Neutral Expert and Professor Sean Murphy as Chairman of the Court of Arbitration (CoA).

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

❖ Salaal Hydro power project

- It was a hydro power project in Kashmir on River Chenab and was the first project on which Pakistan recorded its protest regarding the plan project and storage capacity.
- This dam was diverting water flows to Western Punjab.
- In 1978, through talks this matter was successfully resolved and India shared details with Pakistan.

❖ Wullar Barrage project

- It is the second controversial project between India and Pakistan on Jhelum River in Kashmir.

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

- The Barrage predicted a lake on Jhelum river that enters into Pakistan administered Kashmir.
- This Barrage is termed as **Talbul Irrigation project on Wullar Lake in India.**
- It is the largest fresh water lake in Kashmir.
- The construction was started in 1984 and was stopped in 1987 after Pakistani objection.
- This project comes under the principle of non-routing use of water supply.
- It is still unresolved, about 10 rounds of talks were presented without any resolution

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

❖ The Baglihar dam

- Baglihar Dam, a hydro power project on river Chenab in Kashmir was started in 1991 and its first phase was completed in 2005 and second in 2008.
- Pakistan raised objection on its design, planned poundage capacity, location of turbines, storage and control on water flow of Baglihar Dam.
- The dam will considerably affect water flow to river Chenab and particularly two link canals originating from Head Marala, Sialkot.
- On 18th February 2013, the Court of Arbitration administered in favor of Pakistani objections.

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

❖ The Kishanganga project (2008)

- Pakistan first raised its concerns over the **Kishanganga project** in 2006 and the **Ratle project** on the Chenab river in 2012
- The **Kishanganga project**, in Bandipora district across the Kishanganga river, which is a tributary of the Jhelum river, was inaugurated in 2018.
- Pakistan objected to the Kishanganga project because the design envisaged the diversion of water from one tributary of the Jhelum to another.

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

- Pakistan also envisioned to build a hydropower plant on the Neelum river (as the Kishanganga is called in Pakistan) – **the Neelum Jhelum Project (NJP)**.
- It feared that the displacement that would occur from the 330 megawatt Kishanganga project would limit the flow to the envisaged NJP.
- Pakistan's contention in this case was that the NJP would be unable to function because India would channel water for its projects away from the river and then release it downstream of the NJP site
- In 2010, the dispute on the Kishanganga project was taken to the Court of Arbitration (CoA).

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

- Pakistan contended that India's plan violates Annexure D of the IWT.
- In 2013, the CoA delivered the final judgement, ruling that the Kishanganga hydroelectric project is a run-off-river dam, and India, under the IWT, can divert water from the river Kishanganga/Neelum for power generation.
- However, the Court stated that India has to maintain a minimum flow of water in the Kishanganga/Neelum river to **nine cusecs** (cubic meter of water per second).

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

- After the CoA's judgment, four design-related issues were expected to be resolved between the two countries.
- However, they reached an amicable resolution on only one issue.
- Still, despite several rounds of talks between Indus Water Commissioners, India and Pakistan could not resolve the other three matters relating to **poundage and spillway configuration**.
- Pakistan went to the World Bank accusing India of violating the IWT and the Court's verdict.
- Pakistan has also raised objections on the Ratle project.

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

❖ The Ratle Hydropower plant

- It is an 850MW hydro power project
- Pakistan has four objections regarding the Ratle Hydropower plant:
 - 1) Pakistan wants India to maintain the freeboard at one meter whereas India wants to keep it at two meters.
 - 2) India wants to keep the poundage of 24 million cubic meters but Pakistan wants it to be restricted to eight million cubic meters.
 - 3) Pakistan wants the intake of the project should be raised by up to 8.8 meters
 - 4) Pakistan also wants the spillways of the project should be raised by up to 20 meters.

Pakistan's Objections on Indian Hydropower Projects in Indus Basin

- Pakistan fears that the Ratle Hydropower project, if constructed under its existing objectionable design, will reduce the water flow of Chenab River at Head Marala by 40 percent
- This will be detrimental to the irrigation in central Punjab of Pakistan
- Pakistan has raised concerns about the design of the Indian dams, meant for power generation, that they would obstruct the flow of the rivers that provide water for 80% of Pakistan's irrigated crops
- Water from the tributaries, which is used for irrigation, is necessary for food security, and the Pakistan's economic and social stability.
- According to Pakistan, this would be a violation of the treaty and would severely impact its agriculture.

Climate Change and the Pressure on Pakistan's Water Resources

- Climate change is a major concern for Pakistan, particularly in the context of the Indus River system.
- The overall flows in the Indus river system have decreased by about 5 percent since 1960 due to the effects of climate, and this trend is expected to worsen in the future.
- At the same time, Pakistan's population has grown significantly since independence, and is still growing rapidly.
- This means that demand for water is increasing, and dependence on the Indus River system is becoming more pronounced.
- These factors are putting additional pressure on Pakistan's water resources, making it increasingly important for the country to find sustainable solutions to manage its water resources and mitigate the impacts of climate change.

Importance of Kashmir

- Water dispute between India and Pakistan is a scarcity issue on one hand and also has the potential of being security issue on the other hand.
- Kashmir is crucial for water security of both India and Pakistan .
- In the recent years, the water dispute has manifested in itself in the form of increased water terrorism and increased violation of International law in Kashmir on the part of India
- On 5th August, 2019, India also revoked Article 370 and Article 35 A which gave special status to Kashmir
- By doing so, India envisions to ultimately get hold of the fertile land and water resources of Kashmir

Importance Of Kashmir

- The Kashmir dispute and the disputes over sharing of water resources between India and Pakistan are intertwined.
- From independence to the present day, they remain the two biggest challenges when it comes to normalizing relations between India and Pakistan.
- In Pakistan, the Indus River System is the only river system supporting the country, where more than 92 per cent of the land is arid or semi-arid.
- Whereas in India, it is one of two main river systems supporting the country's northwest: Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan (generally considered to be water deficient areas).

Importance Of Kashmir

- The importance of Kashmir can be understood as follows
- The Indus Water System has five main tributaries.
- Out of these 5, Jhelum, the largest of these, originates in the Valley of Kashmir.
- The Chenab, a second tributary, flows through the Jammu region of the state of Jammu and Kashmir before entering the Indian state of Punjab.
- Moreover, the Indus River also enters Pakistan after running through the territory of Jammu and Kashmir
- Therefore, political control over Kashmir means control over the rich water resources of two major Indus tributaries: **the Jhelum and the Chenab**
- Pakistan fears that by having such control, India could starve Pakistan, simply by refusing to operate Mangla at the headworks

Importance Of Kashmir

- India has already become the upper riparian on these rivers by having control over a part of territory in Jammu and Kashmir
- **Annexure-D, Part-3** of the Indus Water Treaty has laid down provisions for India to construct new run off river power plants (post 1960).
- As per treaty “**Run-off-River Plant**” means a hydro-electric plant that develops power without live Storage as an integral part of the plant, except for Poundage and Surcharge Storage
- India started building major power projects in J&K in 1970s.
- The projects which have been under dispute since then are Salal Hydroelectric Project, Baglihar Hydroelectric Project, Wullar Barrage and Kishenganga Hydroelectric Project.

Importance Of Kashmir

- A number of these projects are located on river Chenab.
- Pakistan feels threatened that the cumulative effect of these dams is going to provide India a total control over water flows in Chenab.
- **John Briscoe**, Professor of the Practice of Environmental Health at Harvard observes, **“the cumulative live storage will be large, giving India an unquestioned capacity to have major impact on the timing of flows into Pakistan.”**
- Using Baglihar as a reference, he says that simple calculations suggest that **“once it has constructed all the planned hydropower plants on the Chenab, India will have an ability to effect major damage on Pakistan.”**

Importance Of Kashmir

- The strategic importance of Kashmir justifies the 3 wars Pakistan and India has fought over Kashmir
- Moreover, if both countries fail to find a solution of Kashmir question via diplomacy and negotiations, it is very likely that the tensions regarding water resources provided the increasing global temperatures and exponential population growth of two countries can push the two nuclear powers to fight another war on Kashmir
- Therefore, a peaceful solution of Kashmir issue is necessary for regional peace

Intra-Pakistan Water Crises

Kalabagh Dam

- Pakistan is confronted with disputes over constructing dams not only at the international but also at the domestic level
- Kalabagh dam (total installed capacity 3600MW) site is located in the Mianwali District, Punjab.
- Once operational, Kalabagh Dam would provide 6.5 million acre feet of water to cultivate seven million acres of currently barren land in addition to generating 3,600 megawatts of electricity
- According to **Shams ul Mulk**, the former chairman **WAPDA**, Pakistan would require 750 such small dams to equal the storage capacity of one Kalabagh dam.
- Nevertheless, Pakistan could not sort out the longstanding dispute between its provinces over the proposed Kalabagh dam.
- Plans to build the Kalabagh dam on the Indus River have been the source of tensions between regional provinces in Pakistan for more than thirty years.

Kalabagh Dam

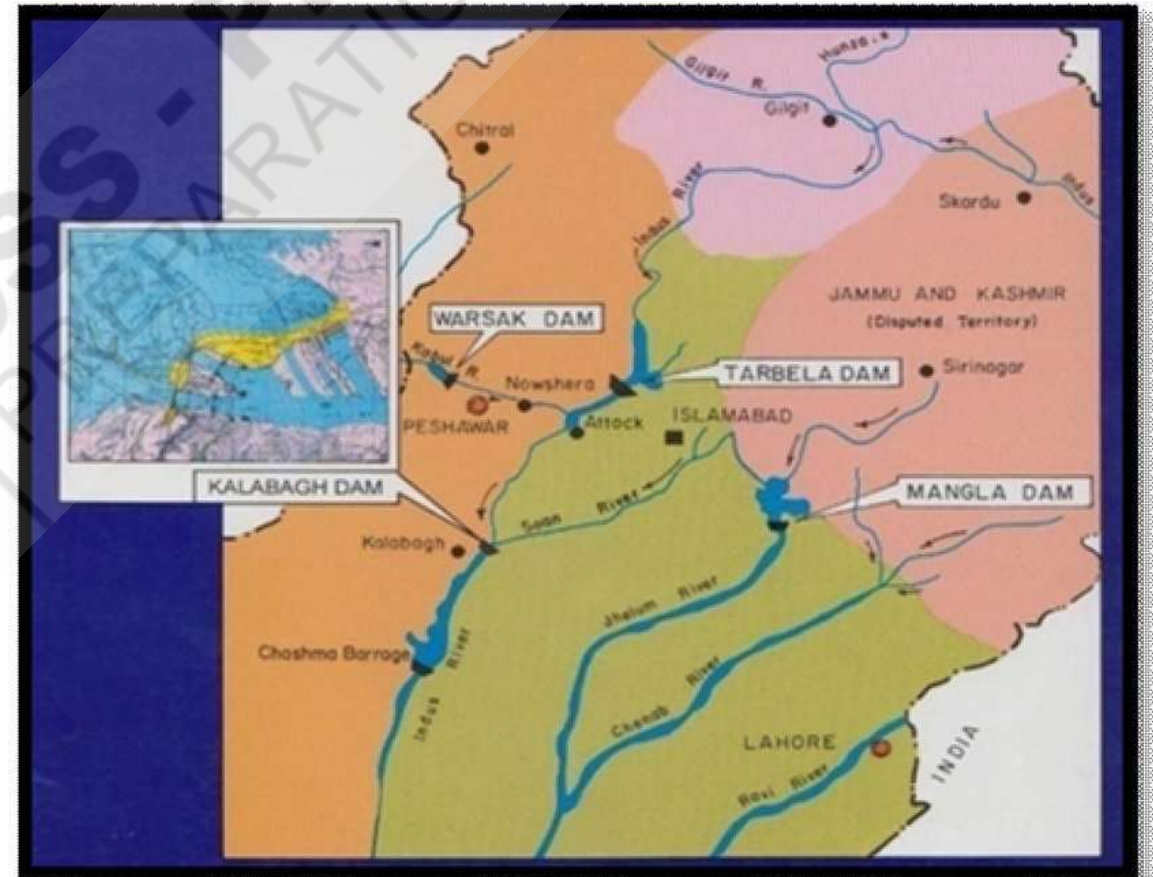
- Former Federal Minister for Water and power, Raja Pervaiz Ashraf termed the project **‘impractical’** because three provincial assemblies had passed resolution against it.
- He emphasized that the Pakistan People’s Party being a federal party could not undertake a project which negates the principles of federalism
- In downstream Sindh province, politicians have described the dam as a **“water theft by the province of Punjab”**, where the dam is planned to be built.
- The construction of water infrastructure in Punjab has been a source of recurring protests in Sindh
- There is also opposition to the dam’s construction from the upper riparian province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP).

Kalabagh Dam

- As the border between Punjab and KP lies directly north of Kalabagh, much of the water catchment is situated in the latter, which means KP risks losing a large area of agricultural land to flooding from the dam's construction
- In absence of detailed benefit sharing plans between regional states, politicians fear that proper compensation will not be paid
- Even within Punjab, construction is also opposed due to its likely impact on communities on the planned construction site.
- Punjabi citizens of the Mianwali district near the planned dam argue that the benefits of the dam will be unevenly distributed
- Following mass protests and strong opposition from Sindh, the project was suspended in 2008.

Kalabagh Dam

- However, planning re-opened in 2012 and the project currently awaits assessment from the Ministry of Water Resources
- Concerns over the potential negative impacts of the dam have led to renewed protests in Sindh



The Problems of Sindh, Baluchistan and KPK regarding the Distribution of Water Resources

Sindh's Point of View

- Of all the provinces of Pakistan, Sindh probably feels the most aggrieved because **the Water Appointment Accord (1991)** does not guarantee a minimum “environmental flow” of river water through the province and into the Arabian Sea.
- Sindh worries that the extraction of water for dam building and irrigation in upstream provinces will deprive the region of the water it needs.
- Sindhi people feel that their rights have been usurped
- The reservoirs of Mangla and Tarbela were the main causes of dispute among the provincial governments of KPK, Punjab and Sindh
- The Sindh government accused Punjab of stealing its share of water from these reservoirs under IRSA (Indus River System Authority)
- Punjab's provincial government was of the view that in order to accommodate the provincial governments of KPK and Sindh, it had been using less water than its requirements.

Sindh's Point of View

- Sindh always objected that it had received less water than its entitlements under the Water Appointment Accord in 1991.
- It asserts that it receives less water than all other provinces despite the fact that share of Sindh's GDP is 23 per cent in the country's agriculture output.
- It asserts that the present flow to water is insufficient to meet minimum requirement for Sea intrusion.
- Consequently, the sea water now comes up 100km in land and has caused increased salination of lower Sindh agriculture land, with subsequent adverse effect on ecosystem.
- Another problem is the shrinking of the Indus basin mangroves forest, which is dependent on fresh water supplies.

Sindh's Point of View

- Once the sixth largest in the world has reduced in size by 38% during 1977-90.
- Sindh is opposing Kalabagh Dam over River Indus because the province is located at the end and its entire economy and water needs depend on the flow of the River Indus.
- Sindhi people fear that the Kalabagh Dam would further reduce the water flow in Indus as according to the proposed design two irrigation canals would be constructed along with the Dam.
- This would result in almost no water flow downstream Kotri Barrage on Indus
- Sindh fears that it will suffer as the lower-riparian province since its Kharif supplies will be significantly curtailed due to filling of these dams.

Baluchistan's Point of View

- The main constraint in development of Baluchistan is the scarce water availability.
- Indus Water Appointment Accord allocates it only 3.87 million acre feet (MAF) water which is hardly 3.55 of the total perennial flows in the system.
- The present canal capacities in Baluchistan can only utilize 3.05 million acre feet (MAF) while rest of the areas depends upon minor perennial and non-perennial flood irrigation system for fulfilling their needs
- As a lower riparian of Sindh, Baluchistan accused that Sindh is using Baluchistan's share of allocated water due to inefficient irrigation canal system.
- Two of Baluchistan's canals, namely **Pat Feeder and Kirthar**, take off from Guddu and Sukur barrages
- Baluchistan protests that Sindh usually releases less water into the two canals than their due share

KPK's Point of View

- Pashtuns argue that water resources, particularly from rivers like the Indus, are unfairly distributed, with a disproportionate share going to provinces like Punjab.
- They contend that this unequal distribution deprives Khyber Pakhtunkhwa of its rightful share of water, hindering its agricultural productivity and economic development.
- KPK has also pointed out that foundation of Kalabagh dam site is very weak.
- It would block the sub-surface flow of Peshawar valley and the whole valley would be destroyed due to water logging.

Recommendations

- The alarming water shortage in Pakistan calls for political vision, pragmatic policies and effective water regulatory mechanisms
- The federal government should not discriminate against any province on the basis of political affiliation and must provide water **equitably** for the development of each province.
- The role of politicians should be to develop national consensus and strengthen the democratic institutions.
- The national consensus on the construction of Kalabagh dam should be on top priority.
- The objections by Sindh and K.PK should be removed by providing substitute development in these provinces.

Recommendations

- The flow of fresh water to the sea should be minimized.
- Seepage and evaporation may be controlled through lining of canals and reservoirs.
- Huge wastage of water should be avoided and barren areas should be irrigated from this water.
- Above all, the feeling of Pakistan must prevail upon the feeling of being a Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pathan.

National Security and Sovereignty of Pakistan

Rai Yasir Farhad

Introduction

- Quaid's direction "Peace within peace without"
- Security is fundamental in the contemporary anarchic world.
- Rapid changes in contemporary international security environment are impacting Pakistan's National Security in diverse ways
- This has created numerous challenges and opportunities for Pakistan

Conventional Challenges

- **The neighborhood challenge:**
 - The Indian Factor
 - The Afghan factor
- **The rise of Non-State Actors Post 9/11**
- **Geo-strategic location of Pakistan and Geo-Political situation of the region**

Conventional Challenges

- **Economic Challenges**

- 24th largest economy based on GDP on the basis of purchase power parity.
- 46nd largest in terms of nominal GDP but
- 138th in the world by per capita which is not encouraging.
- Inadequate tax policy, inability to document sizeable economy makes the country prone to excessive borrowing from external and internal lenders.
- This hampers financial security as well as the delivering capacity of government.

Unconventional Challenges

- Food Security
- Population explosion
- Environment degradation
- **The Water Threat**

➤ Indus Water Treaty 1960

Unconventional Challenges

- India has built and is process to construct big and small dams, hydropower projects and reservoirs numbering as many as 67.
- The importance of Kashmir is intrinsic for Pakistan's survival
- The dispute over water is inextricably interlinked with Kashmir.
- The government needs to own this issue and work on proactive solutions.

Others

- **Internal Security**
- Militants (TTO,BLA), pseudo secessionist forces devastated the country in last decade and a half.
- **Civil Military Relations**
- Management of Civil military relations has been a persistent challenge for politics in Pakistan

Way Forward

- **Political stability, good governance democracy**
 - Pakistan is transforming into a potentially stable democracy with reinvigorated democratic and state institutions.
- **The polity of Pakistan is politically conscious and desires a better future.**
- **Positive Economic Outlook**
 - GDP Growth rate 6.18%
 - Inflation rate drops to 9.6% (as of August, 2024).
 - FDI increased by 17% in 2024 , FDI inflows reached to \$ 1.9 billions during FY24
- **CPEC and trade with central Asian States and Iran offer transformative potentials.**

Way Forward

- **Internal Security**

- Terrorism dealt with clear policy.
- NISP first ever security policy
- Successful Zarb-e-Azab.

- **Things are improving in FATA, Karachi, Balochistan**

Way Forward

- **Better Civil Military Relations**

- Tenacious balance with positive outlook has emerged in civil military relations.
- The political and military leaders have been able to develop consensus on combating terrorism, sectarianism and violence in country.
- The communication between civil and military leadership is frequent and resulting in greater cooperation and focus on result oriented policies

Resurgence of Terrorism in Pakistan, NAP,NSP

Rai Yasir Farhad

Resurgence of Terrorism in Pakistan

- Since the dawn of this century, terrorism has been the principal threat to the people of Pakistan.
- By 2015, Pakistani law-enforcement authorities had succeeded in crushing terrorist forces, through military operations in Swat, South Waziristan and North Waziristan under **the National Action Plan**.
- The Plan was adopted in 2015 to flush out the remaining terrorist holdouts through intel-based operations.
- The strategy worked well till 2019, with few terrorist incidents

Resurgence of Terrorism in Pakistan

- However, since 2020, the terrorists have become active again.
- Pakistan has witnessed a renewed spate of terrorism in recent months, particularly after the **Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)** called off its ceasefire and asked its fighters to resume countrywide attacks
- In 2023 alone, there have been dozens of terrorist attacks, mostly against the security establishment.
- This upsurge has put at risk the success Pakistan had achieved against terrorism.
- The TTP has launched a full-fledged war against Pakistan.

Causes of the Resurgence of Terrorism

Myopic Afghan policy of supporting the Afghan Taliban

- The foremost among the factors contributing to resurgent terrorism in Pakistan is Pakistan's myopic Afghan policy of supporting the Afghan Taliban, which enabled the group to claw its way back to power.
- Pakistan backed the Taliban against the U.S.-supported regimes in Kabul, seeking to corner India and rein in the TTP with the former's help.
- However, the Afghan Taliban's return to power had a rejuvenating effect on the TTP.
- TTP celebrated the Taliban's victory as its own.
- The TTP and the Afghan Taliban have longstanding battlefield, political, ethnic, and ideological linkages.
- Hence, instead of offering any help to Pakistan, the Taliban regime termed the TTP as Pakistan's internal matter.

Myopic Afghan policy of supporting the Afghan Taliban

- The Taliban only offered to help facilitate negotiations to reach a political settlement, provided both Pakistan and the TTP agreed to resolve their differences.
- Since the Taliban takeover of Kabul in 2021, there has been a 60 per cent increase in terrorist incidents in Pakistan.
- This is because the TTP continues to have space in Afghanistan to plan and carry out attacks in Pakistan.
- TTP's objective is to dislodge the government of Pakistan from the Pashtun tribal belt in former FATA and enforce the Taliban's interpretation of Sharia there.

Indian-sponsored terrorism

- Regrettably, Indian-sponsored terrorism is the other dynamic underlying heightened terrorist activity in Pakistan.
- Last year, the government announced that a dossier containing details and evidence of New Delhi's role in a deadly 2021 car bombing in Lahore had been prepared which was to be shared with the UN.
- In 2020, Pakistan had unveiled a dossier documenting evidence of how New Delhi had used terrorism to destabilize Pakistan.
- From Kashmir Singh (apprehended in 1973) to Surjeet Singh (1982) and Sarabjit Singh (1990), India used a series of intelligence agents to organize terrorism in Pakistan.

Indian-sponsored terrorism

- India has also used the **Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA)** between 2002 and 2012 to create civil unrest in Baluchistan.
- In 2016, Kulbhushan Jadhav, a serving Indian officer, was apprehended in Baluchistan, carrying a passport bearing the name of Hussain Mubarak Patel.
- He confessed to committing terrorism and spying for Indian intelligence.

Pakistan's engagement in talks with the TTP from a position of weakness

- Another reason for the resurgence of terrorism is Pakistan's engagement in talks with the TTP from a position of weakness.
- This served to give the militant group much-needed time and space to recuperate and spread its network in Pakistan.
- The first attempt to reach a peace deal was made in 2021, which ended with the TTP scrapping the one-month truce in December 2021 and resuming attacks.
- The second attempt was made in May, 2022.
- It led to an indefinite ceasefire in June, 2022 and a formal peace process between the two sides.

Pakistan's engagement in talks with the TTP from a position of weakness

- However, peace talks soon hit a dead end as both sides did not budge from their stated positions relating to the reversal of the ex-FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) region's merger with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, among other things.
- The TTP wanted a reversal of the merger while Pakistan refused to accept this demand.
- The second attempt to reach a political settlement collapsed on November 28th, 2022 when the TTP called off the ceasefire and directed its fighters to resume attacks across Pakistan.
- A report by Pakistan's premier counterterrorism agency, **the National Counter Terrorism Authority**, has noted that peace talks contributed to the TTP's rising attacks in Pakistan.

Role of Domestic factors

- Some domestic factors have also contributed to the rise of terrorism here; these include
 - 1) Vertical inequalities (gap between rich and poor)
 - 2) Horizontal inequities (gap between the various regions of Pakistan).
 - 3) Increased Poverty levels
 - 4) Increased Unemployment
 - 5) Political Instability
 - 6) Lack of a farsighted leadership to make effective policies
 - 7) Distrust of People towards the government due to corruption
 - 8) State sponsored exclusion and oppression of Baloch people

Pakistan's Misplaced Notion of Victory against Terrorism

- The abeyance of violence due to the weakening of terrorist networks in the 2015-2020 period and the fencing of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border created a misplaced notion of victory and a false sense of security.
- Pakistan confused the absence of violence with the restoration of peace without realizing the fragility and reversibility of its counterterrorism gains.
- Similarly, the fencing of Pakistan's 2,640-kilometer-long border with Afghanistan was seen as a means to minimize the blow back of insecurity and spillover of violence from Afghanistan after the U.S. withdrawal and the Taliban's return to power.

Inter-group Mergers and Alliances of Terrorist Organizations

- In the context of insurgency and asymmetric warfare, inter-group mergers and alliances are key components to the terrorism's lethality and longevity.
- The more a militant group is allied, the more lethal and resilient it becomes.
- Since 2020, the TTP under its chief **Nur Wali Mehsud** has paid close attention to reuniting various splinter factions.
- In the last two years, more than 22 militant factions have merged with the TTP, enhancing its operational strength and expanding its geographical outreach in Pakistan.
- These mergers and reunifications have also played a key role in the resurgence of militant violence in Pakistan.

The National Action Plan 2014

The National Action Plan –Background

- On December 24, 2014 , a week after terrorist struck and killed 144 students and staff members at the Army Public School in Peshawar
- Within a week to the attack, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif convened an **all-parties conference**, where leaders of all major parties agreed upon a **20 point plan called the National Action Plan**
- The outcome of that conference is hailed as the first time when all political parties unanimously reached a consensus to root out terrorism and extremism from the country.
- The political rhetoric was powerful: “A line has been drawn. On one side are the coward terrorists and on the other side stands the whole nation,” stated the Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif
- Soon , the government started pursuing the NAP.

The 20-Point Agenda of NAP

- Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, also outlined his 20-point National Action Plan where he promised to “eradicate the mindset of terrorism to defeat extremism and
- sectarianism.”
- Following were his 20 points:
 - 1) Execution of convicted terrorists
 - 2) Establishment of special trial courts
 - 3) Ensure no armed militias are allowed to function in the country
 - 4) Strengthening and activation of NACTA

The 20-Point Agenda of NAP

- 1) Countering hate speech and extremist material
- 2) Choking financing for terrorists and terrorist organizations
- 3) Ensuring against re-emergence of proscribed organizations
- 4) Establishing and deploying a dedicated counter-terrorism force
- 5) Taking effective steps against religious persecution
- 6) Registration and regulation of madrassas
- 7) Ban on glorification of terrorism and terrorist organizations through print and electronic media
- 8) FATA Reforms
- 9) Dismantling communication networks of terrorist organizations

The 20-Point Agenda of NAP

- 1) Measures against abuse of internet and social media for terrorism
- 2) Zero tolerance for militancy in Punjab
- 3) Taking the ongoing operation in Karachi to its logical conclusion
- 4) Baluchistan reconciliation
- 5) Dealing firmly with sectarian terrorists
- 6) Policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees
- 7) Revamping and reforming the criminal justice system which has suffered enormously at the hands of militants in the last 13 years.

The National Action Plan

- To give legal cover to the military-led courts, one of the 20 points of NAP, the parliament passed the 21st constitutional amendment.
- Moreover, the government, among other things, constituted 15 committees overseeing NAP's implementation.
- The chief of army staff also participated, more so to offer his input in establishing military-led courts for the trial of terrorists.

A Critical Analysis on the NAP

Achievements

- NACTA (National Counter Terrorism Authority) has been activated and a National Coordinator has been appointed.
- NACTA is one of its kind institution made for the first time in Pakistan to counter terrorism
- NACTA can serve as fusion center of all the intelligence if properly activated.
- Furthermore, 16 sub-committees have been set up to make recommendations on different points of the agenda.

Achievements

- Pakistan Army successfully conducted counterterrorism operations in the tribal areas of Pakistan.
- **Operation Zarb-e-Azab** in North Waziristan cleared out terrorists from there.
- **Khyber II military operation** also started in Tirah Valley and cleared the remaining terrorists in the Khyber Agency.
- FATA Reforms did show some progress.
- A committee led by the then adviser to the PM on Foreign Affairs, Sartaj Aziz, prepared a 51-page report recommending Fata's merger with KP.

Achievements

- It suggested a five-year transition period, allowing the government to undertake legal and administrative reforms, including scrapping the British-era Frontier Crimes Regulations, coupled with massive infrastructure development work to mainstream the area.
- Moreover, the government also removed moratorium on the death penalty of the sentenced terrorists.

Achievements

- Groups like Lashkar-e-Tayaba, Jamaatud Dawa and Haqqani Network have been termed as terrorist groups and their funds have been frozen.
- The government also sought to match its list of proscribed terrorist groups with the UN list.
- The interior ministry has added Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami, Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen, Falah-i-Insaniat Foundation, Ummah Tameer-i-Nau, Haji Khairullah Hajji Sattar Money Exchange, Rahat Limited, Roshan Money Exchange, Al Akhtar Trust, Al Rashid Trust, Haqqani Network and Jamaatud Dawa to the list of proscribed organizations.
- Having done that, the government also made it clear that **there would be no distinction between good and bad Taliban.**

Shortcomings

Too Much Focus on Administrative Bottlenecks

- NAP's twenty points, aimed at fixing administrative bottlenecks mostly digress from taking on militants.
- Security expert **Imtiaz Gul**, argues that the NAP sounds like an “**ambitious wish list**”
- Except for the resumption of death penalties and establishment of military courts, he argued, “**no practical measures are initiated to implement**” the plan

NAP-A Comprehensive Security Plan or a Hasty Document?

- The plan itself came in haste, more like a reactive consensus against the militants' attack on a school, rather than a well thought-out plan.
- Those who worked on the NAP complain that the government didn't give them the enough time to come up with a “**concrete document**” against terrorism and extremism
- NAP does not substitute Pakistan's need for a comprehensive anti-terrorism policy.
- This policy is *ad hoc* and does not provide long and durable solution to the menace of terrorism.
- It is, thus, argued that the NAP may reduce terrorism to a certain degree, yet it would not meet its goals to root out terrorism

NAP-A Comprehensive Security Plan or a Hasty Document?

- The National Action Plan is stop-gap arrangement for tackling the menace of terrorism.
- It can be termed as short term strategy---even then it has serious challenges.
- The country still needs a comprehensive anti- terrorism strategy with short-, medium-, and long term goals.
- It also needs different strategies for different types of terrorist groups like religious and nationalist separatists.

Who is in charge?

- The successive governments have failed to bring about a unanimous political decision against terrorism.
- Their earlier efforts were either flawed or halfhearted.
- Moreover, the main problem stems from the tussle between the control of national security between the political and military leadership.
- This tug of war has left counterterrorism in doldrums.
- At the moment the burden of tackling terrorism is with the army because the political leadership seemed divided over how to tackle the issue.

Who is in charge?

- The task for implementing National Action Plan comes under interior ministry, responsible for internal security, under the supervision of the Prime Minister.
- On the night of December 25th, 2014, the prime minister, directed the interior minister to work on immediate activation of National Counter-Terrorism Authority (NACTA)
- However, within four months, the interior ministry seemed to be somewhat sidelined from the NAP.
- An April, 2015 performance report presented to the prime minister, on implementation of the NAP, doesn't even mention the ministry of interior.

The Joint Intelligence Directorate (JID) still waits to be established

- NAP also visualized the establishment of an effective **Joint Intelligence Directorate (JID)** but which has not materialized yet.
- JID was predicated on idea of intelligence fusion, analysis and assessing future trends.
- It was conceived with a vision to establish professionally dedicated, operationally focused, technologically competent and highly adaptive national fusion setup under “Intelligence Collection and Fusion Centre (ICFC)” which will be capable of delivering timely and relevant intelligence based on input from various agencies and departments.
- JID’s goals is to manage and pool effective intelligence works undertaken by both civilian and military intelligence agencies of the country

The Joint Intelligence Directorate (JID) still waits to be established

- It aims to increase intelligence sharing with the Police Departments, Provincial and Federal Law Enforcement Agencies.
- The idea is great, but unfortunately has not yet been implemented.
- The summary to recommend to the federal government to close down its Joint Intelligence Directorate was moved but no decision has been taken yet.

Criticism regarding the Death penalties

- The very first point of the NAP calls for “implementation of death sentence of those convicted in cases of terrorism.
- To undertake the point, the government lifted moratorium on death penalty of all the condemned prisoners
- Since then, till April, 2015, 65 death row prisoners were executed.
- The death row of convicted terrorists has brought the criticism of human rights groups, EU and UN Secretary General.

Criticism regarding the Death penalties

- Their argument is that execution of terrorists would not solve the problem of terrorism.
- The execution of terrorists may also start a cycle of revenge.
- The Taliban have already threatened to avenge the deaths of their brothers-in-arm by targeting civilians.
- The issue of backlash cannot be ruled out.

Criticism regarding the Military Courts

- The Parliament approved the 21st amendment that allowed the establishment of military courts for the speedy trial of terror offences
- Under the NAP, 9 military courts have been set up and interior ministry has referred cases to them.
- The establishment of military courts has also brought criticism from lawyers and legal community.
- They believe such military courts will undermine the judiciary of the country and will be tantamount to the encroachment of army into judicial affairs.

Criticism regarding the Military Courts

- Initially, there were also concerns as to what would happen when the two year period of military courts is over. Whether they would be given extension or judicial system would have been improved till then to tackle terror cases
- The civilian government is also criticized for this step as it appears to have outsourced its constitutional duties to the military by setting up of nine military courts across the country.
- This will not bode well for army as well as it will shoal into administrative overreach.
- Further, once the military is taken away from its core duties and begins to operate autonomously, the polity will weaken.

Criticism regarding the Military Courts

- Many in the legal community question the rationale of setting up military courts.
- The Supreme Court Bar Association (SCBA), for instance, challenged the Pakistan Army (Amendment) Act 2015, arguing that its operation and outcome contradict the fundamental rights the Constitution promises
- While some question the secrecy surrounding the convictions, others wonder as to why not civil courts can adopt the same secretive procedure the military court follows in convicting terrorists.
- Instead of relying on military courts for speedy justice, the government needs to come up with legislation to ensure the protection of witnesses and judges.

Face-Saving Approach of the Government

- The **NAP Performance Report** compiled by the **Interior Ministry** claims that 34,517 people have been arrested since December, 2014 and more than 30,314 combing operations have been conducted across the country to arrest terrorists and militants.
- In this respect, questions arise regarding the capacity of the state to investigate and prosecute all these people arrested by the security agencies.
- Defense analysts argue that it is virtually impossible to investigate and prosecute such a huge number of people.
- It is just face saving as the government has been portraying itself to be tough against the nefarious elements.

CIDs not Strengthened

- Even though NAP envisions “reforms in criminal court system to strengthen institutions CIDs the anti-terrorism including provincial (criminal investigation departments),” no practical work has been started on this front, so far.

A witch Hunt in the Face of NAP

- Under NAP, thousands of people are apprehended on suspicions of terrorism while a few have terror connections among them.
- This has become a witch hunt.
- As of 10th February, 2015, the then Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan was informed that for combing purposes, 16344 operations had been conducted in which 218220 persons were picked up.
- Out them, 12462 persons were arrested whereas only 140 of them had terrorist links.
- The government needs to be careful in arresting people without proper evidences.
- The treatment of those apprehended should also not violate human rights; otherwise, the government will push these innocent people towards extremism

Confusion regarding the Regulation of Seminaries

- Regulating seminaries, terrorist network and financing , the government has yet to task a specific ministry or department to work on “registration and regulation of the religious seminaries” – one of the key points of NAP.
- Firstly, the ministry of interior was mandated the responsibility; then, ministry of religious affairs, admitted its minister was directed to take the charge.
- As of now, confusion remains which institute actually looks after this point.

Confusion regarding the Regulation of Seminaries

- What is noteworthy is that the performance report on NAP excludes any discussion on the seminaries, even though some of them have come under the intelligence radar for militant ties.
- Earlier, intelligence reported that anti-Pakistan outfits like Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) have been getting active support in Rawalpindi and Islamabad from religious seminaries, often for lodging and sheltering purposes

Confusion regarding the Regulation of Seminaries

- However, the debate on watching madrassas is more than just registering them.
- The real issue is the content the seminaries' students are taught.
- The possible backlash from religious clerics and madrasa students seem to be holding the government from taking any concrete action against them.
- The government has neither devised a concrete plan nor allocated funds to take care of the students who may be on the roads, if some seminaries are closed.

Little Progress Regarding the Dissemination of Extremist Literature

- Owing to the fact that hate material contribute in furthering militancy, the NAP vowed to take concrete measures against hate literature, terrorism promotion, and terrorist glorification.
- Yet, very little progress has been made on checking hate speeches through electronic and print media.
- The Jamaatud Dawa (JuD) continues to publish seven periodicals including **Tayyibaat**, in Urdu, for women; **Rozat ul Atfal** for children; **Zarb-e-Taiba**, in Urdu, for younger readers; and **Babul Islam** in Sindhi.
- The Al-Amin Trust, formerly known as the banned Al-Rasheed Trust, apparently a charity organisation, spreads its message through daily Islam and weekly **Zarbe-Momin**.

Little Progress Regarding the Dissemination of Extremist Literature

- Jaish-e-Muhammad, a proscribed group publishes the weekly **Al-Qalam** in Urdu and English.
- It also launched a monthly publication for children, **Musalman Bachay**, in 2003, while also continuing a monthly publication for women
- These groups and their literature provide fuel to extremism and militancy.

No Strict Cyber Laws Against Terrorism

- As for internet and social media, Pakistan has still to come up with its cyber laws to protect users from any kind of abuse and to curb the promotion of terrorism online.
- The government announced passage of a bill “**Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill 2015**” from the parliament, but it still remains under consideration
- A complaint cell regarding hate material and glorification of terrorism on internet and social media has been set up in Pakistan Telecommunication Authority but its performance and functioning remains a mystery for many
- Different proscribed outfits Have been openly using Facebook, Twitter and many other social media accounts to reach their followers and general public with their messages
- So far, the government seems least interested to monitor social media and internet to curb hate speech and promotion of terrorism and extremism.

No Strict Cyber Laws Against Terrorism

- Print and electronic media often publish the statements of terrorists out of fears of attacks.
- On the other hand, Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) has not devised any strategy to check the glorification of terrorists on the media.



The Baluchistan Question

- Perhaps, the most difficult and complex issue that has seen little or no tangible progress under NAP is the **reconciliation process in Baluchistan**.
- The process did kindle some hope when the former Balochistan Chief Minister, Abdul Malik met with dissident Baloch leaders in self-exile in Europe.
- The initiative did not make any headway apparently due to the insistence by dissident Baloch leaders that they would only speak to the military establishment.
- In their view, the civilian leadership lacked the necessary authority and mandate.

The Baluchistan Question

- The political process is stalemated due to a lack of political direction
- The political and military leadership need to think seriously about the Baluchistan question since the separatist terrorism there is of ethnic nature.
- The NAP requires the Baluchistan government to take initiative to bring dissident groups into political process.
- This also seems a long term goal and would need a different strategy all together.

Abstract Nature

- There are also some abstract points in the NAP , such as “ongoing operation in Karachi will be taken to its logical end” and that “Balochistan government to be fully empowered for political reconciliation with complete ownership by all stakeholders.”
- Here, the government is needed to define what it exactly means by the logical end
- Does it simply mean the completion of military operations in Karachi or is there anything more? Or is it that the details were discussed but not made public?
- It also needs to clarify what does it mean by “all stake holders”?
- Obviously, all the government’s performance report prefers to remain silent on these points too, among others.

Concluding Remarks

- Progress on NAP, however, has been uneven and unsatisfactory and, in some cases, extremely slow
- Lack of interest on the part of the political leadership in overseeing progress on NAP was evident from the fact that Prime Minister Sharif convened a meeting of the civil and military top brass only 19 months after NAP was announced and that too, only after the Quetta bombing that left 50 lawyers dead and caused public outcry and anger

Concluding Remarks

- It is definitely the government's fault in failing to provide the necessary financial, legal and administrative authority to strengthen NACTA.
- Government officials insist that while strengthening NACTA is essential to combat terrorism, it is not the be-all and end-all institution to fight off the menace on its own.
- Leaving it to and depending on one state institution to fight the permeated cancer is erroneous.
- NACTA plays an important role but the kind of problem Pakistan is in requires all state institutions, federal and provincial governments to work together more closely and more effectively.

National Security Policy Of Pakistan 2022-2026

Introduction

- It was announced in December 2022 by the then PTI government
- 2 institutions played key role in it's formation: **National Security Division, Pakistan and National Strategic Policy Planning cell**
- These two institutions took the 2015-2022 period to make a comprehensive security policy of Pakistan
- Before it, all the security policies made by the state aimed at dealing with the traditional security challenges faced by Pakistan ;however, NSP aims at dealing with Pakistan's both traditional and non-traditional security Challenges
- It deals with the non-traditional security challenges such as Human security, climate security, gender equality, food security etc.

Chapters of the NSP

- The policy consists of 8 chapters namely

1)POLICY FORMULATION

2)NATIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK

3)NATIONAL COHESION

4)SECURING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

5)DEFENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

6)INTERNAL SECURITY

7)FOREIGN POLICY IN A CHANGING WORLD

8)HUMAN SECURITY

A Brief Introduction of the Chapters of NSP

POLICY FORMATION

- This chapter throws light on the need and the process of policy formation ,and the periodic review of National Security Policy
- It states that ,
 - 1)The conception of national security has evolved over time.
 - 2)Pakistan has lacked a comprehensive security policy that brings traditional and non-traditional strands of security under one umbrella document to provide overarching direction and guidance.
 - 3)The National Security Policy has been envisioned to fill this void

NATIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK

- This chapter states that the safety, security, dignity, and prosperity of citizens in all their manifestations will remain the ultimate purpose of Pakistan's national security.
- It also proposes the **Principles of Policy Implementation**.
- These are:
- **Whole-of-Government Approach**
 - Turning Pakistan's national security challenges into opportunities requires a whole-of-government approach where all organs of the state work in close coordination to tackle increasingly complex and cross-cutting issues.

NATIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK

- **Inclusivity**

- Policies on matters of national importance and their implementation should always remain inclusive of the opinions and concerns of all segments of society.

- **Self-confidence and Resolve**

- It suggests that our resilience as a nation rests in the resolve of our people against internal and external challenges. Pakistan's actions must continue to demonstrate confidence in the capabilities of its institutions and people.

NATIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK

- **Introspection and Pragmatism**

- It is explained that a successful policy requires a culture of introspection that is open to re-examining existing approaches to national security. This introspection must be coupled with a pragmatic approach that privileges national interests over emotive policy making.

- **Pro-activeness**

- It is discussed that in a fluid global environment, fast-changing geo-political realities will inevitably throw up new opportunities and challenges. Through an approach guided by long-term strategic thinking and planning, Pakistan will proactively identify and capitalize on these opportunities and mitigate any threats.

NATIONAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK

- **Prioritization**

- It has been stated that the National Security Policy prioritizes policy interventions deemed to have the greatest impact on the vital national security interests of Pakistan.

- **Consistency**

- Pakistan requires policy continuity to navigate evolving challenges and turn them into opportunities.
- The National Security Policy recognizes this and proposes dedicated strategies to create broad consensus on important national security issues that should not be affected by political differences.

NATIONAL COHESION

- In this chapter, the opportunities and Challenges regarding the national cohesion are discussed
- **Opportunities and Challenges**
- **Identity and Culture**
 - It is stated that the divisive discourse around ethnic, religious, and social differences is a concern, exacerbated by disruptive external support that aims to undermine national cohesion and incite disharmony on issues of identity.
 - Continuous and dedicated efforts will be made through an approach centered on cherishing the diversity of Pakistan, inculcating tolerance, and promoting national cohesion through educational and cultural institutions and an inclusive national discourse.

NATIONAL COHESION

- **Socio-Economic Inequalities**

- It is stated that socio-economic inequalities make cohesion more challenging by exacerbating societal fault lines.
- Addressing these inequalities plays a direct role in strengthening national cohesion.
- Moreover, it is also proposed that an affirmative action is required for additional resource allocation in far flung areas to erase any sense of deprivation and counter narratives that seek to exploit differences between developed and under-developed regions.

NATIONAL COHESION

- **Governance and Institutional Capacity**

- It is stated that an enhanced federal-provincial, inter-provincial, and inter-departmental coordination will allow tackling increasingly complex issues that are often crosscutting in nature.
- It also proposes that coordination mechanisms such as the Ministry of Inter-Provincial Coordination, Council of Common Interests, National Finance Commission, and National Economic Council are also required in this regard
- Existing division of responsibilities between provincial and local governments can be improved through more empowered and responsive governance at district and lower levels

SECURING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

- This chapter deals with the Opportunities and Challenges regarding the economic security of Pakistan
- **Opportunities and Challenges**
- **External Imbalance**
 - It is stated that this imbalance emanates from consistently higher foreign exchange outflows as compared to inflows.
 - Long-term sustainability depends on Pakistan's ability to correct its current account deficit.
 - This will primarily be achieved through a dedicated focus on export growth and export-oriented foreign direct investment enabled by ease of doing business, as well as increasing foreign remittances

SECURING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

- **Vertical Inequalities**

- These represent the economic gap between the rich and the poor.
- It is stated that an **equitable economic development** is therefore a national security priority which will be pursued by preventing elite capture of policy, removing barriers and expanding opportunities for low-income households, and providing access to entrepreneurship and ownership.

SECURING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

- **Horizontal Inequalities**

- It involves removing disparities in economic development between various regions of the country.
- Disparities in prosperity and opportunity between regions have been used by sub-nationalist elements to generate a narrative of grievance based on under-development in their regions
- It is stated that **The South Balochistan, Sindh, and Gilgit-Baltistan development packages**, along with **increased allocation for Newly Merged Districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa**, are aimed at addressing these horizontal inequities.

SECURING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE

- **Growth and Development**

- It is stated that sustainable growth and inclusive development are hallmarks of a secure nation.
- A healthy economy assures availability of required resources for livelihoods of citizens.
- It is proposed that in the agriculture sector, improving the value chain by bridging the gap between farmers and consumers through reducing the role of intermediaries will help increase production, result in higher returns for farmers, and lower commodity prices.
- Consolidating industry by encouraging scale and value addition will help spur economic growth and exports. Information technology and enabled services along with the provision of digital connectivity will help augment

DEFENSE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

- It is stated that the NSP ensures the defense and territorial integrity of Pakistan in all their manifestations.
- Moreover, the Opportunities and Challenges in this regard are also discussed, some of them are as under:
- **Securing Our Borders**
 - It is stated that the security of Pakistan's land, air, and sea borders along with space and cyber domains is paramount.
 - It is also proposed that focused attention will be given to the training and modernization of our paramilitary forces to meet requirements of border security in the coming decades.
 - Equally, Pakistan will strengthen its aviation security protocols and expand maritime surveillance of coastal areas by investing in new technologies to ensure security of airspace and the sea.

DEFENSE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

- **Conventional Military Threats**

- It is stated that Pakistan is committed to defending its territorial integrity in response to any military misadventure.
- Requisite conventional capabilities will be ensured through astute investment in constant modernization of our armed forces without embroiling in any arms race

DEFENSE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

- **Hybrid Warfare**

- Hybrid warfare is an evolving concept with expanding and blurring boundaries.
- Hybrid threats against Pakistan originate from states and their proxies as well as from non-state actors.
- It is stated that Pakistan will adopt a holistic, interconnected whole-of-nation approach to neutralize attempts to undermine Pakistan's security and stability through hybrid warfare.

HUMAN SECURITY

- The Opportunities and Challenges regarding Human Security are also discussed in the NSP, some of them are as follows:
- **Population Growth and Migration**
 - According to the 2017 census, the country's population has grown at 2.4 per cent over the last two decades.
 - Over half the population is below the age of 30 years. This large youth demographic is both an opportunity and a challenge.
 - While it has put stress on public services, natural resources, and the economy, Pakistan's youth bulge can help the country achieve exponential economic progress if its potential is galvanized and concentrated in productive endeavors.

HUMAN SECURITY

- It is said that there will be a dedicated focus on youth for our future progress
- In addition, it is also proposed that through population management, futuristic urban planning, and investment in development of the rural economy, a decrease in the urban migratory pressures will be brought about
- **Health Security**
 - It is proposed that Pakistan needs a healthy population to ensure a productive workforce
 - Healthcare coverage should keep abreast of population growth and needs.
 - Health sector interventions will be empowered by a focus on surveillance of disease outbreak, preventive healthcare, expansion and advocacy of the **path-breaking Sehat Sahulat health insurance program**, and greater dedicated efforts to eradicate malnutrition

HUMAN SECURITY

- **Food Security**

- It is stated that the challenges regarding food security include ensuring production of food rich in micronutrients, changing consumption patterns towards a healthier food basket, increasing cultivable land, increasing yield per acre for major cash crops through high yield seeds, undertaking fresh agricultural zoning, introducing import substitution for commodities and products that contribute disproportionately to the import bill, and legislating against illegal market practices including hoarding and smuggling
- It is proposed that an effective implementation of the National Food Security Policy 2018 remains critical to institutionalizing food security in the country.

Shortcomings

- Pakistan lacks effective enforcement mechanism to implement this policy
- Former security policies dealt with traditional security challenges for which specific institutions were present such as NACTA, FIA, Police, CTD etc.
- Pakistan lacks such institutional framework that can deal with such diverse issues that NSP encompasses such as issues of national integration, economics driven foreign policy, territorial integrity, internal and external security threats like climate and food security
- Institutional interests come in the way for a policy like NSP that requires close coordination of 5-7 institutions
- Institutional clashes can also be there

Shortcomings

- NSP has also somewhat increased military role regarding the security policy of Pakistan.
- Hence, it undermines democratic values of the country by giving all these powers to the army
- Since Pakistan is a volatile and security sensitive state, 4 years is too long a time for such a state
- The security dynamics in Pakistan are hanging really fast
- Pakistan needs to revisit its security policy on monthly basis rather than on yearly basis