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Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman (B. tungipara, 1920-d.dhaka, 15th August 1975) was the leader who founded Bangladesh, and in the process dismembered Pakistan. What was his precise role during the last round of negotiations remains unclear, even after the release US STATE Department papers . one report says that Mujib reneged on an agreement with Yahya Khan which called for (a) immediate establishment of provincial Governments, (b) temporary continuation of the central Government under Yahya Khan, and (c) a constitutional scheme in which the centerel Government would deal only with defence ,foreign affairs and currency.

A subsequent report asked that Mujib-Ur-Rahman wanted confideration, not separation .

Sheikh Mujib ur rahman began his political life in Mission High School, Gopalpur, when he told A.K.Fazlul Haq and H.S. Suhrawardy who were jointly on inspection, that the roof leaked. The principal thought he had spoken out of turn, but in the years ahead, Mujib's encounter with the two leaders would continue. He went on to Islamia College, culcutta and the university of Dhaka. He became an ardent Muslim Leagure, and in the 1946 Bihar, riots, played a leading role in rehabilitating the refugees in East Bengal.

It was in the wake of 1948 Bengali language Movement that Mujib-ur -Rahman gained prominence. He was able to persuade H.S. Suhrawardy to retract he statement favouring Urdu as the national language, but was unable to associate Fazlul Haq with the Language Movement this defend his attitude towards them. On 5th january 1956, he criticised Fazlul Haq for challenging the H.S. Suhrawardy.

Number of times Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman was sent to jail needs to be noted:(i) he was arrested while picketing the Dhaka Secretariat on 11th March 1948; (ii) he was again arrested while agitating for better working conditons in the Dhaka University; from 10th April to 29th of July 1949; (iii) he was jailed on 1st January 1950 for two years; (iv) he was already in jail when he was indicted Agartala Conspiracy Case. This writer saw him in being tried by the Magistrate in 1965. He was released in 1968 participating in Round Table Conference. (v) the last time he was arrested after the Army Action 25th March 1976. He looked at the (burning) skyline and asked the commanding officer "Was it necessary to do all this?" Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman had courted arrest to avoid a crackdown: other than him; each and every Awami League legislator had escaped..

Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman remains a living factor in the politics of Pakistan. This is because most Pakistanis blame only Yahya and Bhutto for the 1971 debacle.

He has more ardent supporters in the country he divided, than in the country he emancipated. While his Bengladeshi biographer has accepted that Mujib had indeed gone to Agtala, and the militants who killed the Dhaka intellectuals on 14th December 1971 were Bengalis not Beharis, Pakistani reviewer complained: "Mr.Karim's considerable capacity to respect the truth is likely to deepen a Pakistani majority's miscomprehension of the event of the 1971".

Bhutto's Era 1971 -1977

Two features marked Bhutto's era. At the Global level, it showed solidarity with the Muslim countries and the third world. Relations with the United States cooled and with China became warmer. At the domestic level, he encouraged socialist pattern for economic development and adopted reformist policy.

His most Significant contributions to the political system of Pakistan were:

- (a) Raising the political consciousness of the down-trodden, and
- (b) Adoption of the 1973- Constitution of Pakistan.

The Mechanism that he applied to resolve the immediate political crisis and to establish his supremacy were not very different from the ones applied by General Ayub Khan with whom he had worked as Minister for 8-years. His electoral success was very much his personal achievement which enabled him to command authority over his party. The ruling coalition that he formed consisted of segments of feudal, urban middle class and industrial labour leaders who had led his election campaign effectively. He co-opted various political elements but contained some. He collateralized the powerful components, the bureaucracy and the army, into subordinate position vis-a-vis political leadership.

1. Collateralization:

A). Military:

To give effect to this mechanism and to limit the role of army, he adopted two measures. He purged some of the army Generals and reorganized the command structure of the Army. But more importantly he got a provision (Article-6) provided in the 1973- Constitution that any person abrogating or subverting or conspiring to subvert the constitution by use or show of force or other unconstitutional means shall be guilty of high treason. The constitution also specified under Article 245 that "Armed Forces shall, under the directions of Federal Government, defend Pakistan against external aggression or threat of war, and, subject to Jaw, act in aid of civil power when called upon to do so. Demoralized after the debacle of East Pakistan, Army acquiesced to a subordinate position. The Army, in any case, was in need of a civilian political leader of Bhutto's stature and charisma to pull the masses and country out of despair and demoralization. Besides, a Para-military force called Federal Security Force (FSF) was created and put under the direct control of Prime Minister.

B). Bureaucracy:

Bhutto removed 1300 officers from service to exert pressure on bureaucracy. As part of administrative reforms, legislation was enacted which authorized the government to retire from service senior civil servants without assigning any reason. To increase further pressure on them, a scheme of lateral entry was introduced to recruit loyalist in the bureaucracy. These measures deterred the bureaucracy from declining to resist even the-illegitimate orders of the regime. This treatment in fact ultimately increased latent hostility from bureaucracy towards the PPP regime.

2. Economic Reforms:

In order to broaden the support base as well as to fulfill the manifesto promises, the regime pursued a reformist agenda.

A). Nationalization:

Within two weeks after he took over as president, Bhutto issued Economic Reforms Order (January 3, 1972) and the government took over 10 basic industries stating that it is being done for the benefit of people of Pakistan. The managements of each of the industrial establishments were taken over by the central government. Commercial Banks in the private sector were also nationalized. By April 1972, the management of private educational colleges and schools was taken over.

The net result of nationalization process was a sharp decline in production, poor service and business in the Banks and fall in the standards of education. The policy of nationalization apparently adopted to strengthen his power-base by pleasing the employees of the industry, banks and private educational institutions proved counter-productive as it neither created a support base for him nor the employees came forward give more to their profession through hard work and strengthen institutions.

B). Land reforms:

As a decree of martial Law, Bhutto announced land reforms on March 11, 1972, fixing 150 acres of land as the limit for owning irrigated land and 300 acres for non irrigated land. A word got spread around that as-a result of land reforms; tenants would be getting 12.5 acres of land on nominal charges. It gave the rural masses new confidence arid it left on them a psychological impact of being important. No land was distributed to the tenants. In fact, the psychological impact led to tenant-landlord clashes in some rural areas.

PPP, however, improved its support base. The small landholders, the tenants of big landlords and the working class felt naturally sympathetic towards the Pakistan People's Party. Z.A. Bhutto's most significant contribution to the political system was the formulation of constitution in 1973. It provided a relatively stable basis for coalition making. There was a broad consensus of all the major political parties on the constitution. The PPP-NAP-JUI provided the lead Of the 133 members of the National Assembly, 125 cast their vote in favor of the constitution, adopted on April 10, 1973 and put into practice on August 14, 1973.

3. Containment

The Bhutto regime made efforts to co-opt the religious elite into the ruling coalition. The NAP-JUI (National Awami Party and Jamiat-i- Ulma-i-Islam) had reached an understanding with Z.A. Bhutto to form governments in NWFP and Baluchistan. Atta Ullah Mengal was sworn in as Chief Minister in Baluchistan and Maulana Mahmood Mufli (father of Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman) had constituted government in NWFP on May 1, 1973. However, this coalitional relationship was short-lived. The two had different perceptions in terms of social and economic policies. This cleavage led to alienation of political elite. The other components, the military and bureaucracy, got reinforced. As a result of repressive policies of Mengal against Zehris and Jamotes and even against Punjabi settlers, Mengal faced resistance and he raised a private army called Lashkar. The federal troops were sent to disarm the Lashkar. The two provincial governments resigned On August 16,1973.

Besides, there was an overall resurgence of Islam in the Middle- East, which had spill over impact of Islamic revivalism in Pakistan also. The potential of crises increased because of enhanced position of religious elite, the resentful landed aristocracy also being skeptical about the intentions of the regime turned hostile.

4. The Language Crisis in Sind:

Demand for Sindhi as official language of Sind was floated in March 1972. Rasool Bakhsh Talpor, as Governor, and Mumtaz AH Bhutto, as Chief Minister, yielded to pressures and agitations by Sindhis. It led to reaction by Muhajirs in Sind who too agitated about preserving Urdu as the language. Despite that, official forms were being filled in English or Sindhi. Student clashes occurred against Muhajirs in Liqat Medical College in Jamshoro and against Sindi teachers in Polytechnic Institute. Bill in favour of Sindhi as official and educational language was passed by Sind Provincial Assembly on July 7, 1973. In response to it widespread clashes took place between Sindhi and Muhajir population and at some places curfew had to be imposed. Bhutto intervened and restrained the Governor from signing it and the dispute subsided.

5. Simla Accord with India:

To resolve issues of Pakistani prisoners of War stranded in India and withdrawal from occupied areas as a result of 1971 War, a summit was held in Simla (India) in the last week of June 1972. Hard peace negotiations resulted in signing of an agreement between Bhutto and Mrs. Indra Gandhi in early hours of July 2, 1972. As per agreement 90,000 prisoners were to return to Pakistan. However, the cease-fire line existing between Indian occupied Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir since 1949 was to be replaced with the line of control resulting from the ceasefire on 17 December, 1971. It was said in the agreement that "the line of control of control shall be respected without prejudice to the^ recognized position of each side". This agreement was controversial by the political forces who blamed Bhutto to have sold national interest. However, analysts commented that this was the price Bhutto paid for the return of prisoners.

6. Fraternity with the Muslim World:

One effect that the 1973 Arab-Israel War had on the world was in the shape of Oil Crisis, enhancing the economic and strategic importance of oil-producing countries, in particular the Muslim world. Bhutto perceived the importance of the event and ceased the moment He made hectic tours of the vital Muslim countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Libya, Egypt and many more to sound them for an intimate collaboration. The second Summit Conference of the Organization of Muslim Countries (OIC)-was hosted by Pakistan in March 1974, in Lahore.

The summit exceedingly enhanced a closer collaboration among Muslim Countries and the prestige of Pakistan on the one hand, led to the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan but also alarmed the West, USA in particular, on the other hand. When India tested atomic device in 1974, Pakistan announced its intention to reciprocate, much to the distaste of Henry Kissinger, the then Foreign Minister of USA.

Foreign aid and loans from the Muslim world increased. In 1974, Iran provided a loan of 250 million dollars and Saudi Arabia provided 100 million dollars. The Muslim countries emerged as the major buyers of Pakistani goods. Almost a quarter of exports went to Muslim countries. The regime not only identified itself with the Muslim countries in the international system but its dependence on Muslim countries also increased.

7. Labor Export and its Impact on Pakistan Society:

The regime encouraged labor export to the Middle East During the period of 1972 - 77, there were one million Pakistani workers in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iran, Abu Dhabi, Dubai and other Middle Eastern countries. The remittances from these workers rose from 500 million rupees in 1972 to 17 billion rupees by 1980. This was a major source of foreign exchange earnings.

Influx of more money and foreign gadgets brought back by the labor force, mostly of rural areas, had disrupting effect on the traditional rural structures. There was a rural patron-client relationship, which got broken. Resultantly, the social transformation intensified tensions in rural structure, which, it was thought, had been caused by Bhutto's policies.

8. Economy and International Monetary Fund:

Foreign Debt was a major constraint on the economy for which the regime had to make a major compromise with International Monetary Fund (IMF) which in turn caused increased American pressure on restrictions were lifted on condition of Rupee's devaluation by 13%. This caused inflation and price hike.

9. Adverse Result of Nationalization Policy:

Nationalization of industries, banks and educational institutions was a major step of economic nature adopted by the Bhutto regime. Through nationalization, the regime attempted to alter the power balance of institutions. It intended to reduce inequality and improve economic conditions of poorer people. But instead it brought down productivity and caused stagnation in industrial growth. It could not generate capital. The proportion of private investments went down. The merchant-industrial class went hostile on deprivation of their industries and business concern.

The regime, however in fact, it encouraged foreign investments by passing a bill in the parliament in 1976 guaranteeing immunity from nationalization of foreign investments.

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, the changed reality of geo-political environment had its own demands. The regime wanted to give the impression to the international community that Pakistan has a responsible and responsive government.

10. 1977-Elections and End of Bhutto's Era:

When in 1977, Bhutto announced elections, the resentful elements ganged up against him. Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) consisting of a segment of landed aristocracy, religious elite, trade merchants, policies was formed. It was broad coalition of opposition. Shocked by the results of the elections, which were partly rigged, the PNA proceeded to launch a movement against the election fraud. The PNA intensified the politics of protest and confrontation, putting Bhutto on the defense.

The crises in the system re-emerged. The ruling coalition crumbled. The system came back full circle. The army, a durable component, stepped in and vicious circle of ruling coalition and structural change started again.

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan

Government governs. A constitution governs the government- Government brings order in the society. A constitution brings order in the government. Constitution being the mega law it serves as the higher principle and higher moral power; it lays down the meta political rules of the game. Therefore, the constitution provides a broader set of principles, political values, ideals and goals for the political system of a country. It defines the framework of government. The authority, responsibilities, functions and limitations of the various institutions of state and government are specified in the constitution.

Change in a constitution becomes inevitable with the passage of time, necessitated by new compulsions, circumstances, environment, factors and forces. No constitution in the world is immune from change, even though as little as the reinterpretation of Islamic laws (Ijtihad) to meet new or changed situations in the light of Quran, Sunnah and Hadith. No wonder the 1973- Constitution of Pakistan has undergone 20 amendments, to date to meet new situations and requirements. The major contribution of the 18th Amendment (April, 2010) is that it has restored the spirit of parliamentary system vesting executive authority of the federation in the Prime Minister and Cabinet by removing the anomalies created by 8th and 17th amendments.. The 19th Amendment had struck fine balance between the powers of judiciary and parliament about the procedure of appointment of judges by increasing the number of serving judges in the Judicial Commission (recommendatory body) and by requiring the Parliamentary Committee (scrutiny and approving body) to give its reasons for rejecting the JC's recommendation in writing. The 20th amendment has however enhanced the credibility of electoral process in the country by slashing presidential powers to form an interim government in the transitional phase. (Transfer of power from one government to another). Now this all is to take place on the basis of a consensual process (after consultation between the government and the opposition)

The 1973 constitution was the result of a consensus among the political parties. The Pakistan People's Party (party in government) reached an accord with the opposition parties namely National Awami Party (Abdul Wall Khan), Jamiat-e-Ulma-e- Islam (Mufti Mehmood), Jamiat-e-Ulma-e- Pakistan (Shah Ahmed Noorani), Jamat-e-Islami (Maulvi Tufail Alimed. through Prof. Abdul Ghafar) and Council Muslim League (Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan).

The passage of the 1973 constitution on April 10, 1973 is considered to be one of Z. A. Bhutto's greatest accomplishments. Even his bitter enemies acknowledge this fact. The 1973 constitution represented a broad national-consensus for which credit goes to Bhutto's bargaining skills as well as to opposition's reasonable and realistic stance. They all had made concessions and they all had made gains;

Main Characteristics:

Although the original version of the 1973 constitution was different, yet a total of 19 amendments changed its shape and substance in several ways. The main characteristics of the constitution, in its amended form are as follows:

1) Parliamentary Form of Government:

Parliamentary system has been adopted. Executive authority of federation shall be exercised in the name of President by the federal government consisting of Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers who shall act through the Prime Minister and who shall be the Chief Executive of the federation of Pakistan

Election of Prime Minister:

The Prime Minister (PM) shall be elected by the majority of total members of the National Assembly. There will be a second poll in case no one gets majority votes of the total members in the first poll, the two candidates scoring the highest will go for a second poll. A candidate who receives the majority

votes of the members present and voting shall be declared as Prime Minister. In the case of a tie between the two candidates, further polls will be held until one of the two secures majority votes of those present and voting. In implied terms, a member of National Assembly supported by a comparative majority and not by absolute majority of the total membership of the Assembly can also get elected. Apparently it negates the principle of liberal democracy. On the other hand this provision may reduce, if not eliminate the chances of horse trading at the time of election of PML.

The office of Prime Minister is made extremely powerful and the office of President is made correspondingly weak, ineffective and dependent.

Power of appointments:

The President shall appoint Chiefs of Army, Navy, Air Force and Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff on the advice of Prime Minister.

Dissolution of National assembly:

The national Assembly shall be dissolved by the President if so advised by the Prime Minister. President can dissolve the National Assembly on his own if a no confidence move against the existing Prime Minister has been carried and no other member commands confidence of the majority of members.

Position of President:

The President is a ceremonial and nominal head of the state without executive powers. He could not veto any legislative bill as the bill would become law on the expiry of 7 days if the President does not assent it.

The Prime Minister's advice is binding on President. The National Assembly would stand dissolved on the advice of Prime Minister even if the President did not agree.

2. Federal System:

Pakistan has a federal form of government with the clear distribution of powers made between the Federal Government and Provincial Governments. In federation legislation on matters of regional importance are left to provincial governments. For uniformity of laws and policies matters of national importance are vested in the federal government. Under the 18th amendment, the principle of decentralization has been followed and in addition to residuary powers, 47 subjects previously in the Concurrent List belong to provinces. The legislative powers of federal government are enumerated in the Federal List, which include defense, foreign policy, communications, water and power as being the most important. The 47 subjects, originally in the concurrent list meant for centre as well as provinces wherein the federal law was to prevail over provincial law, have now been devolved exclusively upon provinces. In the original 1973-Constitution, strong centre was envisaged with due autonomy to provinces. With the passage of 18th amendment, balance has tilted in favor of provinces.

3) Safeguards for Provincial Interests.

The Baloch politicians laid claim, and they still do, to the revenues obtained from the extraction of minerals and the sale of gas pumped out of their province. The politicians of Punjab-Khyber (formerly NWFP) made similar royalty claims concerning the electricity generated there. The Sind and NWFP had worries over the distribution of Indus water. In order to handle these and other matters fairly, three constitutional institutions have been provided.

- I. The Council of Common Interest (CCI) is meant for the formulation of policies regarding industrial development, water, power and railways.

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- II. The National Economic Council (NEC) is mandated to make plans for policies to be adopted in respect of financial, commercial, economic and social matters common to all provinces.
- III. The National Finance Commission (NFC) makes recommendations for federal grants-in-aid and sharing of net proceeds of certain federal taxes between the federation and provinces.

The 18th amendment has enlarged and strengthened these constitutional bodies by putting Prime Minister as their head and by placing all the four Chief Ministers as members and by requiring convening meetings within a specified period of time. The CCI will formulate and regulate policies and meet at least once in 30 days. This constitutional body will resolve also disputes over hydro-electric power stations in any province.

The excise duty on natural gas and oil, and the royalty collected by the federal government shall be paid to the government where well-head is located. Mineral oils, natural gas within the province or within the territorial waters adjacent to the province shall vest jointly or equally with that province.

The NEC shall review overall economic conditions and formulate plans in respect of social, Commercial, financial and economic policies and formulate plans for balanced development in all provinces. Any province may raise domestic or International loans within limits set by the NEC. The NFC awards shall not be reduced from the share previously made to a province

4) Bicameral Legislature:

Two chambers legislature has been provided the chamber of the people, the National Assembly was represented on population-basis. All the four provinces regardless of their population or size represented the upper chamber called the Senate equally. The upper chamber was meant for checks and balances to safeguard the interests of provinces having relatively less representation in the National Assembly.

5) Fundamental Rights:

Great emphasis is laid on fundamental rights/The familiar democratic rights and freedoms such as freedom of speech, expression, press, assembly, conscience and employment are guaranteed. All the citizens are to be treated equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of law.

During the emergency, the President can, by an order, suspend the enforcement of some of the fundamental rights. The civil rights such as right to life, liberty and property are guaranteed, though with some qualifications and safeguards.

An important provision from the standpoint of civil liberty was laid down that if a person were arrested, he/she could not be detained in custody without being informed as soon as possible, of the grounds of such arrest. Nor a person could be held without lawful manner. However, in several instances, it made the rights subject to reasonable restrictions in public interest

6). Islamic Character of the Constitution

The 1973 constitution while retaining the Islamic provisions of 1956 and 1962 constitutions, added some more Islamic provisions.

Article 2 of the constitution designated Islam as the state religion and required President and Prime Minister to be Muslims. Oath of the President and Prime Minister required them to affirm their belief in unity of God, finality of Prophethood of Muhammad (SAW) and the Quran as the last of Holy Books. This oath had the effect of excluding members of Ahmedi sect from holding any of the two offices.

Articles 223 provided for Council of Islamic Ideology to make recommendations to the Parliament and Assemblies for bringing the existing law into conformity with the injunctions of Islam.

Another article declared that 'no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in Quran and Sunnah.'

7). Socialist Flavor

Article 3 promised to create a policy that took from each according to his ability and gave to each according to his work" Article 36 provided for preventing the concentration of the means of production and distribution in a fewer hands. Under the constitution, equitable adjustment of rights between employers and employees, and landlords and tenants as to be ensured. Article 253 authorized parliament to designate business and industries that might be placed in the public sector. Article 34 required the state to ensure the "full participation of women in all spheres of national life.

8). Appointment of Judges:

The judges have always been appointed politically in the sense that the political executive has the discretion of appointing judges to the higher courts. In the words of 1973-Constitution, 'The Chief Judge of Supreme Court shall be appointed by the President and each of the other judges shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the Chief Justice" (Article. 177). There was a consultative process, yet ultimate discretion was left to the President. In practice, however, both accommodated each other in appointment of judges during consultative process. This process precipitated political controversies as to the power of appointing judges to the higher courts, in particular when tussles between a President and Prime Minister went on. As the controversies went on, the superior judiciary acquired power to make binding recommendation.

This power was acquired through different judgments. The starting point was the famous "Judges Judgment" of 1996 by Chief Justice Sajjad Ali Shah, as a result of which many¹ of the judges, appointed during Benazir's second tenure, and had to go home. From that point onward, the judiciary strengthened its grip over the appointing procedure. The struggle reached culmination when CJ. Iftikhar Chaudhry asserted this 'acquired power' in appointments of judges in 2010. The issue became a public debate involving sections of lawyers, media and the parliamentarians. In order to end the controversy, a new Article 175-A as part of 18th Amendment was inserted which provided for a mechanism of appointing judges to the higher courts. To meet the concerns of Supreme Court, 19th Amendment in the constitution was adopted; which not only enhanced the number of judges in the Judicial Commission on the one hand and made it obligatory on the part of Parliamentary Committee to give reasons for rejecting Judicial Commission's recommendation in writing.

Mechanism of Judges Appointment:

The appointment procedure consists of two bodies and two stages. A Judicial Commission makes recommendation and a Parliamentary Committee to scrutinize. After scrutiny, the names are either sent to President, through the Prime Minister, for appointment or returned to the Judicial Commission with reason for rejection.

a) **Judicial Commission:** The JC will have of 6 members and headed by Chief Justice, making the total strength as 7. The JC will consist of, in addition to Chief Justice, two senior most judges of the SC, one retired Chief Justice or a judge to be nominated in consultation with the senior-most judges of the supreme court, federal law Minister, Attorney General of Pakistani land one nominee of the Supreme Court Bar Council from amongst the senior advocate^ of supreme court. The Commission will make recommendations to be considered by the parliamentary committee.

b) **Parliamentary Committee:**

A bipartisan committee consisting of 8 members, 4 from the government and 4 from the opposition, two each from the Senate and National assembly, will scrutinize and decide about the judges. Confirmation of the recommendations is to be decided by two-thirds (5 out of 8) whereas rejection can be made by three-fourth (5 out of 8) but it has to be done within 14 days. The recommendation for appointment shall be forwarded to President via Prime Minister.

The new method of appointment of judges is consultative in substance and transparent in nature. It assigns a rather pre-eminent, though not the sole, role to the judiciary in the appointment process. The controversy that surrounded the 18th Amendment revolved around the point that whether or not the appointing procedure amounts to upsetting the basic structure of the constitution. The pro-CJ lobby in the legal entity who favored the exercising of "acquired powers" wanted the one who considered the 18th Amendment to be struck down. Opposed to basic structure theory were the ones who considered parliament as the sole constitutional authority to amend the constitution in view of the fact that Article 239, clause 2 & 4 bars the court to question an amendment. The said clause has clarified rather explicitly that parliament is the sole authority to amend the constitution. In the final analysis, basic structure argument did not seem applicable to the constitutional authority to amend the constitution. It has been argued that supremacy of elected parliament in the matter of constitutional amendment cannot be infringed upon through the device of judicial activism. By playing with the tool of judicial activism, the judiciary should not become the sole power in a polity as asserted by the legal analysts. Independence of judiciary rather domination of judiciary is the recognized principle of modern democratic structure. Widely accepted and adhered to are the principles of separation of powers and checks the principal features of a successful political system.

9). Method of Amendment:

Article 238 and 239 of the constitution deal with the amendment procedure. The constitution may be amended by act of parliament. A bill to amend the constitution may originate in either house and when the bill has been passed by the votes of not less than two thirds 2/3 of the total membership of the house, it shall be sent to the other house where the amendment bill shall have to be passed again by the votes of not less than 2/3 of the total membership of the house. Once passed by respective both houses it shall be presented to president for assent who cannot alter or veto it.

Important Amendments:

So far 20 amendments have been made in the 1973 constitution. The most important amendments, which changed the very nature of the constitution, are 8th, 13th, 17th and, 18th, 19th and 20th which relate in the major part of the powers of the President

8th Amendment:

The original structure of the polity was parliamentary in nature with President as a nominal, ceremonial and titular head of the state. Some called him the rubber stamp of Prime Minister. This position was altered by the 8th amendment in the constitution on 2nd March 1985 during General Zia-ul-Haq's period of Government.

General Zia held the parliamentary form of government responsible for the political crisis of 1977, which according to him had brought the country to the brink of civil war. He held the general elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies in February 1985 on non-party basis. By holding elections, he wanted to create some semblance of democracy that would give him an appearance of legitimacy.

But before the parliament could meet, he comprehensively amended the constitution through a President's order known as Revival of Constitution of 1973 order (RGO). As many as 65 articles were amended, substituted, added, modified, altered, deleted and omitted. The most important was the addition of clause 2 and sub clause B to article 58 of the constitution. This article 58 (2) B empowered the President "to dissolve the National Assembly at his discretion where, in his opinion, appeal to the electorate was necessary." General Zia-ul-Haq exercised this power to dismiss his own hand-picked Prime Minister Muhammad Khan Junejo on March 1988 because he was asserting his powers and position and being not subservient to Zia.

The 13th Amendment

After the General Elections of 1997, Nawaz Sharif having an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly did away with the discretionary powers of the President (then Farooq Laghari). The constitutional (13th Amendment) Act 1977 was moved and passed in a matter of minutes on April 4, 1997.

The Article 58 (2) B of the constitution vesting discretionary power in President to dissolve the National Assembly was omitted. Similarly, the corresponding power of the governors under Article 112 (2) B to dissolve Provincial Assembly was removed. The power of the President to appoint governors was watered down. Previously the President made such appointments after consultation with the Prime Minister. After the 13th Amendment, such power was exercisable 'on the advice of Prime Minister'. The advice of the Prime Minister was a new binding on the President.

The 17th Amendment

The National Assembly passed the 17th Amendment Bill on 29th December 2003 and by the Senate on 31st December 2003. It amended several articles but restoration of Articles 58 (2) B and were the most important because those were deleted under the 13th Amendment. A concession was however made here on the demand of opposition. In Article 28, a new clause (3) had been added to provide for reference to the Supreme Court within 15 days of the National Assembly under Article 58 (2) B.

The Legal Framework Order 2002 (LFO) was promulgated by General Musharraf on 21st August, which indeed was in total disregard of the 1973 constitution.

Under the 17th amendment Article 270 AA had been added validating all the laws made during the period of suspension of the 1973 constitution and actions taken there under. The constitution of 1973 was held in abeyance soon after. Musharraf had taken over on 12th October 1999.

The 18th Amendment:

The major contribution of 18th Amendment is that the office of president has been made ineffective, dependent and only ceremonial with nominal powers as head of the state. The Prime Minister will be the chief executive of the federation who will be elected immediately after election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker by the National Assembly with majority votes of the total membership.

The Prime Minister's advice is binding on President. The National Assembly would stand dissolved on the advice of Prime Minister even if the President did not agree. Floor-crossing is apparently prevented with a provision in the constitution that vote of such a member who is elected as nominee of a political party will be disregarded if the majority of the members of that political party had cast votes against the resolution of no-confidence. The 18th amendment, however, has deleted a clause (Article 17.4) that required intra-party elections, thus letting the dynastic politics prevail and the family enterprise flourish. The defection clause (Article 63.A) has been amended making way for the Party Chairman and not the parliamentary leader to decide about the defection reference.

Dynamics of Politics during General Zia's Tenure (1977-88)

Due to a confrontation between the ruling People's Party of Pakistan and the Opposition Parties, a broad anti-Bhutto coalition called Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) was formed. PNA campaigned against PPP during March 1977 general elections. A widespread agitation over PPP's selective rigging in general elections persisted for months. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto entered into negotiations with the PNA, eventually conceded to the opposition's demands, reached an agreement with them to hold fresh elections and accordingly announced it on 4th July 1977.

General Zia-ul-Haq; Chief of the Army Staff, had meanwhile made up his mind to take over and assumed power in early hours of 5th July 1977, declaring Martial Law. He had his own peculiar ideas about how Pakistan should be shaped. He thought the country was on the threshold of civil war and that Islam had not been effectively put into practice in Pakistani Society. His initial promise to the nation for holding elections within 90 days was a part of his overall strategy to fulfill the peculiar mission he had set in his mind.

In the first phase of his strategy, he eliminated Bhutto (1979) and outmaneuvered his party by coercion. In the second phase, he intensified coercion to ensure his regime's consolidation (1979-85). In the third and final phase, he allowed limited political participation and encouraged guided democracy 1985-88.

Three features of Zia's regime.

- Since America was unhappy with Bhutto's bold steps of launching nuclear program, mending fences with Soviet Union and China and with his policy of nationalization General Zia's regime preferred to identify itself with America. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 provided him the opportunity to strengthen his bond with USA. By implication, the regime pursued a hostile policy towards Soviet Union. It is also interesting to note that the north of Pakistan came under attack of hot pursuits by Soviet air gunship in 1980s similar to the kind of hot pursuits of American un-manned Drone attacks in Waziristan Agencies during 2006-2011.
- General Zia attached special importance to close ties with two Muslim countries, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. He had as Brigadier, served in Jordan for a number of years from where he frequently used to go to Saudi Arabia for Haj and Umra, a practice he continued as military dictator of Pakistan.
- He demonstrated enthusiasm for capitalist method for economic development. He denationalized some of the industries nationalized by Bhutto regime (Ittefaq Foundries Lahore owned by Sharif Family was one of them).
- He devised Islamisation policy for the political purpose of building supportive constituency by appeasing Mullahs more than commitment to Islam.

Zia's regime adopted mechanisms of Selective cooption, collateralization and containment similar to those of the previous regimes. However, in orientation and ideological goals, his were different than the pattern established under Bhutto.

1. Selective Co-option

The anti-Bhutto groups were readily available as potential allies to construct a new ruling coalition. To entice the support of religious groups Zia adopted Islamization as a policy. The Jamat-i-Islami (JI) readily joined because of the Islamization thrust of the regime. Feudal, Pirs and Muashaikh and judges opposed to Bhutto willingly collaborated with General Zia.

The political groups that the regime carefully and selectively co-opted were Pir Sibghat Ullah Rashdi, known as Pir Pagaro from Sindh, Ghoudhry Zahoor Elahi from Punjab. In the NWFP, Khan Abdul Wali Khan was neutralized. His stance in favour of the slogan "Accountability First and Elections Later" helped General Zia for postponing election that he promised to hold on 18 October, 1977.

2. Coalescing Islamic Traditionalists through Religious Reforms

He activated Islamic Ideology Council to appease Jamaat-i-Islami. He introduced Islamic punishments i.e. amputation of wrists and ankles for theft, stoning to death for adultery and lashes for criminals, were introduced. Galling of prayers on T.V., introducing prayer break and making it compulsory for officers to pray at Zohar and dress codes were implemented. The Sharia Faculty was created at Quaid-e-Azam University, which was subsequently raised to the level of fun-fledged Islamic University at Faisal Mosque. Zakat and Usher Ordinance was executed as part of Islamic Economy. He gave recognition to religious degree offered by various Madrassas and enabled them to seek teaching jobs. These steps taken in 1978 enhanced the status of Maulvis at the social level and in the armed forces. Above all it created pockets of influence and lobbying for Zia. In 1984, under the Nizam-e-Salat, the regime appointed 100000 prayer wardens for village and urban localities. Ahmedis were banned from calling of Azan, disallowed to call their worship place as Masjid and prohibited them to call themselves Muslims. This Islamization process enables the position of religious elite immensely and their cooption in ruling elite stabilized their position as well as Zia's.

1. Collateralization

To reduce the bureaucracy to the level of a junior partner, Zia inducted a very large number, about 400 military men, into administration, industrial-sector and other economic institutions. He not only protected the institutional interest of the military but also provided an opportunity to advance personal careers and seek attractive jobs in the Civilian Sector.

To begin with, (in July 1977) the Corps Commanders were appointed as Zonal Martial Law Administrators; some were also made Provincial Governors. A number of serving Generals were made permanent secretaries; additional secretaries and joint secretaries, the top bureaucratic positions. In corporations like PIA, WAPDA and PASSCO, military men had top positions. The National Logistics Cell (NLC) created under military command became great transport company. Fauji Foundation, Army Welfare Trust and the allied industries became large employers of the retired army personnel. The bureaucracy, in fact, was subordinated into junior partnership. From 1980 onward, the regime ensured that the army officers would fill 10% of the vacancies of 17 and 18 grades of the Civil Services. Through such devices, the regime collateralized the bureaucracy into stable component of ruling coalition.

The judiciary was collateralized through Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) in March 1981. The PCO terminated the power of the judiciary to question, scrutinize or to give judgment on important executive actions. It required the judges to take new oath of office to uphold the PCO. By and large judges complied. Those who didn't were ousted for not taking the oath. The PCO effectively inhibited the courts from playing constitutional role on issues of political substance.

2. Containment:

The regime applied containment policy to PPP in particular and to students, labor, lawyers and women in general. The regime made conscious use of terror as an instrument To ensure the elimination of Bhutto, a judicial process was adopted. The regime charged Bhutto of ordering murder of Ahmed Raza Kasuri, a dissident MNAs of PPP, which resulted in the death of his father. On this charge, Bhutto was hanged in April 1979 and large-scale arrests of PPP workers were made to demobilize them.

To allow some political activity local bodies' election, were held in September 1979, the result of which indicated that the sizeable number of PPP sympathizer was elected. The regime did not hesitate to

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cancel the elections, of a number of candidates. The PPP was "contained until 1986 when on Benazir's return to Lahore, the workers of PPP demonstrated their street power."

The labor and student unions were banned but Zia regime did not restrain those unions, which were subsidiaries of JL Effective coercion against the anti Islam! Jamiat-e-Tulbaa contained them but could not completely eliminate them.

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The women were another group, which was systematically coerced by the regime. To project an inferior status of women, Hudood Ordinance was promulgated in 1984, which discriminated against women. The evidence of two women was made equivalent to one man depriving them from a constitutional right. Women, who apparently posed no threat to the regime, were also contained.

Before holding elections, to obtain desirable, positive or favourable results as per his scheme, he decided to amend the 1973 Constitution to empower the office of President. He issued an order called Revival of 1973 Constitutional Order (RCO) on March 2, 1985. The RCO was later adopted, with minor changes, as the Eighth Amendment 1985 by a newly elected but non-party assembly on 28th March 1985.

The Eighth amendment made some fundamental changes and significant departures from the original premises and concepts. In cumulative effect the Presidents was made all powerful, authorized to dissolve the Assembly at discretion under amended article 58. 2 (B) President could send the advice of the Prime Minister back to him for reconsideration. As President, Zia was empowered to make appointments of Chiefs of Armed forces and Chief Election Commissioner. President had the authority to nominate a Prime Minister before obtaining vote of confidence from the National Assembly. Governors were to be appointed by President at his discretion, in consultation with the Prime Minister. The Chief Ministers were to be appointed by the respective Governors.

The addition of Article 270-A validated and affirmed Ordinances, laws, Acts, Regulations Referendum, and Orders of Martial Law regime. Thus the eighth amendment covered up all frauds played up by Zia on the nation.

The 1985 non-party elections brought forth, in majority, pro-Zia elements Under the new framework, Zia picked up Pir Pegaro's nominee Muhammad Khan Junejo, a docile and cool-headed personality as the Prime Minister. Soon when Junejo asserted his authority in decision-making, particularly on the issue of Afghanistan to be resolved through Geneva process, the President Zia got annoyed. Zia thought Junejo had compromised national interest

Consequently, on 29th May 1988, General Zia-ul-Haq terminated the political structure, removed Mr. Junejo and dissolved the National and Provincial Assemblies. Junejo failed to appreciate the supremacy of the military in policy, matters. Zia had installed him as well as removed him and no public protest was evoked against Zia.

3. Economic & Political Changes in International Environment:

The external factor largely proved conducive to his regime's stability and economic growth. The growth rate reached 6.5% per year. It was not because of industrialization. The first factor that improved economic performance was the US economic and military assistance worth 3.2 Billion Dollars. Pakistan was rediscovered as any ally of US when in the wake of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan became a frontline state. The Army became internally strengthened vis-à-vis other political institutions.

The second factor that contributed towards growth and economic stability was massive remittances by expatriates that reached 3 billion dollars in 1987, although it was a spillover effect of labour export policy of Z. A. Bhutto. It narrowed down the trade deficit and represented 8% of GNP. According to an

estimate, 11% of the total population benefited from those remittances. A new lower middle class emerged in Punjab.

The third factor being economic policies of Zia, formulated in the broad framework of IMF and World Bank guidelines. The Industrial-Commercial class benefited. The progress and growth, however, 'did not trickle down to the masses.'

After General Zia-ul-Haq's accidental death in a plane crash on 17 August 1988, the military, under General Aslam Baig, volunteered to withdraw from politics and hold elections to transfer power. Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) an integral component of military, however, played a role of unifying the political forces opposed to PPP. Islami Jamhuri Ittehad (IJI) came into being as a strong collective before the November 1988 elections. IJI did well in Punjab and NWFP but was routed elsewhere. The PPP won in the National Assembly but with a marginal majority with them. With the transition to democracy, the PPP, which had been excluded from political process for a decade, came to the forefront in December 1988.

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A new era of civilian governments: 1988-99 (also called as period of Troika)

Benazir's First Government (December 1988 - August 1990)

Marginal MAJORITY:

Without a clear cut majority in the National Assembly any government basing itself on coalitions is fragile, unstable and subject to black-mailing. Out of the 207 seats, Benazir Bhutto's PPP had 93 seats; a comparative but not absolute majority. She was installed as Prime Minister on December 1, 1988.

An Oxford educated, young and agile woman whose claim to political power as hereditary because of her father Z.A.Bhutto provided a pleasant change in the political scene.

Follies:

But she wasted political capital and got bogged down in wasteful confrontations with provincial government of Punjab headed by Nawaz Sharif. Because of her fragile government, she concentrated on benefitting the members of her party for the past and future loyalty. She showered political favours on her party-men in the form of government jobs and plots of land in Islamabad.

One of the first steps she took was to grant clemency including the death sentences awarded up to 6th December, 1988, by the military and other courts. Some of the most hardened offenders awarded death sentences by ordinary court were also spared. There was no legal justification for this.

Benazir's husband Asif Ali Zardari and his father went on a rampage of corruption, bribery and high-handedness. This caused enormous damage and embarrassment to Benazir.

Several of her cabinet members were known to be inept and corrupt who seemed to be in hurry to make a quick buck as if they knew that their government was not going to last long.

No Confidence Move:

Benazir Bhutto (BB) fell out with her coalition partner, the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM). She had previously made a clear deal with Ghulam Ishaq Khan (GIK) who was promised full support of the PPP in the forth-coming Presidential elections. GIK however did not reciprocate. IJI being his creation, Ishaq assured support. In a new coalition the IJI, NAP and MQM aligned themselves into Combined Opposition Parties (COP). With the tacit support of President Ishaq Khan, the COP moved a no-confidence move, unsuccessful though, against Benazir government. Only 107 members stood up in its support and 124 members opposed. The move failed but not the conspiracy.

Conflict with Ishaq

The President under article 58-2(B) was empowered to dissolve NA and had ascendancy over the PM on matters of appointment of Chiefs of armed forces, judges and election commissioner. He was only required to consult PM but not necessarily to act upon PM's advice. The conflict was on two matters.

Benazir wanted to have say in the appointment of the successors of the Chiefs of the armed forces. Ishaq wanted to use his discretion of appointing them. The other irritant was appointment of judges. Even on this matter, President sat on the appointments advised by the PM.

This conflict with BB as well as his understanding with COP led GIK to apply Article 58.2.B and dissolve the NA in August 1990. General elections were held in October 1990 and IJI won 105 seats of the NA. Nawaz Sharif had support of 153 members which meant 2/3 majority in the NA whereas PP had to its credit only 45 seats.

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Nawaz Sharif's Government (October 1990 -1993)

With a commanding majority in the MA, Nawaz Sharif was in a position to bring about fundamental changes in economic policy.

Economic Reforms: His economic reforms included privatization of nationalized industries, nationalized during Z. A. Bhutto's period. He also provided for free movement of foreign exchange in and out of the country and incentives for foreign and Pakistani entrepreneurs. In order to give protection to reforms, he got an Act of Protection of Economic Reforms 1992 passed by the NA.

The process of denationalization was, however, manipulated for the interest of political bosses or those whom they desired to oblige.

- The reference- prices were determined without an objective criterion.
- The bureaucracy interfered to oblige their own relatives.
- The management of many privatized units was handed over without the payment of bid-value.
- In some cases, the management was handed over the units without obtaining acceptable Bank guarantee for the balance of 60%.
- Biddings were opened in a clandestine manner to ensure gains for personal or individual interest

Benazir's Bold Offer:

While sitting on the opposition benches, Benazir offered Nawaz Sharif cooperation for repeal of 8th amendment. This proposal was not accepted by Nawaz who was obviously obliged to Ishaq, for dismissing Benazir and for paving the way to his rise to power.

Creation of Special Courts for Speedy Trial of Heinous Crimes:

One of the consequences of the Afghanistan war was the spread of violence throughout Pakistan. Street crimes, robberies and decoits on the highways and cities were widespread. Nawaz Sharif government created special courts for the trial of heinous crimes. The 12th amendment established special courts by adding clause B to article 212 of the 1973 Constitution.

Differences between President and Prime Minister:

The cordiality of relationship between the holders of two top seats came to an end when after the death of the Chief of the Army Staff, General Asif Nawaz who had suddenly died in January 1993. The PM wanted a General of his choice to be the holder of this top slot. Ishaq Khan asserted his authority under the constitution and appointed Abdul Waheed Kakar as Army Chief. Nawaz Sharif saw it as denial of his authority. Nawaz Sharif now wanted to amend the constitution to minimize the discretionary powers of the President under the 8th amendment. But he had missed the train when BB was on board for this change.

Dissolution of the NA-18th April 1993:

Ishaq retaliated by ordering the dissolution of NA and dismissing the PM and his cabinet and installed a caretaker government. This was challenged in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court in its judgment of 26 May 1993 restored the government of Nawaz Sharif on the ground that President is bound by the advice of PM which the PM had not sent to the President. The government did not last longer than 2 more months.

The drop-scene occurred on 18th July 1993. Nawaz Sharif advised dissolution of the NA and resigned. Ishaq passed the order of dissolution and stepped down as President. Wasim Sajjad, the Senate Chairman, took over as Acting President.

Benazir's Second Government (October 1993 - November 1996)

Even in the second emergence of Benazir as Prime Minister, her party (PPP) had only comparative majority and not an absolute majority despite the PMLJ's six supporting seats. The PPP secured 86, with the help of independents she was able to muster 121 votes as against 72 polled by Nawaz Sharif. She got her party's General Secretary, Farooq Leghari elected as President of Pakistan.

With the governing experience in past, having her own party's President this time and the military standing by and large with her, Benazir was expected to perform better this time. But she faced crisis after crisis, many of her own making.

Law & Order Situation:

The law and order situation particularly in Karachi deteriorated. Hundreds of citizens were murdered in acts of terrorism in Karachi. Sectarian killings and bombings on mosques, Amam Bargahs and public places in Punjab and elsewhere.

Family Feuds:

Benazir's government was undermined by family feuds. Her brother Murtaza Bhutto became an open critic of her Husband.. Nusrat, their mother sided with Murtaza, the only surviving mate of Z.A.Bhutto. Benazir fell out with her mother and removed her as Chairperson of PPP. Murtaza was shot dead, allegedly at the behest of Zardari which led Ghinva, Murtaza's Lebanese born second wife, to set up her own political party named PPP (Shaheed Bhutto Group). Her party damaged Benazir's politics by dividing her vote in Sindh in the Feb 1997 elections.

Horse Trading:

The PPP applied political horse trading to topple Sabir Shahfs government in NWFP. Manzoor Watoo was sacked as CM from Punjab.

Rough Handling of Superior Courts:

- The chief justice of Lahore and Sindh High courts, whom PPP thought were sympathetic to the opposition party, were transferred and appointed as judges of the Federal Shariat Court. They were replaced by judges of the Supreme Court with an appointment as Acting Chief Justice.
- There has been a tacit understanding between the judiciary and successive governments to cooperate. Political favourites were appointed in return for loyalty to party. She applied tactic of manipulating judiciary to confer legitimacy in time of need. In order to cause tilt in the judiciary in her favour, she appointed Justice Sajjad Shah over and above the other two judges senior to him.

Judges Judgment:

She appointed several judges to the high court most of whom had predisposition towards PPPP government. Many did not have the requisite experience of bar. One of them came to the high court for the first time in his life, and another who had never been known to practice law. It seemed as if there was some kind of quota for governor, CM, and party MNA. The Chief Justice of Pakistan Sajjad Ali Shah co-operated up to a point but then parted ways with PPP. In September 1996, the Supreme Court

accepted an appeal, with majority judgment, against the 20 judges appointed by PPP in the Lahore High Court. The Judges judgment became a precedent for future.

Leghari-Benazir Rift:

The judges' judgment led to a rift, rather an open confrontation, between Leghari and Benazir. President sent a reference to the Supreme Court, "whether the power of the President to make appointment to the Supreme Court and High Court are subject to PM's advice" The attorney-general being under Benazir opposed it. Leghari dismissed Benazir's government between the night of 4th and 5th November 1996 by dissolving the NA under article 58-2(B) and appointed Meraj Khalid as caretaker PM.

Second Phase of Nawaz Sharif Government 1997 - 99

It was a stormy and confrontational episode. After obtaining a vote of confidence from the National Assembly on 18 Feb, 1997, Nawaz formed a coalition government as he enjoyed the support of 2/3 majority of the Assembly, he pursued his agenda with assertive fervor and like an un-bridled horse.

Stripping the Powers of President:

One of the very first bold steps he took was to do away with the discretionary powers of the President. He got the Thirteenth Amendment in the Constitution passed by the National Assembly and the Senate in a matter of couple of days in April 1997. Article 58 (2) (B) which had been added to the 1973 Constitution by 8th amendment during General Zia-ul-Haq's period was now omitted as a result of 13th Amendment. President was now stripped of his power to dissolve the Assembly as and when he desired.

The power of President to appoint Governors was watered down. Previously, President would appoint the Governors after consulting the Prime Minister. After the 13th amendment, such power was exercisable on the advice of Prime Minister, and was binding on the President.

The President was reduced to nominal and ceremonial position. Realizing his insignificance in state matters, President Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari resigned in disgrace, a year ahead of his tenure, on 2nd December 1997. The Senate Chairman Mr. Wasim Sajjad remained acting President until Justice (Retired) Rafiq Tarar was elected as President on 31st December 1997.

Controlled Parliament: (through Defection Clause: 14th Amendment)

As a consequence of political manipulations and horse-trading, defections had frequently taken place during previous tenures. The members of the Parliament elected on the ticket or support of one political party would defect their benefactor and switch loyalty for want of prestigious position or financial gains. Therefore, Nawaz Sharif used his 2/3 majority and got the 14 Amendment Act passed in the Assembly on 3rd July 1997. Accordingly, a member of the Parliament elected on the ticket of a party could not defect now without running the risk of losing his seat in the legislature. This amendment made head-of a political party virtually a dictator on whose recommendation a member will be de-notified by the Election Commission. The defection clause of the constitution silenced the dissenters within a party. Even abstention, which has never been equated with defection in established democracies, was prohibited.

Use of new Accountability Law

A selective weapon to victimize opposition was introduced in the system. An Ehtisab Act 1997 was enacted and an Ehtisab Cell was set up under Senator Salfur-Rehman, a close confidant of Nawaz Sharif. It precluded the accountability of Nawaz Sharif and his cronies and victimized members of the opposition only, including Benazir's husband Zardari.

Confrontation with Judiciary

Nawaz had come to power partly because of chief justice Sajjad Ali Shah who had upheld President (Laghari)'s power to dissolve the national assembly which made Benazir to go. But soon differences between the Prime Minister and Chief Justice of Pakistan arose. The sources of friction and antagonism were as follows.

The Nuclear Tests

As a result of General Elections in India, a Hindu nationalist party named Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) formed the government. The BJP initiated an ambitious program by detonating 5 nuclear devices in

May 1998. India's belligerent attitude was reflected in its indications to invade Azad Jammu and Kashmir. To deter Indian adventurism, Pakistan held 5 successful tests of nuclear devices in the Chaghi region of Baluchistan on 28th May 1998. This was rejoiced and supported by the nation. But the rejoicing cooled down when the government proclaimed emergency throughout the country from the same day. Another very unfortunate step taken by the government was freezing of foreign currency accounts in local bank regardless of whether they belonged to residents or non-residents. This was clearly violation of guarantee given to foreign currency account holders under the Protection of Economic Reforms Act 1992 passed during Nawaz Sharif's first tenure of governance.

Confrontation with Military

An ambitious Nawaz kept on accumulating more power into the office of Prime Minister. While doing so, he ran into trouble with the Army. Then Army Chief Jahangir Karamat while addressing to the Naval War Academy on 5th October 1998 proposed the establishment of National Security Council for addressing important national issues. Two days later, Karamat was sacked by Nawaz and replaced by Pervaiz Musharraf. The sudden removal of the Army Chief, however, caused resentment and a sense of humiliation in the rank and file of the Army. Nawaz was seen the most powerful PM Pakistan ever had. He was seen as someone who had stripped President of his powers through the 13th amendment and forced him to resign, neutralized the parliament through 14 amendments and driven the Chief Justice from office.

Now he had sacked the army chief to prove his absolute power.

Kargil Crisis

The relations between India and Pakistan were normalizing and improving by the launching of bus between Lahore and Delhi. The Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpeyi had personally visited Lahore on a bus in February 1999 and signed the Lahore Resolution. Unfortunately good relations did not last long. Pakistan's Army recaptured certain mountain peaks in Kargil from where Pakistani forces were ejected some years ago. This caused a lot of upheaval at the international level. Nawaz was summoned to USA by President Bill Clinton in July 1999 where he signed an accord with USA (not India) for withdrawal of forces from Kargil; Pakistan suffered terrible set back as it had to withdraw.

The Drop Scene

After Kargil, relationship between Nawaz and Army leadership remained tense. While Nawaz was preparing to sack Musharraf and install Lt General Zia-ud-Din as his own personal choice who was very junior to many other Lt Generals, he ran into problem with the Corps Commander of Pakistan Army who disallowed him to take over. Meanwhile, General Musharraf who was returning from official visit to Sri Lanka was denied landing in Pakistan. As soon as the Army took control of Karachi Airport, he landed (12th October, 1999). In a broadcast in the early hours of 13th October 1999, General Pervaiz Musharraf announced removal of Nawaz Sharif and the Army moved in to take control of the affairs of the country.

CONFRONTATION WITH THE JUDICIARY

- 1) Justice Sajjad took suo moto notice of the handcuffing of certain officers of WASA Faisalabad on the verbal order of the Prime Minister and had set them free. Nawaz Sharif felt demeaned.
- 2) Justice Sajjad was opposed to the creation of parallel court structure of anti-terrorist courts created by Nawaz Sharif government for speedy trials. Appeals against their sentences did not lie to the High Court or Supreme Court as both the forums were excluded from the process of anti-terrorist laws.
- 3) Justice Sajjad recommended elevation of 5 High Court judges to Supreme Court in August 1997. There was strong resistance from the Prime Minister. On President's warning that he might be compelled to notify the elevation of judges, Nawaz Sharif advised for the notification of appointment of judges, willy nilly.
- 4) The Chief Justice also suspended the 14th Amendment in the constitution, which prohibited the

- defection of members of assemblies. There ensued a constitutional war of attrition. There was a sharp reaction in strong words of criticism against Justice Sajjad in the parliament, Nawaz Sharif calling the suspension orders as "illegal and unconstitutional" and against the supremacy and sovereignty of parliament. These speeches led to contempt proceedings against the Prime Minister and members of parliament in the Supreme Court.
- 5) In order to protect the PM from contempt proceedings, Parliament passed the Contempt of Court (Amendment) Bill. Justice Sajjad Ali Shah issued an interim order restraining the President from signing the Bill.

Fall of Justice Sajjad AB Shah

Justice Sajjad, because of his arrogant and autocratic style, had antagonized many people within the judiciary. Many of the senior judges were either kept out of the benches on important constitutional issues or posted out of the principal seat.

The rising resentment within the Judiciary was exploited fully by masters of wheeling and dealing. The Supreme Court bench at Quetta on a petition passed an interim order on 26 November 1997 (a day before the hearing of Contempt proceedings against PM) restraining the Chief Justice Sajjad from performing his functions.

Peshawar Bench of Supreme Court, who had passed an interim order restraining Justice Sajjad from passing any judicial or administrative order, entertained a similar petition on the same day. Sajjad along with other 5 judges present in Islamabad directed on 27th Nov that the order passed by Quetta and Peshawar Benches will not be given effect as the matter would be heard at the Principal Seat.

Storming of the Supreme Court

On 28th November 1997, as the Supreme Court took up the Contempt case against the Prime Minister, Pakistan Muslim League (N) workers under a pre-planned move stormed the Supreme Court building, thus preventing the Bench from continuing the hearing. It was indeed one of the most shameful assaults on the courts in the judicial history, obviously sponsored by Sharif government and led by its ministers and members of assemblies.

After this storming, the Chief Justice asked for army protection, which was not responded. The judiciary was divided now into 5 on one side and 10 on the other. Meanwhile, President Laghari had also resigned (2 Dec, 1997). The controversy came to an end 03 23rd Dec 1997 when Federal Government de-notified Justice Sajjad and appointed Justice Ajmal Mian as the Chief Justice of Pakistan.

General Musharraf's Phase (1999-2008.)

With the removal of Nawaz Sharif and take-over of the country's control and affairs by the Armed Forces under General Musharraf, a new phase in the political and constitutional evolution started off. The Chief of the Army Staff, General Pervaiz Musharraf did not impose Martial Law nor did he assume as President on 13th October 1999. He proclaimed emergency in the country, suspended the assemblies and assumed the newly coined office of Chief Executive on 14th October 1999.

In order to provide a legal base for legitimizing his legal status as Chief Executive, he promulgated Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) on 14th October 1999. It provided that Pakistan would be governed as nearly as may be, in accordance with the constitution. The constitution will be partially held in abeyance. The provisions of PCO, orders made by Chief Executive or any person exercising power or exercising jurisdiction under his authority would not be questioned nor will any court have authority to pass judgment against the orders of the Chief Executive. The President will act on the advice of Chief Executive, as per the PCO.

Handling of Judiciary

One of the very first institutions which military regime ventures or needs to tackle is the judiciary. Nawaz Sharif and other PML (N) leaders had filed several petitions in the Supreme Court challenging the military take over and seeking restoration of assemblies. These petitions were fixed for hearing on 31st January 2000. A few days before this date, the Chief Executive promulgated (on 25th January 2000) Oath of Office (Judges) Order 2000. The oath order required all the judges of superior courts to take oath to the effect that they would discharge their duties and perform their functions in accordance with the Proclamation of Emergency of 14th October 1999 and the PCO as amended from time to time. The Chief Executive provided it in the order that if a judge would not be given or would not take oath within the time fixed; he would cease to hold office. The oath was taken on 26th January 2000. The Chief Justice Saidduzaman Siddiqui refused to take oath. So did the four judges hailing from Sind and one from Punjab. Some judges were not given oath. Only seven judges of the Supreme Court took oath; Irshad Hasan Khan was appointed as the new Chief Justice of Supreme Court.

Trial of Nawaz Sharif

Nawaz and his brother Shehzad were arrested immediately after military control. As a result of high profile trial in Karachi, Nawaz Sharif was sentenced to life imprisonment and all other co-accused acquitted. Before his appeal against the sentence could be decided, Nawaz and his family left for Saudi Arabia for 10 years under an agreement. The agreement, however, remained shrouded in mystery in view of the divergent claims, until after the 2008 elections when it came to public knowledge in written form.

Supreme Court Justifies Military Take Over

The Supreme Court disposed off all petitions on 12th May 2000 justifying the military take over under the law of necessity. The court's view was that the constitution provided no solution to the situation that arose on 12th Oct 1999 and the intervention by the armed forces through an extra-constitutional measure became inevitable. The military intervention was validated on the basis of the doctrine of State necessity.

Removal of President Tarar

Once the Supreme Court had provided legal cover to military regime by delegating authority even to amend the constitution, the Chief Executive went step further and promulgated President's Succession Order 2001. The order empowered the Chief Executive to become President of Pakistan and perform all functions of the office of President until his successor enters upon this office. Tarar was, thus

unceremoniously removed; Musharraf took the oath of office as President to be in a better position for the forthcoming talks and negotiations with India.

The 9/11 Event

This event not only drastically changed the international scenario but also impacted Pakistan and the neighboring region. Pakistan was one of the three countries in the World who had recognized Taliban government in Afghanistan, which was playing host to Osama Bin Laden. US government had blamed Osama and his organization Al-Qaeda as being responsible for terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on 11th September 2001. Pakistan came under heavy pressure. "You are with us or against us," said Bush to Pakistan's President Musharraf, who decided to go along in consideration of larger national interests. He took a U-turn on Pakistan's Afghanistan policy and abandoned American military bases in Pakistan and shared Intelligence with American agencies.

The 9/11 event helped Musharraf to perpetuate his rule in Pakistan. Like General Zia, he also benefited from US's active support due to Afghanistan factor although in a different scenario.

The Referendum

Like previous military rulers, Musharraf also decided to hold referendum to add a touch of legitimization for continuation in power. The referendum was held on 30 April 2002. In brief question to be answered in YES or NO by stamping a ballot paper was:

"For Continuation of the system of local government, establishment of democracy, continuity of reforms, elimination of sectarianism and extremism and attainment of the ideals of Quaid-i-Azam, do you want to make Musharraf President for next 5 years?"

It was a free for all to cast vote without reference to electoral list. The verdict was taken as YES. The referendum was challenged in the Supreme Court but the Court treated the writ as premature. It was left to be determined at proper forum (presumably the Parliament). Musharraf was now firmly in the saddle of Power.

Local Government Reforms

Military rulers like General Ayub and General Zia had used the local bodies as useful device to create political power base. Musharraf saw the utility of this device and introduced a system of district governors, conceived and advised by his advisor Lt. General (rtd) Tanveer Naqvi. Four separate Ordinances were enacted in 2001 for each province. The elections were spaced out from January to August in four stages. The spacing facilitated the establishment to get those candidates elected for Nazims (administrators) who got the nod from the regime.

Apparently the principle of devolution (more powers and autonomy) at local level was adopted but in reality the local governments became serious rival to provincial government because of them wielding more powers... The administrative division, a link between District and Province, had been abolished and the status of provincial governments was undermined. The new system of district government is going through confusion and disarray. Decision-makers who had no understanding of problems of people in the street or in villages had put the system of local government to experimentation.

Legal Framework Order, a prelude to 17th amendment in the constitution:

Amending the constitution is a pre-requisite for strengthening the rule by a military regime. Musharraf promulgated LFO on 21st August 2002 so that before the forthcoming general elections he could become still more powerful. Some of the important alterations and additions made in the system were as follows:

The well-known Article 58-2 (B), which was first introduced by General Zia in March 1985, then deleted from the constitution under the 13th amendment in 1997 during Naas Sharif's phase, was now renewed. The president is again empowered to dissolve the NA at his discretion. Similarly Article 112-2(3) deleted by the 13th constitutional amendment during Nawaz Sharif's period was revived. The Governors were empowered to dissolve the Provincial Assemblies at their discretion subject to the previous approval of the President.

- All laws made during the period of suspension of the constitution and actions taken there under were Validated by addition of Article 270-AA to the constitution.
- The elections held in October 2002 were deemed to have been held under the constitution by an addition of Article 270-B.
- All the judges who had taken oath under the Oath of office of judges order 2002 would be deemed to have been approved under the constitution by an addition of Article 270-C.
- General Musharraf would hold the office of the President of Pakistan for a term of 5 years from the day he assumed such office (April 2002-April 2007).
- More reserved seats were allocated to the women.
- Voter's age was reduced from 21 to 8.

Semblance of Democracy: General Elections 2002

General elections were held on 10 October 2002. Before the elections a new political party, also called the King's party was also created with the name of PMLQ (Pakistan Muslim League Quaiz-e-Azam). The dissenters of PMLN and PPP were grouped together. Many were drawn in because of their cases before the NAB. The political wing of ISI (Inter Services Intelligence) also did some arm-twisting to bring in more leaders to join PML (Q). With the government applying all sorts of election tactics the pro-government elements got elected. However, to obtain the requisite majority in the NA for electing Prime Minister, independents joined the government-sponsored party. There was still no majority available. Finally NAB and ISI acting together were able to break the PPP (Parliamentarians) and created a forward block of 10 members calling themselves as Patriots. To facilitate such horse-trading the Constitution was partly suspended on 15th November 2002 to enable members of other parties to join PMLQ. Zafar Ullah Jamali managed to obtain the vote of confidence. Soon after the PM's vote of confidence, the constitution was again revived on 31st December 2002 so that members who crossed over to government party do not return to their former party. Chaudry Shujaat replaced Jamali in 2004 interimly until Shaukat Aziz took over.

The 17th Amendment

At the time of oath-taking, the opposition had declined to take oath under LFO. They took oath under the constitution as it existed prior to October 12, 1999.

LFO was assumed to have become part of the constitution at the time of its promulgation. The LFO had been amended, altered and added several articles, which were deemed to have been validly made in constitution under the language, used in Article 270-AA. The 17th amendment was a kind of affirmation and validation of all amendments made by LFO in the constitution. The NA passed the 17th amendment bill on 29th and by the Senate on 30th December 2003.

Article 270-AA (the validation clause) was the most important in 17th amendment although it was inserted in the constitution by LFO but was replaced by the 17th amendment with a new text, the-, said article affirmed and validated all amendments made by the LFO in the constitution. It also validated laws made from 12th October 1999 onwards as having been validly made or accorded affirmation, adoption - and declaration by the competent authority. The new text of Article 270-AA added the words "competent authority is defined as the Parliament in respect of orders, ordinances, enactments, including the amendments in the constitutions made by the Chief Executive or President"

The Chief Executive made the LFO as a tool for amending the constitution. Therefore under the 17th amendment, the LFO would be deemed to have been made by the Parliament itself. 17th amendment is the return of the 8th amendment. It was a parliamentary cover to LFO.

The last phase of Musharraf's rule is characterized by extremism of all kinds and perilous writ of the state. The intensified violence and terrorist activities and insurgency along the Afghanistan -Pakistan border (North and South Waziristan) as well as the Federally Administered Territories and Area (FATA). Insurgency and violence devastated the writ of the state during 2006 through 2009.

Hundreds of Pakistan Army soldiers had lost their lives in military operations since 2001. Militants even abducted hundreds of soldiers. A peace agreement was reached in September 2006 with the Taliban tribal elements. But the same was scraped in July 2007. Talibanization that had been restricted to the tribal areas, crept into the heart of Pakistan when a new brand called the Punjabi Taliban came into existence.

Al Masjid Episode:

The Lal Masjid Episode
In January 2007 both men and women students of a seminary named Jamia Hifza associated with Red Masjid (Red Mosque) in Islamabad tried to impose rules of morality and social purification in Islamabad city. They forcibly shut down video and music shops and abducted women believed to be of immoral character, visiting foreigners and even police. Growing weary of the Red Mosque's disruptive activities, Government launched a full scale commando attack killing 150 militants and losing dozen soldiers bringing this bizarre episode to an end.

Violence did not end here. Suicide bombings subsequently escalated as a reaction to Government's raid on Red Mosque. Suicide bombings targeting government buildings and establishments spread not only in NWFP but also Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore and elsewhere. The Swat valley became a battle ground between, militants, and security forces. Militancy in the shape of suicide bombings remained a continuous challenge during Musharraf's rule and beyond.

The Judicial Activism & Confrontation:

Musharraf was agonized by the judicial activism of Chief Justice of Pakistan Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, in particular in the cases of missing persons, believed to have been detained, killed or handed over to USA with Musharraf's consent. Chaudhry's actions were viewed as tantamount to challenging the government and the executive's power. This led to his summoning by the President and demanding resignation. On refusal he was suspended on March 9, 2007. After a four month court proceeding of Supreme Judicial Council, the President's action of dismissal was struck down and on July 20, 2007 CJ Iftikhar Chaudhry was reinstated. The battle between the judicial and executive branches of the Pakistan government, however, continued.

Issue of Election as President and the Judiciary:

Issue of Election as President and the Judiciary: Mushharraf's tenure was to end in November 2007. He was not willing to take the risk of re-election by the next National Assembly which could have been different than the present. Therefore, he got him re-elected for a second term by the existing National Assembly on 6 October, 2007. The CJ Supreme Court accepted a petition challenging the legality of his-contesting while being Chief of Army Staff. President Musharraf announced that he will take off his uniform if the court decided in his favor. The Supreme Court's verdict was due on 6th of November, 2007. Uncertain of the decision of Judges, Musharraf clamped down and proclaimed "emergency rule" on 3rd November, 2007 and dismissed the judges. Another Provisional Constitutional Order was issued and some of the previous judges and a few new ones who showed willingness to toe the line took oath and Justice Abdul Hamid Dogar was made the new Chief Justice of Pakistan. A massive campaign and agitation by lawyers, human right activists, members of civil society and opposition politicians ensued, despite, the widespread arrests.

Two New Developments, serving as Instruments of change:

Two agents of change that flourished during Musharraf's rule, though partially responsible for his downfall as well, were the emergence of independent broadcasting media and the rise of civil society to prominence.

Musharraf had thrown the door open to privately owned and run television and radio stations in 2002. The liberalization of electronic media by Musharraf flooded the market-with satellite television, local cable-TV operators and the F.M. Radios. Similarly, the phenomenal growth of mobile-phones, text messaging through short message service (SMS) and the widespread facility of internet served information sourcing and establishing social and political links. The vibrant mass-media, electronic as well as print, played a key role in updating the masses and in prompting enthusiastic response of citizens and lawyers against the suspension and the dismissal of judges and imposition of Emergency during 2007. The fall of Musharraf and restoration of elected civilian rule in 2008 owes much to the mass media.

Civil society gained prominence in Pakistan for the first time in its history when Musharraf suspended Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, the Chief Justice of Pakistan, on 9 March, 2007 and then dismissed him and other judges in November 2007. It was a spontaneous occurrence as the civil society was hitherto not straight forwardly involved in democratization efforts in Pakistan. The members of the civil society having culturally and socially Liberal life style had embraced and supported Musharraf for his pragmatism and his so-called enlightened moderation. This plan departed from its previous pro-Musharraf mold and joined the broad-based lawyers' movement alongside others, the conservative members of civil society, to demonstrate solidarity with the deposed judiciary.

With huge media coverage and public participation that generated tremendous excitement, the "civil society's solidarity exerted political impact, without turning itself into a political society though."

Return of the Exiles, National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO): The Power-Sharing Deal (Alliance of Convenience);

Banking on the Supreme Court's judgment that stated every Pakistani had "inalienable right" to return home and remain there if they wished; Nawaz Sharif flew from London to Islamabad on September 9, 2007. He was forced to board another flight to Jeddah to complete the remaining 3 years of his 10 years exile. He made another attempt to return on 25th November, 2007. This time he was allowed to stay presumably on Saudi intervention...

Meanwhile Benazir Bhutto struck a deal with Musharraf for power-sharing arrangement. Musharraf promulgated National Reconciliation Ordinance in October, 2007 which was designed to waive charges of corruption against select bureaucrats and business persons, thus conveniently dropping charges against Bhutto as well the agreement brokered by USA provided for return to democracy. Musharraf to resign as Chief of Army Staff, but retain his position as civilian President. Benazir Bhutto agreed to return from exile in Dubai and London, participate in election scheduled for nearly-2008^A and work with Musharraf, army and the US to support the global war on terror in exchange for having the corruption cases, pending against her and her husband, dropped.

Benazir's triumphant arrival in Karachi from exile on 18 October, 2007 did not auger well for her. Two bomb blasts on her procession killed 140 party workers. As the election campaign was on full swing, Benazir Bhutto was unexpectedly assassinated on 27th December, 2007 after addressing a public rally in Liaqat Bagh of Rawalpindi.

Musharraf handed over to General Ashfaq Kiyani the position of Chief of Army Staff in November, 2007. Under the new command, the army distanced itself from the outgoing regime and decided to

remain politically neutral. It remained so during and after the February 2008 elections. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) known for its role in manipulating and rigging of elections refrained from such role. In fact General Kiyani ordered the withdrawal of hundreds of active-duty army officers who were planted by Musharraf as his constituency in the bureaucracy.

The National Elections of 18 February, 2008:

The elections proved to be a crushing blow to the pro-Musharraf party, the PML (Q). The wave of sympathy favored the Pakistan People Party to be in comparative majority in the National Assembly. A grand coalition led by PPP consisting of PML (N), ANP, MQM and JUI (F) as partners was constructed. Soon, the PML (N) decided to quit soon on differences over several issues.

Musharraf's Departure:

Seeing the increased public hatred, Musharraf quit as President in August, 2008. The PML (N) being unhappy over deadlock on the restoration of judiciary and lack of progress over the withdrawal of 17th Amendment, pulled out of the coalition.

Meanwhile, Musharraf sensing increased public hatred and deadlocks within the new coalition decided to give up and resigned from the office of President in August 2008. He left for USA and Europe to deliver lectures and remained in exile to date.

The writ of the state has been in perils ever since. Events in Baluchistan, Waziristan and Karachi served as indicators of instability. The executive and judiciary remained in a situation of confrontation on NRO and the 18th Amendment, in particular on the issue of process appointment of judges, parliamentary committee having the final say.

Week # 11

PPP releases five-year performance report (2008-2013)

The Pakistan People's Party on Saturday released a 29-point report on its five year performance, highlighting major achievements during the period. It makes special mention of the constitutional reforms, particularly the 18th, 19th and 20th amendments which provided provincial autonomy, transfer of presidential powers to parliament, smooth installation of caretaker governments and striking down of president's power to dissolve the assemblies. Munir Ahmad Khan, the PPP in-charge policy and planning cell, presented the report before the media at a press conference. He said that credit goes to the PPP for ensuring independence granted to the Election Commission of Pakistan. Khan also came up with a list of important decisions and steps taken by the PPP government to mitigate sufferings of the people despite terrorism in the country. In this regard, he mentioned a record increase in wheat production, increase in salaries of govt officials up to 158 percent, disbursement of Rs 70 billion among 7.5 million deserving families through the Benazir Income Support Programmed and financial help to 135,000 deserving people by Pakistan Baitul Maal. On steps taken by the government for economic revival, Khan cited the Pak-Iran agreement on the gas pipeline, agreement with China on Gwadar Port, increase in foreign exchange reserves from \$6 billion in 2008 to \$16 billion in 2013, increase in export from \$18 billion in 2008 to \$29 billion in 2012, boost in stock market from 5,220 points in 2008 to 18,185 points in 2013 and reduction in interest rate from 17 percent in 2008 to 9 percent in 2013. He believed that these measures would help improve the economy and ameliorate the people. Talking about the measures taken to increase production of electricity, the PPP leader told reporters that the PPP-led government added 3,600MW of electricity to the system besides initiating additional work on Mangla and Tarbela dams for increase of 4,500MW in the system. The previous government, he added, also got \$3.5 billion for Basha Dam, initiated Neelum-Jhelum, Gomal and Satpara dams and Thar Coal project to get electricity from coal besides Jamphar project to get electricity out of air. He said further the PPP government also reinstated thousands of government servants who were dismissed during the last 13 years and also regularised thousands of contract employees. Among steps taken by the government for welfare of the masses, Munir Khan listed resumption of trade union activities, distribution of shares among 500,000 industrial workers, cheap tractors to farmers through Benazir Tractor Scheme, increase rural economy from 50 billion in 2008 to 800 billion rupees in 2013. He said Faisalabad-Multan Motorway and construction of thousands of kilometres of roads.

Timeline: Major political events from 2008-2013

The democratic government has completed its constitutional tenure, a first in Pakistan's history. Despite many hurdles and an unstable path, it is a landmark achievement for a civilian government. The following timeline is a recap of major political events that took place in the country during the National Assembly's five-year term.

March 11, 2013: President Asif Ali Zardari and Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmediijad officially inaugurated construction work of a delayed \$7.5 billion gas pipeline from Iran to

Pakistan. The inauguration took place despite strong opposition from the US and warnings of economic sanctions.

February 18, 2013: The government formally awarded a multi-billion dollars contract for construction and operation of Gwadar Port to China. The port's development is expected to open up new vistas of progress in Pakistan, particularly Balochistan.

January 15, 2013: The Supreme Court directed the authorities to arrest all those accused in the rental power projects case. Raja Pervez Ashraf is among the accused. He was accused of receiving kickbacks and commission in the case as minister for water and power. January 14, 2013: The Balochistan government was dismissed and governor's rule was imposed in the province. The measure was taken days after the bombings in Quetta that killed over 100 people, most of them Hazaras.

June 19, 2012: The Supreme Court declared Yousuf Raza Gilani disqualified from holding a seat in the parliament from the date of his conviction on April 26, 2012 by a seven-member bench for contempt of court.

Gilani was convicted for contempt over not implementing the Supreme Court's ruling on the National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO).

January 11, 2012: Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani sacked Secretary Defence Khalid Naeem Lodhi for "gross misconduct and illegal action which created misunderstanding" between state institutions. The sacking came after a crisis began to develop in the wake of Gilani's statement which said the affidavits submitted to the Supreme Court by Chief of Army Staff General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani and ISI chief Lt Gen Ahmad Shuja Pasha on 'memogate' were 'unconstitutional and illegal'. The statement was retracted later.

November 26, 2011: Nato fighters killed 25 Pakistani military personnel in air strikes on two Pakistani positions in the northwestern tribal region of Mohmand. The strikes were followed by tensions between the US and Pakistan with the latter blocking supply routes to Nato in Afghanistan. In July 2012, Pakistan decided to reopen the route after US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said she was sorry for the loss of life in a botched air raid.

November 17, 2011: Mansoor Ijaz, a Pakistani-American businessman, named Husain Haqqani, the then Pakistani ambassador to the US, as the source to the memo sent to the then American military chief days after the May 2 US raid on Osama bin Laden's compound, seeking his help to avert a possible military coup in Pakistan.

Haqqani denied the allegation and resigned from his position on November 22nd saying he was "happy to face an inquiry" into the affair.

May 2, 2011: Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was killed in a firefight with US forces in Abbottabad, ending a nearly 10-year worldwide hunt for the mastermind of the September 11 attacks.

January 4, 2011: Salman Taseer was gunned down in Islamabad by one of his security guards. The guard, Mumtaz Qadri of the Punjab Elite Force, yelled out 'Allah-o-Akbar' and emptied

two magazines of an SMG on Taseer, who was the governor of Punjab, before surrendering himself. Qadri later said he had killed Taseer because of his criticism of the blasphemy law.

April 8, 2010: The National Assembly passed the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan, abolishing the president's power to unilaterally dissolve the Parliament. The amendment also renamed North West Frontier Province to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It went through the Senate on April 15, 2010 and became an act of parliament after being signed by President Asif Ali Zardari the same month.

March 9, 2010: President Zardari signed the Protection Against Harassment of Women at Workplace Bill, 2010, aimed at providing a safe working environment to women. He reiterated the government's commitment to ensuring equal rights for men and women in accordance with the Constitution.

December 30, 2009: Finance ministers of the four provinces and the federal government signed the Seventh National Finance Commission Award. The agreement was hailed as the first step towards the provinces' financial autonomy and a philosophical shift in government policy to enhance the provinces' shares.

December 16, 2009: The Supreme Court declared the controversial NRO as never to have existed and against the Constitution by reviving all cases and reversing acquittals of its beneficiaries, thus putting the PPP parliamentarians and cabinet members and President Zardari in a quandary.

It was a controversial ordinance issued by Pervez Musharraf and granted amnesty to politicians and bureaucrats accused of corruption, money laundering and other crimes between January 1, 1986, and October 12, 1999.

November 2009: The government unveiled a conciliation package with an offer of dialogue with the Baloch. The package called Aghaz-i-Huqooq-i-Balochistan promised of probes into political murders, halting of new cantonments as well as more local control on resources.

October 7, 2009: The army's top commanders expressed their 'serious concerns' on some of the clauses of the so-called Kerry-Lugar bill which they believed would affect 'national security'.

The bill was aimed at releasing 1.5 billion US dollars per year to the Pakistani government as non-military aid from the period of 2010 to 2014.

May 2009: The military launched an operation in Swat against the Pakistani Taliban following orders of the government. The operation followed a consensus within the country's political leadership. Later in June, another operation was launched, this time in the South Waziristan tribal region against the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).

September 9, 2008: PPP Co-Chairman Asif Ali Zardari takes oath as the head of state. The oath was administered by Chief Justice Abdul Hameed Dogar at the Aiwan-i-Sadr.

August 25, 2008: The Pakistan Muslim League-N quit the five-month-old ruling coalition because of differences with the Pakistan Peoples Party on the issues of reinstatement of the deposed judges and unilateral nomination of Asif Zardari as a presidential candidate.

March 24, 2008: The new National Assembly elected Yousuf Raza Gilani prime minister by more than two-thirds majority to put a coalition of Musharraf's opponents in power, which the new leader used immediately to order the release of deposed judges of superior courts kept under detention for over four and a half months.

March 17, 2008: The oath-taking by 329 newly-elected law-makers marked the beginning of a five-year term of the 342-seat lower house.

February 21, 2008: PPP, PML-N and ANP agree to form a coalition to govern at the centre and in provinces.

February 18, 2008: A general election was held in the country with the PPP and PML-N heading for a comeback.

Achievements and failures of PPP government

ISLAMABAD - Except for a few achievements, the five-year rule of Pakistan People's Party was a tale of horrifying failures which have virtually brought the country to the brink of financial and administrative collapse. The so-called first 'full term' of a 'democratic government' in country's history – the major achievement that PPP-led coalition government's leadership boasts about – was fraught with mismanagement, and criminal negligence on issues of national importance. Over these years, PPP leadership remained preoccupied with keeping its rule intact for which it played in the hands of its junior coalition partners MQM, ANP and PML-Q and other pressure groups from time to time. Constitutional reforms and other achievements.

The most shining achievement of the ruling coalition was the removal of anomalies from the constitution and its restoration to almost to its original shape of 1973. Under the 18th Constitutional Amendment the government has given much demanded provincial autonomy to the provinces by abolishing the Concurrent List from the constitution. Another major achievement was unanimous passage of the 7th National Finance Commission Award, which was long overdue. This step gave new strength to the federation. PPP's claim of pursuance of 'policy of reconciliation' also hold water as its being without even simple majority in the National Assembly and at times being at verge of collapse, the PPP not marched toward completion of its government tenure but also passed a considerable number of pieces of legislation with consensus.

Moreover, the claim that PPP leadership started a healthy tradition by shunning politics of victimisation and vendetta is also largely true. It rightly claims that no case against political opponents was framed during its current term in power. PPP's argument that it assumed power when the country's economy was in shambles and the whole world was in the grip of a huge financial crisis is true. But its claim that it did as much for the welfare of the masses as it could by remaining within its economic limitation, can be disputed. They also recount the unprecedented floods devastations in 2010 and massive rains in 2011, which had inundated

most parts of Punjab and Sindh, and say they did not roll back their economic reforms and welfare agenda despite these challenges and refer to various programmes launched for the poor like Benazir Income Support Programme and Pakistan Baitul Maal. They claimed that following the deletion of Concurrent List from the Constitution and devolution of over a dozen federal ministries to provinces, the funds at the disposal of federal government had reduced considerably but even then the government had continued with its economic reforms agenda.

Above all, the PPP along with its coalition partners fully supported the Armed Forces of the country to turn the tide on the terrorists as the menace of terrorism has been controlled to a great extent. Swat Operation was the perfect example of it where both the Army and political elite had flushed out the militants and restored peace and order in the area. Energy crisis Country has been facing acute shortage of energy and the crisis went on compounding during the PPP rule. The government is right in their contention that it was a legacy of the Musharraf era, but now at the culmination of their mandated constitutional term one could find no serious effort on part of the ruling alliance to come up with either short or long term solution to the problem. The measures taken by the government to overcome the problem were either ill-planned or were littered with corruption so the end result was worsening of the situation and right now the whole nation is facing acute shortage of not only electricity but of gas as well. The power situation can be assessed from the fact that even now in winter when usually the electricity supply would remain normal, we are experiencing unscheduled loadshedding Mismanagement and corruption.

The mishandling of the state run institutions and autonomous corporations like PIA, Steel Mills, Railways and others had added to the financial woes of the government. On all the top slots in these major corporations the government appointed their blue-eyed people who ruined these entities and public money kept on bleeding profusely. The government turned a blind eye to the rampant corruption going on in the state-owned corporations and departments, and that was why they neither showed interest in strengthening the National Accountability Bureau nor did they brought new accountability law. Similarly, an ill-planned devolution of power to the provinces created quite serious problems in the sectors of education, health and agriculture. Critics say that as per the statistics of World Bank and IMF the poverty had increased in the country and millions of middle and lower middle class people had slipped down the poverty line. Moreover, as per the international statistics, the incumbent government took record loans from local banks while the overall loans of the country had doubled in just four and a half years rule of PPP.

PML-N government performance of 5 years (2013-2018)

Islamabad: Ministry of Finance has prepared comparative performance of last five years during the PML-N led regime, showing that the prices of petroleum products reduced significantly as price of petrol came down from Rs106 per liter on March 1, 2013 to Rs88.07 per liter on March 1, 2018.

According to comparison done by the Ministry of Finance and available with The News, the price of diesel reduced from Rs113.56 per liter on March 1, 2013 to Rs98.45 per liter on March

1, 2018. The price of kerosene oil came down from Rs103.69 per liter on March 1, 2013 to Rs70.45 per liter on March 1, 2018.

However, the Ministry did not explain that how much the prices of petroleum products reduced in international market. When the prices of POL products are linked with international price then how the government can claim its performance if prices reduced or increased internationally.

The government claimed that the debt to GDP ratio stood at 60.2 percent of GDP in 2013 which increased to just 61.6 percent by 2017. The Ministry of Finance did not explain that the definition of debt was changed and external liabilities were excluded from definition of debt under amended Fiscal Responsibility and Debt Limitation Act approved by the Parliament.

Total transfers to provinces under NFC Award had touched to Rs973.67 billion from 2008-9 to 2012-13. The transfer to provinces had doubled and touched Rs1996.587 billion till fiscal year 2016-17. Now it is expected that this transfer of resources may go up to Rs2400 billion till end June 2018.

The country's GDP growth went up from 3.68 percent in 2012-13 to 5.28 percent in 2016-17 and average growth rate remained at 4.7 percent in last five years. The industrial growth on average increased from 1.2 percent during 2008-9 to 2012-13 to 5.13 percent from 2012-13 to 2016-17 period.

The large scale manufacturing (LSM) which stood at 0.32 percent on average from 2008-9 to 2012-13 to 4.15 percent on average from 2013-14 to 2016-17. The services sector growth on average stood at 3.6 percent from 2008-9 to 2012-13 to 5.09 percent on average from 2013-14 to 5.09 percent in 2016-17.

The inflation which stood at 7.36 percent in 2012-13 to 4.16 percent in 2016-17. The FBR's revenues went up from Rs1946 billion in 2012-13 to Rs3367 billion in 2016-17. It is projected to go up to Rs4013 billion till end June 2018.

The development spending has been increased from Rs343 billion in 2012-13 to Rs733 billion in 2016-17. The budget deficit was brought down from 8.2 percent of GDP in 2012-13 to 5.8 percent of GDP in 2016-17. 2

The remittances sent out by Pakistanis from abroad increased from \$13.022 billion in 2012-13 to \$19.351 billion in fiscal 2016-17. The foreign exchange reserves went up from \$11.02 billion in 2012-13 to \$21.403 billion in 2016-17. However, Ministry of Finance did not share the foreign currency reserves position as the reserves held by the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP) had slashed down and now stood at below \$12 billion mark.

The Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has increased from \$1456 million in 2012-13 to \$2730 million in 2016-17. It is projected that the FDI may go up to \$3 billion mark till June 30, 2018. The credit to private sector stood at negative 7.6 billion in 2012-13 which had now gone up to Rs747 billion in 2016-17. The agriculture credit had gone up from Rs336 billion in 2012-13 to Rs704 billion in 2016-17.

MANIFESTO VS PERFORMANCE

While the PML-N government is about to complete its five-year term, much remains to be done as per promise and commitment to the electorate in the manifesto before the May 2013 elections.

The federal government performed under the shadow of the 18th Constitutional Amendment that had devolved most of the social sector projects to the provinces. The PML-N ruled the Centre and Punjab and made achievements in economic development, foreign policy, energy, agriculture, industry and water, providing the baseline to assess what it actually did for the people.

The Nawaz Sharif-led government had embarked upon an ambitious five-year plan (2013-2018) to take on the multiple challenges inherited from the PPP government. It can rightly claim to have succeeded in controlling terrorism and bringing peace to the country because of a bold role and valiant efforts of the army and the paramilitary forces which not only chartered National Action Plan but also executed six major operations, including Zarb-e-Azb and Ruddul Fasad, to curb the menace.

The government struggled to generate resources by improving tax collection, selling out G3 and G4 system, sukuk and Eurobonds, but it ultimately ended up at getting record foreign loans. On the development front, the government's performance sounded more of cosmetic than real as it revolved around infrastructure developments that too remained centric to the big cities of Punjab, mainly Lahore.

The PML-N manifesto had set a total of 89 targets for various sectors. But only six of them have been achieved so far. Action on other targets remains at different stages. According to a survey, the overall implementation of the PML-N manifesto remained above 50 percent in energy, sector, law and order, employment, inflation, women and youth empowerment. The government continued to struggle for raising the GDP growth to the promised seven to eight percent, which could not go beyond 5.7 percent. In the five years, average GDP growth could not exceed 4.4 percent.

The projects like China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), Lahore Metro Bus and Orange Line were initiated with the Chinese loan. They were productive to meet the energy and infrastructural needs of the country, particularly development of the Gwadar deep seaport. Interestingly, they were not mentioned in the party manifesto. CPEC, being a \$46 billion Chinese investment project, was a welcome plan, but \$1.65 billion Chinese loans for the construction of the metro train did not correspond with the party pledge of minimizing burden of foreign debts on the national economy.

The government did not touch that part of the manifesto which had promised the establishment of a commission for paving way for the creation of Bahawalpur, South Punjab and Hazara provinces. The party did not constitute the commission for giving the status of national language to all major mother languages in the country. The government conducted the population census after the lapse of two decades and that too after the Supreme Court

intervened. The delimitations of constituencies carried out in the light of census 2017 became disputed. The final report of the census is due to be released in April.

The manifesto promised to revamp Pakistan Steel Mills and Pakistan International Airlines (PIA), the two major state institutions that are in a deep crisis for a variety of reasons. The commitment was to make these institutions productive after liquidating their debts. But the PML-N government is found hectically looking for the buyers to sell these national institutions which are under a debt burden of around Rs 1,000 billion.

Negative trade balance, widening current account deficit, low savings and investments continued to be key challenges to sustainable economic development throughout the PML-N tenure.

The government made tall claims of economic progress, mainly because of the statements of international credit rating agencies which dubbed Pakistan to be on the path of sound economic progress. However, the addition of \$42 billion foreign loans, which increased the total debt burden on the national economy to \$ 90 billion, record unfavourable balance of trade, which was estimated at \$21 billion exports against \$55 billion imports over the last five years and all-time low value of rupee against dollar (Rs 116/dollar) which added another Rs eight trillion to the national debts, over Rs 500 billion circular debts on energy and increase in non-development expenditure put a big question mark on the economic progress claims of the government.

The PML-N had pledged to raise exports to \$30 billion against optimum imports of \$51 billion, but it miserably failed to honour the commitment.

According to an internal Planning Commission report prepared to set the target for next five years (2018-23), the PML-N government failed to meet all major macroeconomic and social targets set in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Average growth in the agriculture sector remained 2.1 percent against the target of 3.5 percent although the government had announced a hefty Rs 341 billion relief package for the farmers. The average industrial output stood at 5.1 percent as against the targeted 6.3 percent. The large-scale manufacturing grew at an average pace of 4.3 percent against the target of 6 percent. Similarly, the services sector grew at an average pace of 5 percent against the set target of 5.8 percent although State of Bank of Pakistan retained the industrial interest rate at 4.75 percent. The ease of doing business indicator could not be improved and social service delivery remained poor contrary to the claims made in the PML-N manifesto.

The government had targeted to restrict the current account deficit to 1.2 percent at the end of its term, but estimates showed it at 4 percent of the GDP this year, which proved a big dent to the economy.

Under the five-year plan, fiscal deficit was to be brought down to 3.5 percent of GDP, but a conservative estimate put the current year's estimated budget deficit at 5.5 percent of GDP, which means the government would need more borrowings to run its business.



Fulfilling the commitment made in the manifesto, PML-N government had targeted to take overall power generation capacity to 37,272MW in five years, but it is estimated at 33,000MW by June 2018. This, however, is more than sufficient to meet the current energy needs of the country. The targeted share of 7 percent of green energy in total power generation could only be increased from 0.5 percent to 5 percent. The party had promised construction of Diamir-Bhasha and Munda dams, but no headway was made on them.

Development of Gwadar Port, Gwadar-Quetta and Multan-Karachi Motorway, completion of Lowari Tunnel, Katchhi Canal and introduction of e-technology in various departments in public sector are the projects the PML-N government can claim credit for them.

Meeting the health needs of the poor as promised in the manifesto, the PML-N government initiated Prime Minister's Health Insurance cards which provided health cover to one million poor families in addition to increasing financial aid to the poor under Benazir Income Support Programme from Rs 1,000 to Rs 1,800. And Rs 17 billion youth loans scheme was another positive move under the poverty-alleviation programme and employment schemes as envisioned in the manifesto.

A visible progress was also seen on bringing down the inflation to single digit, which was mainly because of the overall low global inflationary environment. The government somehow managed to build confidence of the private sector, but it was still not up to the mark.

The government had planned to increase the public-sector development programme (PSDP) expenditure from 3.9 percent of GDP in 2012-13 to 4.6 percent by 2017-18. But actually the PSDP allocation by the end of tenure remained around 2.8 percent of GDP.

Against the target of reducing maternal mortality rate to 140 per 100,000 women, the ratio remained at 170, which was better than it was five years ago. The infant mortality rate improved from 74 to 66 per 1,000 infants, but it was far higher than the target of 40. Similarly, the child mortality rate remained at 81 per 1,000 kids as against the target of 52.

Access to clean drinking water was 91 percent of the total population, higher than 2013 level, but lower than the 93 percent target. The government also missed the target of increasing number of universities to 302 as the total universities remained at 186. About 29 more universities were set up in the past five years. The net primary enrollment ratio was supposed to be 100 percent in five years, which also remained below the target. The literacy rate had to be 88 percent by now but a survey results showed it at 58 percent. Nawaz Sharif, in his stint in the office of prime minister, had announced to establish 50 state-of-the-art public-sector hospitals in the country as a step to cater to the health needs of the poor, but nothing was done on this count.

The PML-N government also failed to bring about the required structural improvements in order to correct past imbalances. For the current term, the government had pledged to achieve 21.3 percent national savings to GDP, which, however, ended up at 13.1 percent by the end of the last fiscal year, something worse than even the 2013 ratio of 13.9 percent.

In line with the manifesto, the PML-N government at the centre and in Punjab initiated a number of power generation projects to end loadshedding. Close to the end of its term, the

government added around 11,000MW electricity to the national system with continuous power supply to the industrial sector. These projects were mainly under the CPEC. The electricity crisis in the country appears to be over, however, the official reports fear recurrence of the loadshedding in summer and near the election time, since transmission lines are not capable to sustain the load.

One of the worst performance areas was tax reforms. Similarly, the government could not reverse the deteriorating fiscal and administrative performance of state-owned enterprises.

The government failed to reform Nepra and Ogra. Moreover, no development was seen on the goals of converting at least 50 percent of the remittances from overseas Pakistanis into investments and reforming tariffs to eliminate anti-export bias. Stock market recorded significant improvement, which, however, saw a decline last year owing to what the party says the Supreme Court's Panama Paper case decision of July 28 that ousted Nawaz Sharif as prime minister.

During the first four years, the PML-N ran the system without a full-time foreign minister and defence minister. Khawaja Asif was appointed defence minister when the SC summoned Nawaz Sharif in a case in his capacity as defence minister. Khurram Dastgir was appointed as defence minister when Khawaja Asif was made foreign minister.

Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, father-in-law of Nawaz Sharif's daughter, Asma, is facing NAB cases wherein the trial court has declared him a proclaimed offender. He is in London while cases of corruption and corrupt practices are being heard against him. He is being held responsible for the economic problems of the country.

The PML-N government in Punjab surpassed other provinces in terms of providing health, education and peaceful atmosphere apart from a quality infrastructure. However, supply of clean water to all in the province and creation of new jobs for educated and skilled youth produced under the new programme remained a dream.

The Punjab government also claimed to have saved Rs 165 billion in the energy and other development projects. However, National Accountability Bureau (NAB) has taken up spending on the development projects and award of contracts by the federal and the Punjab governments. The NAB has taken up the matters relating to the alleged Rs 200 billion corruption in the LNG export contact with Qatar, expansion of airports in Lahore and Islamabad, Ashiana Housing Scheme, Quaid-e-Azam Solar Energy project and others.

Now the PML-N is framing a new manifesto for the next elections, keeping in mind the new realities and programmes that can help the party retain power even after the fresh balloting in July.

Week # 12

Contemporary Issues in Pakistan (Education, Terrorism, Unemployment)

Importance of Education:

Education is a key to development for individual, society and state. It shapes natural qualities and talents of the individuals. It has positive relevance to family and society. It also confers citizens' confidence to deal with environment, a sense of purpose. Education provides a goal orientation and is helpful to others by educating them.

Education provides entitlement to job and professions. It gives effective training to the citizens about their rights and duties. It plays a more constructive role in character building of the person and in turn society as a whole.

Education should be integrated to nation building and should be able to transmit the primary values. Education should be responsible for the formation of attitude.

It should transmit socialization among individuals. Education system is designed according to the ideology of the state and its identity. Education is the indicator of socio-economic development. For the real progress proper educational facilities should be provided. Literacy rate should be enhanced. Trained and qualified human power can make a nation successful. Only such educated people can better be equipped to deal with changing situations and challenges of the time. Education provides better understanding of international environment that affects all of us. Islam asks Muslims to get education. Other religions also value education.

Educational Issues:

From historical perspective Pakistan has made commendable efforts for spreading education since independence. Funding, facilities and free primary education was introduced to enhance student enrolment. Following steps were taken for uplift of education:

- It made integral to development planning in all Five Year Plans and Yearly Plans.
- Education Commission was established and new Education policies were introduced.
- Critical evaluation points out serious issues requiring immediate attention for enabling education to achieve its goals.

Problem of Resources:

Resource allocation for education is far from satisfactory. It is much less than what a large number of countries spend on education, especially those having developed after World War II. Most of these allocations go to salaries and administration. Fewer amounts are given for infrastructure, facilities of research and development.

Low Literacy:

In Pakistan literacy rate is 46 per cent. While meaningful literacy is far less. Female literacy is lower. In rural areas literacy is much low.

Enrolment and Retention:

All Children are not enrolled in schools. Drop out at the primary and high school level is very high. The incentive to send children to the school is to retain them there. Poverty and lack of appreciation cause drop out. Not enough schools with proper facilities. Number of schools exist on papers only i.e., Ghost schools.

Teachers related issues:

Shortage of qualified teachers at the lower levels is main cause of less interest of young students towards education. Student-teacher ratio is very high in Pakistan. So the teacher cannot properly treat students. Teachers are not given any incentives for devotion to the profession. Salary and other facilities especially at the lower levels are very disappointing. Training and refresher courses are also inadequate. New techniques of teaching and facilities needed for good teaching should be provided to the teachers.

Examination System:

Examination System remained a problematic issue in Pakistan. How to judge the performance of students is a difficult question. Instead of comprehension and depth of knowledge emphasis is laid on test of memory. Learning is geared to passing the examination. Some people work only at the end of the year and get good marks due to flaw in the system. Some of them use unfair means. Students have little knowledge of how the papers are actually graded. This becomes a serious problem at the higher levels. Still there is a debate that whether Annual system or Semester system should be adopted.

Politicization:

Student groups have political links with outside groups. Political parties have their sub units in educational institutions, which result in use of violence and threats. This also damages the educational environment.

Kinds of Education:

Primary:

From class 1 to 5 years is primary stage. Mosque schools are also working on this level. Efforts are being made to make it universal.

Middle Level: It is from class 6 to 8.

Secondary: It is from class 9 to 10.

Higher Secondary: It is from class 11 to 12.

Degree Level: It is a university level education for 2 or 3 years for the award of bachelor degree of Science/ Arts.

University, Post Graduate Level: M. A., M.Sc., M.Phil. and Ph. D. Specialized diplomas and programs are also offered at this level. Colleges are also teaching at Postgraduate level. Now some Colleges are given university status.

Professional: Professional educational fields are Medical, Dentistry, Engineering, Business and Commerce are Technical and professional degrees.

Adult Education: For adults who could not get education in their early years adult education is introduced for them.

Distance Education:

People do not go to an institution but stay home and get education. This method is useful for people in service and for those living in remote areas. This is a method of Improvement of qualification without actually going to an institution.

It is a Flexible system in which Lectures and tutorial system are used through media.

Examples are:

- Allama Iqbal Open University.
- Virtual University: TV and Internet.

Privatization of Education:

Schools (English medium), Colleges and Universities are introduced in private sector. Some of them are imparting some good quality education but very expensive.

Military Foundations:

- Medical and IT education
- National University of Science and Technology
- Bahria University
- Air Force University

Modern Technology and Education:

Technology education means education of IT, Computers- software and hardware. IT and regular education, Access to knowledge and technical education.

Concluding Remarks:

Education in Pakistan could not play a proper role. That's why Pakistan is much behind of some of the developing countries. The only way to meet the challenges of the time is to provide technical education at all levels. For that purpose spending on education should be raised. Primary education should be universal and women education should be enhanced. Only meaningful education can fulfill the demands of development.

Terrorism

Terrorism In Pakistan: Its Causes and Impacts

The most serious problem that Pakistan had faced is terrorism for the last 20 years. It has become a headache for federation and a nightmare for public. Though, it is a global issue but Pakistan has to bear the brunt of it. Pakistan's involvement in the War on Terror has further fuelled the fire. This daunting situation is caused due to several factors. These factors include social injustice, economic disparity, political instability, religious intolerance and also external hands or international conspiracies. A handful of people who have their vicious interests to fulfil have not only taken countless innocent lives but also distorted the real image of Islam before the world through their heinous acts. Terrorist acts like suicide bombings have become a norm of the day. On account of these attacks Pakistan is suffering from ineffaceable loss ranging from civilian to economic. People have become numerical figures, blown up in numbers every now and then. Terrorists have not spared any place. Bazars, mosques, educational institutes, offices, hotels, no place is safe anymore.

Though terrorism has no accepted definition, yet it can be defined as the use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aim or the calculated use of violence or threat of violence against civilians in order to attain goals that are political or religious or ideological in nature, this is done through intimidation or coercion or inciting fear. According to FBI's definition, Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective.

The religion of Islam (Submission), advocates freedom, peace and mutual agreement and admonishes aggression. The following verses make it very clear.

"And do not aggress; GOD dislikes the aggressors". (Quran 5:87)

"You shall resort to pardon, advocate tolerance, and disregard the ignorant". (Quran: 7:199)

The true religion of Islam forbids the killing of innocent people, irrespective of the cause, religious, political or social beliefs.

"...You shall not kill * GOD has made life sacred * except in the course of justice. These are His commandments to you that you may understand." (Quran 6:151)

"You shall not kill any person * for GOD has made life sacred — except in the course of justice." (Quran 17:33)

In Islam, an amazingly powerful emphasis is laid on developing love for mankind and on the vital importance of showing mercy and sympathy towards every creature of Allah Almighty, including human beings and animals. For indeed, love and true sympathy is the very antidote of terrorism.

Injustice is one of the foremost factors that breed terrorism. When the grievances of the people are not redressed they resort to violent actions. So this is the case with Pakistan where timely justice has always been a far cry. Hence, the delayed justice is working as incentive for victims

and dragging them to the swamp of terrorist organisations.

Illiteracy is the root causes of extremism and terrorism. More than one in five men aged 15 to 24 unable to read or write, and only one in 20 is in tertiary education. such a high illiteracy rate has made Pakistan vulnerable to terrorism. furthermore, technical and vocational education, and adult literacy, are especially important but unfortunately have been neglected the most in Baluchistan, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and the Tribal Areas. Illiteracy and lack of skills provide fertile ground for those who wish to recruit young men and women to their cause, especially when significant monetary payments are attached.

Regarding poverty, it is also an incubating cause of terrorism. And it is said that "a hungry man is an angry man." Notably, majority of people in Pakistan are living below poverty line. While especially for the youngsters, unemployment has made the matter worse. In these adverse circumstances, some people go to the level of extremism and even commit suicide. These are the people whose services are hired by the terrorist groups and they become easy prey to terrorism.

Food insecurity is also linked with militancy and violence. When people remain unable to afford food and cannot meet their basic needs civil strife grows. A report by the Islamabad-based Sustainable Development Policy Institute The highest levels of food insecurity, for instance, exist in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, according to the report, where 67.7 per cent of the people are insecure. The next highest level is in Baluchistan, with food insecurity at 61.2 per cent, and then in Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa, 56.2 per cent. In Pakistan some extremist forces are exploiting the feelings of lower and lower middle class food insecure people. They are motivating their unemployed youth to commit heinous crimes such as suicide attacks against innocent people.

Another reason of terrorism is dissatisfaction. When a person is dissatisfied with the rulers and thinks that his rights are being humiliated or exiled, his living of life has not been compensated, he is deprived of rightful inheritance to office, wrongly imprisoned and property confiscated then he joins some religious parties. It does not matter which organisation it would be. None of the organisations has any importance for him. Adopting an organisation would only save him from the critical situation he is in and leaves him to play in the hands of his so-called leaders who destroy his public sense of security.

The soviet Afghanistan war was the most critical event responsible for spreading militancy and intolerance in Pakistan. A fundamental change that altered the very character of Pakistani society occurred after establishment of the soviet backed communist regime in Afghanistan. The aftermath of the soviet withdrawal exposed the damage, transformation of violence and Weaponisation into Pakistani society. It ultimately plagued Pakistan with a new trend commonly referred as "Kalashnikov Culture" and "Talbanisation".

Religious intolerance is another factor which is adding fuel to the fire of terrorism. Youth, educated through religious Madrassahs, are indoctrinated with extreme ideas. They become

intolerant towards other religions and even other sects of their own religion. They impose their own extreme ideas and vent their fanaticism thorough violent actions. Intolerance makes society jungle. It is proving destructive phenomenon for social harmony, political stability, and economic growth.

After the ~~incident~~ of 9/11 suicide bombing in Pakistan has become a norm of the day. The American invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, as well as the military operation in Pakistan, along with the American drone attacks, have served to fuel religious radicalism leading to violent reaction. The breakdown of state structures in Afghanistan created a void which was quickly filled by groups and individuals who took it upon themselves to continue the lost battle. Some of them also intruded into Pakistani tribal areas, thus inviting the US displeasure. Flushing out these foreign fighters by Pakistani security forces made Pakistan a battle ground, as foreign militants and some of their local hosts, joined hands to counter the security forces.

The drone strikes have increased anti-Americanism in Pakistan society and the region. The terrorists have used the collateral damage to maximize the environment and society to their benefit. Families of people killed in collateral damage become ideal nursery for suicide bombers In Pakistan society drone attacks are popularly believed to have caused even more civilian casualties than is actually the case. The persistence of these attacks on Pakistani territory is continuously creating public outrages and alienating people from government and Army. The drone is a tactical weapon and has certainly given good results tactically to support coalition forces operation on their sides of the border but strategically history has many unanswered questions.

Pakistan has done its level best to rid terrorism and terrorists from its soil. In first step, many terrorist organisations were banned by the Musharraf government. After those successful military operations namely Rah-e-Nijat and Rah-e-Rast have been conducted. Pakistan army has fought bravely against terrorist and has destroyed their safe dens. It has broken the backbone of the terrorists and has forced them to flee. These operations still keep ongoing in some tribal areas. In this context, it is worth-mentioning that public support to military operations is very essential, and without people's backing no army can win this 'different war' against terrorism.

For Pakistan the consequences of being the epicentre of the war on terror have been disastrous physically, psychologically and economically. Nobody understands terrorism better than us (Pakistanis). We have been victims of various manifestations of it since the Soviet Afghan war. Since 9/11, the wave of suicide bombing has so far killed scores of innocent Pakistani civilians and muffled the already slow pace of our economic growth. The financial cost of the ongoing global war on terror in the last two years alone has been \$35 billion. This has badly affected in particular, the socio-economic development of Pakistan. Lest we forget, we even lost our prominent political leader Benazir Bhutto to an act of terror.

Since September 11, 2001, 21,672 Pakistani civilians have lost their lives or have been

seriously injured in an ongoing fight against terrorism. The Pakistan Army has lost 2,795 soldiers in the war and 8,671 have been injured. There have been 3,486 bomb blasts in the country, including 283 major suicide attacks. More than 3.5 million have been displaced. The damage to the Pakistani economy is estimated at \$68 billion over the last ten years. Over 200,000 Pakistani troops were deployed at the frontline and 90,000 soldiers are fighting against militants on the Afghan border.

According to a Harvard study (December 2000), higher levels of terrorism risk are associated with lower levels of net FDI. In case of Pakistan, terrorism has affected the allocation of firms investing money in the country. As a result, FDI, which had witnessed a steep rise over the previous several years, was adversely affected by the terrorist acts in the country, especially in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa.

Due to war on terror, local people of war-ridden areas are migrating to other areas of Pakistan. Country has seen the largest migration since independence in 1947. These people have left their homes, businesses, possessions and property back home. This large influx of people and their rehabilitation is an economic burden for Pakistan. Unemployment is still prevalent and now the question of providing employment to these migrants has also become a serious concern. This portion of population is contributing nothing worthwhile to the national income yet they have to be benefitted from it. This unproductive lot of people is a growing economic problem of Pakistan

Social impacts have also been caused by this war. In a society where terror exists cannot be healthy. Social disorganization has occurred due to terrorism. Social relations, economic transactions, free moments, getting education, offering prayers etc. have suffered. Pakistan's participation in the anti-terrorism campaign has led to massive unemployment, homelessness, poverty and other social problems and ills. In addition, frequent incidents of terrorism and displacement of the local population have severely affected the social fabric.

Similarly the terror has brought in its wake psychological problems. Fear in the hearts of the people is created. Trauma, depressions and confusion have been increased. The people feel insecure and unsafe whenever in their daily life activities, as time and again they watch the terror events taking place in different cities. Those have especially been suffered who have closely witnessed the suicidal bombings.

To conclude, Pakistan is a peace loving nation and playing its important role in combating terror. Recognition of efforts to fight menace of terrorism and sacrifices rendered thereof are testimony to the commitment and resolve to bring peace in the region. Unfortunately sometimes its commitment is doubted by some of its allies. Mistrust can lead to diversion of efforts, which will not be beneficial to common objective of peace in the region. Pakistan is a responsible nation; fully capable of defending its territorial integrity. Pakistan has singularly committed large forces to combat menace of terrorism more than any other country. No foreign troops are either present or deployed on Pakistan soil.

Unemployment in Pakistan

Unemployment is often used as a measure of the health of the economy. The most frequent measure of unemployment is the unemployment rate, which is the number of unemployed people divided by the number of people in the labor force. Unemployment is one of the biggest problems of Pakistan. That person is unemployed who has the ability to do work and is willing to do work but is unable to get job opportunities. The current unemployment rate is around 6.9. The biggest reason for unemployment in Pakistan is concerned with the backwardness of the agriculture sector. Agriculture is the biggest sector of our economy that contributes 20.9% to GDP and 44% of people get jobs from this sector directly or indirectly. Unemployment in this sector is from two sides. Unemployment is defined as "a condition in which an individual is not in a state of remunerative occupation despite his desire to do so."

Types of unemployment

- Seasonal unemployment
- Agricultural unemployment
- Frictional and technological unemployment
- Industrial unemployment
- Cyclical unemployment
- Educational unemployment
- Voluntary unemployment
- Involuntary unemployment or under-employment

Lord Keynes uses the concept of involuntary unemployment for under-employment. It refers to a condition in which the self-employed working people are not working to their full capacity. People who are partially employed, or are doing inferior jobs while they could do better jobs are not adequately employed. It can be called a state of "under-employment".

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

The causes of unemployment are as follow:

1. The policy of "laissez-faire" or free trade pursued by the British did not accelerate the process of industrialization in the sub-continent. As a result, employment opportunities could not be generated on a large scale.
2. The unchecked growth of the population posed the problems of finding job opportunities.
3. The decline of traditional skills and the decay of small-scale and cottage industries led to great pressure on land and this, in turn, resulted in the greater exodus of people from the rural to the urban areas. This added to urban unemployment
4. The low level of investment and the neglect of the industrial sector could not help the process of creating job opportunities.
5. Age factor fixes limitations on the range of choice of job opportunities. Too young and too old people are not eligible for many of the jobs.

6. Many of our young people do not have a proper understanding of their own aptitudes, abilities, and interests on the one hand, and the tasks or jobs or career they want to pursue, on the other: If willing to do some job is not followed by the required abilities, one cannot find a job of one's selection.
7. Due to inborn or acquired disabilities or deficiencies, some remain partially employed or totally unemployed throughout their life. Illness induced by industrial conditions and the fatal accidents that often take place during work may render a few other people unemployed.
8. The population in Pakistan is growing at an alarming rate. All these people who are eligible to work are not getting jobs. Hence, the population explosion in Pakistan is making the problem of unemployment more and more dangerous.
9. The business field is subject to ups and downs due to the operation of the trade cycle. The economic depression which we witness in the trade cycle may induce some problematic or sick industries to be closed down compelling their employees to become unemployed.
10. Technological advancement undoubtedly contributes to economic development. But unplanned and uncontrolled growth of technology may have an adverse effect on job opportunities.
11. Strikes and lock-outs have become an inseparable aspect of the industrial world today. Trade unions which are found in each and every industrial unit organize strikes, protests, processions, public protest meetings, placing, before the management a list of labor demands. In order to suppress labor strikes, managements often declare lockouts.
12. Some of our young men and women are not prepared to undertake jobs that are considered to be socially "degrading" or "indecent" for Example.
13. Our system of education which appears like a remnant of the British colonial rule in Pakistan has its own irreparable defects and its contribution to the problem of unemployment can hardly be exaggerated.
14. Occupational mobility and geographic mobility on the part of the workers have increased the gravity of the problem of unemployment.

EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

1. The problem of unemployment is a serious one and it leads to a number of consequences. The evil of unemployment may be discussed under four broad heads personal disorganization, family disorganization, social disorganization, and irreparable financial losses. Unemployment is not only a societal problem it is also an individual problem. An unemployed person loses self-respect and faces a discouraging and disappointing outlook.
2. Unemployment causes physical hardships and mental agony not only to the individual of the employable age but also to his family members. If the breadwinner of the family

loses the job, the entire family suffers. In the absence of regular income, the family has to fall back upon its little savings, and when that is exhausted it has to resort to borrowings.

3. Unemployment, if not checked or controlled, may ultimately prepare the way for social disorganization. Due to unemployment, people fail to live up to the expectations of society. Some of them may even resort to anti-social activities. It tempts or provokes them to resort to begging, indulging in criminal activities, falling prey to gambling, drug addiction, drunkenness, etc.
4. Unemployment causes incalculable economic losses. Since unemployed persons become parasites in society they pose a big economic burden. The failure to provide jobs to those who have the willingness and the potential to work inevitably brings down economic production. Low production would cause low per capita income.

REMEDIAL MEASURES AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The problem of unemployment is growing day by day in Pakistan. It is becoming more and more complex also. Such a complex problem will have to be tackled in a planned manner. No single solution can be an effective remedy for this problem. A multi-pronged attempt is needed to face it in an effective manner. It is possible only with the combined efforts of the government and the public. The growing population in Pakistan is a major cause of many socio-economic problems. Our population is growing on an average at the rate of 2.9% per year. Job opportunities are not increasing at the same rate to accommodate the growing population. Hence the population growth has to be checked. Family planning program has to be made more popular and other suitable steps are to be taken to minimize or neutralize its growth.
2. The main solution for the problem lies in achieving substantial economic development. This can be materialized, only if attention is paid equally to agriculture and industry.
3. The employment opportunities in the agricultural sector may be increased through the construction of major and minor irrigation projects, expansion and development of plantations, intensive agriculture, and horticulture. Unutilized land may be brought under cultivation.
4. The development of forest and fisheries and encouragement of animal husbandry (dairy farming, poultry, piggery, etc.) is also a major step in the direction of improving agricultural production.
5. In the Pakistani context, cottage and household industries which are often associated with agriculture play a vital role in the development of the economy.
6. Commercial crops can make agricultural tasks economically, attractive. Commercial crops such as areca, coffee, tea, pepper, ginger, cardamom, cashew, tobacco, groundnut, vegetables, and fruits, etc.. can bring good income to the farmers. Due encouragement is to be given to the farmers to grow such commercial crops

7. Depending upon the local needs and feasibility new agricultural programs and projects are to be launched so that the young people of the area get new opportunities to use their talents and energy for the developmental programs.
8. Planned development of industries is essential for creating more and more job opportunities. Development of industries may include (a) large-scale industries. (b) small scale industries and (c)village and cottage industries including handicrafts. A proper balance should be maintained between agricultural growth and industrial development so that industry would not destroy handicrafts and household industries.
9. Education has much to do with employment and unemployment. Our education is not much job-oriented, it is degree-oriented. It caters more to urban needs rather than to rural requirements. It has not completely come out of the British colonial bias. Hence, it has failed to create an army of self-reliant, self-dignified young men and women.

Population, Labour Force and Employment Indicators (million)

	2017-18	2018-19	2020-21
Labour Force	65.5	68.75	71.76
Employed Labour Force	61.71	64.03	67.25
Unemployed	3.79	4.71	4.51
Unemployment rate (%)	5.8	6.9	6.3

Source: - Pakistan Bureau of Statistics

Week # 13

Contemporary Issues in Pakistan

(Population Crisis, Governance, Corruption)

Population problem of Pakistan

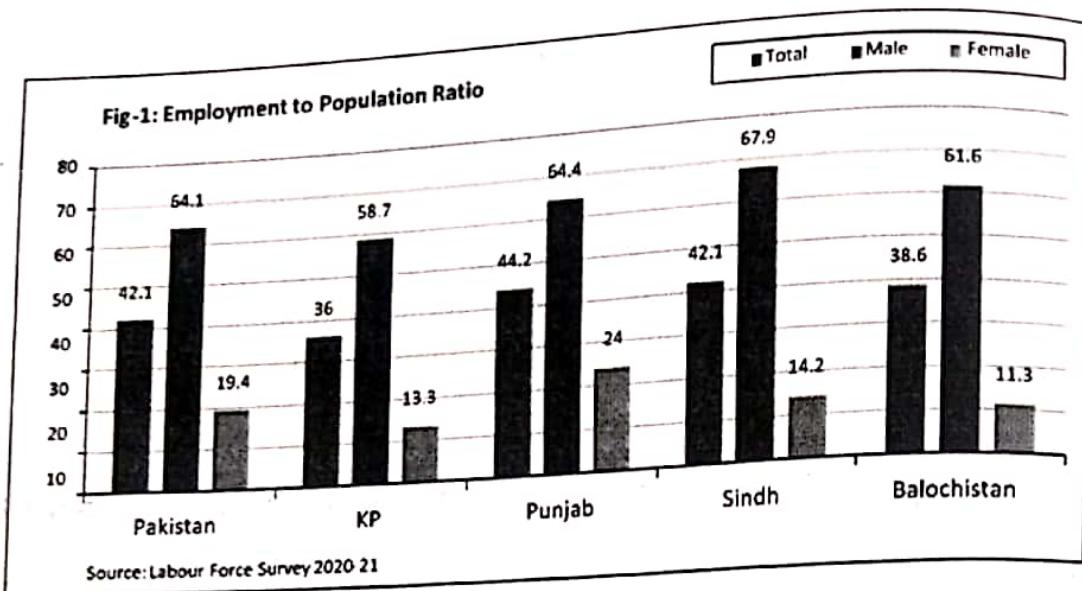
World Population day is celebrated every year on July 11 to raise awareness among the masses regarding global population issues faced by the third world countries. The event was first organized in 1989 by United Nation Governing council Development Programme. At that time the population of the world was 5 billion. The current world population is about 7.7 billion and increasing at a higher pace. The population of Pakistan was approximately 100 million; however, the current population of Pakistan is about 210 million. It is expected that the population of Pakistan can cross 300 million by 2050, which is an alarming situation for Pakistan.

Major reasons for the increase in Population are:

- 1. Lack of women Empowerment.**
- 2. Poor response of Population Dept.**
- 3. An increasing rate of illiteracy among the masses.**
- 4. An imbalance between death and birth rate.**
- 5. Lack of family planning.**
- 6. Strong belief in religion.**
- 7. Technological advancement in fertility treatment.**
- 8. Increase in immigrants and Refugees etc.**

Due to a high increase in the population, Pakistan is facing serious challenges like shortage of water, electricity, jobs infrastructure, public transportation, health, education law and order, and other social issues are prevailing in the society. The population is a big threat for Pakistan. China has reduced the birth rate and controlled the growth rate of population in a decent way.

According to new trends and technology, the increased population with a high rate is dangerous for Pakistan. It is time that new reforms may be introduced for family planning and awareness may be created among the masses regarding the disadvantages of Population. After reducing the rate of birth, we can uplift the socio-economic conditions of the people of Pakistan.



CORRUPTION AND ITS DEEP IMPACT ON GOOD GOVERNANCE IN PAKISTAN

Corruption defined as misuse of entrusted power for private benefit is unfortunately endemic in Pakistan. No structure, no tier and no office of public sector is immune from it. Its spread is enormous. It has reached every organ of state — beyond executive it has put its claws on judiciary and legislature even. It would be no exaggeration to say that the whole body of the state of Pakistan is suffering from this malaise and wailing under its dead weight. So enormous is its incidence that Pakistan is ranked 139th in the comity of nations on the scale of corruption free governance. This ranking is not at all enviable or acceptable.

TABLE 1

Transparency International; Corruption Perception Index Pakistan Score and Ranking

Year	Pakistan Rank/Score	Pak Most Corrupt Rank	No. of Countries Ranked
2009	139/2.4	42	180
2008	134/2.5	47	180
2007	138/2.4	42	179
2006	142/2.2	20	163
2005	144/2.1	16	159
2004	129/2.1	19	147
2003	92/2.5	42	133

2002	77/2.6	26	102
2001	79/2.3	13	91
2000	N/A	N/A	90
1999	87/2.2	13	99
1998	71/2.7	15	85
1997	48/2.53	5	52
1996	53/1	2	54

Source: <http://www.transparency.org.pk/.../CPI2009/CPI20> 2009 Press Release November 2009.doc.

"Corruption manifests itself in various forms in Pakistan, including widespread financial and political corruption, nepotism, and misuse of power. Both petty and grand corruptions are prevalent in the country". Corruption clouds almost all tiers of government; it is all pervasive and deeply entrenched. "The level of corruption in the society ultimately depends on the values and morals of that society" (Vittal and Mahalingam, 2004:237). Over the period acceptability of corruption has rather increased in the society and there is little evidence that people feel guilty about their own role in corruption. The scale of corruption is highest in development projects and procurement (including defense and public sector corporations) and the bank loan write offs. Whereas mega corruption is mainly in development projects, bank loans and procurements which rocks the foundation of the economy, the common man is more interested in the petty and middle level corruption that he encounters in the daily dealings in the government offices.

According to one estimate the loss made to the national exchequer is over Rs. 200 billion per annum. This loss is caused collectively by all the government departments but the most prominent amongst them as per the Perception Survey carried out by Transparency International Pakistan are:

1. Power Sector
2. Tax and Customs
3. Police and Law Enforcement
4. Judiciary and Legal Profession
5. Health and Education
6. Land Administration.

Source: <http://www.prof-pakistan.com/2009/09/24/transparency-international-pakistan-highlights>.

The main features of the Pakistan National Corruption Perception Survey 2009 and ranking in 2006 and 2002 NCPS are detailed below:

TABLE 2
Pakistan National Corruption Perception Survey (Institutions)

S. No.	Years		
	2009	2006	2002
1	Police	Police	Police
2	Power	Power	Power
3	Health	Judiciary	Taxation
4	Land	Land	Judiciary
5	Education	Taxation	Custom
6	Taxation	Custom	Health
7	Judiciary	Health	Land
8	Local Govt.	Education	Education
9	Custom	Railway	Railway
10	Tendering	Bank	Bank

Source: <http://www.prof-pakistan.com/2009/09/24/transparency-international-highlights>.

In the opinion of 5,200 respondents the ranking of ten government departments are (Rank 1 being the most corrupt and 10 being the least corrupt).

GENESIS OF CORRUPTION IN PAKISTAN

The roots of corruption in Pakistan date back to the colonial period when the Britishers rewarded lands and titles to those who were their loyalists leading to nepotism and corruption (Awan, 2004:19). Two major crises played a fundamental role in the genesis of corruption in this part of the world; the spiral in the defense related purchases during and after the World War II and allotment of evictee property after the partition of Indian subcontinent (UNDP, 2002:11). This was followed by industrial and trade licensing and patronage schemes like bonus voucher and route permits in 1950s and 1960s. The nationalization policy of the 1970s created new opportunities for corruption and gave birth to a new breed of corrupt government officers. The decade of 1980s witnessed the surge of corruption in religious and business circles.

The causes of this malady are to be found in the socio-cultural and political matrix of the Pakistani society which presently is faced with a gradual loss of value system and even identity. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact causes and their degree in matters pertaining to human psyche and temperament, yet according to a Perception Survey carried out by Transparency International Pakistan in year 2004, the following causes have been determined

as the major contributors towards corruption and their estimated degree in percentage terms has also been indicated in Table 3.

TABLE 3

TI – Survey on Causes of Corruption — Mega and Petty

Lack of Accountability	31.68%
Low Salaries	16.54%
Monopoly of Power	16.43%
Discretionary Power	12.61%
Lack of Transparency	9.97%
Power of influential people	4.59%
Red Tapism	4.28%
Others	4.9%

Source: NACS – NAB, Government of Pakistan.

Petty corruption is mainly for getting access to public services or to bypass or twist the laws and the rules. Middle and grand corruption pertain to public contracting and procurement.

In a pre-dominantly capitalist economic order and the increasing adherence to principles of free market, rise in corruption and speed money clearly makes an economic sense. Some of the so-called economic reasons can be enumerated as under:

1. Bribe serves as an incentive for the government servants.
2. It is a kind of price that equates supply and demand in every field and office.
3. Paradoxically in many cases it reduces transaction cost for the petitioners/applicants by saving their time and miscellaneous costs on frequent visits.
4. In case of getting contracts, certain concessions or exemptions and buying shares and parcels of privatized firms the rate of return on every unit of bribe is phenomenal.
5. Similarly net gains through bribing the voters, score off the cost of the venture.
6. Payments for getting favourable decisions in civil suits may be only a fraction of the value of the suit. Similarly securing one's liberty in criminal cases involving huge sums has a lot of intrinsic value.
7. "High inequality can lead to greater incentives for corruption" (Yolles, 2008:88).

This is however only the commercial side of it. In the real economic sense it is a net loss to the society in terms of reduced availability of funds for development, artificial increase in cost per

unit of resources use and increased impoverishment of the weaker sections of the society. "Corruption and poor governance limit economic growth and retard the development of a healthy private sector" (UNDP, 1997).

Whatever the causes or the rationale behind this massive trend of corruption whether justified or not the fact remains that it has deeply impacted the economy, the society, and the country. Some important areas affected by it are discussed as under:

1. The world economic forum's Global Competitiveness Report (2007-08) identifies corruption as the 3rd greatest problem for companies doing business in Pakistan after government bureaucracy and poor infrastructure (Sala-i-Martin and Porter, 2008). It is therefore a direct impediment in the way of the Direct Foreign Investment (DFI) which is so badly needed to generate economic activity, create employment, and support the dwindling foreign exchange reserves.
2. With an effective check on corruption national exchequer can easily gain nearly double of the annual allocations earmarked under Kerry Lugar Bill carrying strikingly harsh conditions for national sovereignty and autonomy.
3. The cycle is really vicious rampant corruption in tax and custom and excise collection and WAPDA dues and costly public sector purchases, and inefficient major public sector entities like PIA, Railway, Steel Mill etc. cause a major deficit for the government every year in term of resource generation and expenditure that makes the government borrow from IMF and other foreign and domestic resources which through increased debt repayments broadens the gap and compels the government to increase the price of the utilities like electricity, gas, CNG and petroleum. That takes a heavy toll from the people of Pakistan. Resultantly corruption which is done at far away and much higher places from the common citizens has a direct and deep impact on their lives. Thus act of corruption, whether direct or indirect, close or remote is not innocuous for common man.
4. The country has lost many years of development effort because of eating up of development funds at a very large scale and because of over charging for almost every item of work.
5. Other than the government offices and public sector, corruption has thoroughly permeated the political arenas. Party tickets are openly bought and sold and so does the transaction flourish for hunting or hounding the voters. This has resulted in the dominance of political scene by the drug barons, black marketers, hoarders and speculators who not only have in many cases snatched away the true representative character from the democratic process in the country but who make good their investment in the election process through massive corruption while in power and add to the miseries and the cost of living of the common man.
6. Still worse is its impact on religious circles who sell fake degrees to the needy politicians with impunity, show fake entries of students to get more Zakat money and sell religion edicts on need basis. At times it appears that the whole structure

has been soiled and has replaced scholarship as it is becoming increasingly difficult to find a genuine religious scholar from any quarters.

7. Rampant trends of corruption have also badly affected the business ethics in the country which is devoid of any egalitarianism. Hood winking the regulators, stock piling, hoarding, and black marketing are the order of the day and individual business man, business firms, business groups and sometimes a whole industry is found pegged in these malpractices.
8. And when corruption affects the institution of the last resort that is the judiciary the country loses its track and direction. Absence of a fair judicial system does not affect the individual litigant alone it affects the whole economy where domestic and foreign investments shy away for fear of usurpation and misappropriation.
9. The worst of all is a break down of law and order because of pervasive corruption in police and lower judiciary. The influential, the wealthy and the mighty have a fair chance of getting away with what ever they do if they pay the right price at the right stage. This had lead to increased incidence of crimes of all nature and at all levels.
10. In short the unbridled corruption has negatively impacted all spheres of activity in the country and the whole society has suffered serious blows to its social fabric and working environment.

EFFORTS TO CURB CORRUPTION

Corruption can be curbed or limited through the presence of a monitor or a monitoring process (Khan *et al.*, 2004:3). Although provincial Anti Corruption Establishment were put in place in 1960s, and a Federal Investigation Agency was constituted to fight corruption in public sector, it turned out that anti corruption arm of the police is the most corrupt. Slowly and gradually the tendency for corruption gained momentum and got the better of governmental efforts.

The 1st serious attempt to fight corruption at national level was witnessed during the caretaker period after the dismissal of 2nd Benazir government in November 1996 when President Farood Leghari established Ehtsab Commission headed by a retired senior judge. The effort was intensified by the next government, i.e. the 2nd Nawaz government in 1997 through the aegis of Ehtsab Bureau headed by Mr. Saif ur Rehman. The exercise was however taken as one sided and led to the erosion of moral authority for so pious an exercise.

The army government of 1999 started accountability with a lot of fan fare. It established National Accountability Bureau (NAB) with necessary investigation and judicial structures. It announced National Anti Corruption Strategy (NACS). NACS was a three-pronged strategy, viz.

1. Prevention
2. Awareness
3. Enforcement

The National Accountability Strategy announced in 2002 has been in limbo ever since its inception as it failed to gain the required political patronage/acceptance within the NAB establishment, due to lack of support from the donors, and for poor communication and exposure with the general public.

Some new systems were introduced for improving the public sector procurement and a whole new standard operating procedure (SOP) was laid down in the form of a manual by the newly constituted "Public Procurement Regulatory Authority" (PPRA) which oversaw all purchases beyond the value of a Rs. 50 million.

The Auditor General's office introduced a new project titled "Project for Improvement in Reporting and Auditing" (PIFRA) with a view to adopt modern formats and technique for financial reporting and auditing.

On the side of judiciary and police it started a \$ 350 million access to Justice Programme for capacity building and knowledge based and improved working environment.

Access to Justice Programme aimed at the following:

- (a) Improving predictability and consistency between fiscal and human resources and the mandates of reformed judicial and public institutions at the federal, provincial and local level.
- (b) Ensuring greater transparency and accountability in the performance of the judiciary, the police and administration justice institutions.
- (c) Providing a legal basis for judicial, policy and administration reforms.
- (d) Improving the efficiency time lines and effectiveness in judicial and police services.
- (e) Supporting greater equality and accessibility in justice services for the vulnerable poor.

Source: <http://friendsofpakistan.net/?tag=barometer-of-corruption>.

The new Police Order, 2002, re-organized the force through separation of force into various branches, bureaus, sections and divisions. The goal was to improve the efficiency, it is to be seen whether it has achieved its objectives or resulted in increased corruption through a wider spread of functions and lack of coordination.

Similarly it is to be observed carefully whether the changes brought in the land administration at sub-divisional, district and divisional level have improved efficiency, transparency and fairness or it has achieved the reverse results. If public perception is any yardstick it is clearly in the negative direction.

The accountability effort was phenomenal with a thumping response from the public and a loud and clear message for the delinquents. But half of it evaporated due to political exigencies of

election 2002 and the remaining half became thin air with the promulgation of National Reconciliation Order (NRO) in October 2007.

NRO was the worst law ever made in human history to formalize and legalize mega corruption. There was a significant back sliding in the accountability effort after the announcement of this ordinance. Accountability efforts which had started at a very promising note and with a telling effect especially with the establishment of NAB received set back close to the general election 2002 when the accountability structure was used for arm twisting of the politicians to rope them in for a new Kings Party. NRO was the last nail in coffin.

There has been a great void over the last over 2 years, i.e. between the promulgation of NRO in October 2007 and its annulment by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in December 2009. The whole accountability structure was diluted and was rather close to liquidation in that period.

The present government has preferred to let the accountability system remain suspended in the air and practically in the two years of the present democratically elected government there has not been a single major case registered or instituted by the government on its own.

At the moment there is big void, an immensurable vacuum, with actually no accountability law in force at the national level.

Along the way, however, there has been a significant development in the shape of the emergence of free press and media which is very promising for the fight against corruption.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Poor governance leads to, and encourages and breeds, corruption in a number of ways, for instance through bribery and extortion, nepotism and fraud and embezzlement. It reduces the efficiency on which an economy depends, and by increasing the cost of investment, lowers the potential return. It also reduces the government's resources and hence its capacity for investment. Common to other South Asian countries, corruption in Pakistan is unique because it occurs up stream, it has wings which encourage flight of capital rather than wheel which encourage reinvestment and it often rewards rather than punishes as the legal processes to fight corruption are weak in themselves and the lower judiciary is amenable to letting off the accused if the 'price is right'" (Ismail and Rizvi, 14).

"Corruption is not a problem that can be attacked in isolation. It is not sufficient for the criminal law to search for bad apples and punish them. Of course, the state may need to establish credibility by punishing highly visible corrupt officials, but the goal of such prosecutions is to attract notice and public support, not solve the underlying problem. Anticorruption laws can only provide a background for more important structural reforms" (Rose- Ackerman, 199:226).

For almost all the reforms introduced by the Musharraf government in governmental and administration fields the basic assumption was that the society was sufficiently educated and hence eager and ready to change. The assumption proved wrong and rocked the whole

foundation of the reforms agenda as the society proved to be ready for grabbing new opportunities but not to change its work ethics.

If this society is to be saved and the country has to shake off the tag of a failing or failed state, urgent and stringent measures need to be taken. Some of which are recommended as under:

1. Judgment of the Supreme Court against NRO be implanted in letter and spirit.
2. Accountability from the top be started.
3. A national anti-corruption commission be set up as an independent watchdog.
4. End unnecessary or archaic discretionary laws.
5. Ensure time bound actions in offices.
6. Use independent private sector auditors.
7. Involve people in diagnosing corrupt systems.
8. Advocate that all 'illegal' money and property transactions in industrialized countries are treated at par with drug money.
9. The problem of corruption is quite severe at the lower judiciary and a system of alternative dispute resolution needs to be worked out urgently.
10. Require public officials to declare their assets.
11. Community participation especially of students be ensured.
12. Creating awareness particularly about the adverse impact on every one's life be highlighted to mobilize public against corruption. "The evolution of a public opinion, which must follow the spread of education, which rejects corruption either because it is morally wrong or because it is scientifically inefficient, or both" (Wraith and Simpkins, 1963:208).
13. Poverty alleviation and economic reforms (Hussain and Hussain, 1993:161).

Week#14 **Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

General Overview

"Our foreign policy is one of the friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter."

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Foreign policy is a plan of action that a nation adopts with regard to its diplomatic dealings with other countries in the world. This is the policy that dictates how a country will act with respect to other countries politically, socially, economically, and militarily. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs.

In the context of Pakistan, we have seen that when Saudi Arabia expected Pakistani soldiers to fight in Yemen — though the request was politely turned down — the government invoked religion; when Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Pakistan, official propagandists started to highlight the economic and strategic imperatives that bind together Islamabad and Beijing; when it comes to our other neighbours in the region — India, Afghanistan and Iran — we mostly adopt a hostile undertones and perceive Indian manoeuvres in the region as a threat; when it comes to Muslim World, we present our country as the only Muslim State having nuclear power and the only advocate of unity of Muslim Ummah; and when it comes to EU or the United States or Russia or any superpower, we invoke our important geographical location in Asia. So, the first question that comes to mind regarding the foreign policy making in Pakistan is: "What factors determine the foreign policy making in Pakistan?"

Following is a brief description of the factors that policymakers have to keep in mind while making decisions related to country's policy.

Determinants of Foreign Policy

1. Ideology

Pakistan was created as a homeland for Muslims of British India after a long freedom struggle. Islam was at the core of this struggle because Two Nation Theory reinforced that Muslims were a separate nation, with their distinct cultural, ideological and religious values. In the establishment of Pakistan, Muslims actually dreamed of a separate homeland where they could spend their lives according to the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH).

Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah also vowed to preserve the Islamic ideology of the country. He said:

"Pakistan not only means freedom and independence but the Muslim Ideology which has to be preserved, which has come to us as a precious gift and treasure and which, we hope other will share with us."

Moreover, at the very outset, Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, declared: "Pakistan came into being as a result of the urge felt by the Muslims of this subcontinent to secure territory, however limited, where the Islamic Ideology and way of life could be practiced and demonstrated to the world."

So, it was not possible for our foreign policy makers to set aside this ideology while framing country's foreign policy. Hence Islamic ideology has always been a central focus in this realm.

2. Geography

"The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography".

— Napoleon Bonaparte

For the policymakers, it is important to take into consideration factors like what country's neighbours are, as their attitude, irrespective of their size or power, has a direct bearing especially on issues of its security, development and resource allocation. No country could change its geography nor choose its neighbours. So, in Pakistan, sole consideration has been on safeguarding and preserving country's independence and territorial integrity. Geography, thus, placed on Pakistan the onerous responsibility of consistent vigilance and careful conduct of its relations not only with its immediate neighbours but also with the rest of the world.

3. History

Since its inception, Pakistan has been facing complex challenges. Hence, the country's foreign policy is also guided by its history. Pakistan and India relations have been marred by distrust and antagonism. Pakistan and Afghanistan have also been at odds since long, major concern being the Durand Line which Afghanistan is not willing to accept an international border. Thanks to the old imperial connections, we immediately got sucked into the Cold War struggle. In the process, we encountered unbroken series of crises and challenges that perhaps, no other country in the world has ever experienced. So, foreign policy makers cannot remain oblivious to these factors.

4. Domestic Policies

The foreign policy of a country is linked to its domestic policies, governance issues and political situation. A country's standing in the international community always corresponds directly to its political, social, economic and strategic strength. Foreign policy cannot be divorced from domestic considerations. It is an outcome of national priorities, strength and weaknesses. Unlike large powers, mistakes in foreign policy can be very costly for a developing country like Pakistan. Pakistan's position in the world is constrained by its weak economics and its dependence on foreign finances. And, that has been a big challenge before the policymakers.

The policymakers must understand that no country has ever succeeded externally if it is weak and crippled domestically. Even a superpower, the former Soviet Union, could not survive as a superpower because domestically it was weak and crippled.

5. Security

Internal and external security is the most important factor in Pakistan's foreign policy. Historian Paul Kennedy named Pakistan as one of the nine pivotal states whose future evolution would not only determine the fate of their region, but also affect international stability. Pakistan has developed as a principal actor and a vital personality of its own. So, it is supposed to secure and protect its all vital interests, at all costs.

6. Economic Compulsions

Pakistan as a developing country also needs to establish and maintain cordial relations with those states with whom it can maximize its trade relations or from whom it can obtain maximum economic aid. Pakistan's position in the world is constrained by its weak economics and its dependence on foreign finances. The main aim of Pakistan's foreign policy is to boost economic trade.

A Pragmatic Future Strategy

1. Pursuing National Interest

"The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states"—Morgenthau.

Foreign policy of every nation around the world is formulated on the basis of its national interest. Since seeking its national interests is a universally accepted right of each state, therefore, this should be the only driving force behind Pakistan's foreign policy. All our alliances should be subjected to this keystone criterion. That said, no country can remain isolated and all relationships between states, bilaterally and multilaterally, are therefore based on mutual interests which are freely determined and pursued.

Pakistan's national interest lies in enhancing country's economic, military and cultural power within its ideological framework. Pakistan should use foreign policy to defend its territorial integrity. That necessitates strong defence and deterrent capabilities. Pakistan has to leverage its relations with nations in the region and beyond, as well as with international multilateral institutions, to attract foreign direct investment, start off joint ventures and promote trade. A national interest-centred foreign policy will also act as a catalyst for domestic economic development and international clout.

2. Focusing Regional Dynamics

Pakistan's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis India has been the core driver of its foreign policy since partition. Its relations with its immediate neighbours such as Afghanistan and Iran, and other regional countries such as Turkey and the Gulf States, have all been filtered through this security prism. But, changing global trends in regional trade and the growth of Asian economies have forced Pakistan to readjust the focus of its foreign relations especially within its neighbourhood. Pakistan's reluctance in getting militarily involved in the Saudi-led war in Yemen is evidence of this new thinking. As Iran would soon be rejoining the global economy and also Russia is cosying up with Pakistan after India's unprecedented tilt towards the US, Pakistan should also change its policies to not only benefit from these changes but also to gain

an important role in regional politics.

3. Promotion of Economy

Pakistan's foreign policy ought to be based on our country's inherent strengths. As the sixth largest nation in the world by way of population, country's foreign policy makers should take into account the factor that we possess a reasonable quality of human resources and have an extremely useful geography.

Our human resource base was good enough to make us the only nuclear Muslim state in the world. Our strength is our agriculture, which enables us to be food-sufficient with a considerable surplus of rice and wheat. We also enjoy an abundance of fruit, vegetables and dairy products and have the capacity to launch all these for export.

We can rightfully boast of the highest quality of craftsmanship in leather, metals, pottery and stitched craft, and are now entering the fashion market at an international level. Moreover, our considerable mineral resources await exploration, as do our deposits of natural gas.

Despite all these strengths, we have fallen into a debt trap because of poor governance and mismanagement, rectifying which is certainly within the realm of the feasible. A growth- and export-driven economy would enable us to exploit our strategic advantage effectively and base our foreign policy on an economically strong agenda.

Conclusion

Traditionally, Pakistan has been a security-driven state and that's the reason why more emphasis has been on state-building over nation-building. However, changing regional as well as world dynamics present our foreign policy makers with a set of complex challenges. This is perhaps the most opportune time that Pakistan should reap the benefits of its geographical location and its importance to the whole world. Our foreign policy makers should move forward with extreme prudence.

Geo-political significance of Pakistan

"The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography." (Napoleon)

1- INTRODUCTION:

Geopolitics:

- The study of geographic influences on power relationships in international politics.
- It is a study of the influence of such factors as geography, economics, and demography on the politics and especially the foreign policy of a state.
- Simply, it means the importance of a country or a region as by virtue of its geographical location.

Stephen Cohen describes this importance, " "while history has been unkind with Pakistan, its geography has been its greatest benefit. "Since independence, Pakistan's geography has been a crucial factor in shaping international politics and global affairs of the state. It is located at the region which has great economic, political and strategic importance. The geographical location of Pakistan makes it a junction of the three important parts of the world: South Asia,

West Asia and Central Asia. Due to its location, it has remained the focus of attention of great powers and has also served as a route to resource deficient countries from resource rich countries. Some of the benefits associated with Pakistan's location come from the proximity of great powers, fossil fuel exports and links with Muslim countries, nuclear capability and economic factors."

Pakistan is a junction of south Asia, west Asia and central Asia; a way from resource efficient countries to resource deficient countries. The world is facing energy crises and terrorism. Pakistan is a route for transportation and a front line state against terrorism. Moreover Pakistan has been traditionally ally of emerging economic giant; china. So in the wake of any change in world politics, Pakistan's geo-strategic significance would further be enhanced. Pakistan is located at a region which has great political, economic and strategic location. It has been hub of activities of great powers for last 20 years. It has witnessed intervention of three great powers i-e Britain, USSR, and USA. Its significance was further enhanced during cold war when it becomes ally of US policy of containment of USSR and now the post cold war era has witnessed its significance particularly after the events of 9/11.

2- PAKISTAN GEOGRAPHICALLY LOCATION:

Towards north apart from the state of Kashmir is china. It shares 400 km long boarder with china.

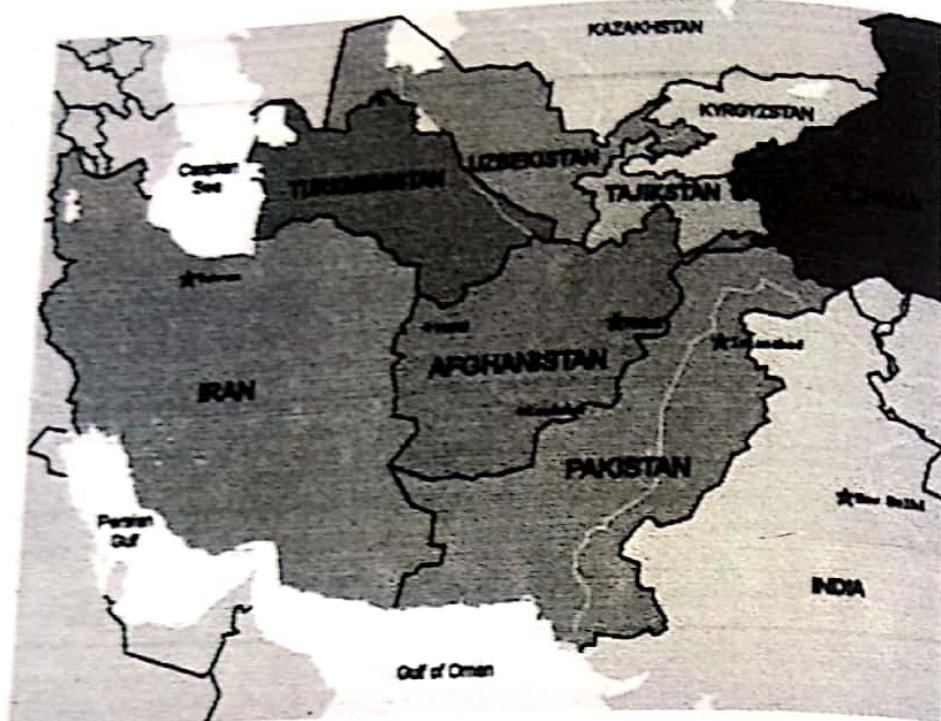
Towards north Tajikistan though no boarder but a narrow strip as Wahkhan strip separate the two.

Towards east, Punjab-Rajasthan boarders which is 1650 km long

Towards west, Afghanistan and Durand line of 2250 km.

Towards south, Arabian and Indian sea. Coastal belt is about 700 km.

Pakistan significance is enhanced as it lies near the Persian Gulf where 65% of the world's oil is produced.



3- STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE:

a) Proximity of great powers:

Pakistan is located at the junction of great powers. In its neighbor's one world power Russia and the other emerging power China lies. Any alliance among world powers enhances its significance. This factor has been utilized by Pakistan after 9/11. Security and business are two main US interests in the region while Pakistan is playing a front line role in the war against terrorism. Apart from this US interest in the region to contain the growing China, nuclear Iran, terrorist Afghanistan and to benefit from the market of India. Today the political scenario of the region is tinged with preemption policy and US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. Iran's nuclear program, India's geopolitical muscles (new strategic deal with US) to gain hegemony and to counter the rise of China. Which has earned all the qualities to change unipolar world into bipolar world? In all these issues, Pakistan is directly or indirectly involved especially after al-Qaeda operations. The American think tank has repeatedly accepted that war against terrorism could never be won without the help of Pakistan. Pakistan has rigorously fought and an ongoing operation in Waziristan is also targeting the suspected Taliban in the bordering area.

b) Gateway to central Asia-(oil and energy game):

Central Asia is the center stage of new Great games. Western quest for resources- oil and energy resources in the central Asia. After USSR decline, new quest started which is manifested by politics of oil. Pakistan is located very close to the oil rich Middle Eastern countries. The belt started from Iran and extended to Saudi Arabia. Thus, Pakistan can

influence shipment of oil. Iran is struggling to export its surplus gas and oil to eastern countries. Qatar, Pakistan and Turkmenistan pipeline projects highlight the position. In the energy scarce world, Pakistan is located in the hub of energy rich countries i-e Iran and Afghanistan both are energy abundant while India and China are lacking. China finds way to Indian Ocean and Arabian sea through Karakoram highway.

c) Significance as a Transit economy:

Pakistan has the potential to develop transit economy on account of its strategic location. Land locked Afghanistan now at the phase of reconstruction finds its ways through Pakistan. China with its fastest economy growth rate of 9% vs developing southern provinces because its own part is 4500 km away from Sinkiang but Gwadar is 2500 km away. Moreover, Pakistan offers Central Asian regions the shortest route of 2600 km as compared to Iran 4500 km or Turkey 5000 km. Gwadar port with its deep waters attracts the trade ships of China, CAR and South East Asian countries. Also the coastal belt of Balochistan can provide outlet to China's western provinces to have access to Middle Eastern markets with the development of coastal highways and motorways.

d) Important link in the chain of Muslim countries:

If we look at the map of Muslim countries, Pakistan occupies a central location. Towards west of Iran, China extends to North Africa. Thus it can actively participate in the activities of Muslim world-economic development, transport of resources and above all combat terrorism.

e) Only Muslim country with nuclear capability:

In the region Pakistan is the only Muslim country having nuclear capability which has great influence on the political, socio-economic activities in the region and the maintenance of status quo in the region.

Week#15 **Foreign Policy of Pakistan**

Features & Highlights

No state can live in isolation. There is a need of interaction. The linkages between internal & external environment are very necessary to create harmonious relations among the peoples living in the different regions. The national interests and identity, economic reasons, peace and stability are the motives of foreign policy of a country. Pakistan functions at different levels: Bilateral and Multilateral. It is also a member of the UN and other international organizations.

Features of Foreign Policy:

The main aims of features of 'Foreign Policy' are protection of- independence, Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity. Primary concern is the SECURITY through diplomacy and military security arrangements. National mobilization regarding Pakistan's security vis-à-vis India influenced foreign policy options. Strong defense is indispensable for survival.

Relations with All States:

Pakistan has good relations with almost all the nations of the world on the basis of mutuality of interests, cordiality, peace and non-interference in internal affairs. Pakistan believes that problems to be resolved peacefully.

Relations with Major Powers:

The nature of relations with major powers has varied.

United States

Pakistan-US relations have been generally friendly but problems developed from time to time on nuclear issue, arms sales, Kashmir etc.

China

China proved to be a reliable and consistent friend over the periods of decades. Pakistan supported China diplomatically in the UN and the Outside. Both the countries have developed close relations in all the areas including economic development and industrialization, defense, science and technology, environment and trade.

Russia

Pakistan has working relations with Russia but frequent problems remained unsolved during the period of Cold War. Russia remained favorable to India at the cost of its relations with Pakistan. On Kashmir issue, her attitude has been pro India.

Some economic relations strengthened the bilateral relations when Russia provided economic and technological assistance to Pakistan in establishing steel mill in Karachi. In post-Cold War era, Pakistan is trying to normalize the relations. The recent tour of President Musharraf is a step towards this goal.

Economic Issues, Trade, Investment:

Greater importance is attributed to the issues like economic development, direct foreign investment and trade relations in international relations. Foreign policy is linked with foreign assistance from the World Bank, IMF, Asian Development Bank, International Development

Bank and other sources. Economic relations are both bilateral and multi-lateral. Technology, trade, access to market and investment are keys to the cordial relations between the two countries. Pakistan is also trying to establish its relations with other countries on the same footings.

Muslim States:

Being Islamic country, Pakistan has been always in search of good relations with the Muslim countries. It has been a central point in the ideology of Pakistan even before Independence.

Solidarity with the Developing States:

Pakistan had been concerned with the issues and problems of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. As it is developing countries it is well aware of the problems of underdevelopment, poverty, disease, famine, civil strife and border disputes, refugees and drug addiction.

Pakistan always emphasized on the UN and developed countries to help them. Peace cannot be maintained if humanity is suffering.

Cooperation among developing countries in the areas of economic and technical assistance, trade and diplomacy support to these causes should be enhanced.

United Nations:

Pakistan joined the UN on Sept. 30, 1947. It has commitment to the UN Charter and active in UN bodies. Pakistan has enjoyed the Security Council membership for 6 times. It has been a part of UN Peace-Keeping Missions all over the world.

Anti-Colonialism, Right of Self Determination:

As we have been suffering from colonial rule we always support decolonization for Asia and Africa. Pakistan always opposed racial discrimination in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), South Africa, Namibia etc. It always supported right of self-determination for Kashmir, Palestine, Afghanistan and others.

Arms Control:

Pakistan believes that arms races to be controlled, resources to be used for human development. It has spoken for this cause in the UN and the outside. It opposed arms race not only at the superpower level but also at the regional and bilateral levels both for conventional and non-conventional arms. It stressed that the root causes of arms races should be curtailed.

Nuclear Policy:

Pakistan has been champion of peaceful uses of nuclear technology. Pakistan avoided nuclear explosions despite having the knowledge and capability of processing Uranium, Plutonium. It was only for the sake of deterrence and reaction to India's nuclear explosions.

Relations with India:

The most problematic area of Pakistan's foreign policy is the relationship with India. The relations have been strained since independence in 1947. There were periods of normal

relations but generally it remained troubled marked with distrust and conflict. This bitterness caused three major wars in 1947-48, 1965 and 1971. Limited conflicts and trouble at LoC (Line of Control) along with propaganda war are common practices. Tension escalated when the troops on the border from both sides faced each other throughout 2002. India was not ready to open dialogue. But now there is a hope of bilateral dialogue on Kashmir and other issues. It is the only way to bring prosperity and peace for 1.2 billion people of South Asia.

Kashmir:

Main source of conflict between India and Pakistan is Kashmir dispute. It should be resolved under the UN Resolutions. But India has declared it as integral part of it. Instead of having plebiscite, she has blamed Pakistan for initiating insurgency in Kashmir since 1989. India claims that it is engineered by Pakistan and equates this with terrorism.

Control of Terrorism:

Pakistan is an active participant in global efforts to contain terrorism. Pakistan withdrew support to Taliban and joined hands with the international community. She also acted against terrorists within Pakistan, as it was victim of terrorism & sectarianism. Pakistan believes that to eradicate terrorism first the root causes of the problem should be removed.

Concluding Remarks:

Pakistan has been an active member of the international community. It has been balancing the diverse pressures through diplomacy, engagement and compromises for the betterment of humanity.

Pakistan and the Muslim World

Foundations:

The Muslims of the sub-continent have deep-rooted affiliation with the Islamic countries on the basis of religion. They demonstrated this zeal of brotherhood on many occasions. From the days of Pakistan movement, Muslims of India followed the traditional policy with the Muslim World. Pan-Islamism and Islamic values were the strongest motives behind the demand of a separate Muslim state. So after the partition, they always preferred close bilateral relations with the Muslim countries.

The principles of policy in all the constitutions carry special attachment for Muslims and their heritage. The love for Muslim brotherhood continued during and after the independence.

Support for Independence:

Pakistan rendered full moral support for the independence of Indonesia, Tunis, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Sudan and Eritrea.

Palestine:
Pakistan, being a Muslim state, always sided with the national rights of the Palestinian people. It strongly supported the independent Palestinian state. Sharing grievous concern over the sufferings inflicted on the Muslims, it condemned the Israeli policies.

Organization of Islamic Conference:

Organization of Islamic Conference is the largest Muslim forum in the world. Pakistan was among the 51 Muslim nations which attended the inaugural session in Rabat (1969). Its second conference was held at Lahore in 1974. Pakistani desired to make it an effective forum to address the political, economic, technical, scientific matters. The OIC always supported Pakistan on Kashmir.

RCD and ECO:

Pakistan, Iran and Turkey signed Regional Cooperation Development in July 1964. It worked for economic development till 1985 when it was renamed as ECO. Later on, Afghanistan and five Central Asian Republics, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan joined it.

Muslim World:

Pakistan has good relations with all the Muslim countries.

Saudi Arabia:

Saudi Arabia being sacred country is a centre of the Muslim 'Ummah'. Both the Countries have conformity on major issues including Kashmir. The Saudi cooperation for the OIC and wars with India is unprecedented.

UAE, Kuwait and other Gulf States:

These countries and States have close and cordial relations with Pakistan. The ruling families make official and personal visits. The new era of economic relations has set in after the Gwadar port was built.

Iran:

Iran is a neighboring state with long historical and cultural ties. Iran was the first that recognized Pakistan. Iran's King was also the first head of state who visited Pakistan. Both had joint arrangements in regard to CENTO, RCD, and ECO. Iran supported Pakistan in the wars with India. It stressed on liberty of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan welcomed the Iranian Revolution of February 1979. In March 1997 President Rafsanjani and in December 2002, Khatami visited Pakistan.

Turkey:

Turkey is another country with a long history of close and cordial relations with Pakistan. Both have great contribution in the multilateral arrangements of CENTO, RCD, ECO, etc.

Egypt:

Egypt under Nasser had some reservations due to Pakistan's ties with the West. Pakistan supported Egypt when it was attacked by Israel in 1956, 1967, 1973. The relations began to improve since 1967 and especially after the death of Nasser in 1970.

Libya:

Col. Qaddafi has been a great well-wisher and supporter of Pakistan. In American air raids in 1986, Pakistan condemned American attack.

Jordan:

Jordan is another example of cordiality. King Hussain had special regard for Pakistan. He supported us on India-Pakistan issues. King Abdullah continued with this tradition. Both have military relationship, trade and diplomatic exchanges.

Afghanistan:

Afghanistan is a neighboring state. It sided with the 'Pakhtunistan' issue and created problems for Pakistan. The Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan gave birth to the Mujahideen groups, Taliban. The Sept 11, 2001 incident in America concluded major changes in the world diplomacy. After Taliban, Karzai government took responsibility of Afghanistan's reconstruction.

Bangladesh:

Bangladesh was East Pakistan but the internal instability and external conspiracies gave birth to Bangladesh. Pakistan had initially bitter relations but recognized it in 1974 that set in the normalization of relations. Both worked together in SAARC, OIC.

Week # 16

Economic Conditions and Issues

1: Importance:

Industrialization is the key to economic development and overall prosperity. Without it no economy can grow. It is the backbone of a strong and stable economy. It is the basis of modernization and development of the state.

Industrialization helps the international standing of a state. Industry and technology go together. It enhances trade and save foreign exchange. Industrialization brings self-reliance for a nation. It is also important for agriculture. Agriculture provides raw materials and so input for industry and output is the finished goods.

Industrialization improves the quality of life, help in Poverty reduction, and provide employment facilities. Industrialization has close relevance with the defence and security of the country.

2: Historical Overview:

In 1947 Pakistan inherited very small industrial infrastructure. Only about 4 percent of India's industry was there in areas of Pakistan. It was insufficient to meet the needs of the day-to-day life. Initially sugar mills, biscuit factories, cigarettes factories, oil mill, cement units, match factory, steel rolling, and glass work factories were set up.

Priorities set out in the early years:

1. Industry would be based on indigenous raw materials.
2. Consumer goods should be manufactured to meet the immediate needs of the people.
3. Private initiative to be encouraged.
4. The state to be involved in the process through: facilitation and help, financial help, tax incentives, protective tariffs etc. It also played direct role to set up industry.
5. Training and research facilities would be provided.
6. Industrial Development Board was formed in 1948. All Five Years Plans from 1955, 1960, 1965-70 paid greater emphasis on private sector and rapid industrialization. It added to aggregate economic growth.

Institutional Arrangements:

- Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) was established under a law in 1950. It encouraged the setting up of industry that was less attractive for the private sector. Initially 15 industries were identified.
- Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) was set up in 1961. It provided loan facilities for industrial projects at concessional rates to middle and small investors.
- PICIC: Pak Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation was established to give loans and credit facilities, including foreign exchange facility, for setting up industry. It also launched investment schemes.

- Investment Promotion Bureau, 1959 was formed for the promotion of domestic and foreign investment and to provide advice and guidance to investors and provision of necessary help to them.
- Other institutions like ICP, NDFC, NIT were established.
- External financial and technical support was provided both bilateral and multilateral by World Bank, IMF, and Colombo Plan etc.

Nationalization of the Seventies:

New democratic government of PPP after assuming power adopted the policy of nationalization. Ten basic industries were nationalized. Later some others were also taken over to have a greater state role. Initial euphoria ended and industrial output suffered. It also caused flight of capital from the country.

Since the early 1990s:

The policy of the governments in 1990s changed. Since 1990s all the governments including that of PPP followed the policy of denationalisation and privatisation. They are promoting free economy, foreign investment, non-governmental initiatives, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and investment from Pakistanis settled outside the country.

Major Industries:

- **Textiles:** It is major industry based on agriculture, heavy textile industry caters to domestic and external market. Major Centres are Faisalabad, Multan, Lahore and Karachi. Woollen Cloth is manufactured in Karachi, Lawrencepur, Harnai, Quaidabad, Multan and Bannu.
- **Sugar:** Pakistan has made tremendous progress in this industry. It is a food item; agro based industry, located in Sindh, Punjab and Sindh.
- **Cement:** This industry has gone through major expansion. Over 20 factories are established in the public and private sectors which cater to Pakistani needs. Still it is imported in limited quantity. Most of the sites are in Dandot, Daud Khel, Wah, Rori and Karachi.
- **Vegetable Ghee:** Cooking oil is a major food item. There is much expansion over the years both in private and public sectors. Now we are self sufficient, although some raw material for making cooking oil is imported. About 60 units are in Sindh, Punjab and NWFP.
- **Iron and Steel:** Steel Mill near Karachi was set up with the help of the former Soviet Union. The major problem was that of raw material. The iron ore found in Pakistan is very poor in quality. Steel rolling units and iron related factories exist in different parts of Pakistan.
- **Paper:** Major paper industry was in East Pakistan, which was lost in 1971. We had to face shortage of locally made paper after 1971. Now this industry is located in Noshera, Charsada, Gujranwala, Lahore, and Gharo. Some quality paper has to be imported.

• **Machine, tools:** Heavy Mechanical Complex (HMC) Texla serve this purpose. HMC was set up with Chinese cooperation.

• Machinery, industrial equipment, engineering goods, engines, machinery for sugar, cement, and fertilizer industry is prepared here.

• **Defence Industry:** Wah Ordnance Complex is established for weapons and armaments. HMC is making Tank Rebuild Factory. Kamara Aircraft Rebuild factory overhauls F-6 and Mirage. It is also manufacturing Maashak, K-8.

• **Other Important Industry:**

Fertilizer, Tobacco and cigarettes, Oil Refineries, Cars and Tractors production, Shipbuilding: Karachi Shipyard, Ship breaking.

• **Cottage Industry:**

Industries established on small scale, involving a household or small number of people, use of limited resources, having less investment are called small or cottage industries e.g., Carpets, sports goods, toys, power or handlooms, handicraft etc.

Future Directions:

There is no escape from industrialization. It is a must for prosperity and development. We are having Mixed economy with an emphasis on private initiative. Privatisation and Foreign investment need appropriate conditions: political and economic stability, infrastructure, less bottle necks, corruption issue, low interest loans and state support and above all security of investment.

Agriculture as a Major sector and its Issues

Pakistan is an agricultural country. More than 70 percent of its population lives in rural areas. Over 50 percent are directly engaged in farming or agro-based activities.

- Share of agriculture to GDP is 26 percent.
- In Punjab and Sindh plains are very large. There are irrigated farmlands.
- Two major crops are yielded in a year

(a) **RABI:** Sown in October-November and produce obtained in April-May. Important products are Wheat, Gram, Oil seeds.

(b) **KHARIF:** Sown in May-June and produce is obtained in October-November. Important crops are Rice, Sugar Cane, Cotton etc.

• **Main crops:** Wheat, Rice, Cotton, Sugar Cane, Gram, Maize, Mustard, Tobacco, Oil seeds, Fruits and vegetables.

• **Land Reforms:** were introduced from time to time by different governments: in 1959, 1972, and 1977. The aim was to reduce land holding and to strengthen the position of tenants. It was done for improving yield per acre and poverty alleviation in agriculture field.

Problems in Agriculture:

There are number of problems in our agriculture, for instance:

1. Outdated modes of cultivation, which cause low per acre yield.
2. Water Logging and Salinity. Attention is being given to these since mid-1960.
3. Crop diseases are big problem. Technical support is being provided by Department of Agricultural. It helped to overcome the problem. Our inputs have problem of quality, which cause low prices in market. Other handicaps are low quality seeds, costly fertilizers, non-availability of electricity or oil for tube well etc.
4. Water related problem, sometimes it is too little, but sometimes it is too much. Cleaning of Canals is also necessary to provide water at the end of canal.
5. Credit facilities are also problematic.
6. Access to market is difficult.
7. Availability of reasonable price should be ensured for the welfare of the farmers and high yield of crop.

Agriculture and Development Plans:

- Research is done for the development of high yield seeds giving better output. Information and guidance is being provided to the common farmer to enjoy the fruits of the advance research in the field of agriculture. University education is developed in various parts of Pakistan especially in Faisalabad and Jamshoro. Emphasis is laid on modern technology in practical field.
- Communication and transportation facilities are increased.
- Government ensures the payment to the farmers for their produce immediately.

Health Issues in Pakistan

Problems related to the health sector of Pakistan include low budgetary allocation, lack of doctors, poor physical infrastructure, population explosion, fake and expensive medicines, lack of paramedical staff, quackery, etc.

1. Low Budgetary allocation

According to World Health Organization's standard, a country should spend at least 5% of its GDP on the health sector. The share of GDP that most of the developed nations allocate for health is 8%. However, for third-world countries like Pakistan, 8% of GDP allocation for health remains to be a dream. Pakistan allocates less than 3% of its GDP to the health sector which relatively a very small amount to meet the health needs of an increasing population.

Suggested remedies

The government in Pakistan needs to make health one of its top priorities in policymaking. Health is linked with the economic development of a country. The current allocation of funds for the health sector is negligible keeping the huge population of the state. Therefore, the successive governments should allocate at least 7 to 8% of their GDP to the health care sector of the country to ensure a healthy society.

2. Lack of doctors and hospitals

According to Kumar and Bano (2017), Pakistan is listed as one of 57 countries with critical health. The doctor-to-patient, doctor-to-nurse, and nurse-to-patient ratios in Pakistan were 1:1300 and 1:2 and 1:20 respectively. This shows a critical shortage of human resources in the

health sector of Pakistan. According to WHO, doctor to patient and doctor-to-nurse ratio should at least be 1: 100 and 1:4 ratio respectively.

3. Poor Physical infrastructure

The infrastructure of Basic Health Units (BHU's) and Rural Health Centres (RHC's) in Pakistan is very poor. As a result majority of people are reluctant to use public health services. This leads to the diversion of people to the hospitals providing tertiary care (Kurji et al., 2016). The hospital lacks important health facilities i.e. X-ray, MRI, Ultrasound, operation theatres, ventilators, and other facilities. The number of hospitals and health care units is so small that it cannot meet even the basic health needs of an increasing population. Similarly, the distance, poor road conditions, and absence of ambulances hinder access to health services in times of emergency.

4. Weak human resources

The overall health sector faces an acute shortage of trained and skilled workforce across different levels of health care i.e. primary, secondary, and tertiary. The staff of the BHUs often exhibit an attitude and behavior characterized by a lack of professionalism, politeness, and gentle dealing. Those who visit public sector Basic Health Units often find themselves caught in a nightmare. This has led to the underutilization of the public health sector in the country.

How to develop human resources in the health sector?

In Pakistan, the development of human resources in the health sector does not match their actual demand. It is rather far away from the actual demand. Therefore, it's high time to put measures in place given the principle of the Demand-Supply Mechanism.

i. Inservice training and workshops

To produce a quality workforce for the health sector, the quality of medical and allied education both in the public and private sectors needs to be looked into. In-service refresher training/workshops need to be conducted to enhance skills at individual and institutional levels. Medical colleges and universities should offer advanced Nursing courses.

ii. Establishment of more medical colleges and universities

Similarly, there is a dire need to establish more medical colleges to offer admission for more students in the medical discipline. This will help to increase the number of doctors, nurses, and professional health practitioners in the country. Moreover, the government should give scholarships to the students both on a need and performance basis to help poor students pursue their careers in medicine.

5. Population growth

Pakistan the sixth most populous country in the world. The decline in population growth rate has been slow. The current population growth rate of 2% is still very high. This high growth rate makes it difficult for the authorities to cater to the increasing needs of health.

Suggested Remedies

Pakistan's population is increasing with an enormous growth rate. according to different estimates, Pakistan would be the fourth populous country by 1950. The problem of overpopulation compels the nation to compromise the overall health status of the people. Serious measures need to be put in place to check the high population growth rate trend in Pakistan. Firstly, the government should frame a policy to aware and encourage people to practice family planning. Promotion of cooperation with mainstream and social media outlets, religious scholars, community notables, etc. Schools and colleges can be instrumental in making creating a family planning-friendly environment in the country. Moreover, underage marriages continue happening despite laws discouraging this practice. Hence, the government and its sub institutions like police need to take practical steps should stop early marriages to decrease the reproductive span.

6. Uncontrol Prices of the medicines.

Thus the ineffective price control regulation is a major concern of the health sector in Pakistan and developing countries. In Pakistan, 64% of health expenditure is borne by patients from their pocket is unaffordable due to the high prices of medicines (Saeed et al. 2017 as cited in JD et al. 2002). Thus the uncontrolled prices are one of the major obstacles for inadequate access to medicines, of both simple and essential nature (Saeed et al. 2017 as cited in JD et al. 2002). Similarly, the treatment and related services are also too expensive to bear for the poor. The government-funded system is relatively considered to be less expensive but in reality, it is a myth. When attending a public sector Basic health unit, a patient has to bear various costs i.e. charges of medication and other consumables. More than 35% of the population in Pakistan lives under the poverty line. These people do not receive any care and are caught in the 'medical poverty trap'.

Suggested remedies

Health insurance for the poor and availability of medicines at hospitals.

- There should be a clear pricing formula to considerably overcome the issue of affordability. Currently, price determination depends upon the prices of the inputs. This results in wide price variability and was thought to also create opportunities for collusion to obtain high prices.
- Provide subsidies for drug companies through a proper monitoring mechanism for the production of low-cost medicines.
- Should improve procurement practices, make them more transparent and competitive to rationalize the spending in alignment with patient consumption and morbidity data (Zaidi et al. 2013).
- exemption on electricity, gas, and taxes to pharma companies. exemption in import duties.
- Health coverage systems for the poor like the Ihsaas program, etc.

7. Quackery

In Pakistan, there is no dearth of fake doctors and medical practitioners. The quacks pretending themselves as doctors play with the health and life of the poor people. Zubair (2017) has found

that most people in Pakistan consider quacks an important part of society. They are an ultimate need due to less number of registered medical practitioners as per the requirement of the population.

Remedial measures

To counter the issue of quackery in Pakistan, Zubair (2017) suggests the government to ensure:

1. institutions produce a good number of genuine medical practitioners as per the demand of society.
2. presence of registered medical practitioners at Health care units round the clock in villages and remote areas;
3. establishment of more and more health care units in areas with low-income people;
4. make free the medicines and presence of genuine medical practitioners and paramedical staff;
5. enhancement of the capacity of the medical practitioners concerning patient dealing and treatment.

8. Brain drain

There is a serious dearth of nurses and doctors in hospitals in hospitals both in private and public health centers in Pakistan. Nevertheless, there are a huge number of doctors, nurses and different are working in other countries i.e. UAE, Saudi Arabia, etc. at the moment.

There are many reasons for this phenomenon. The two most important reasons in the case of Brain Drain i.e. life security issue and fewer salaries for the staff.

Measures to stop the brain drain

Salary package and special incentives matching with the existing market rate should be provided to stop the brain drain of trained human resource

9. Absenteeism of staff

Public sector employees related to the health sector including doctors not showing up for work is a major problem in developing countries including Pakistan (Callin et al. 2016). Most of the assigned doctors are busy in their private practice even during their duty timings. According to Callin et al (2016), the appointment of health sector employees is in most cases is a political appointment. Those in power appoint doctors and paramedics of their choice as a kind of patronage to reward political loyalty.

Callin et al (2016) have found that the attendance is much lower in clinics where politicians win by large margins whereas the attendance increased by about 20.8 percentage points, moving from a constituency completely captured by one party to a constituency where all parties receive an identical share of the vote.

10. Lack of accountability

Low-performance accountability (efficiency and quality issues)

The Health System of Pakistan lacks an effective mechanism of monitoring and check-and-balance. Consequently, efficiency and quality issues leading to low-performance have become commonplace. Lack of proper regulation in terms of quality care, cost, etc, in the public sector, is being copied in the private sector also.

The statistical results show that the most contributing factors are no law enforcement and weak legislation while the most effective remedies to solve the problem of growth of spurious drugs

are severe and enhanced punishment for the culprits and enforcement of laws, as well as random inspections at drugs outlets.

11. Fake/Spurious Medicines

The sale and consumption of fake medicines are one of the commonplace health-related issues in Pakistan. Almost 50% of medicines in the market in Pakistan alleged to be fake and made to imitate the genuine (Salim and Fiaz 2021). The issue of spurious drugs causes other severe health problems and even leads to death.

Remedies for drug counterfeiting

Research recommends many ways to counter the issue of drug counterfeiting. To counter this issue in Pakistan, the government should ensure:

- strict implementation of relevant laws in letter and spirit.
- effective regulation of Drug Control Authority in the country.
- special training for police in random inspections and concluding a real case.
- enhancement of proper monitoring of drug courts and drug inspectors.
- Drug sale with proper prescription at any medical store with only on the prescription of a registered medical practitioner.
- Exemplary punishments should be awarded to the culprits to discourage the practice of counterfeiting.
- arrangement of training sessions and awareness regarding the adverse impact of the issue.

Water Crisis

Water crisis in Pakistan

The need of the hour is to switch to sustainable ways of living and introduce transformative actions and techniques.

Pakistan is experiencing devastating environmental issues such as air pollution, deforestation, climate change, water scarcity, and loss of biodiversity.

In an era of advancement, everyone knows of the problems being faced. But I question how many of us are actually working toward it! Are we all playing our part in protecting Mother Earth? Are we making any efforts to conserve the depleting resources?

Are we not guilty? Yes, we are! The need of the hour is to switch to sustainable ways of living and introduce transformative actions and techniques. A collective effort is required on behalf of the governmental organisations, NGOS, civil societies and local communities to curb the deteriorating impact on environment.

Water scarcity is a gargantuan problem. The Indus River is the 'lifeline' of Pakistan. It provides for almost 300 million people and the water required for agriculture, industrial use, energy production and human consumption. However, the river is being negatively impacted by rising temperatures, changes in weather patterns, reduced flows, habitual destruction and pollution. In Lahore, almost 600 tubewells have been installed and 40 billion cubics are used every day which means a lot of water is wasted.

Karachi, a cosmopolitan city, is the ideal example of a polluted city. From sewage and drainage to the dirty public beaches and the infinite number of cars emitting smoke is resulting in air pollution. The massive infrastructure developed over the last 15 years or so has wiped out green spaces, hence leaving a desert-like condition where there is only a mirage of water but no water. Climate change is perhaps the cause of all environmental issues. But something is also causing climate change. The answer is simple. It is human interference that is resulting in destroying the planet. The reckless exploitation of resources on behalf of humankind is causing unrest on Gaia.

The masses are literally tearing at each other. There is no water even to drink, let alone shower. Life has become a hellfire for the masses. They drink from the coolers installed in the park, rest under the shade of the few trees left and shower in canals to get relief from the surging waves of heat.

Does this not imply how necessary it is to save water! Water is the essential ingredient to flourish in nature. Be it mankind, animals, plants, and insects all need water to survive. Without water, there will be no life on earth.

Water is the key to sustenance. All life will thrive only if there is water. It has a healing property.

Air pollution is the next biggest threat to the planet. The primary causes are transport and tobacco. Tobacco companies have a massive business. The sale of cigarettes is reaching alarming heights. Trees are being cut down to produce cigarettes. Moreover, they are hazardous to human health and are resulting in allergies and diseases such as asthma, lung cancer.

The smoke emitting vehicles have similar effects. However, where it is a necessity to have more than two cars in a family, it can only be addressed to use them economically so as to conserve petrol and simultaneously not sacrificing your needs.

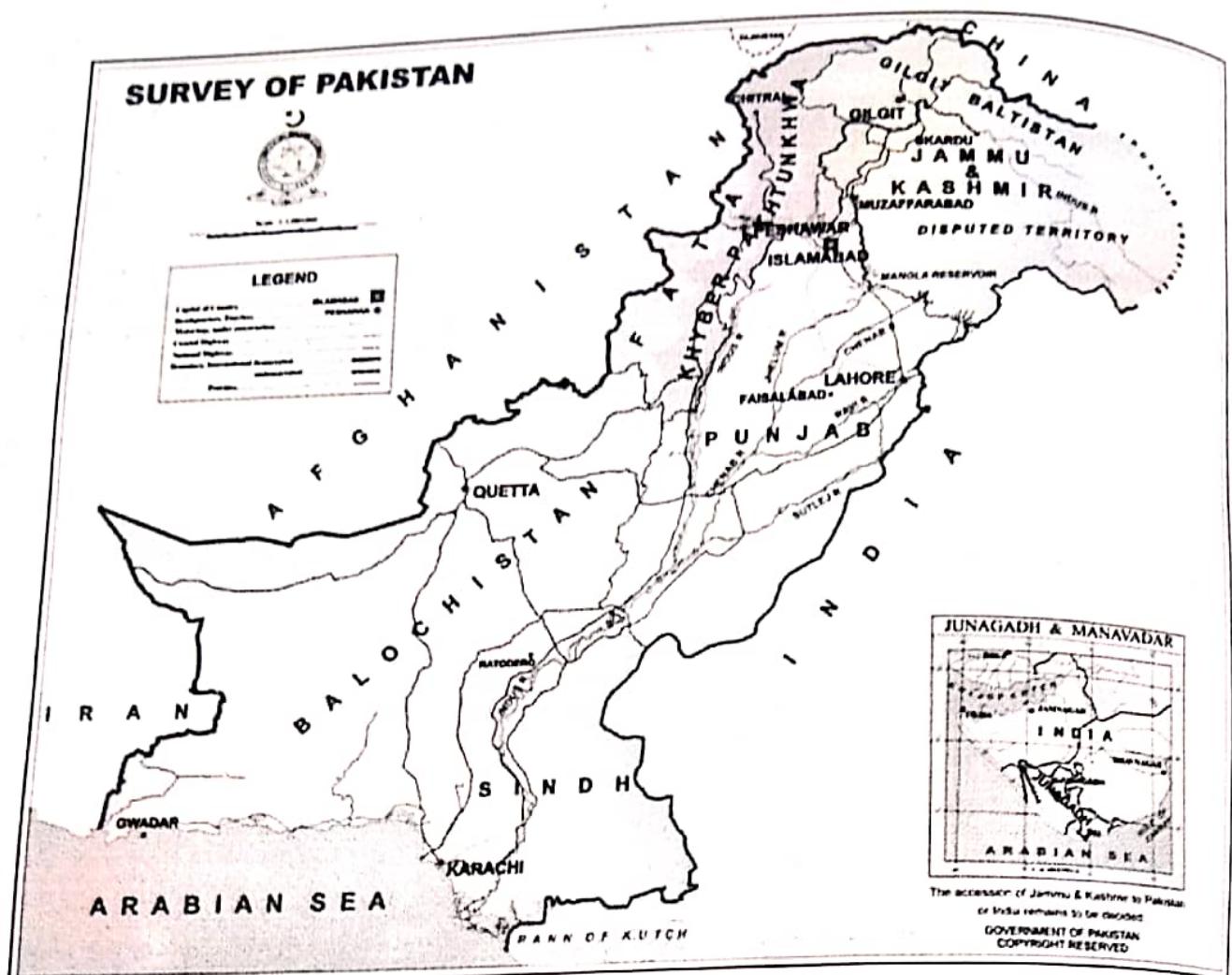
Deforestation is also a cause for concern. Recently a wildfire broke out in Swat town of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa destroying the forest completely. The cause of the fire is of course human intervention. A lit cigarette was thrown here and there or an unextinguished bonfire.

Trees are vital to keeping the ecosystem running. The ecosystem works in a domino effect. Hence, there is nothing useless. Everything is there for a purpose.

To conclude, it is essential to invest in nature-friendly techniques. Introducing ways to sync nature with the urban is the answer to our problems.

Heal the world, so that the planet is inhabitable by all species, for the earth will take its revenge if tampered with. So don't mess with nature!

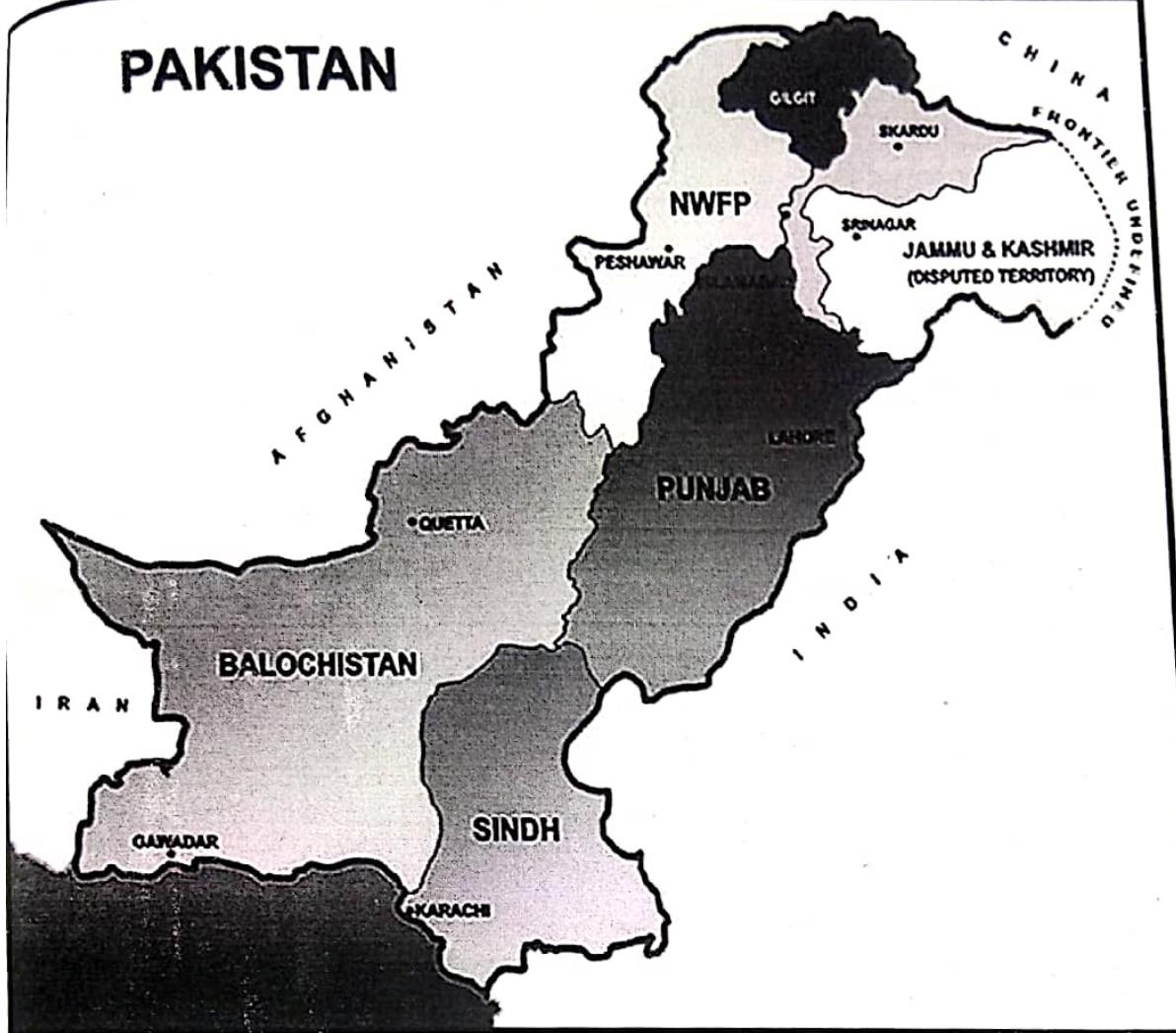
MAPS



Political Map of Pakistan (2020)

<http://www.surveyofpakistan.gov.pk/Detail/MTUzYWU5ZGltNTA4NS00MDlkLWFLODctNTRkY2JmNWl0Mjg2>

PAKISTAN



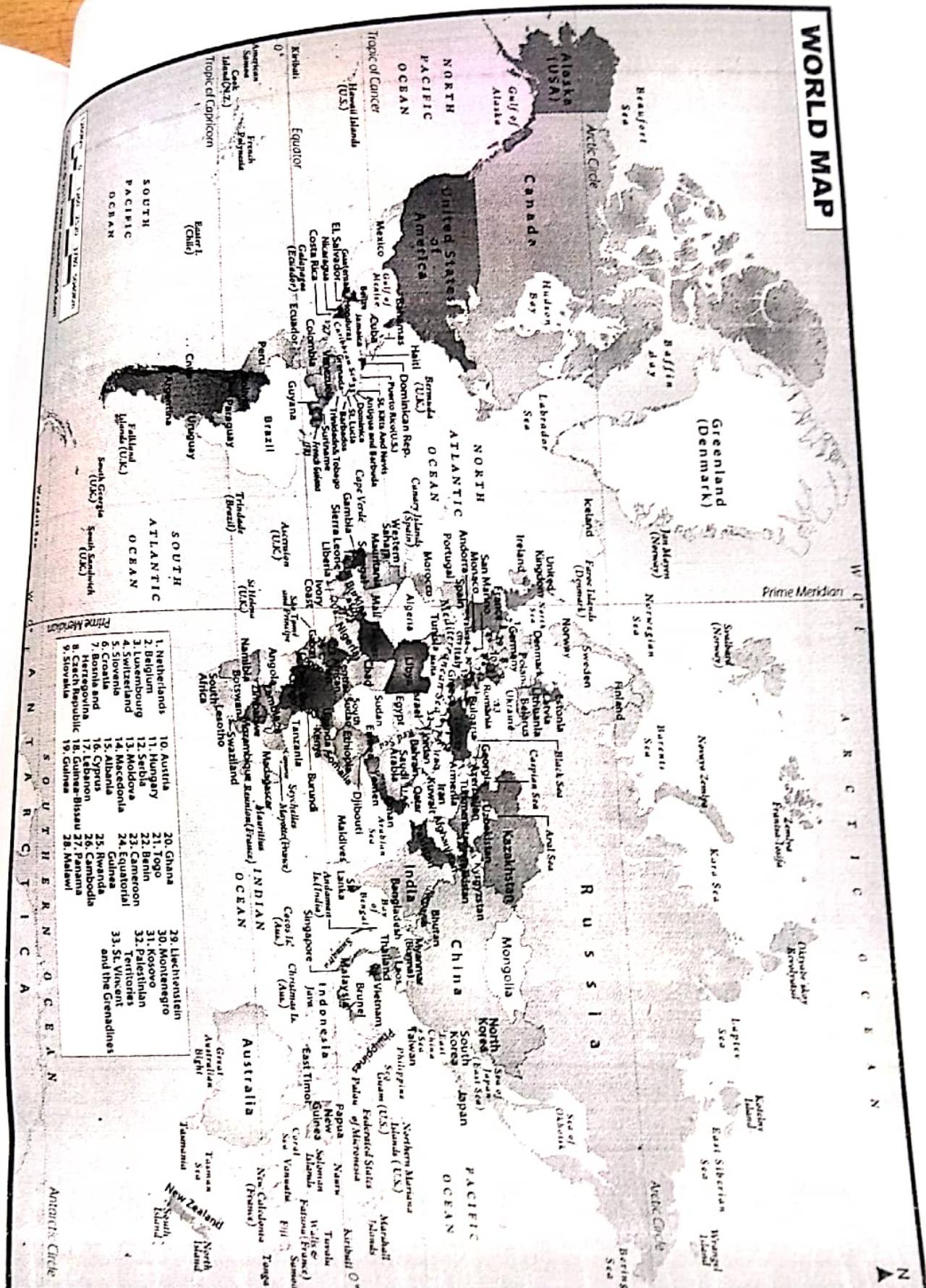
Pre-Partition Map



WORLD MAP

A R C T I C O C K A N

► 2

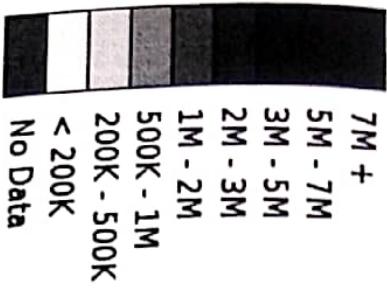


Population (2017)

*Includes four provinces, the federal capital, Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit-Baltistan

2021 District Borders in use

This map will be updated as soon as
Gilgit-Baltistan's districts. The other
seven districts of Gilgit-Baltistan
are newly created (or experienced
border changes) and data for them
is not yet available.
Having data for the country as a
whole has been demanded and is
under process. The total data taken
is an average of the data collected with
the data for those seven districts
when it is finalized.



Total: 213,222,917*

Punjab: 109,989,655

Sindh: 47,854,510

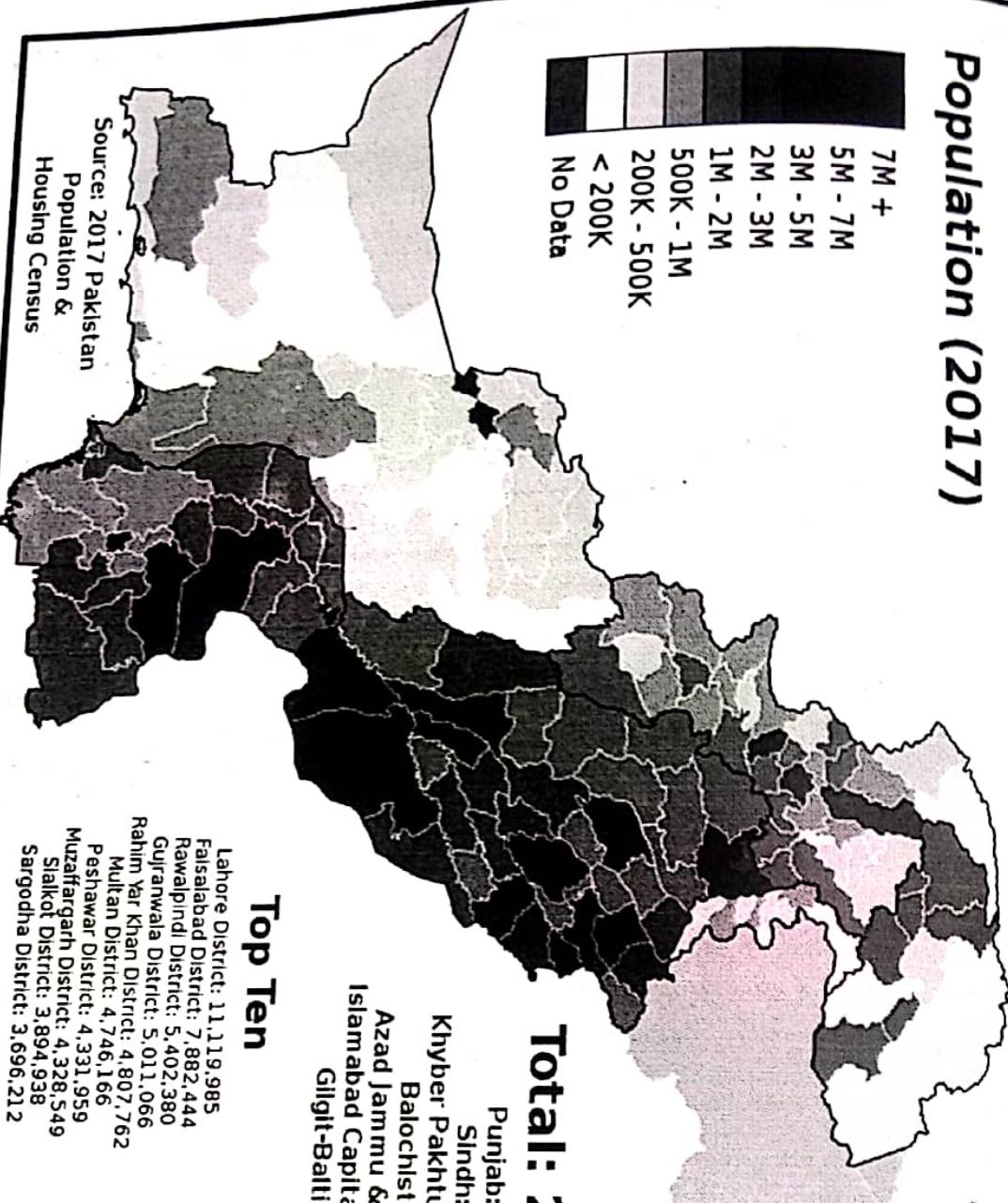
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: 35,501,964

Balochistan: 12,335,129

Azad Jammu & Kashmir: 4,045,367

Islamabad Capital Territory: 2,003,368

Gilgit-Baltistan: 1,492,924



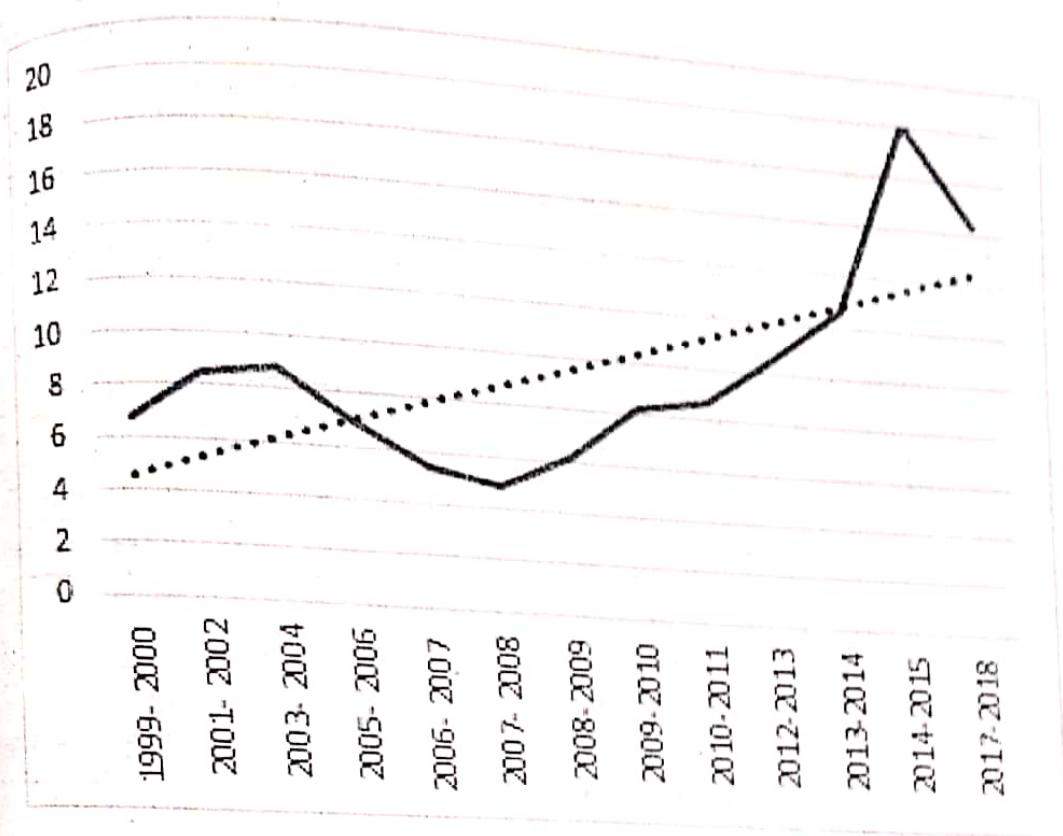
Source: 2017 Pakistan Population & Housing Census

Top Ten

Bottom Ten

Hunza District: ~50,000†
Naggar District: ~50,000†
Shigar District: ~70,000†
Harnai District: 97,052
Astore District: ~100,000†
Awaran District: 121,821
Jhal Magsi District: 148,900
Haveli District: 152,124
Sherani District: 152,952

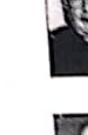
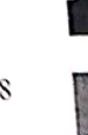
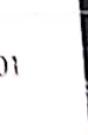
Graduate Unemployment in Pakistan (1999 – 2018)



List of Governors-General of Pakistan

No.	Portrait	Name (Birth–Death)	Term of office			Monarch (Reign)
			Took office	Left office	Time in office	
1		Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948)	14 August 1947	11 September 1948	1 year, 28 days	 George VI (1947–1952)
2		Sir Khawaja Nazimuddin (1894–1964)	14 September 1948	17 October 1951	3 years, 33 days	
3		Sir Ghulam Muhammad (1895–1956)	17 October 1951	7 August 1955	3 years, 294 days	 Elizabeth II (1952–1956)
4		Iskander Mirza (1899–1969)	7 August 1955	23 March 1956	229 days	

Presidents of Pakistan

	Name	Tenure	Image
1	Maj. General Iskander Mirza	23-03-1956 To 27-10-1958	
2	General Mohammed Ayub Khan	27-10-1958 To 25-03-1969	
3	General Mohammed Yahya Khan	25-03-1969 To 20-12-1971	
4	Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	20-12-1971 To 14-08-1973	
5	Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry	14-08-1973 To 16-09-1978	
6	General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq	16-09-1978 To 17-08-1988	
7	Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan	17-08-1988 To 08-07-1993	
8	Mr. Wasim Sajjad (Acting)	18-07-1993 To 14-11-1993	
9	Sardar Farooq Ahmed Leghari	14-11-1993 To 02-12-1997	
10	Mr. Wasim Sajjad (Acting)	02-12-1997 To 01-01-1998	
11	Justice (R) Mohammed Rafiq Tarar	01-01-1998 To 20-06-2001	

12	General Parvez Musharraf	20-06-2001 To 15-10-2007	
13	General (Retd) Parvez Musharraf	29-11-2007 To 18-08-2008	
14	Mohammedian Soomro (Acting)	18-08-2008 To 09-09-2008	
15	Mr. Asif Ali Zardari	09-09-2008 To 09-09-2013	
16	Mr. Mamnoon Hussain	09-09-2013 To 09-09-2018	
17	Dr. Arif-ur-Rehman Alvi	09-09-2018 To date	

Prime Ministers of Pakistan

S.No	Name	Tenure	Image
1	Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan	15-08-1947 To 16-10-1951	
2	Khawaja Nazimuddin	17-10-1951 To 17-04-1953	
3	Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra	17-04-1953 To 11-08-1955	
4	Ch. Mohammed Ali	11-08-1955 To 12-09-1956	
5	Mr. Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi	12-09-1956 To 18-10-1957	
6	Mr. Ibrahim Ismail Chaundrigar	18-10-1957 To 16-12-1957	
7	Malik Feroz Khan Noon	16-12-1957 To 07-10-1958	
8	Mr. Noor-ul-Amin	07-12-1971 To 20-12-1971	
9	Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto	14-08-1973 To 05-07-1977	
10	Mr. Muhammad Khan Junejo	23-03-1985 To 29-05-1988	

11	Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto	02-12-1988 To 06-08-1990	
12	Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Jatoi (Caretaker)	06-08-1990 To 06-11-1990	
13	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	06-11-1990 To 18-04-1993	
14	Mir Balakh Sher Mazari (Caretaker)	18-04-1993 To 26-05-1993	
15	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	26-05-1993 To 08-07-1993	
16	Mr. Moin Qureshi (Caretaker)	08-07-1993 To 19-10-1993	
17	Mohtrama Benazir Bhutto	19-10-1993 To 05-11-1996	
18	Malik Meraj Khalid (Caretaker)	06-11-1996 To 17-02-1997	
19	Mian Mohammed Nawaz Sharif	17-02-1997 To 12-10-1999	
20	Mir Zafarullah Khan Jamali	23-11-2002 To 26-06-2004	
21	Chuadary Shujaat Hussain	30-06-2004 To 26-08-2004	
22	Mr. Shaukat Aziz	28-08-2004 To 15-11-2007	

16	Mr. Muhammad Mian Soomro (Caretaker)	16-11-2007 To 24-03-2008	
17	Syed Yousaf Raza Gillani	25-03-2008 To 25-04-2012	
18	Raja Pervez Ashraf	22-06-2012 To 24-03-2013	
19	Mir Hazar Khan Khoso (Caretaker)	25-03-2013 To 05-06-2013	
20	Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif	05-06-2013 To 28-07-2017	
21	Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi	01-08-2017 To 31-05-2018	
22	Justice (Retd) Nasir-ul-Mulk (Caretaker)	01-06-2018 To 18-08-2018	
23	Mr. Imran Khan	18-08-2018 To 10-04-2022	
24	Mian Muhammad Shehbaz Sharif	11-04-2022 To date	