



AITCHISON COLLEGE

MODEL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE VI

Pakistan National Assembly



INDEPENDENT BODIES

Research Guide: Pakistan National Assembly

Note: This Research Guide tries to provide a complete overview of the Topic Area. However, it is expected that delegates do not rely on this completely as this guide aims to provide the sub-topics for further research and a framework of what type of research is expected. Ties of old definitions of sovereignty. They not only diminished the legitimacy of national sovereignty but also broadened the scope of action that international bodies could take in defense of human rights and to protect against genocide and mass murder. It was always a balancing act, but there was inherent tension between the rights of national sovereignty—which the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council jealously protected—and the rights of individuals to protection—which were championed in such bodies as the Human Rights Council, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the human rights treaty bodies.

Topic Area A: Energy Crisis-The Future of Pakistan



Abid Sher Ali, The Minister of State for Water and Power



A power outage in Karachi, August 2013

Introduction:

Energy has become one of the most significant needs of the modern human being. The use of energy has greatly evolved over the last century. The whole range of human activities including accommodation, trade and commerce, industry, transportation and agriculture have mostly become dependent on energy.

The economic progress of a country is heavily dependent on the strength of its energy sector. Pakistan, a country still on the road to progress, has faced a severe energy crisis since its inception. Pakistan is in the midst of one of the worst energy crises in its history. This is both slowing the pace of economic activity and causing public unrest with prolonged outages of

electricity and gas. The crisis has many sub-topics and is far from being solved, in the foreseeable future. In fact, the situation has deteriorated in the very recent years.

History of the Problem:

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan emerged on the world map on the 14th of August, 1947. Its people were in need of resources not only to settle down in the new state, but also to build up industries and consequently, the economy. State-owned and private sector industries needed an adequate power supply for their various processes.

1947: Power generation requires both capital and infrastructure. At the time of partition, Pakistan lacked both. The Power Hub city (Mundi) was a Muslim majority city but was handed over to India. However, two hydropower stations, the Malakand and Renala power stations, worth a cumulative total of 11 MW, were given to Pakistan.

1950s: Establishment of the Water and Power Development Authority in 1958.

1960s: In order to prevent any conflict arising in the future based on energy and water resources, the Indus Water treaty was signed in 1960 between India and Pakistan. According to this treaty, Pakistan gained control of the waters of rivers Indus, Jhelum and Chenab while India got control of rivers Ravi, Sutlej and Beas. A big energy network was built up by WAPDA with aid from foreign states and the army. Power generation was handled by hydel power stations and coal-fired thermal power stations. Mangla Dam was opened in 1967 and the Warsak Dam in 1960.

1970s: Concentrating on nuclear power a bit more, the Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) was constructed in 1972, thanks to the financial aid from Canada and the works of Dr. Abdus Salam. The Tarbela Dam was also opened in 1976 in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, boasting a maximum capacity of 4890 MW.

1980s: Infrastructural development.

1990s: An energy policy was put forward by the Pakistan People's Party in the 1994. Independent Power Producers (IPPs) were welcomed and encouraged with Letters of Intent (LOIs) and 70 Memorandums of Understandings (MOUs) to generate approximately less than 6.5 MW of electricity. Although the policy encouraged progress in the energy sector, it was not entirely successful. According to Sartaj Aziz, the then-head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the ratio of hydroelectric to thermal power generation fell from 60:40 to 20:80 in the winter.

2000s: In September 2000, a second nuclear power plant at Chasma was opened to generate 325 MW. In 2002, the Alternate Energy Development Board was created to discuss the possibility of using renewable energy, especially wind power. The Ghazi-Barotha Hydropower Project was opened in 2002, having a capacity of 1450 MW.

In 2005, the PML-Q government launched a plan to secure energy and Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz sought financial investment from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. In 2006-07, the gap between the demand for electricity and its supply rose to an intolerable extent. Urban areas were experiencing fourteen hours of load shedding while the situation was even worse in rural areas.

2010s: The Khan Khwar Hydropower plant opened with a capacity of 72 MW in Shangla district. Also the Allai Khwar Hydropower plant was opened in 2013, producing 121 MW. The Satpara Dam and Gomal Zam Dam became operational. In addition, the construction of two coal-fired power plants had begun in Sahiwal each with an expected capacity of 660 MW. The Neelum-Jhelum Hydropower Plant is planned to open in 2016.

Current Situation and Recent Developments:

The following news article provides a brief summary of the current situation of loadshedding in Pakistan (as of 11 JUNE 2014):

"It was recently reported from Lahore that the load shedding hours and power outages have been stretched for as long as 11 hours in a single day. Sources claim that the shortfall has increased to 3600MW and in order to make up for the short fall, at least 11 hours of load shedding is needed.

The major cities such as Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi are still experiencing less than 11 hours of load shedding, but areas in Punjab, interior Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are currently facing load shedding hours of more than 12 hours (besides forced shutdowns)."

A source claimed, "The Lahorites are also facing about nine to 10 hours loadshedding besides continuous tripping, low voltage and power fluctuation due to overloaded power distribution system."

The total power generation is currently 13700MW while the demand has stretched up to 17300MW. This means that there is a shortfall of at least 3600MW and the power distribution companies have to carry out load shedding for up to 11 hours at least.

The situation, however, is better than last year when people were experiencing at least 15 hours of load shedding during this time of the month. This situation is expected to improve further in the month of July as Pakistan deploys different plans to make more electricity.

The following news article provides a brief summary of the current situation of gas shortage in Pakistan (as of 09 JUNE 2014):

"The PML-N's insubstantial efforts to increase the supply of gas in the country have unsurprisingly failed to end the energy crisis. With their victory in the elections, it was hoped that the government would deliver on their promise of completing the Iran-Pak gas pipeline. But, much like PPP's previous government, combined pressure from Saudi Arabia and the US has forced the state to reconsider, and all of Pakistan's hopes for gas are now pinned on LNG instead; a more expensive substitute. There were rumors from within the Petroleum Ministry claiming that Iran and Pakistan had agreed to extend the deadline for completion of the pipeline by a year, but this has been refuted by the Iran government. With less than six months left till the deadline, it is perplexing to see the government include a provision in this year's Annual Plan, but the Prime Minister's visit to Iran is most likely behind this decision. Sadly, in Pakistan things do not always go to plan, and more often than not it is chucked out the window and governments make decisions based on the whims of leaders.

Work on the LNG terminal has finally begun, and according to contract stipulations, Elengy Terminal Pakistan Limited (ETPL) must make it functional by March 2015. The PML-N has sensibly given up hope of securing the import of LNG through the US, however, the deal with Qatargas has seemingly stalled as well; over disagreements in price. The government is hoping to import LNG from Qatar for around \$16 per mmbtu. Qatargas does not see this valuation as feasible, and is reportedly holding out for around \$21 per mmbtu. Interestingly, talks with India over LNG imports are encountering the same issues, and a failure to agree on the price is disrupting talks on that end as well. But just how LNG from India will be transported across the border and then used is not clear, considering there is no plan to build an LNG terminal at Wagah. Additionally, the price of furnace oil in the international market is currently floating around \$18 per mmbtu, which will tarnish the hope of relying on LNG as a cheaper substitute for oil in the country. And then there's the TAPI pipeline, hopes for which have resurfaced once more after all four countries reached an agreement on the proposed pricing policies. As it stands, not even one of the plans of the government to overcome the gas shortage are any closer to fruition, and the PML-N must ensure that the Qatar deal is closed before the completion of the LNG terminal in Karachi to increase the supply before the gas shortage cripples the economy even further."

Pakistan stands at a demand-supply gap of 3500-4000 MW. Electricity costs near Rs. 15/unit. 40% of the country (including many rural areas) is not connected to the national grid. Daily load shedding has caused panic and anger among citizens, and has led to 'tajeran' (traders) and citizens to protesting together. On the other hand, there is a natural gas shortage of 700mmcf/d. Petroleum prices are on the rise. Renewable and alternative sources of energy still remain under-developed. However, Pakistan has now focused on other renewable resources at varying degrees, with more than 400 to 500 MW of power generation being pursued through wind farms. While major solar projects are still to be implemented, subsidies and other initiatives have been issued by the government for its use on the micro-level such as powering tube-wells, water geysers, and household lighting.

Causes of, and issues in, the problem:

Note: The following sub-topics are not only past and current causes of the energy crisis, but also the issues and conflicts, which need to be discussed and resolved by the committee.

Demand-Supply Gap:

As of 11 June, 2014, Pakistan has a daily demand-supply gap of 3500-4000 MW. This gap varies over time based on natural and human factors. The term 'demand-supply gap' is the difference between the required Megawatts of electricity and the Megawatts of electricity being produced by the energy network. The power outages in the country run proportional to this gap. One of the major issues that the committee should address is how to deal with/reduce this demand-supply gap.

Cities and Districts have become much more populated, as compared to 1947, which has led to an increase in the demand side of the gap. In addition, as a result of rural electrification, modern day villages also depend on power from the national grid. Factories and Industries have been set up on new sites and in industrial zones. Electrical Appliances have become more economical and are now used by not only the upper classes but also the lower and working classes. These appliances also add up in the demand of electricity. More people drive cars, which require fossil fuels but these same fossil fuels are needed to generate electricity. The standard of living in Pakistan has risen and has become more

dependent on power, as has its population. This has widened the demand-supply gap: not only is the energy sector struggling to generate for the current population, it also has to deal with the further expected rise in population and consequently, the demand.

Wastage and Theft of Energy:

Another major reason of the energy crisis is the wastage of energy through technical issues and the theft of electricity. Wasting electricity is caused by leaving things on when they are not in use. This means leaving on lights and fans when we are not in the room or leaving the TV on or plugged into the mains supply when we are not in the house. Electricity is also lost due to technical issues and long transmission lines. This problem can be countered by the use of high voltages and many other techniques.

Electricity theft is common in several parts of the world including Pakistan. It causes huge financial losses and costs billions of rupees to Pakistan. The problem has several aspects including socio-economic, political, environmental and psychological backgrounds of the people of the country. This theft is one of the major reasons of shortage of electricity in the country and the reason for prolonged power outages. It is duty of the management (WAPDA and K-Electric) to overpower the electricity theft, which is being carried out on a massive scale. Electricity theft, in general, occurs due to joint corruption done by the utility employees and consumers. Electricity theft can take place through a number of ways. Electric companies charge electricity on the basis of meter readings at the consumers' edge so as to allow for a reduction in the bill. The government should not show any tolerance for electricity theft and related crimes. The major causes of theft of electricity are inefficiency, ineffective accountability, corruption in state departments and political instability. There are several ways of stealing electricity. Several people illegally put wires into a power supply or hook up a line that has been disconnected or tamper with a meter to avoid recording electricity usage and hence, the financial cost. Several people lose their lives in stealing electricity due to inexperience and electric shocks. Many people carry deadly risks to their own lives. Major theft crimes occur due to several reasons including meter tampering, bypassing meters and tapping power lines. Pakistan lost Rs.90 billion in electricity theft and line losses during the last five years i.e. 2009-2013. According to Abid Sher Ali, the State Minister for Power and Water, 98% electricity is stolen from the constituency of Faryal Talpur, the sister of ex-president Asif Ali Zardari. In a Press Conference, he said that most electricity is stolen in Sukkur division, which is in Sindh. He further stated that the recovery of debt, in relation to

electricity, is less than 40%. The only way to get rid of the menace of electricity theft is to show zero tolerance and strict punishment for the criminals.

Role of Government in Funding and Planning:

The Pakistani government is currently looking for investment from the private sector in the energy sector and for itself it has chosen to follow a policy of facilitation and arbitration. The government is, to some extent, dependent on the private sector when it comes to funding for power generation. The committee shall decide what role the government should take up in this regard.

Apart from funding, the committee also needs to discuss the role of the government in planning. Till now, in both civilian and military regimes, Pakistan's energy policy has been temporary and difficult to follow. A detailed and practical planning can aid Pakistan to develop generating units in Pakistan which will be a catalytic element for the economic growth, poverty elevation and prosperity in Pakistan. There has been criticism levelled at the 25-year energy plan under Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz's government, which increased the country's usage of oil for energy generation. Not a strong oil-producing country itself, Pakistan needs to import this oil at high prices, thus requiring a revision in light of the economy.

Lack of Infrastructure and Equipment:

To a very large extent, Pakistan has failed to maintain and repair power stations in the public sector, thus reducing their power-producing efficiency and their longevity. One very important reason that has caused this energy crisis/shortage is the ageing of the generating equipment which could not develop the electricity as per the design requirement. This is the responsibility of continuously updating the equipment and keeping the high standard of maintenance. Many power stations do not produce power due to mishandling and failure to maintain them. This topic needs to be addressed immediately as if this practice goes on, the demand-supply gap will increase.

Renewable Energy and Hydropower:

The government needs to develop renewable energy sources, not only to counter the energy crisis but also to reduce its reliance on fossil fuels. If serious work and planning is done in this regard, the shortage can be fully met by the Hydro and wind power sector. There are three main issues that the committee must discuss in this regard. Firstly, the development of hydropower, wind power and other renewable energy sources requires a lot of capital investment. Secondly, the efficiency of renewable energy sources, keeping in mind the area they cover in relation to the output. Lastly and most importantly are the geographical factors. The building of dams and wind turbines require evacuation of a lot of land and thus, damage natural and human life. The committee should discuss the importance of these factors in the development of renewable energy.

One special case to consider is the Kalabagh Dam. It has a planned maximum capacity of 3600 MW. If it were to be built, it would be the country's largest sole supplier of electricity. It was proposed in 2004 by the then PML-Q administration under PM Shaukat Aziz; the project was left in 2008. Federal Minister for Water and Power Raja Pervez Ashraf said that sharp opposition from Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa meant that construction could not take place. Opinions and thoughts differ on the construction of the dam. These include claims that it will help better irrigate parts of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and prevent drought because of the great quantity of water it will store. Others disagree and say that it is an expensive mistake compared to other proposals along the Indus. A viewpoint in Sindh is that the dam will worsen the downhill flow of water from Punjabi terrain and destroy farmland and mangroves near the coast.

The National Grid System:

This is another important issue that needs to be discussed by the committee. The Committee needs to discuss the topic in light of this system and find issues related to the grid. The areas not connected to the grid also need to be discussed. National Transmission & Despatch Company (NTDC) Limited was incorporated on 6th November, 1998 and commenced

commercial operation on 24th December, 1998. It was organized to take over all the properties, rights and assets obligations and liabilities of 220 KV and 500KV Grid Stations and Transmission Lines/Network owned by Pakistan Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA). NTDC operates and maintains twelve 500 KV and twenty nine 220 KV Grid Stations, 5077 km of 500 KV transmission line and 7359 km of 220 KV transmission line in Pakistan.

Inefficiency of Electric Power producers and distributors:

On June 6, 2014, Pakistan Electric Power Company (Pepco) claimed that the domestic electricity demand peaked to 17,000MW as summer set in and temperatures soared across the country. According to PEPCO, the current power generation stood at just 11,000MW, leaving a yawning gap of 6,000MW. PEPCO also claimed that Hydel contribution to the national grid stood at about 4,000MW, independent power producers (IPPs) at 6,100MW and thermal at about 1,400MW.

If transmission and dispatch losses are taken out of these 17,000MW, national contribution to K-Electric and 1,500MW of the feeders that are exempted from load shedding; the common man is left with only 9,000MW. Officials, however, claimed the shortfall was only 2,300MW – generation about 11,000MW and demand just over 13,000MW – or only 20 percent.

Pakistan's energy sector is mired in multiple problems, mainly hurt by a total absence of financial management and insufficient installed generating capacity.

The power sector's command-and-control system is too complex and the government needs to simplify it if it really wants to effectively tackle the mushrooming energy crisis. A lack of coordination and absence of any clear line of authority hampers any effort at formulating policy to address the current energy crisis in Pakistan.

Many proposals exist for quick creation of new power generation projects, but turf wars for operational control among a plethora of ministries and agencies have seriously slowed or completely halted the approval processes. Timely decisions are not taken to utilize all available resources and, surprisingly, no agency or ministry has the lead on implementing the National Energy Strategy, devised in 2009 and last revised in 2013.

Simply speaking, the country's policymakers cannot coordinate energy policy because of overlapping and contradictory authorities. World Bank estimates that Pakistan has lost over 500,000 jobs till 2013 while anecdotal evidence suggested that 13 million jobs were created between 2000 and 2007 when the country registered robust economic growth.

The power sector at the government level is currently fragmented into six ministries and 42 agencies after a series of privatizations since 1994. The lead line government agency for the electric power sector is the ministry of water and power. But, the ministry of petroleum and natural resources controls fuel supplies; the finance ministry holds the purse strings; the Planning Commission manages the investment approval process; and National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA) regulates the power sector companies.

Sadly enough, the demand for electricity appears not to be a priority of either the previous or the present government, at least, until it is too late to increase supply even remotely to keep up with demand. The power sector in Pakistan is a mix of hydel and thermal units dominated by two vertically integrated public sector utilities that are Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) for all of Pakistan except Karachi, and the Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC) for the City of Karachi and its surrounding areas. There are a number of independent power producers that contributes significantly in electricity generation in Pakistan.

For years, the matter of balancing Pakistan's supply against the demand for electricity has remained a largely unresolved matter. Pakistan faces a significant challenge in revamping its network responsible for the supply of electricity.

Due to an unrealistic power tariff, high inefficiencies, low payment recovery and the inability of the government to manage its subsidies mechanism that lead to a serious "circular debt" issue which is becoming a barrier for future energy sector investment.

The economy is badly affected by electricity crisis with loss of huge capital. The solution to the current crisis lies in energy conservation at all level in the country. The use of alternate energy such as wind and solar power could be utilized to immediately reduce the shortages, while electricity projects from coal and large dam could provide a long-term solution to the electricity shortage. However, China, Iran, India and Tajikistan, Germany, Qatar, Kuwait and some other countries have been offering to export electricity to Pakistan to overcome the growing electricity crisis.

IPPs: The IPP is an entity, which is not a public utility, but that owns facilities to generate electric power for sale to utilities end users. In Pakistan, private power producers control about 30 percent of the total generation capacity, the electricity market was opened to IPPs in 1990.

Like most other countries, here, IPPs face single buyer market. Water and Power Development Authority is the key buyer of IPP power. IPPs negotiate a tariff with the regulatory authority, NEPRA, under a transparent competitive bidding process. Investors are generally insulated from underlying economic risks through tightly written, long-term PPAs with underlying take-or-pay contracts, supported by explicit government guarantees and credit enhancements.

Non functional hydroelectric power units: There are more than 30 non-functional micro hydro power plants. However, 21 units were under construction and few were damaged during the floods. For the remaining units, there is no explanation by the concerned authorities that why they are not operational.

Under the Power Policy 2002, the government had planned run-of-rivers hydropower projects for adding 4,325MW of electricity, and funds were provided accordingly during the last 11 years. However, only two major projects were completed. Delay in all these projects has intensified the energy crisis in the country. The government has never bothered to look into causes of delay for these projects even though funds were regularly released.

During 2000 to 2011 period, WAPDA managed construction of only run of the river 1,450MW Ghazi Barotha Hydropower Project, Mangla dam upraising project which is estimated to provide 2.8MAF additional storage and 655GWh additional power generation, but is not being utilized for the last two years due to the land resettlement issues. WAPDA only managed construction of 72MW Khan Khawar and non grid 17.3MW Satpara dam project in Sakurdu.

Whenever the question about hydroelectricity is raised, the concerned authorities has always come up with the response that hydropower projects take a long time to build and need huge capital investment. But this is a rather weak argument in view of modern hydropower project management.

In our own neighbourhood, Indian policymakers are working towards adding 50,000 MW of clean and renewable hydropower to their energy mix and have resultantly set some significant records in this regard. Many public-sector hydropower projects, for instance, the

520 MW Omkareshwar project on the Narmada River has been completed in four years. Small hydropower projects are taking 20 to 22 months for completion.

Foreign investment in Pakistan's Energy sector:

China:

To overcome the acute power crisis in Pakistan, the first Pakistan-China Joint Energy Working Group (JEWG) meeting was held in 2011. Given the significance of renewable energy, China tries to dominate the renewable energy technologies from solar panels to wind turbines to constructing huge hydro-projects. Pakistan has considerable renewable energy potential such as hydro, wind and solar but this resource potential has not been utilized fully due to resource constraints and politicization of projects of national interests such as Kalabagh Dam that depicts the real picture of political uncertainties in Pakistan. Due consideration is being given to hydropower plants that produce about 24 percent of the world's electricity and supply more than one billion people with power. Indus River system alone has 35,000 MW power potential. The prospects for Pak-China cooperation in hydro-power projects are bright as the Chairman of China Three Gorges Project Corporation (CTGPC) a state owned enterprise and China's largest hydropower developer had already offered financial and technical assistance to develop hydro and wind power projects in Pakistan. These ongoing projects include Karot, Taunsa, Kohala and Bunji hydro-power projects. Bunji dam will be constructed some 83km from Gilgit on Skardu Road. After completion it will generate 7200 MW electricity. The government of Pakistan has signed an agreement with China for the construction of the dam in 2009. Second important project has been Taunsa hydroelectric project in Punjab that will generate 120MW electricity. Another proposed project is Kohala hydro-power project in district Muzaffarabad that will have capability to generate 1100 MW electricity. Karot hydro-power project that will generate 720MW electricity will be completed in four years time. In addition to above mentioned hydro projects deliberations have been continued on some other hydro projects. Pakistan has been currently facing 6,000 megawatts power deficit which may grow further but the investment in hydro-power projects could add 10,000 MW to Pakistan's main grid over the next 10 years. China has developed expertise in coal energy and nearly 80 % of its electricity comes from coal. India is generating 75 percent of its electricity by using coal

while Pakistan is generating 0.3 percent electricity from coal. Pakistan is among some of the states having large coal reserves in the world and has potential to generate electricity from coal. Pakistan has potential to develop wind power. The wind corridor in the coastal area of Sindh has the capacity to generate 50,000MW electricity. India presents a good example of a country that is utilizing wind energy and has added its electricity generation capacity. China has become the world's largest maker of wind turbines. China has offered help in the construction of 50 MW wind power project in Jhampir (Sindh) that is to be completed in 2012. Moreover, China has planned to invest in 300 MW solar power projects in Pakistan.

India:

India has offered to provide Pakistan with 5,000 megawatt electricity to fulfill its energy requirements on an urgent basis regularly which could be transmitted through Punjab.

Initially Pakistan may import up to 500 MW from India which may be supplied with the construction of small transmission lines. Pakistan and India will construct 45 kilometer 220 kv transmission lines within six months after formal agreement in this respect. The agreement will be for five years which will be negotiable for extension for another five years or more.

Iran:

Iran is currently exchanging electricity with Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Turkmenistan. According to the Iranian Energy Ministry statistics, the country will be exporting up to USD 1 billion of electricity by March 2012. Iran's total power generation capacity stands at 63,403 MW while total length of the power grid exceeds 780,000 km. Import of 35 MW from Iran will be enhanced later to 70 MW, while all the matters of 100 MW import project have been finalized and are ready for groundbreaking. Pakistan and Iran would move forward on import of 1,000 MW power project from Iran. The government aimed to finalize the modalities, tariffs and terms and conditions for the import of power as soon as possible. On contrary, the gap between demand and supply in India has increased to 10.2 percent last month, from 7.7 percent a year earlier. In some states like Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, power cuts have become so common that many factories report getting more electricity from diesel generators than they do from the power grid, at much higher cost. Thus, India do not have enough electricity for their own people how they will export us, there is 20 hours loadshedding in the 70 percent of the villages in India. Our Government should sign electricity agreements with those countries, who have abundance of

electric power in all terms by all sources, so that we can get electricity at much cheaper rates.

Questions, and Important points, a Resolution must answer:

Note: The following questions/points can also be used by the committee as important issues and subtopics to be discussed in the committee. These give a detailed framework of what debate is expected and it is expected that delegates will research well on these points.

1. What measures can be taken to reduce the demand-supply gap? How can we deal with the gap, given the present-day circumstances and status-quo? Similarly, which steps and policies need to be adopted to deal with this gap, considering the expected increase in population and consequently, the demand?
2. What policy needs to be adopted to deal with power outages in rural and urban areas? Is loadshedding a permanent problem or can efficient measures get rid of it in the future? 'Important' areas suffer less while rural areas are subject to the worst of unscheduled loadshedding. How can we deal with this issue?
3. One of the major reasons for the energy crisis is the wastage and theft of electricity. What steps need to be taken to prevent the wastage of electricity in grid stations, governmental offices and homes? What measures can be taken to deal with power thieves? Can a permanent policy be made for the crime of theft of electricity?
4. Gas loadshedding is also common in Pakistan, especially in the winters. How can we deal with this? What can we do to deal with the issue of gas shortage? How feasible can be the use of newly discovered gas fields, considering the sustainable use of fossil fuels? How successful can be the development and use of LNG?
5. What can be done to deal with the rising prices of oil and petroleum products? How can we reduce the influence of national and international factors on the prices of oil? How feasible can be the use of imported oil to counter the energy crisis and its effect on the economy?
6. How can Pakistan develop renewable energy sources for power production, to deal with the energy crisis? How can this be done, considering the high cost of development and

efficiency? Geographical factors are a major hindrance to the development of renewable energy sources for power generation. How can Pakistan's energy policy counter this hindrance?

7. Can Pakistan change the ratio of the use of its energy sources? How successful can be the use of hydropower as a major energy source? Should Pakistan construct more dams for power generation, considering the cost and geopolitical factors? Should Kalabagh Dam be built, considering the opposition? How far can its construction help to deal with the energy crisis?

8. What wrong energy policies have been pursued in the past by civilian and military regimes? How far has their impact contributed to the current energy crisis? How can they be corrected?

9. What type of energy policy should be followed by the Pakistani government? Privatization or Nationalization? Should the government continue its role as facilitator and arbitrator? How can these policies be designed so that the instability of the government does not affect the policy?

Useful Links:

Link: <http://www.nation.com.pk/editorials/09-Jun-2014/gas-shortage>

Link: <http://www.newspakistan.pk/2014/06/11/power-short-fall-triggers-11-hour-load-shedding/>

TOPIC AREA B: PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Introduction

A country's foreign policy, also called the foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve its goals within international relations milieu. No country today can think of a life independent of other nations. Every country has to develop relations with other countries so as to meet its requirements in economical, industrial and technological fields. It is thus necessary for every country to formulate a sound foreign policy. Pakistan is an important third world country, in its developmental stage. It also has formulated her foreign policy keeping in mind her geography, politics and economics.

Quaid-e-Azam defined Foreign Policy towards other countries of the world in 1948, as follows:

Our Foreign Policy is one of friendliness and good-will towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the policy of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost 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.

Basic Goals of Pakistan's Foreign Policy:

1. Maintenance of territorial integrity.
2. Maintenance of its political independence.
3. Acceleration of social and economic development.
4. Strengthening its place on the globe.
5. Keeping cordial and friendly relations with all countries.

It is therefore essential for the committee to keep in mind these aims while the committee proceeds. The dais will be looking for all of this in the final resolutions.

Abstract

External factors, particularly the USA, are blamed for having adverse effects in shaping Pakistan's foreign policy, but there are many internal factors pose challenges to Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan is an ideological state hence ideology has a special place in its foreign policy and it has been a central focus in the foreign policy for a long time. There is a famous U-turn in Pakistan's foreign policy in recent era and this shift in policy has provoked an intense debate at home and abroad. Territorial integrity is the foremost foreign policy goal of any country and it deals with the security that may be external or internal or both. Similarly, most important issue in Pakistan's foreign policy is security concerns because Pakistan has one of the most complex threat analyses of any state in the world. There are many problems at home related to grievances against foreign policy particularly on the issue and pattern of war on terrorism. 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. He maintains in his article in the Foreign Affairs Quarterly that "progress by a pivotal state such as Pakistan would help not only the region but also promote US interests in trade and in investment"⁶. Pakistan has developed as a principal actor and a vital personality of its own. Now it is supposed to secure and protect all its vital interests at all cost. These interests are considered to be above individual morality and any other factors. Pakistan should demonstrate and follow an independent and principled foreign policy in the pursuit of its national interests. Being an ideological state, Pakistan did not only seek to promote closer links with Islamic countries but also played a leading role in championing the rights of the developing countries in general and Muslim countries in particular. In the economic development, Pakistan should not compromise on Islamic ideology in making its foreign relations. In the current phase of rapidly globalizing world, Pakistan's foreign policy is in drastic need of a fresh look.

History

Pakistan's history is filled with drastic changes in its foreign policy. In its early years its foreign policy was the only thing which had kept it going. For example, in the famines of 1949-1950, Pakistan was able to import large quantities of wheat from western states and

received their help in other matters such as the construction of hydroelectric dams and barrages. Yet in the years that followed, Pakistan was exploited to some extent by these countries to make it support them in international affairs and in the Cold-War as well. USSR had close relations with East-Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. Pakistan on the other hand had ties with USA. This is the reason Soviet aid was given to India on the issue of Kashmir. During the 1960s, Pakistan's relations with East Pakistan and the neighboring Afghanistan have also been extremely difficult due to the two latter's contest over the Durand Line. The foreign relations with Iran, Saudi Arabia and China remains extremely important and based on the extensive cooperation in national security and economic interests in the Persian Gulf and wide-ranging bilateral relations with the United States and other Western countries. With the growing influence of USSR in the region, Pakistan cemented close security relations with China in Asia and Poland in Europe during most of the Cold War. While Pakistan's had "on-off relations" with the United States, Pakistan assisted President Nixon re-approach with China and other East Asian countries.

The Cold War

The period between 1947 to late 1990's has been filled with the infamous Cold War between USA and USSR. Pakistan played a major role in this war siding with USA on most occasions. Yet it was not the West that helped Pakistan in its efforts against India, rather Russia had supported India quite often on different grounds. The USSR even backed the politicians of East Pakistan in accomplishing their goal of separating from Pakistan. It seemed as if Pakistan had formally made an enemy.

It is known that Pakistan had an "Up and Down" relation with USA and this is quite visible in the Period between 1965 to 1980. The following is a list of Pakistan's foreign policies that have changed during this period.

- 1) Withdrawal from the Commonwealth. (Jan 1972) Recognition of East Germany, Democratic Republics of Korea and Vietnam, and East Germany (Nov 1972) Withdrawal from SEATO (Feb 1972)
- 2) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government created the "Afghan Cell" within Pakistan's foreign office and assigned it a policy that included strengthening ties with and empowering Islamists in exile in Pakistan, and improving Pakistan's influence over governments in Kabul.

3) In 1976, Pakistan ran into trouble with the US over the issue of acquisition of a nuclear processing plant. Kissinger (an American diplomat/ political scientist) had told Bhutto; "If you do not cancel, modify or postpone the Processing Plant Agreement, we will make a horrible example of you" After Pakistan's nuclear deal with France, the relations between the Bhutto regime and the US deteriorated and military aid from USA was again suspended. In 1976 Pakistan was negotiating to buy 110 US A-7 fighter bombers and they appeared to have made the sale conditions upon Pakistan when the US tried to block the deal by suspending new economic assistance and military sales and withdrawal of A-7 aircraft offer (1977)

4) In December 1974, Rafi Raza went to Moscow and brought back word of a Soviet agreement to advance 4.5 billion rupees, in foreign exchange, to help Pakistan build a Steel Mill near Karachi. By 1976 a medium-wave broadcasting radio station had been erected in the vicinities of Islamabad with the USSR's assistance. In June 30, 1977, the Soviet Union had, over the years, committed a total of \$517.64 million in loans to Pakistan. The USSR continued to assist in searching oil, gas and other natural resources in Pakistan's territory. It is worth mentioning that nowadays there are quite a number of oil and gas fields under operation discovered by Soviet geologists. The fairly warm Pak-Soviet ties were under Bhutto.

5) For the first time in history of the country, the relationship with United States was at a low point and relations even severed when the United States opposed Pakistan's nuclear deterrence program. The leftists and Bhutto's policy towards Soviet Union was seen sympathetic and had built a bridge for Soviet Union to gain access in Pakistan's warm water ports, that both United States and Soviet Union had lacked.

It is clear that during this time Pakistan had improved its relations with the USSR and cooled its relations with USA. Also one of the major causes of these changes was Pakistan's nuclear problem, one which would be a significant factor in Pakistan's future foreign policies.

Pak-US Relations:

The Pak-U.S relationship is based upon self-interest. It is an excellent example of opportunistic relationship between two unequal powers. U.S policies towards Pakistan have remained inconsistent. In 1950 the first prime minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan visited US and in 1954 US selected Pakistan as its frontline ally in South Asia against the Communist threat. Thus in Feb 1954 a Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement was signed. According to which Pakistan received a military assistance of \$1.5 billion and economic assistance as the gift of treaty. Moreover Pakistan joined SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) in 1954

and CENTO (Central Treaty organization) in 1958 to further strengthen Pak-US relations. During the cold war the U.S regional policies were less vital to its interests because the U.S needed allies in Asia to prevent the spread of Communism. Thus Pakistan remained confined in the regional disputes with India and Afghanistan and adjusted its relationship with U.S for its security and economic needs. But during the wars of 1965 and 1971, US gave no military assistance to Pakistan. In 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, both countries entered into a new relationship which was more durable and credible because it was based on commonality of interests. But at the end of cold war U.S shifted its interests to India. September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks changed the whole perspective, as U.S changed its policy towards Pakistan. The war on terror became a key concern of U.S foreign policy. So Pakistan decided to align with U.S after 9/11 and became the front line state in war on terror, which meant Pakistan also changed its policy towards Afghanistan and supported the U.S against Taliban and Al-Qaeda network in tribal areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan. USA has not been satisfied with Pakistan's role in preventing the activities of militant Taliban and Al-Qaeda in (FATA) and in Afghanistan. The incident of September 11 spoiled the image of Pakistan. After that the U.S has become suspicious of Pakistan's role and intentions.

The year 2011 brought many challenges for both countries. Pakistan's relations with US were never easy but the recent chain of violent incidents like Abbottabad operation, Drone Strikes and Raymond Davis fiasco has further deteriorated the relationship and made it pretty complex for both the countries. The case of CIA contractor Raymond Davis, who shot two Pakistanis exacerbated the tensions further. The recent bin Laden death comes at a time of increased strains in U.S.-Pakistan relations. For Islamabad, bin Laden's killing shows its weakness to U.S. operations on its own soil. Osama's presence in Pakistan gave a big blow to US-Pakistan relations and placed Pakistan in terrible position. Although we know that there is no reality in it but Pakistan suffered.

An early Saturday morning 26th Nov 2011 attack by (NATO) helicopters killed at least 24 security personnel and injured 12 soldiers on a Pakistani check post in Salala, which is located in the Tehsil Bayzai area of Mohmand Agency on the Pak-Afghan border. US-Pakistan relations have since strained further. After the attack, Pakistan put a ban on NATO trucks crossing Afghan border.

The end of Cold War and September 11, 2001 has brought many challenges and opportunities for the U.S and Pakistan. U.S policy makers understand and realize the strategic importance of Pakistan in the region, where the U.S has vital economic and strategic interests. At present, the U.S has a long term regional policy and its main concern is to prevent terrorist activities and their spread. In short unequal partnerships will sustain as long as commonality of interests prevail. Pakistan as a weaker partner is usually willing to remain loyal to the United States if in return the U.S as a stronger partner fulfils the weaker partner's demands relating to its regional and local needs. However, history teaches us that great powers hardly ever sacrifice their interests. Pakistan has paid a big price in trying to help the international community against terrorism. In spite of all these efforts, Pakistan has been criticized for not doing much in the war against terrorism. Moreover, the U.S should treat Pakistan as an independent entity and also respect the sovereignty of Pakistan. Only such policy can strengthen credibility of partnership that uncertain policies can jeopardize.

Pakistan-China relations:

The relations between Pakistan and China are marked by deep rooted strategic harmony that reflects at every level individual, national, and international. The recent visit by the Chinese premier to Pakistan symbolizes the level of importance the Chinese leadership keeps for Pakistan. But unfortunately these relations are not properly translated into a workable mechanism where both could exploit the opportunities equally and sufficiently.

Pakistan and China are two different countries having different cultures, values and ideas. Over the years the mutual trust and understanding between these two neighbours has nurtured the relationship and enriched it day by day to the level of complete mutual harmony. Besides this, both countries are maintaining the relationship at diplomatic level as well as people to people level.

China is Pakistan's largest trade partner in the world and Pakistan is China's second largest trade partner in South Asia, after India. Pakistan's exports to China were worth US\$ 3.1 billion and imports worth US\$ 9.2 billion in 2012. Bilateral trade between the two countries

has reached \$12 billion, and both sides are committed to bring it up to \$15 billion over the next two to three years. However, there is trade imbalance which is mostly tilted towards China. It needs to be overcome to make the trade flow harmonious. Pakistan needs to chalk out policies which can promote Pakistani exports to Chinese market so that the Pakistani local business community can benefit more. Another aspect of Pak- China economic and trade relation is that the economic exchange is mainly at governmental level which should be rather at micro level. The non-government commerce has been far below its potential which is needed to augment further. There are multiple factors which are directly or indirectly impinging upon Pakistan's export to China which are detrimental in some ways to further development of bilateral economic co-operation. In this backdrop, it would be a thaw in these bad economic times to have persistent Chinese economic assistance and support to sustain economic and trade activities in Pakistan.

History with India:

Pakistan has had numerous conflicts with India since 1947. The two are globally known as rivals and competitors. After partition India refused to pay the amount which was to be given to Pakistan as an initial amount for starting different economic activities. It also took control of princely states which should have been given to Pakistan (Hyderabad, Calcutta, etc.) The two countries have also contested the waters of the rivers flowing in Punjab which has oft caused a blow to Pakistan's economy as Pakistan's agriculture greatly depends on these rivers. India played a major role in the formation of Bangladesh. Pakistan has fought three wars with India over Kashmir. To this date, Pakistan sees India as a constant threat and vice versa. Over the years, the two countries have tried to better their relations. Whether these attempts were sincere or merely for diplomacy are for the committee to decide.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Relations:

Both the countries have a long sustained relationship for sharing not only one of the world's longest and most porous borders but also the Pashtun heritage and its tribal culture that has facilitated the jihadists from both the countries to get into a seamless relationship. Pak-Afghan relations go back to the times of the early Mughals. Since then the two have had disputes and bad relations. The biggest factor in the deterioration of their relations is due to the involvement of USA and NATO in Afghanistan and the infamous drone strikes. Though NATO forces are pulling out of Afghanistan, there remain the problems of supplying the troops that remain.

The other major problem is the continuation of aid to Afghanistan once the NATO forces are out of the state. Afghanistan is a neighboring state. At the moment Pakistan has good and friendly relations with Afghanistan but if we go back especially to the early years of independence we do find problems in the relationship. It was mainly because of the government of that time questioned the legitimacy of the Durand Line that is the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan, and laid claim Pakistani territory on the name of Pakhunistan. It sided with the 'Pakhtunistan' issue and created problems for Pakistan, but as this issue was pushed to the background with the passage of time, relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan improved. No matter what the relationship between the government of Pakistan and Afghanistan in the early years, the relationship at the individual level has always been cordial. There is continual cross-migration of people between the two states. During the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, Pakistan opposed the Soviet intervention and supported the resistance against the Soviet Union which gave birth to the Mujahideen groups, Taliban. Pakistan supported the Taliban government in Afghanistan but in Sept 11, 2001 when the regional and international environment changed Pakistan withdrew support to the Taliban, because the incident in America had major effects on world diplomacy. Pakistan got involved in global efforts to contain terrorism. After Taliban, Karzai government took responsibility of Afghanistan's reconstruction. Pakistan extended all kinds of economic and technological assistance to the Karzai government for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Afghanistan. The interest of Pakistan is that a friendly neighboring country should stabilize, overcome its problems so that the refugees there can no longer be a problem for Pakistan.

Pakistan and Bangladesh:

The creation of Bangladesh caused grief to Pakistan. In the initial years there was a lot of bitterness between the two countries. Bangladesh was East Pakistan but the internal instability and external conspiracies gave birth to this new country. Pakistan initially had bitter relations but recognized it in February 1974 and from that time its relation with Bangladesh has gradually improved, despite the fact that in the initial years both the countries had complaints against each other. In the present day context the countries have cordial relations, trade has improved and the visits of senior official and political leaders have been there. Both worked together within the framework of SAARC and OIC. With the passage of time the relations of both these countries are going to expand.

Pakistan's relation with Iran :

Iran was the first country to internationally recognize the sovereign status of Pakistan. Currently, both countries are economic partners. This cooperation lasted throughout the Cold war, with Iran supporting Pakistan in its conflicts with arch-rival, India. In return, Pakistan supported Iran militarily during the Iran–Iraq War in the 1980s. Since 2000, relations between the two states have been good, and economic and military collaboration has strengthened the relationship. Recent difficulties have included disputes over trade, and political position. While Pakistan's foreign policy maintains balanced relations with Saudi Arabia, the United States, and the European Union, Iran tends to warn against it, and raised concerns about Pakistan's absolute backing of the Taliban during the fourth phase of civil war in Afghanistan in the last years of the 20th century.

Nevertheless, economic and trade relations continued to expand in both absolute and relative terms, leading to the signing of a Free Trade Agreement between the two countries in 1999. At present, both countries are cooperating and forming alliances in a number of areas of mutual interest, such as fighting the drug trade along their common border and combating Afghan supported tribal insurgency along their border. Iran has been a respected, popular, and favored nation among Pakistanis, with 76% of Pakistanis viewing their western neighbour positively, making Pakistan the most pro-Iran nation in the world. In 2005, Iran and Pakistan had conducted US\$500 million of trade. The land border at Taftan is the conduit for trade in electricity and oil. Iran is extending its railway network towards Taftan. The Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline (IPI Pipeline) is currently under discussion; though India backed out from the project. The Indian government was under pressure by the United States against the IPI pipeline project, and appears to have heeded American policy after India and the United States proceeded to sign the nuclear deal. In addition, the international sanctions on Iran due to its controversial nuclear program could also became a factor in derailing IPI pipeline project altogether. Trade between the two countries has increased by £1.4 billion in 2009.

Pakistan's relation with the Islamic world:

If you look at the constitution of Pakistan you find that one of the principles of policy urges the government to maintain and pursue close and cordial relations with the Muslim World. So in other words it is imperative from constitutional perspective for the government of Pakistan to maintain and pursue close and friendly relations with the Muslim World. It's not simply in the post-independence period that Pakistan started pursuing cordial relations with the Muslim World, Pakistan heritage shows that Muslims of this region had great interest in and concern for Muslims living in any part of the World.

You could find in the pre-independence period that the Muslims of this region and the Muslim League that led the independence movement always supported the Muslim cause elsewhere. After independence this became a permanent and regular aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy. So, we can say that 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.

Second issue that can be raised here is the Pakistan's support for the Palestinian cause. Pakistan, being a Muslim state, always sided with the national rights of the Palestinian people. It strongly supported the independent Palestinian state. This support goes back to the pre-independence period when Muslim League passed resolution after resolution in support of the Palestine issue and after independence the state of Pakistan has been an ardent and an active supporter of the Palestinian cause at all levels. Sharing grievous concern over the atrocities inflicted on the Muslims, it condemned the Israeli policies. And Pakistan has criticized time and again quite bitterly the atrocities that Israel commits against the Palestinians from time to time.

Organization of Islamic Conference is the largest Muslim forum in the world. Pakistan was very active in creating this forum and it had remained associated with the OIC right from the beginning of this organization Pakistan was among the 51 Muslim nations which attended the inaugural session in Rabat (1969). Its second conference was held at Lahore in 1974, its session held at the city chambers in the city of Lahore which was a matter of great honour and pride for Pakistan that the heads of states, governments and the top leaders of the Muslim World were present in Pakistan for some time.

Pakistan and Saudi Arabia:

Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have an extensive economic relationship that expanded rapidly after 1972. Saudis have always provided economic assistance and loans to Pakistan and it had also invested capital in Pakistan in various projects. An important aspect of relationship is oil supply to Pakistan from Saudi Arabia. Since 1998 SA had been supplying crude oil to Pakistan on deferred payment basis which means that you get the oil now but you make the payment of its price later on gradually. This has help to ease economic pressure on Pakistan and Pakistan has been able to obtain oil. SA is the biggest oil supplier to Pakistan at the moment. This relationship is going to expand over the years because both have been expanding the area of cooperation for example latest addition to this cooperation is counter terrorism that is both are cooperating to contain terrorism in the region.

Pakistan and Turkey:

Turkey is another Muslim country with a long history of close and cordial relations with Pakistan. Turkey had stood by Pakistan in all kinds of situations in wars or in peace Turkey has supported Pakistan. On Kashmir, Turkey has supported Pakistan and called for a peaceful resolution. If Turkey had been supportive of Pakistan then Pakistan has also supported it in all kinds of situations especially on the Cyprus issue. In Cyprus people of Turkish origin or you can say that Turkish Cypriotes were a minority and there was a problem of their rights and interests in Cyprus. In 1974 Turkey landed its troops in Northern Cyprus and Turkish Cypriotes established their own separate entity. Pakistan has been supportive of Turkey and Turkish Cypriotes for this problem and Turkey had appreciated that gesture. There have been high level civil and military visits, in fact their top military leaders visited Pakistan and Pakistani top military leaders responded to that and go back to Turkey for similar visits. Both have great contribution in the multilateral arrangements of CENTO, RCD, ECO, etc.

Pakistan's relation with the European Union:

Since the start of its cooperation with Pakistan in 1976, the European Commission has committed more than €500 million to projects and programmes. During the 1980s the Commission launched a mix of infrastructure and social development projects which focused

on development of roads, bridges, a fishing harbour facility, rural electricity infrastructure, livestock, education, vocational training and integrated rural development. In the 1990s the Commission streamlined and consolidated its portfolio and reoriented its activities towards policy-based social sector investment programmes, placing greater emphasis on human development and environmental management in line with shifts in government policy.

In addition, the Commission provided support to smaller-scale operations with NGOs in areas such as population welfare, child labour, income generation, drug demand reduction and rural health. Under the previous CSP, the EC cooperation in Pakistan focused on human development, in particular basic education programmes at provincial level.

To further strengthen the ties between Islamabad, Berlin and Brussels, a conference entitled “EU-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue: Challenges and Prospects”, was held in Islamabad in January 2012. The project was jointly organized by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) and the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS). The idea of the conference is that the EU and some of its major member countries like Germany can play a key role in assisting and supporting as well as leading Pakistan in the right direction to become a stable state in South Asia. The two days conference included presentations and brainstorming sessions in working groups. The target group of the conference consisted of political decision makers, parliamentarians, academics, researchers, opinion leaders, and practitioners. The conference work plan will consist of the following components:

1. Conceptual integrated analyses of the evolving concepts of security, media, trade and the regional perspectives in the EU-Pakistan relationship.
2. The EU’s approach to a number of specific security issues (regional conflict; terrorism; WMD proliferation); economic development; energy and climate change; and socio-cultural issues and Pakistani thinking on the subjects.
3. A publication, wrapping-up the project’s findings in order to envisage scenarios for the future of Pakistan and the EU policy towards external security issues and multilateral approaches to threats and challenges.

History

The European Union (EU) and Pakistan have strong relations, especially when it comes to trade. The EU and Pakistan made a commitment to strengthening their relationship under a Cooperation Agreement on Partnership and Development, which entered into force in 2004. Going back to the initial cooperation agreement with Pakistan in 1976, the importance of the EU's relationship with Pakistan has grown substantially in importance over time, culminating in the first EU-Pakistan summit held in Brussels on 17 June 2009. Germany as one of the most important stakeholder of the EU has established a closely cordial relation with Pakistan as well. Commercial trade between Islamabad and Berlin became very essential in recent years, with Germany being Pakistan's fourth largest trade partner.

Challenges of Pakistan's Foreign Policy

First of all, Pakistan is faced with the challenge of the way it should preserve its sovereignty. The post-9/11 world opened a new era of challenges to Pakistan. The violation of its sovereignty by US drones is a recent phenomenon. Though the breach of sovereignty has existed since 2004, major escalation was witnessed after March 2009 when US President Barack Obama announced the Af-Pak strategy. From the Salala check post attack to the Abbottabad raid, there are several incidents of the breach of Pakistan's sovereignty. Pakistan is still enmeshed in this tangle: first, how to secure its western border and how to avoid a conflict with the US and its allies, even with the Afghan national army, and how to preserve the sanctity of its sovereignty while ensuring the perpetual inflow of foreign aid/loans to Pakistan?

Second, Pakistan has been facing the challenge of the vanishing of the principle of parity with India in the region. Since 1947, Pakistan has endeavored to achieve (and keep) parity with India as an equal friend or foe in the region. By 1998, Pakistan had achieved nuclear parity with India. However, in the post-9/11 world, the US-India nuclear energy deal in 2008 confirmed Pakistan's status as being far below India on the ladder of regional importance. Afterwards, in 2009, the Af-Pak strategy of the US made Pakistan realize once again that the US does not consider Pakistan's parity claim vis-à-vis India. The strategy de-hyphenated Pakistan from India and hyphenated Pakistan with Afghanistan. Pakistan is still struggling to come out of that status. It may be possible that post-2014 Afghanistan offers

Pakistan an opportunity to hyphenate itself once again with India. Pakistan is relying on time and not on its efforts to offer a strategic alternative to the world in the region of South Asia.

Third, the next challenge haunting Pakistan is its failure to see the world through the economic lens. Pakistan is still seeing the world through the antiquated political and ideological glasses of the Cold War. It seems obsessed with its geo-political importance. The internalization of this point has made Pakistan's policy makers, in both the bureaucracy and military, convinced that the world is in need of Pakistan's help and cooperation, and consequently the world should come to terms with Pakistan on the conditions laid down by it. This obsession has become a major hurdle in changing Pakistan's approach towards the world and a reason for Pakistan's failure to notice the changes happening around, especially in the field of economics. Similarly, Pakistan thinks that a kind of ideological conflict, similar to the one prevalent in the Cold War era, is still going on and Pakistan can seek monetary benefit out of it. This delusion has become another major obstacle in transforming Pakistan's approach towards the emerging realities of the world. Pakistan has still not been realizing the importance of economic global polarity driven by the capitalist school of thought. Similarly, Pakistan is still not realizing the importance of regional trade (in South Asia and with Central Asia) to strengthen its economy locally.

Fourth, Pakistan has been facing the challenge of being seen as a country equipped with nuclear weapons but flooded with Islamic extremists. Pakistan may declare 1,000 times that its nuclear assets are in safe hands and that it is observing certain special safety protocols but the world is apprehensive of a single mistake, which may happen in these 'safe hands' or a single breach of any protocol being observed. The existence of non-state actors (Islamic extremists) associated with Pakistan or working on Pakistan's land with impunity is considered a threat to the peace of the world. The ongoing war on terror has increased the numerical and ideological strength of these non-state actors. Moreover, any news of an attack launched by non-state actors on any nuclear facility of Pakistan will bring Pakistan under immense international pressure either to abandon its nuclear programme or hand over the weapons to any international security force. In the beginning of this year, Pakistan confessed that the major challenge to its security was coming from inside. Pakistan is not only struggling with curbing the menace of non-state actors on its land but is also trying to find a way for the amelioration of its international image.

Fifth, the next challenge is that Pakistan is failing in playing a significant and proactive role in the Muslim world. In the past, Pakistan tried to be the voice of the Muslim world, besides being considered its leader. Pakistan tried to observe the 'ideology of Pakistan' in its diplomatic relations with other countries. However, not only had the end of the Cold War but also the post-9/11 phase changed the policy contours of the countries of the Muslim world. The attack of Iraq on Kuwait in 1990 and the invasion of Iraq by the US and its allies in 2003 divided the Muslim countries. It is now obvious that the acquisition of nuclear technology has not automatically graduated Pakistan to be a significant voice of the Muslim world. Pakistan lacks economic development and political stability, which keeps on making Pakistan dependent on international players and financial institutions. The Kerry-Lugar-Berman Act 2009 was also a major manifestation of Pakistan's deteriorating status in the eyes of the US. The ongoing sectarian conflict is also persuading Pakistan to think of the renewal of its relations with the countries of the Muslim world.

What should be considered while preparing a resolution:

- 1) Protection of Freedom and Sovereignty
- 2) Cordial Relations with Muslim Countries
- 3) Non-Interference in Internal Affairs of Other Countries
- 4) Implementation of U.N Charter
- 5) Forming Foreign policies pertaining to Pakistan's Tribal Belt
- 6) Non-Alignment (Pakistan follows the policy of Non-Alignment i.e. to keep away from alignment with any big power bloc, and avoids taking sides in the cold war. It has also given up its association with SEATO and CENTO and was included in NAM in 1979.)
- 7) Support for Self-Determination and Condemnation of Racial Discrimination
- 8) Policies that are beneficial for the Pakistan and will bring advantages such as investment, trade, support on war against terror.
- 9) No compromise over Nations Integrity and self defense
- 10) Member of International Organization (Pakistan had become the member of the British Commonwealth with the time of its establishment. In addition it is the member of United Nations (U.N), Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), South Asian Association for Regional Co-

operation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and D-Eight. Being a member of International Organizations, the objectives of Pakistan are to struggle for world peace, to unify the Muslim countries and to promote regional co-operation.)

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