

Q. No. 2. Discuss the role of regional and nationalist political parties in Pakistani politics. How far these parties are necessary for the political system?

1. Introduction: Regional and nationalist parties are necessary representatives of Pakistan's federal diversity, but they become problematic when regional interests override national constitutional interests

- Pakistan is a federation composed of diverse linguistic, ethnic and regional communities.
- Regional parties provide political representation to communities that may feel underrepresented by national parties.
- Their role can therefore be **constructive for federalism**, provided they operate within constitutional and national frameworks.

2. Pakistan's geographical and cultural diversity naturally produces region-based political representation

Punjab → PML-N / PPP influence

Sindh → PPP / MQM and other Sindh-based forces

KP → ANP / PTI / JUI-F and other regional formations

Balochistan → BAP / BNP / JUI-F and other provincial formations

- These parties articulate local concerns relating to:
 - provincial autonomy
 - resource distribution
 - language and culture
 - development
 - representation.

3. Regional parties have historically converted neglected regional grievances into constitutional political demands

3.1 The Awami League demonstrated how regional economic and political grievances could become a national constitutional crisis

- East Pakistan's grievances included:
 - political underrepresentation
 - economic disparities
 - provincial autonomy.
- The failure to resolve these grievances contributed to the **1971 crisis**.

Lesson: Ignoring legitimate regional demands can threaten national cohesion.

3.2 The National Awami Party represented demands for provincial autonomy and federalism

- NAP played an important role in articulating Baloch, Pashtun and left-oriented political interests.
- Its politics demonstrated the importance of accommodating regional identities within federal structures.

4. Regional parties strengthen Pakistan's federal character by bringing provincial issues into Parliament

They raise issues relating to:

- NFC distribution
- water resources
- natural gas and minerals
- provincial development
- local government
- language and cultural rights.

Regional representation → parliamentary voice → negotiation → federal accommodation

5. Regional parties have contributed to coalition politics and democratic bargaining

- Pakistan's fragmented electoral landscape frequently produces coalition governments.
- Regional parties can become **coalition partners**, giving smaller provinces bargaining power at the federal level.
- This can strengthen parliamentary negotiation rather than one-party domination.

6. Regional parties have also strengthened democratic participation at the grassroots level

- Local and regional parties often possess deeper knowledge of:
 - tribal structures
 - biradari networks
 - local grievances
 - provincial political dynamics.
- They can therefore mobilize citizens who may remain disconnected from national political parties.

7. However, regional politics becomes dangerous when legitimate provincial interests turn into exclusionary nationalism

Healthy regionalism:

Provincial identity + constitutional federalism + national loyalty

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Destructive regionalism:

Ethnic exclusivity + separatism + violence + rejection of constitutional order

8. MQM demonstrated both the representative and problematic dimensions of regional politics

- MQM emerged from the political grievances of Urdu-speaking communities in urban Sindh.
- It provided political representation to a previously underrepresented constituency.
- However, violence, militancy and coercive politics associated with elements of the movement demonstrated the dangers of politicized ethnic identity.

9. Regional parties can improve federalism when they demand constitutional decentralization rather than confrontation

The **18th Amendment (2010)** strengthened provincial autonomy through measures including:

- abolition of the Concurrent Legislative List
- greater legislative authority for provinces
- strengthened Council of Common Interests
- enhanced provincial responsibilities.

Regional parties have historically supported greater provincial autonomy.

10. Regional parties are particularly necessary because national parties cannot perfectly represent Pakistan's diverse regional interests

Function	Contribution
Representation	Gives smaller communities political voice
Federalism	Strengthens provincial participation
Accountability	Challenges central governments
Coalition building	Encourages parliamentary bargaining
Local development	Highlights neglected regions
Cultural representation	Protects linguistic and cultural identities

11. Their role becomes harmful when regional parties prioritize electoral bargaining over long-term national interests

Problems include:

- ethnic polarization
- provincial antagonism
- unstable coalition governments
- patronage politics
- personality cults
- separatist tendencies.

12. Regional parties should therefore become constitutional partners rather than permanent opposition to the federation

Required transformation:

Regional identity



Provincial political representation



Constitutional negotiation



Federal consensus



National integration

13. Conclusion: Regional parties are necessary in Pakistan, but their legitimacy depends on reconciling regional representation with constitutional federalism and national cohesion

Q. No. 3. Discuss the Federal Structure of 1973 Constitution of Pakistan after 18th Amendment. Why criticism on 18th Amendment started recently?

1. Introduction: The 18th Amendment transformed Pakistan's federation by substantially strengthening provincial autonomy, although concerns over administrative capacity and federal coordination have intensified in recent years

2. The 1973 Constitution established Pakistan as a federal parliamentary state

Key constitutional features include:

- federation and provinces
- bicameral Parliament
- distribution of legislative powers
- Council of Common Interests
- National Finance Commission
- provincial governments
- parliamentary democracy.

3. The 18th Amendment fundamentally altered the balance between the federation and provinces

17th Amendment era → stronger presidential/federal influence



18th Amendment, 2010



Greater parliamentary authority + greater provincial autonomy

4. Abolition of the Concurrent Legislative List transferred substantial responsibilities to the provinces

- The Concurrent Legislative List was abolished.
- Many subjects were transferred to provinces.
- This was intended to operationalize the federal principle of the Constitution.

5. Provincial autonomy was strengthened through greater control over policy areas

Important areas affected included:

- education
- health
- culture
- social welfare
- several administrative functions.

Federal principle:

Decentralization → decisions closer to citizens → greater provincial ownership

6. The 18th Amendment strengthened Parliament and reversed several presidential powers

- It restored the parliamentary character of the Constitution.
- **Article 58(2)(b)** was removed, restricting the President's unilateral power to dissolve the National Assembly.
- Prime Minister and Parliament were strengthened.

7. The Council of Common Interests became more important for managing federal-provincial disputes

The CCI provides a constitutional mechanism for issues involving:

- electricity
- major federal-provincial disputes
- shared resources
- coordination between federation and provinces.

8. The amendment strengthened provincial financial autonomy

The **NFC Award** and constitutional arrangements gave provinces a stronger role in resource distribution.

Federal revenue → NFC distribution → provincial resources → provincial expenditure

9. The amendment also strengthened constitutional recognition of local government

- **Article 140-A** requires provinces to establish local government systems and devolve political, administrative and financial responsibility to elected local governments.

10. The 18th Amendment corrected historical over-centralization, but implementation exposed new governance problems

Achievement	Emerging concern
Provincial autonomy	Uneven provincial capacity
Parliamentary supremacy	Coordination difficulties
Decentralization	Fragmented policymaking
Provincial ownership	Weak implementation
Stronger CCI	Need for more effective coordination
Fiscal transfers	Questions about service delivery

11. Criticism increased recently because economic and administrative problems are increasingly being linked to excessive fragmentation of responsibilities

Critics argue that:

- the federation sometimes lacks adequate control over nationwide policy;
- provinces receive greater resources but service delivery remains weak;
- education and health outcomes remain problematic;
- national standards can become difficult to implement uniformly;
- overlapping responsibilities create coordination problems.

12. The criticism intensified because Pakistan now faces problems requiring national-level coordination

Examples include:

- climate change
- energy policy
- national health emergencies
- education standards
- digital governance
- internal security
- water management
- economic stabilization.

13. Fiscal federalism has become a major part of the debate

Critics' argument:

Greater provincial fiscal space

+

weak provincial revenue mobilization

+

poor service delivery

pressure on federal finances.

But the counterargument is that **weak provincial performance does not automatically prove that provincial autonomy is wrong.**

14. The real problem is increasingly implementation rather than the principle of provincial autonomy

18th Amendment → autonomy

but

Autonomy without capacity → weak service delivery

Therefore, Pakistan needs:

- stronger provincial institutions
- effective local governments
- better taxation
- CCI coordination
- clear division of responsibilities.

15. Conclusion: The 18th Amendment corrected excessive centralization, but Pakistan now needs cooperative federalism rather than a return to centralized governance

Best stance:

The amendment should be **reformed where implementation is weak, not reversed merely because coordination is difficult.**

Q. No. 4. Evaluate the factional politics of early years (1947–58) and its impact on the democratic process of Pakistan.

1. Introduction: Factional politics after independence weakened political institutions and created conditions in which bureaucratic and military forces gradually displaced parliamentary democracy

2. The Muslim League entered Pakistan without transforming itself from a freedom movement into a disciplined governing party

- Muslim League had been a broad coalition during the Pakistan Movement.
- After independence, internal ideological and regional differences became more visible.
- It lacked strong democratic party organization.

3. Leadership conflicts weakened the new state's political institutions

Major figures and groups competed over:

- political authority
- cabinet positions
- provincial influence
- constitutional arrangements.

Factional competition → weak party organization → unstable governments → institutional weakness

4. The death of Jinnah removed the strongest unifying political authority

- **Muhammad Ali Jinnah died in September 1948.**
- After his death, political competition intensified.
- Liaquat Ali Khan provided leadership but faced growing factional pressures.

5. The assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan further weakened political continuity

- **Liaquat Ali Khan was assassinated on 16 October 1951.**
- His death created a major leadership vacuum.
- Political influence increasingly shifted toward bureaucratic elites and Governor-General's office.

6. Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad demonstrated the growing dominance of unelected institutions

- Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Constituent Assembly in **1954**.
- The action was validated through the **Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan case** in the judiciary.

- This weakened parliamentary supremacy.

7. Bureaucratic manipulation of political factions made elected governments increasingly unstable

Political factions → Governor-General's intervention → cabinet changes → parliamentary weakness

Important personalities included:

- Ghulam Muhammad
- Iskander Mirza
- bureaucratic elites
- senior civil servants.

8. Frequent changes in government undermined democratic continuity

Timeline:

Year	Development
1947	Pakistan established
1948	Jinnah died
1951	Liaquat Ali Khan assassinated
1953	Nazimuddin government dismissed
1954	Constituent Assembly dissolved
1955	One Unit introduced
1956	First Constitution promulgated
1958	Martial law imposed

9. The One Unit scheme reflected an attempt to manage provincial and factional tensions through administrative centralization

- West Pakistan was merged into one province in **1955**.
- It was intended to create parity between East and West Pakistan.
- Instead, it intensified regional grievances, particularly in smaller western provinces.

10. The delayed constitutional process weakened democratic legitimacy

- Pakistan finally adopted its first Constitution in **1956**, almost nine years after independence.
- The long constitutional delay reflected political disagreements and institutional instability.

11. The 1956 Constitution could not develop stable democratic conventions before military intervention

- Parliamentary government existed only briefly.
- Governments remained vulnerable to elite bargaining and dismissal.

12. Iskander Mirza's actions demonstrated the culmination of factional and institutional breakdown

- **7 October 1958:** Constitution abrogated and martial law imposed.
- **27 October 1958:** Ayub Khan removed Iskander Mirza.

13. Factional politics therefore indirectly facilitated military intervention

Weak parties → unstable cabinets → constitutional manipulation → bureaucratic dominance → military intervention

14. The impact on Pakistan's democratic development was deeply damaging

Impact	Democratic consequence
Weak political parties	Poor institutionalization
Government instability	Weak parliamentary authority
Governor-General intervention	Executive dominance
Bureaucratic influence	Unelected elite power
One Unit	Provincial grievances
Delayed constitution	Weak constitutionalism
1958 martial law	Democratic interruption

15. Critical evaluation: Factionalism was not the only cause of democratic failure

Other structural factors included:

- weak political institutions
- refugee and administrative crises
- security pressures
- absence of an entrenched constitutional culture
- bureaucratic dominance
- provincial tensions
- judicial validation of extra-constitutional actions.

16. Conclusion: Early factional politics weakened democratic institutions, but the deeper tragedy was that political instability became an opportunity for unelected institutions to permanently expand their role

Q. No. 5. Every state designs its foreign policy on its National interests rejecting feelings and emotions. Why did Pakistan prefer emotions, feelings and Ideology in its foreign policy? Also analyze its impact.

1. Introduction: Pakistan's foreign policy combined national interest with ideology, identity and emotion, producing both diplomatic advantages and strategic costs

Central argument: Pakistan did not completely reject national interest; rather, it frequently defined national interest through ideological, religious and emotional considerations.

2. Pakistan's ideological foundation made foreign policy inseparable from its Islamic identity

- Pakistan emerged as a state associated with Muslim political identity.
- The **Objectives Resolution 1949** reinforced the Islamic ideological character of the state.
- Foreign policy therefore often included:
 - Muslim solidarity
 - support for Palestine
 - support for Kashmir
 - relations with Muslim states.

3. Kashmir became the clearest example of ideology and emotion shaping foreign policy

Partition → Kashmir dispute → Muslim identity → national narrative → foreign-policy priority

- Kashmir was viewed not simply as a territorial dispute but as an issue involving:
 - Muslim identity
 - self-determination
 - unfinished Partition.

4. Pakistan's support for Palestine reflected ideological and moral solidarity

- Pakistan has consistently supported Palestinian self-determination.
- This strengthened Pakistan's image among Muslim-majority states but sometimes involved positions extending beyond immediate bilateral interests.

5. Pakistan developed particularly close relations with Muslim countries because of Islamic solidarity

Important relationships included:

- Saudi Arabia
- Turkey
- Iran
- UAE and Gulf states
- other OIC members.

Islamic solidarity → diplomatic support → economic/strategic cooperation

6. Pakistan's Afghan policy was partly influenced by ideological and historical considerations

- During the Soviet-Afghan War, Pakistan supported the Afghan resistance.
- Islamic solidarity and strategic security considerations overlapped.
- Pakistan also sought to prevent hostile influence on its western border.

7. Pakistan's China relationship demonstrates that ideology has not always overridden pragmatic national interest

Important counterargument:

Pakistan maintained close relations with China despite China being a communist state.

This demonstrates that:

Ideology + national security + economic interests + geopolitics

often operate together.

8. Pakistan's participation in Western alliances demonstrates that national security interests also shaped foreign policy

- Pakistan joined **SEATO in 1954**.
- Pakistan joined the **Baghdad Pact/CENTO in 1955**.
- These decisions were driven heavily by security and economic calculations rather than Islamic ideology.

9. Emotional and ideological foreign policy created international diplomatic goodwill among Muslim states

Positive effects included:

- leadership within the OIC

- diplomatic support on Kashmir
- solidarity on Palestine
- stronger people-to-people relations
- strategic cooperation with Muslim countries.

10. However, excessive ideological framing sometimes restricted Pakistan's policy flexibility

Ideological commitment → reduced room for compromise → diplomatic rigidity

Examples include difficult balancing acts involving:

- India
- Afghanistan
- Middle Eastern rivalries
- relations with Israel.

11. Emotional foreign policy sometimes produced strategic costs when ideological expectations conflicted with material interests

- International politics operates largely through state interests.
- Other states may support Pakistan rhetorically while prioritizing their own:
 - trade
 - security
 - investment
 - relations with major powers.

12. Pakistan's foreign policy should therefore move from emotion-driven diplomacy towards interest-based principled diplomacy

Not:

Ideology OR national interest

Rather:

National interest + principles + strategic pragmatism

13. Conclusion: Pakistan's ideological identity remains an important foreign-policy asset, but sustainable diplomacy requires ideology to be balanced with economic, security and geopolitical interests

Q. No. 6. What is the volume of grants, aid and loans in Pakistan's economy in the last ten years to stimulate the growth? Discuss.

1. Introduction: External grants, aid and loans have repeatedly supported Pakistan's development and balance-of-payments needs, but their growing dependence has also exposed structural weaknesses in the economy

Important distinction:

- **Grant:** financial assistance that generally does not require repayment.
- **Aid:** broader concessional assistance, including grants and soft financing.
- **Loan:** borrowed money that must be repaid, usually with interest/charges.

2. Pakistan has remained heavily dependent on external financing because domestic savings, exports and tax revenues have been insufficient

Low tax revenue + low savings + trade deficits + fiscal deficits

↓

External financing requirement

↓

Loans + aid + grants

3. The last decade shows that loans have overwhelmingly outweighed grants in Pakistan's external financing

For a CSS answer, distinguish between:

Instrument	Purpose
Grants	Humanitarian/development support
Concessional loans	Development projects and budget support
Commercial loans	Balance-of-payments/debt financing
IMF financing	Macroeconomic stabilization
Bilateral loans	Infrastructure, budget and strategic support
Multilateral loans	Development and institutional reform

4. Pakistan's major external creditors have included multilateral and bilateral institutions

Major sources include:

- IMF
- World Bank/IDA
- Asian Development Bank
- China
- Saudi Arabia
- UAE
- Paris Club countries and other bilateral creditors.

5. IMF programmes have primarily supported stabilization rather than directly financing long-term growth

IMF financing → foreign-exchange support → balance-of-payments stabilization → macroeconomic adjustment

Pakistan entered repeated IMF programmes, reflecting persistent external-account vulnerabilities.

6. World Bank and Asian Development Bank financing has supported development-oriented sectors

Areas include:

- infrastructure
- energy
- education
- health
- governance
- social protection
- climate resilience.

7. Chinese financing has been particularly important in infrastructure and energy under CPEC

Chinese financing → energy/infrastructure → connectivity → productive capacity

But the economic benefit depends on whether infrastructure generates:

- exports
- industrialization
- employment
- productivity.

8. Grants and humanitarian assistance become particularly important during disasters

Pakistan has received international assistance following major crises, including:

- 2005 earthquake
- 2010 floods

- 2022 catastrophic floods.

Such assistance provides immediate relief but cannot substitute for long-term development financing.

9. External financing has supported growth by filling Pakistan's investment and foreign-exchange gaps

External capital → infrastructure → productive capacity → employment → economic growth

It has helped finance:

- roads
- energy
- water
- education
- health
- social protection.

10. However, borrowing has increasingly created a debt-servicing burden

Repeated borrowing → rising external debt → debt servicing → foreign-exchange outflow → reduced fiscal space

This means loans can stimulate growth only if borrowed resources generate sufficient economic returns.

11. The central weakness is that external financing has often substituted for structural reforms rather than complementing them

Pakistan needs to improve:

- tax-to-GDP ratio
- exports
- energy-sector governance
- SOE performance
- productivity
- human capital.

12. The economic value of aid depends more on its utilization than on its absolute volume

Productive use

Infrastructure

Education

Energy

Industry

Unproductive use

Consumption

Recurrent political spending

Temporary budget gaps

Debt rollover

Productive use

Export capacity

Human capital

Unproductive use

Import dependence

Leakage/corruption

13. Critical evaluation: external financing can stimulate growth temporarily but cannot become Pakistan's permanent growth model

Aid/loans → short-term relief

but

Exports + taxation + productivity + investment → sustainable growth

14. Conclusion: Pakistan should shift from an aid-dependent economy to an investment- and export-driven economy

Best concluding line:

External loans and aid should function as a **bridge to self-reliance, not a substitute for self-reliance.**

Q. No. 7. Why did Pakistan join Western Defense Pacts? What cost it had to pay for that? Explain.

1. Introduction: Pakistan joined Western defence alliances primarily to overcome security and economic vulnerabilities, but the alliances also narrowed its diplomatic autonomy and created long-term strategic costs

2. Pakistan faced acute security and economic vulnerabilities after independence

Pakistan confronted:

- India-Pakistan rivalry
- Kashmir dispute
- weak military capacity
- limited industrial base
- financial constraints
- lack of powerful international allies.

3. Pakistan joined SEATO in 1954 to obtain strategic support against perceived communist expansion and regional threats

SEATO — 1954

Pakistan expected:

- military assistance
- weapons
- training
- strategic support.

4. Pakistan joined the Baghdad Pact in 1955, later known as CENTO, to strengthen its strategic position

Pakistan viewed Western alliances as a means of:

- military modernization
- deterrence
- economic assistance
- diplomatic alignment with major powers.

5. US military and economic assistance was a major incentive behind alliance membership

Western alliance → military aid → modernization → stronger defence capacity

Pakistan received substantial military assistance during the 1950s and 1960s.

6. The alliances strengthened Pakistan's military capabilities in the short term

Benefits included:

- modern weapons
- military training
- defence infrastructure
- improved military organization
- economic assistance.

7. However, Pakistan discovered that Western alliances did not guarantee unconditional support against India

This was a major strategic disappointment.

Pakistan's expectation:

Alliance membership → Western support against India

Reality:

Western powers often treated India-Pakistan conflict separately from their anti-communist alliance objectives.

8. The 1965 war demonstrated the limits of Pakistan's alliance expectations

- US military assistance was not equivalent to an automatic commitment to fight India.
- Arms restrictions affected Pakistan's calculations.

9. The alliance relationship contributed to Pakistan's dependence on the United States

Security dependence → military dependence → diplomatic dependence

This reduced Pakistan's freedom to independently formulate certain foreign-policy choices.

10. The Western alliance policy created domestic and regional ideological costs

- Pakistan was increasingly identified with the Western bloc during the Cold War.
- This created tensions with:
 - Soviet Union
 - some non-aligned states
 - sections of Pakistani society opposed to Western alignment.

11. The Soviet Union became less favourably disposed towards Pakistan

- Pakistan's alliance with the US contributed to difficult Pakistan-Soviet relations.
- This had consequences for Pakistan's diplomatic position in South Asia.

12. Western military assistance also created long-term dependency on foreign defence supplies

Foreign weapons → spare parts → maintenance dependence → strategic vulnerability

Pakistan therefore became dependent on external suppliers for significant portions of its defence equipment.

13. The alliance policy ultimately failed to resolve Pakistan's central security dilemma with India

Expected benefit	Actual limitation
Security guarantees	No automatic war support
Military aid	Arms dependence
Economic assistance	Long-term dependency
Diplomatic backing	Conditional support
Anti-communist partnership	Difficult Soviet relations

14. Pakistan eventually diversified its strategic relationships

Western alignment → disappointment → greater China partnership → diversified foreign policy

China increasingly became a central strategic partner.

15. Conclusion: Pakistan gained substantial military and economic assistance from Western alliances, but paid through diplomatic dependence, strategic disappointment and reduced foreign-policy autonomy

Balanced judgement:

Joining the pacts was rational from Pakistan's **short-term security and economic perspective**, but the long-term costs demonstrated the danger of outsourcing national security to external alliances.

Q. No. 8. Discuss the issues and mistrust in US-Pakistan relations after the withdrawal of the US troops from Afghanistan.

1. Introduction: The US withdrawal from Afghanistan transformed Pakistan-US relations from a security partnership centered on counterterrorism into a relationship dominated by mistrust, divergent regional priorities and uncertainty over Afghanistan

Important context:

The US completed its military withdrawal from Afghanistan in **August 2021**, followed by the Taliban takeover of Kabul.

2. The Afghan withdrawal created different expectations in Washington and Islamabad

Pakistan's expectation:

Regional stability + reduced militancy + diplomatic engagement

US concerns:

Counterterrorism + Taliban behaviour + regional security

This divergence generated mistrust.

3. The US remained concerned about terrorist threats emerging from Afghanistan

Washington has continued to monitor:

- Al-Qaeda
- ISIS-K
- TTP
- other militant networks.

Pakistan, meanwhile, has been particularly concerned about **TTP sanctuaries and cross-border terrorism**.

4. The TTP issue has become a major source of Pakistan-US strategic divergence

Afghan Taliban's return → TTP presence in Afghanistan → cross-border attacks → Pakistan's security concerns

Pakistan expects stronger international pressure on Afghan authorities to prevent Afghan territory from being used against Pakistan.

5. Pakistan's historical engagement with the Afghan Taliban has created suspicion in Washington

- US policymakers have long accused Pakistan of maintaining relationships with elements of the Afghan Taliban.
- Pakistan argues that its engagement was aimed at facilitating peace and protecting its security interests.
- This difference in interpretation contributes to mistrust.

6. The US has increasingly viewed Pakistan through the lens of broader China-US strategic competition

Pakistan-China strategic partnership → CPEC → Gwadar → China's regional influence

Washington is concerned about China's expanding strategic presence in the region.

Pakistan, however, maintains that its relationship with China is based on national economic and strategic interests.

7. US-India strategic partnership has created a major trust deficit in Pakistan

- The US increasingly views India as an important Indo-Pacific partner.
- Pakistan fears that Washington's strategic partnership with New Delhi could reduce US sensitivity toward Pakistan's security concerns.

US-India strategic convergence → Pakistani strategic anxiety → reduced trust

8. Kashmir remains an unresolved source of Pakistan-US diplomatic disagreement

Pakistan expects greater US diplomatic attention to:

- Kashmir
- human rights
- regional stability.

The US generally avoids taking a position that would alienate India, particularly because of its broader strategic partnership with New Delhi.

9. Pakistan fears that Washington may again disengage from the region after achieving its immediate Afghan objectives

Historical pattern:

Cold War → US engagement

Post-Cold War → disengagement

9/11 → renewed engagement

Afghanistan withdrawal → renewed uncertainty

This produces Pakistani concerns about the reliability of US strategic commitments.

10. US concerns over Pakistan's nuclear programme remain another source of mistrust

Washington has expressed concerns relating to:

- nuclear security
- missile development
- regional strategic stability
- proliferation.

Pakistan considers its nuclear capability essential for maintaining strategic deterrence against India.

11. Pakistan and the US also differ over democracy, governance and human-rights issues

- Washington increasingly links foreign relations with:
 - democratic governance
 - civil liberties
 - human rights.
- Pakistani policymakers often view some of these concerns as politically selective.

12. Economic relations have failed to replace the old security-centred relationship with sufficient strength

Old relationship:

Security + military aid + counterterrorism

Needed relationship:

Trade + investment + technology + education + climate cooperation + security

13. Climate change provides an opportunity to rebuild constructive Pakistan-US relations

Pakistan's climate vulnerability creates room for cooperation in:

- disaster management
- climate finance
- agriculture
- water management
- renewable energy.

14. The relationship requires a shift from aid-based interaction to trade and investment

Aid dependence → transactional relationship

whereas

Trade + investment + technology → sustainable partnership

15. Pakistan should maintain strategic balance rather than allowing US-China rivalry to define its foreign policy

Pakistan's strategic objective:

China
↕
Pakistan
↕
United States

Pakistan should avoid becoming an arena for great-power competition and instead pursue **issue-based cooperation with both.**

16. A structured counterterrorism dialogue can reduce mutual mistrust

Areas of cooperation:

- intelligence sharing
- border security
- counterterrorism
- cyber security
- countering extremist financing.

17. Critical evaluation: Pakistan-US relations are unlikely to return to the Cold War-style alliance, but they can become a stable pragmatic partnership

Area of mistrust	Possible area of cooperation
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Afghanistan	Counterterrorism
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Area of mistrust **Possible area of cooperation**

TTP	Intelligence sharing
China	Economic engagement
India	Regional stability
Nuclear issue	Strategic dialogue
Human rights	Institutional dialogue
Climate	Climate resilience
Economy	Trade and investment

18. Conclusion: Post-2021 Pakistan-US relations require realistic expectations, issue-based cooperation and strategic autonomy rather than a return to the old aid-for-security model

Final analytical chain:

US withdrawal → Afghan uncertainty → TTP/security concerns → US-China rivalry → US-India partnership → mutual mistrust

but

Counterterrorism + trade + climate + education + investment + diplomatic dialogue → pragmatic reset