

Section - B

Question: no: 8:-

Explain the term "Political Elite?"

Identify the "elite" in the elite capture in Pakistan?

Political Elites and Elite capture in Pakistan,

I- Introduction:-

Elites are small percentage of the Pakistani Population, yet have made policies that have been extractive in nature and have benefited them at the cost of society at large. Moreover, Institutions functions to serve the interests of elites. Instead of going to sustainable high growth and development paths, the preference given to policies of short term gains.

These policies overlaps with macro-economic stability, reward for entrepreneurship, risk taking, institution building, rule of law, investment in health, education and welfare sector. Therefore, a number of researchers working on Pakistan have argued that the Pakistani elite have been in capture of the state, its resources and policies for a long time. These elites have been milking the country for their benefit and irrespective of who has been in

power, all of them have been playing the same game. However, individual beneficiaries have been changing but the class interest have dominated overall policy making and policy outcomes.

"Elites have been able to curb their greed for short term gains and gambled on development by investing in a development bargain that allowed society to pursue policies for overall growth and development."

- Stefan Dercon (The author of Gambling on Development: Why some countries win and other lose).

II- The Concept of Political Elite:-

Before understand the concept of Political Elite. It is important to define the term elite:-

"Small minorities who play an exceptionally influential part in the affairs of society in specific fields."

Parry Geriant

Therefore, the elite is a dominant group which possesses

distinctiveness and exclusiveness. Hence, elite is a relative term. A group is identified as an elite group in a particular field in which it is "power exerciser." or influential or commands excellence. but in other groups, these elite may be considered as ordinary members.

i) Political Elite:-

The term political elite may be defined as "a group of high stratum decision makers in political culture or concrete political structure which monopolises political power, influences major political policies and occupies all important post of political command."

Therefore, salient features of political elite are given below.

- a) Who are elected/nominated to central and state legislature
- b) Who occupy important positions in national or state level political parties.
- c) Individuals who do not hold any formal positions either in the government or in power

political parties but are still considered as person of great political prestige and power because they control power-exercisers.

Wright Mills (1956) has used the term "power elite" for the political elite who monopolise power and rule the country. Pareto (1935) has called them "governing elite". Marx, referred to them as ruling class, Riesman as veto group and Floyd Hunter as top leaders. Another term Oligarchic elite for the political elite who controls the functional grouping within the structure with the minimum consultation of "subjugated elite".

ii) Political Elite : Two Types of Movements not circulation:-

There are two types of movements.

a) Movement from lower to higher strata of governing elite both functioning at macro level.

b) Movement from sub-category functioning at micro-structural level to sub-category functioning at macro-structural level.

In the former, there is a circulation circulation between "Oligarchic" (dominant) and "Subjacent" (dominated) elite and between radical activists and passive activists. Activists functioning at micro-level ultimately joined the ranks of activists at the macro level with the result that some of the activists already functioning at this level were deprived of their monopoly of power.

This elite mobility may be explained in term of:

- i) The rise of new political interest and.
- ii) The rise of new elite with more manipulating qualities.

Therefore, the process of overthrowing the elite in power and succeeding them is not always based on conflict but that it involves manipulation, toleration, accommodation, compromise and bargain too.

iii) Role of Political Elite in the modernisation of society:-

In order to highlight the role of Political Elite in the modernisation of society. For analysing this problem, elites are

divide into two groups. According to **David Apler's Model**:-

- i) Development System elite
- ii) Maintenance System elite.

i) Development System elite:-

Those elites are characterised by allegiance to economic and social progress, ideological commitment and constant policies. Moreover, these elites create new institutions or change old institutions to remove obstacle to economic and social growth.

ii) Maintenance System elite:-

Those elites who give high priority to maintaining and preserving the existing political system instead of advocating economic and social change.

These elites compromise among competing political and interest groups. The elite of this system are characterised by multiple loyalties, tactical flexibility, acceptance of compromise and ideological diffuseness.

IV) Barriers of Political Elite:-

The main problems political elite face are:

i) The problem of split ideologies, namely the ideologies of passive party officialdom, of party militants, of the disinterested and uncommitted rank and file of party members and party identifiers and the party's public ideology.

ii) The problem of confusion of cross cutting issue and alternatives preferences.

iii) The problem of in-fighting among the elite for power sharing power sharing.

III - Identification of elites in elite capture of Pakistani-

A number of researchers working on Pakistan have argued that the Pakistani elite have been in capture that the of the state, its resources and its policies for a long time. These elites are a small percentage of the Pakistani population, yet have made policies that have been extractive in nature and have benefited them at the cost of society at large.

These elites are mentioned in Easterly's paper as well. Moreover, Dr. Ishtat Hussain has made the same argument in his book 1999 book, **Pakistan: The Economy of an Elitist state**. However, Kazim Saeed made

the same argument about the division between the elites and the rest in his book **Don Pakistan** (2020).

i) Identification of elites - The UNDP's National Human Development Report 2021 :-

The report has attempted to shed new light on the stark income inequality and the economic privileges of the elite in Pakistan. These elites include those from the **Corporate sector, the landed aristocracy, the military and political hierarchy**. The estimated cost of favours is **RS-3.6 trillion** (\$17.4 bn) or roughly 6 pc of national economy. Moreover, **Corporate sector** has been identified as the biggest beneficiary of the privileges in the form of tax breaks, cheap inputs prices, higher output prices or preferential access to credit, land and services.

ii) Historical insight on multi-dimensional inequality :-

These are seven phases of multi-dimensional inequality.

a) **Initial Phase:** Survival is the main aim, there was abrupt changes in government. In this period, competing interests wrestled for the upper hand in the power structure, while a mix approach was followed in the economic sphere.

b) **Second Phase:-**

It was marked by military takeover and mixed approach towards economy, borrowing ideas from both capitalist and socialist models. The regime hand held the feeble business class. It established the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC) which was used public resources to established industry and it is handed over to private sector on a platter.

A) **The era of Gen Ayub Khan:-**

The important aspect of this era are given below.

i) **Green Revolution:-**

It is continued with the five year plans that were initiated in 1955, borrowing the idea from the erst while Soviet Union.

ii) **Market Model:-**

It was an expressed

state policy to promote the concentration of wealth to realize higher investment rates. It was the second five year plan (1960-65)

iii) Insight of Dr. Meh'bab-ul-Haq :-

Dr. Meh'bab-ul-Haq, the architect of the second Plan, wrote a booklet titled **Poverty Curtain in 1969**, in which he argued that 22 business families had come to control much of industrial banking and insurance sector in Pakistan. Despite the high average growth rate public discontent burst out on the streets, leading to uprising in East Pakistan and culminating in the country's dismemberment.

c) Third Phase:-

The two important aspects of this phase.

i) The Populist government had introduced agriculture reforms and opted for a national policy to free the economy from shackles of powerful monopolies.

The GDP is 3 pc.

ii) The economic crisis was deepened by the oil shock of the 1970s. The phase ended with the military once again in the saddle.

d) Fourth Phase:-

Global and geo-political concerns ensured freeflow of dollar to the countries, creating some fiscal space for the government to do something substantial in economic terms. Instead, the majority of the population remained far away from the minds of those who reported serious improvements in GDP growth.

e) Fifth phase:-

This phase has saw a return to democracy but potential political stability could not be secured. Four elected governments were dismissed successively and prematurely on charge of corruption. Such instability did not allow the GDP growth to sustain itself and the GDP to 4pc. The phase ended with an other general taking over the reins of the country.

f) Sixth phase:-

The government was clueless at the beginning of the sixth phase the 9/11 episodes came to its rescue and overnight Gen. Pervez Musharraf started rubbing shoulders with the high and might leading the so called "war on terror". From the a pariah state, Pakistan become the most favoured nation,

receiving a steady flow of dollars once again, which, once again, were used to offer patronage to the urban and feudal elite.

g) Last and Continuing Phase:-

The four government one each of the three major parties and the current coalition have been in power. The high mark of this phase in economic terms has been the multibillion dollar China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Beyond lip service, the last 14 years have seen nothing to suggest that any attention to issue of growing inequality in society. The famed common man in whose name and for whom all decisions are apparently taken, keeps looking on in utter disbelief.

IV- Critical Analysis:-

In some countries, crisis situations have led to re-evaluation of policies and a move towards more inclusive policies. China, in 1979 and after, is often given as an example. Though Pakistan has had its share of crises, it has not led to change in the equilibrium. The war of 1965 and 1971; East Pakistan separated to become

Bangladesh; however, Afghan wars and their fallouts in terms of terrorism to name but a few. None of these have "forced" the elites to alter the structure of the economy to make it more inclusive and re-orient policy making towards the masses. This is a dilemma.

Pakistan is currently living in crisis situation as well. Default on international debts obligations as a distinct international possibility for Pakistan. Even now, the attempt from the elite is to borrow against the future and avoid default. But there is no indication that there is any willingness to think deeper about the structural issues of Pakistan. Therefore, the crisis may sustain for some time. This remains to be seen.

V- Conclusion:-

Pakistan has been in existence for 75 years now, which is time enough to change or transform societies quite substantially. More worrying, is the fact that despite poor performance historically, and the difficult place there does not seem to be any major rethinking going on within the elite of the country. The quest

is still for short term fixes
through international bail outs,
and growth spurt through
project like CPEC. If deeper
thinking on structural reforms
does not happen, the future
decades will be worse than
what have been in the past
and this is not good enough
prospect for a country to
to face up or live with.

Sec-A.

Q: No 5.

a) Political Dynamics of Pressure Groups :-

i) Pressure Groups:-

A group of individuals organised for promoting their special economic or interest by influencing the government or public officer. The means used by pressure groups used by pressure groups to apply pressure or influence on the government, legislation, administrations, political parties, and persuasion.

ii) Kinds of Pressure Groups:-

Various kinds of pressure groups are given below.

a) Interest Group:-

A pressure group may also be called an interest group. An interest group, "any conscious desire to have government policy or authoritative allocation of values, moves in a particular general or specific direction. Therefore, it a group one which is organised to promote interest by concerning itself with governmental policy."

b) Lobby:- It is pressure group which works in a legislature

to influence the legislators to make laws in the interest of the group. Thus, a lobby consists of men who knowing all about the inner working of the legislature, use means fair or foul to induce the legislators to use public treasury in the interest of its members.

c) Cause Groups:-

It is a group or interest group, which seeks to promote some cause not of direct benefit to its members but of general benefit for all e.g.: CND or the Green peace or the American Civil Liberties Union.

iii) Forms of Pressure:-

Following are the forms of pressure groups.

a) Refusal of co-operation with the government:-

Business groups may refuse to co-operate or to continue rendering assistance and advice to government department. The technique was applied by the iron and steel industry in Great Britain against nationalisation policy of the British Labour Party just after World War II.

b) Strike:-

These techniques often used by labours and professional associates consisting of members of the same trade, profession or enterprise for purpose of wages increase.

c) Electioneering:-

Pressure groups participate in elections by supporting candidates favourable to their interests.

d) National publicity Campaigns:-

Pressure groups often under nation-wide publicity campaigns in order to cultivate a favourable climate of opinion among the people for their aims.

e) Formation of political party:-

In multiple party countries the pressure groups may form political parties of their own in order to put pressure on the government. This technique cannot be employed on the country of two party system.

Mock-7 for CSS-2024.

Political Science, Paper-I.

Subjective - Part-II.

Section-A.

Question: no: 4:-

Examine the concept of Muslim Nationalism propagated by various Muslim political philosophers of the sub-continent. How this shaped the political system of Pakistan?

Evolution of Muslim Nationalism and Muslim separate identity in the sub-continent.

Outline:-

- 1- Introduction.
- 2- Role of Religious Reformers:-
 - a) Shaik Ahmed Sirhindi.
 - b) Shah Waliullah.
 - c) Syed Ahmed Barelvi.
- 3- Role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Aligarh Movement:-
 - a) Creation of Muslim League.
- 4- Allama Iqbal and Allahabad Address of 1930.
- 5- Quaid-e-Azam's role and Lahore Resolution.
- 6- Creation of Pakistan as a separate Muslim Home Land in 1947.

7- Conclusion:-

1- Introduction:-

It was a great challenge for Muslim philosophers to bring reforms in the Indian society. The objective is to purify the Indian Muslims from the un-Islamic practices, which adopted by Muslims with the passage of time. The evolution of Muslim Nationalism in the sub-continent was possible by great role of religious reformers namely Shah Ahmed Sirhindi, Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmed Brelvi. Moreover, the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Aligarh Movement was influential. Despite the fact, role of Allama Iqbal and Allah's Abul Address was the foundation stone of Muslim nationalism. Thus, Quaid-e-Azam bring the concept of Muslim Nationalism into reality in Lahore Resolution of 1940. Hence, Creation of Pakistan as separate Muslim state possible in 1947.