

QUESTION NO: 07

'Raising the Cry of Pakistan in Danger'

Introduction

Since its inception, Pakistan has struggled with economic instability, primarily rooted in the unequal distribution of resources, socio-economic disparities, and a heavy reliance on foreign aid. The perception that Pakistan's sovereignty is constantly under threat has often leveraged by economic elite to justify certain policy choices, primarily favoring foreign loans over sustainable self-reliant growth strategies. This tendency has resulted in policies that disproportionately burden the working class, fostering economic inequality and dependency. The economic elite in Pakistan manipulate the narrative of 'Pakistan in danger' as a means to justify financial policies that place undue strains on the lower-income segments of society and lead to a cycle of external debt reliance.

Historical Context of Economic Elitism and Foreign Dependence

Pakistan's economy has been marked by a reliance on foreign assistance since the early years of independency. The lack of sufficient capital, industrialization, and infrastructure pushed the economy towards foreign aid from US and international financial institutions. Over time, this dependency established a pattern where loans and aid became primary avenues for economic management rather than internal revenue generation or self-reliance measures. The elite class, often consisting of powerful industrialists, landowners and bureaucrats, has historically benefited from this reliance, ensuring that their economic interests remain safeguarded while the masses shoulder the fiscal burden. Scholars like Ayman Jalal and Akbar Zaidi have argued that the elite class in Pakistan has consistently sought policies favoring their interests, reinforcing their wealth and power while leaving the general population at a disadvantage. By manipulating nationalistic sentiments and invoking the

sentiments and invoking the Pakistan in danger rhetoric, they create an environment where foreign debt is seen as necessary, even patriotic, rather than fostering self-reliant economic growth strategies.

The "Pakistan in Danger" Narrative as a justification for foreign debt

The "Pakistan in danger" mantra is a strategic narrative used to invoke a sense of urgency, often highlighting external threats such as regional rivalries or geopolitical challenges. This fear-based approach diverts attention from domestic issues including the need for structural economic reforms, tax equity, and the promotion of local industries. By rallying around external threats, the economic elite can justify policies that prioritize defense spending and external debt over investment in public welfare and economic reforms. These policies, while ostensibly for national security, often benefit the elite by diverting resources and attention from policies that would require them to contribute more equitably through taxation.

For instance, Pakistan's heavy reliance on loans from international monetary fund (IMF) and the world bank is presented as a necessity to maintain economic stability in threatening global environment. However, in economic recuperation of these loans, including inflation, austerity measures and increased taxes on poor exacerbate income inequality and worsen living standards for the majority of Pakistan's population.

Taxation Burden on the Poor:

Pakistan's tax system is notoriously regressive, where indirect taxes such as sales, excise duty, and fuel tax forms a significant portion of revenue. According to research from the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, the elite class including large cooperation, agricultural landowners and high-income professionals often exploit loopholes to avoid direct taxes. Consequently, the burden of revenue generation is shifted to the general population through indirect taxes, disproportionately impacting the poor.

The elite justify this tax structure by invoking the "Pakistan in danger" rhetoric suggesting that such measures are essential for national security and stability. Meanwhile, the lack of direct tax contributions from the wealthy undermines the capacity of the state to invest in sectors critical for long-term growth such as education, health care and infrastructure.

Cycle of Dependency and Its Economic Ramifications:

The cycle of dependency on foreign debt has numerous economic consequences. The funds acquired from foreign sources are often used for recurring expenditures rather than productive investments. As a result, Pakistan remains trapped in a cycle of debt servicing, with substantial portions of the budget allocated to repay previous loans instead of development projects or poverty alleviations. The continuous borrowing not only limits the country's fiscal space but also creates a dependency that compromises economic sovereignty.

Conclusion:

The narrative of Pakistan in danger has been repeatedly employed by Pakistan economic elite to justify policy that ultimately favors their interests at the expense of general population. This approach has been deepened Pakistan's dependency on foreign debt, resulting in a tax structure that disproportionately burdens the poor and perpetuate economic inequality. To break free from this cycle, Pakistan must shift toward self-reliance economic policies that prioritize equitable taxation, public welfare, and sustainable growth. Only by addressing these structural imbalances can Pakistan hope to achieve long-term stability and reduce its dependency on foreign aid the paving the way for more inclusive and self-sufficient economy.

QUESTION NO:05

Pakistan - Afghanistan relations

Introduction:

The complex and often turbulent relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has roots that extend back decades, impacted by geopolitical competition, regional rivalries and cultural ties. Recent trends indicated by Afghanistan's leaders are attempting to establish a more independent foreign policy, seeking autonomy from influence of regional powers like Pakistan, India and Iran. This shift particularly after the Taliban's return to power in August 2021 reflects Afghanistan's desire to shape a self-determined path, responding both on internal pressures and the need for a stable, sovereign governance structure. Pakistan traditionally seen as key influence in Afghanistan, faces new diplomatic challenges as Kabul attempts to minimize its reliance on any single regional player, including Islamabad.

Historical Background of Pak-Afghan Relations

Pak-Afghan relations historically been marked by distrust, stemming from issue such as the Durand line, Pakistan's alleged support for faction within Afghanistan, and competing interest over regional security. Since Pakistan's independence in 1947, Afghanistan has often leaned towards India for support, a trend that worried Islamabad due to security concerns. Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan surged during the Soviet invasion in 1980s, where it became a base for Afghanist-an mujahideen. In the post 9/11 era, Pakistan was both an ally to the United States and an influential actor in Afghanistan though tension continued due to Afghan suspicion about Pakistan's support for the Taliban. With the return of the Taliban in 2021, however, Afghanistan's approach towards foreign policy appears to be shifting towards a more self-reliant stance. Many Afghan leaders Taliban officially open express a

a desire to pursue policies that prioritize Afghan national interests over those of neighboring states, signaling a strategic pivot from dependency.



Afghanistan's current pursuit for an independent foreign policy stems from multiple internal and external factors each impacting its relationship with Pakistan.

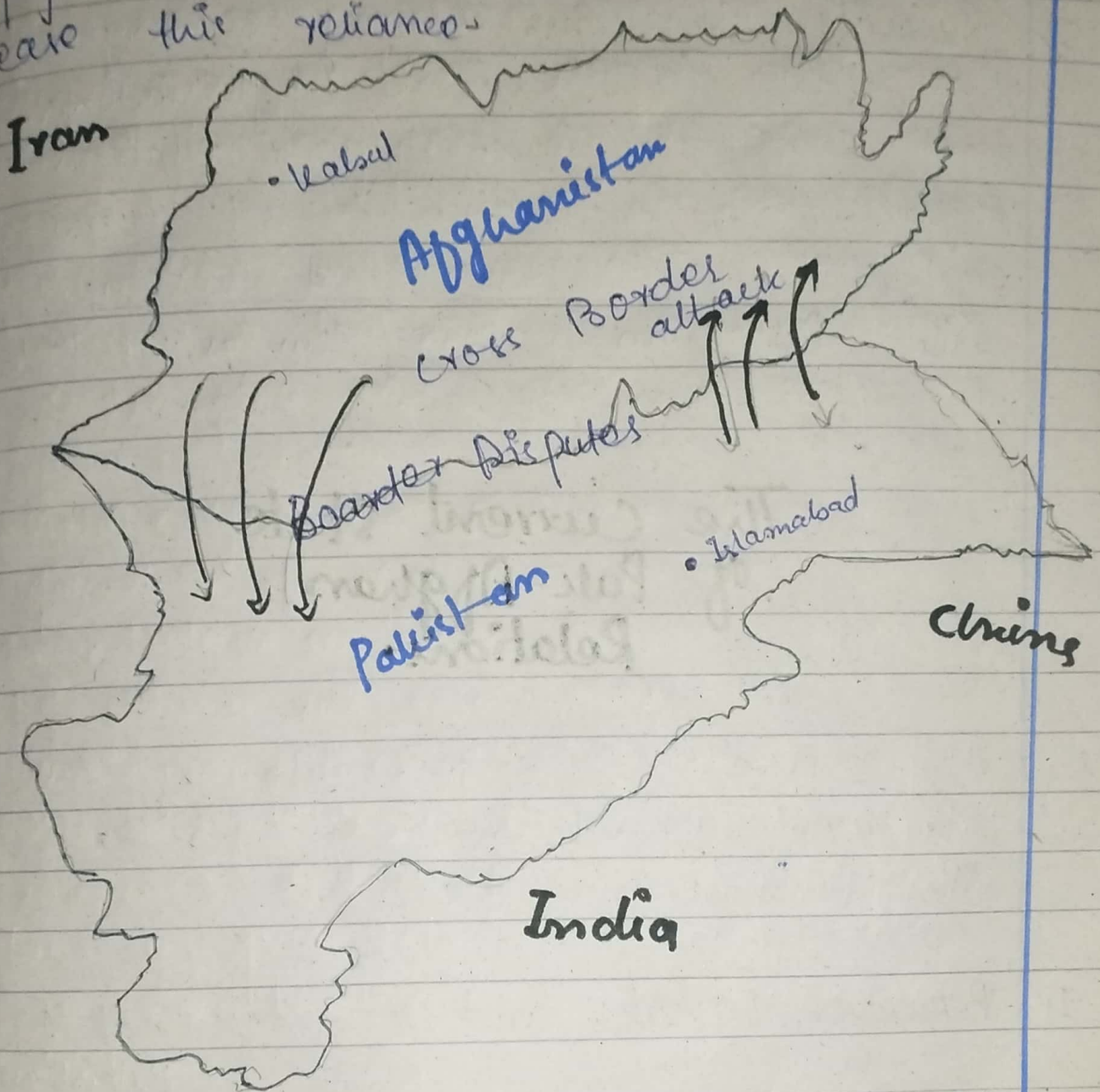
1) Nationalism and Domestic Pressures

Taliban leaders face pressure from Afghanistan factions that view Pakistan with skepticism, especially given past allegations that Islamabad has interfered in Afghanistans internal affairs. To maintain legitimacy, the Taliban must distance themselves from any single regional ally and demonstrate independence.

2) Regional Rivalries: Afghanistan's desire to remain neutral and non-aligned is partly motivated by the historic rivalry between Pakistan and India. The Taliban leadership aims to avoid becoming a pawn in these conflicts, particularly given India's past support for the previous Afghan governments and Pakistan's historical ties with various Taliban factions.

3) Economic Independence: Afghanistan's economy is currently reliant on aid and trade routes, many of which pass through Pakistan. However, Afghan leaders are exploring alternatives.

including regional partnership with central Asian states and potential connectivity projects with Iran and China, to decrease this reliance.



4) International Legitimacy Recognition: The Taliban leadership is keen on going international legitimacy and recognition, which requires demonstrating sovereignty in foreign policy matters. By seeking an independent stance they aim to reassess global power

that Afghanistan is not an extension of any particular country, including Pakistan.

- 5) Security Concerns (security challenges, particularly (TTP) within Afghanistan, have strained Pak-Afghan relations. Afghanistan's reluctance to act decisively against the TTP has fueled tensions, with Pakistan perceiving this as a lack of support for its security interests.

The Current State of Pak-Afghan Relations.

- Afghanistan's drive for autonomy has introduced several areas of friction with Pakistan.

- 1) Broader Disputes and Cross-Border Attacks
Pakistan and Afghanistan continue to face border management challenges along the Durand line. Frequent skirmishes and border closure reflects an underlying tensions, with Afghanistan opposing Pakistan's attempts to formalize the boundary.

through forcing.

2) Economic Relations and Trade Barrier:

Afghanistan's efforts to expand its economic relations with Central Asian countries and other neighbours indicates a shift away from dependency on Pakistan. Although Pakistan remains a critical trade partner, particularly as a gateway for Afghan goods to international markets, Kabul is actively seeking diversified trade routes to lessen reliance on Pakistan.

3) Security Cooperation and Counterterrorism

Afghanistan's harboring of TTP elements has become a significant obstacle in security cooperation between two countries. Pakistan sees the TTP as a direct threat, and its expectations for Kabul to control or eliminate these factions have not fully met, reflecting divergent security priorities.

Conclusions

Afghanistan's desire to pursue an independent foreign policy represent a transformative shift in Pak-Afghan relations, with significant implications for regional dynamics. Pakistan, accustomed to playing an influential role in Afghanistan's politics now faces a partner that is seeking to distance itself from any single regional player's influence. By recognizing and respecting this shift, Pakistan has opportunity to reshape its relationship with Afghanistan based on mutual respect and non-interference. This recalibrated approach while challenging could yield long-term benefits for regional stability and security, as both countries work towards a relationship grounded in mutual cooperation and sovereignty.

QUESTION - 06

Reformist Movements

Introduction:

The two-nation theory, the foundation for the creation of Pakistan, posited that Pakistanis and Muslims and Hindus of the Indian subcontinent represented two distinct nations due to their religious, cultural and social differences. This theory, however, not born overnight, it developed through a series of reformist movements led by Muslim scholars, intellectuals and leaders. These movements were pivotal in instilling a collective identity and consciousness among Muslims, ultimately contributing to the development of the two-nation theory. Reformist movements like those of Shah Waliullah, Faraizi Movements, the Deoband Movement, and the Aigamh Movements emphasized the distinct religious and social-political identity of Muslims, fostering unity that eventually laid the foundation for the demand for a separate state.

The Role of Muslim Reformist Movements in Shaping the Two-Nation Theory

- 1) Shah Waliullah and the call for unite Muslims
- ↓
- 2) The Faraizi Movements: Focus on Islamic Practices and Identity
- ↓
- 3) The Deoband Movements: Preserving Islamic Education and Identity
- ↓
- 4) The Aligarh Movements: Political Awakening and Educational Reform
- ↓
- 5) The Khilafat Movements: Muslim Solidarity and Anti-Colonialism

Shah Waliullah and the call for Muslim unity

Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) was one of the earliest figure to address the social and religious decline among Muslims and sought to restore Islamic values. Observing the deteriorating Muslim unity under Mughal Empire, he advocated for a return to Islamic teachings, emphasizing the distinctness of Muslim culture and spirituality.

His translation of the Quran into Persian made religious teaching more accessible to common Muslims, encouraging them to identify as a distinct religious community.

2) The Faraizi Movement: Focus on Islamic practices and Identity;

Founded by Haji Shariatullah in Bengal during the early 19th Century, the Faraizi Movement emphasized strict adherence to Islamic practices which he believed had been diluted under colonial influence. The movement sought to

unify Muslims by urging them to adhere strictly to Islamic obligation or "Fardaiji (obligations) while opposing Hindu influences, thus reinforcing a separate Muslim identity.

3) The Deoband Movement: Preserving Islamic Education and identity

Established in 1866, the Deoband Movement aimed to resist western influence and safeguard Islamic education through the creation of Darul-Uloom Deoband. Led by scholars like Mualana Qasim Nanotawi, it encouraged Muslims to remain steadfast in their religious practices distinct from westernized and Hindu-dominated education systems. By promoting Islamic education and values, the movement played a crucial role in preserving Muslim identity and reinforcing separateness of Muslims in cultural and political spheres.

4) The Aligarh Movement:

led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the Aligarh

Movement in the late 19th century sought to modernized Muslims and promote loyalty to British, which led he believed would improve their socio-political standing, he eyed also emphasized the distinct identity of Muslims, asserting that their rights and interest were separate from those of Hindus.

Through the establishment of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (later Aligarh Muslim University), he encouraged political consciousness, which led the groundwork for Muslim reparation in later years.

5) **The Khilafat Movement:**

The Khilafat Movement (1919-1924) was a pan-Islamic movement aimed at preserving the Ottoman caliphate, symbolizing unity among Muslims on international level. Indian Muslim leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali and Chaudhary Ali led to movement, which further enhanced the sense of unified Muslim identity.

Although the movement was eventually unsuccessful, it fostered a heightened sense of Muslim solidarity and opposition to British rule, contributing to the governing narrative of Muslim distinctiveness in India.

Conclusions:

The Muslim reformist movements of the Indian subcontinent played a vital role in shaping the collective consciousness and identity of Indian Muslims, fostering the belief that they were a distinct nation with unique religious, cultural, and social identity. These movements, spanning over two centuries, served as a foundation for Muslim nationalism by instilling pride in Islamic heritage, encouraging unity, and resisting both colonial and Hindu influences. These movements solidified into the two-nation theory, leading to the demand for a separate Muslim state and the creation of Pakistan.