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Question no. 01

"Ideology of Pakistan and Development of Two-Nation Theory"

1- Introduction:

"The Muslims and Hindus are two distinct entities with their own civilization, culture, and religion"

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The ideology of Pakistan, formulated over long time, by its founding fathers serve as the distinct representation of the Muslims. It focuses on the distinction of Muslim culture, religion and civilization with the Quran and Sunnah as their foundation. Its shaping over time gives rise to the development of "Two-Nation Theory".

There are multiple religious, social, economic and political factors which led to the creation of two-nation theory, and in turn, Pakistan.

2. Ideology of Pakistan:

Ideology of Pakistan is based on the vision of founding fathers Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. Based on the religious, cultural, social, political and civilizational distinction of the Muslims from Hindus, ideology of Pakistan served as basis for development of Two-Nation Theory, propounded by the towering figure Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Following are the characteristic features of ideology of Pakistan:

i) Islamic Identity:

"Muslims and Hindus are two distinct religious entities with their own religious and civilizational basis."

-Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Islamic identity serves as the basis for establishment of Pakistan as the foundation of their practical lives and functioning is the Holy Quran and Sunnah. Thus, Pakistan is established on the name of Islam so that

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the Muslims can work on principles of Shariah.

ii) Historical context of the Muslim rule in sub-continent :

In the subcontinent under the British rule and Indian polity capture in the form of Indian National Congress, the Muslims were oppressed with no socio-political and economic representation. Hence, the creation of a separate nation was inevitable for which the ideology of Pakistan serves as foundational basis.

iii) Founding father's vision :

"The new nation will be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in people and the people will enjoy equal rights without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed - or religion."

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Quaid-e-Azam stood to alleviate the pain of Muslims of subcontinent and to address their grievances through his

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advocation. Hence, he laid the foundation of ideology of Pakistan on the basis of "democracy, equality, unity and tolerance."

iv) Allama Iqbal's philosophical foundation and Khutba-e-Allahbad (1930):

"Muslims have their own culture, civilization, political views and religion. The creation of (Pakistan) a separate homeland in the western region, without or with the British hold is necessary."

— Allama Iqbal

Khutba-e-Allahbad

Thus, Iqbal presented the idea of creation of separate homeland for the Muslims. It laid the foundation of ideology of Pakistan on the basis of distinct culture and religion.

v) Lahore Resolution (1940):

It was the first event which formally put forward the idea of creation of Pakistan. Presented by

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A.K Fazal-ul-Haq, in the presence of Quaid-e-Azam and other leaders, it led to the cementing of Pakistan's ideological foundations.

vij) Principles of Policy:

The constitution of Pakistan and Objective Resolution (1949), which serve as the basis of Pakistan's constitution are the principles of policy on which ideology of Pakistan is based. It focuses on equality of people, preservation of national unity, celebration of diversity, protection of family and equality of opportunities.

viii) Global commitment:

"The foreign policy of Pakistan is that of goodwill and friendliness towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish any aggressive designs against any nation. Our aim is to work with all for a progressive world" — Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

Ideology of Pakistan is focused on fulfilling global commitments in the

form of resolutions, treaties and obligations. It binds Pakistan to commit to human rights, promoting friendship with the Muslim as well as African, European and other countries.

3. Two Nation Theory :

Ideology of Pakistan serves as the basis of two-nation theory. It focuses on the distinction of Hindus and Muslims from each other. Following are the major reasons which contributed to the development of it :

I. Political and Economic Reasons :

There were multiple political and economic factors which led to the development of two-nation theory.

Some of which are :

i) Colonial rule and divide and rule policy :

The British colonial rule in the subcontinent and their divide and

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rule policy deepened the nature of conflicts between Hindus and the Muslims. As a result, Muslims were marginalized and lack political representation. It was also due to the Hindus solely blamed Muslims for revolt of 1857.

ii) Partition of Bengal (1905) and Communal riots and violence:

Communal riots and violence, as after Partition of Bengal, led to social and political tensions.

The reversal of partition of Bengal (1911) further highlighted the seriousness of nature of Hindu-Muslim dispute.

iii) Hegemony of Indian National Congress:

Indian National Congress' hostile policies regarding the Muslims accelerated the state of conflict between two groups. Although orally it represented both Hindus and Muslims, its sole purpose was to

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work for Hindu interests. After the 1937 Provincial Elections, it inaugurated tensions through policies which were against Muslim interests, especially in Muslim majority lands of Uttar Pradesh.

iv) Muslim Representation :

Muslims demanded rights of separate electorates and position in central legislative council, as their interests and grievances were different from the Hindus. For this purpose, All India Muslim League was created. It adopted the framework which became basis for two-nation theory.

v) Economic Disparities :

Muslims did not enjoy equal economic opportunities in British ruled subcontinent. They were limited to lower rank and grade jobs. Hence, separate representation for them was essential which became the basis for two-nation theory.

II- Social and Religious Reasons :

There were multiple social and religious factors also. Some of which are :

i) Religious Identity :

"Hindus and Muslims have distinct religions, most of their practices being contrary to each other."

— Muhammad Ali Jinnah.

The basis of Muslim ideology is the adherence to principles of the Quran and Sunnah. While, the ideology of Hindus is totally different. Most of their practices i.e. prohibition of cow slaughter, usury and riba consumption etc. are completely contradictory to Islam. Moreover, Muslims were not allowed to follow their religious practices in the subcontinent which gave way for two-nation theory.

ii) Perceived Discrimination :

Muslims felt discriminated in

the subcontinent both culturally and religiously. This perceived discrimination led to two-nation theory's formation:

iii) Social cohesion:

The Muslims' concept of "One Ummah" binds them into one entity without any geographical and cultural constraints. The Hindus do not fit in with this concept. Hence, making them two distinct entities.

iv) Language:

The Muslims of the subcontinent wrote Urdu in Persian-Arabic style while, the Hindus follow Devanagiri style Hindi-writing. This led to the violence in 1867 called Urdu-Hindi controversy when Hindus made Hindi national language.

5- Conclusion:

Ideology of Pakistan is a reflection of the distinction of its people. It is framed and sharp.

ed by the Muslim contrary rule in the Indian subcontinent. It gives a reflection of the foundational development of Pakistan i.e. its principles, of policy and adherence to global commitments. Moreover, the development of two-nation theory in the light of British and Hindu atrocities against the Muslims also serve as a basis for separate homeland for Pakistan.

Question no. 02

"Elite Capture and Economic Inequality"

1- Introduction :

Since independence Pakistan and many South Asian countries suffer from elite polity capture. As elite representatives don't have grassroots level insight, their rule marks perpetuation of economic inequality which hinders development. Their fractured vision, inefficient and inadequate rule and inconsistent

policies make the agricultural, industrial and manufacturing sectors growth stagnant.

2- Elite capture and Economic Inequality :

Following factors elucidate how elite capture in developing economy hinders development and perpetuate inequality :

i) Weak Governance and Lack of Efficient Rule of law :

Elite capture marked by lazy, lethargic and incompetent attitude hinder development. The hold of such leaders on the upper level pass on such legacy on bureaucratic level as well. This leads to an increase in corruption and weakens rule of law hindering development. The red tape policies further stagnates growth.

ii) Faulty Fiscal and Monetary Policies :

Lacking an insightful vision, elite policy capture promotes faulty

fiscal and monetary policies which hinder development.

iii) Tax Evasion :

Tax evasion by elite is another dilemma. It perpetuates inequality by weakening domestic policies. For example, in year 2024, Pakistan had to collect a tax of ₨ 470 billion rupees. However, the original collection was ₨ 270 billion rupees with a shortfall of 200 billion rupees as per State Bank of Pakistan.

iv) Dependence on foreign aid and loans :

Elite capture is more dependent on foreign aid and loans rather than strengthening local economy and production. It traps the countries in a cycle of debt, with mounting interest payment. For example, the inability of Sri Lanka to repay their interest amount led to international economic boycott. Moreover, Pakistan's debt is mounting to \$131.6 billion as of 2024.

v) **Discontinuity of Policies:**

Elite policy capture usually leads to disavowing of previous policies, which negatively impacts investors. Lack of consistent policies impact growth of economy, lowering investor confidence.

vii) **Non-Inclusive Policies:**

Non-inclusion of unemployed youth, women and other marginalized group in domestic policies create a huge gap in development. For example, in Pakistan only 22% of women are employed in formal workforce while unemployment stands at 6.4% due to non-inclusive government policies.

viii) **Lack of encouragement of Foreign Direct Investment:**

Elite-led government fails to attract foreign direct investment which is the key for economic growth. Pakistan's foreign investment is lowered at a rate of 21% due to energy crisis while 29%.

due to terrorism. It shows the failure of governments to address such issues which hinder investment.

3- Conclusion :

Elite capture in developing economies is marked by unregulated domestic and foreign policies as well as discontinuity of previous policies. It stagnates the national development due to lack of capability to involve at grassroots level and address issues which hinder development.
