

Question NO 2

1937 rule of congress ministries was the turning point in the history of muslim struggles in subcontinent. Give a reasoned account for the statement.

1) Introduction

1937 rule of congress refers to the ministries held by All Indian National Congress (INC) as the result of provincial elections of 1937 in India under the legal framework of Indian Council Act 1935. Muslim representative party All India Muslim League (AIML) failed to secure majority. It is considered as the turning point in history of muslim struggle in sub-continent because it exposed the real face of Congress as the majoritarian party. Muslims faced harsh political, economic, social and cultural marginalization in 2 years from 1937-1939 till the Indian involvement in world war II. It also set, direction of acquisition of separate homeland for muslims in sub-continent.

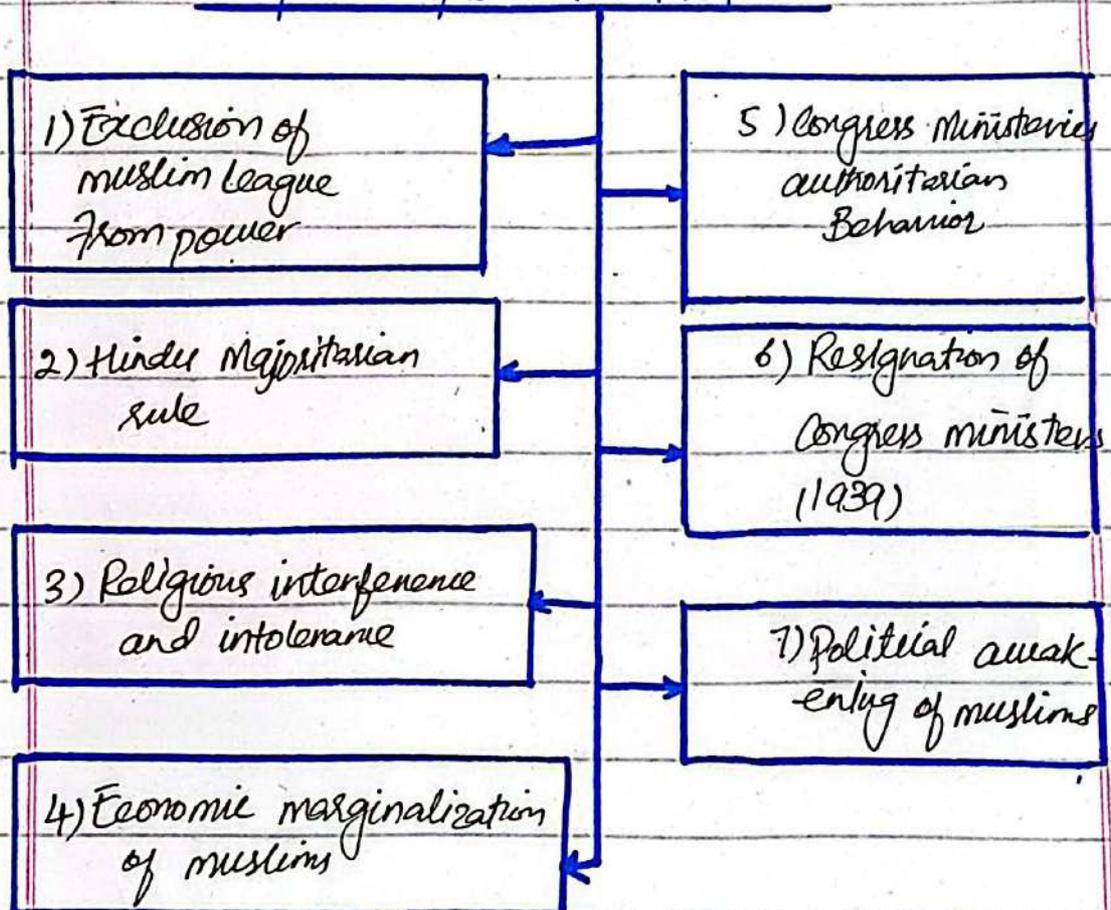
2) Background of Congress

ministries (1937-1939)

Great Britain introduced Indian Council Act 1935 and conducted elections in various states of India to elect representatives. As the result of this Election Congress formed ministries in most of the provinces while Muslim League failed to

secure power. It became a turning point because Hindus practice harsh majoritarian policies and marginalized muslims political, economic, social and cultural terms. This tenure of two years clarified muslims that post british controlled united India could not safeguard muslim interests and founded the actual aquisition of muslim homeland beyond abstract means.

3) Congress ministries and their policies from 1937-1939



1) Exclusion of muslim League From power

Congress categorically refused to form a coalition government with the Muslim League. This showed that the Congress did not recognize Muslim League as the true representative of the Muslims. Muslim considered as the threat of Hindu majoritarian rule and political, economic and social marginalization of the Muslims that would be proven true later.

"Congress is determined to crush every other organization to establish Hindu Raj." (M.A. Jinnah)

2) Hindu-Majoritarian rule

The policies of Congress ministries reflected Hindu dominance and ignoring Muslim sensitivities

a) Warda Education Scheme	b) Introduced . Bande Mataram	c) Hindu-Muslim (Hindu-Urdu) Controversy
Introduced Hindu religious symbols and philosophies and stories like Mahabharat and Ramayana that promoted Hindu and Hindu culture in schools.	Declared Bande Mataram as the national song and using in schools and official functions. It contains polytheistic content that was not accepted for Muslims	Hindi written script was promoted and marginalized Urdu which was Muslim symbol.

3) Religious interference and intolerance

North Indian states including Uttar Pradesh was the center of Congress ministries. Azan was restricted near temples and mandir. Cow protection Act was enforced which resulted in the arrest of muslim butchers and cow slaughter during Eid-ul-Azha days. This resulted in extreme religious riots. Congress threatened religious freedom of muslims.

4) Economic and Employment discrimination.

Muslims faced systematic marginalization in economy and employment. Muslims were excluded from government services and educational scholarships. Hindus dominated trade due to the congress patronage.

"In UP muslims were remained less than 10% in public services despite large population".

5) Authoritarian Hindu governance during tenure

Congress governance was majoritarian, not democratic. Congress forced officials to hoist Congress flag instead of British Union Jack. Extreme press censorship against critics, majority muslims. Hence, Congress ministries lead to a authoritarian governance and explained the future democracy in United India to muslims

6) Resignation of Congress ministries in 1939

Congress ministries resigned from offices over the Indian involvement by great Britain into world war II. Muslims celebrated the end of oppressive rule and showing complete separation of Muslims from Hindus in politics.

"Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared 22 December 1939 as the "Day of Deliverance" at the end of the majoritarian discriminatory rule".

7) Political awakening of Muslims

Congress rule awakened Muslims politically under Muslim League. The League's membership increased rapidly. Prior to the Congress ministries Muslims was demanding constitutional safeguards but after that the demand of separate homeland rise.

8) Congress ministries founded the ways to Lahore Resolution

Next year, after the end of Congress ministries, in 1940, Muslims passed resolution for the acquisition of the separate homeland in Sub-continent. One of the most immediate reasons of the passing of that was Congress's authoritarian rule from 1937 - 1939. Although, the idea was present before in form of speech of Allahabad by Dr. Jinnah.

9) Documentation of Muslim Sufferings

Various reports were written to give the Hindu atrocities a documented form. They include:

→ 1) Piper Report (1938)

Recorded various cases and evidences of:

- ① Religious intolerance
- ② Political victimization
- and ③ Administrative injustice

→ 2) Shaif Report and Fazal-ul-Haq reports

These two focused on political and economic marginalization of Muslims by Bihar and UP ministries of Congress. These reports officially verified Muslim grievance.

10) Conclusion

The Congress ministries (1937-1939) provided a practical proof of Muslim fear of Hindu majoritarianism in United India. These ministries marginalized Muslims politically, economically, socially and religiously. It was proved as the decisive turning point transformed the political trajectory of the Muslims of United India from legal safeguards and co-existence to the struggle for separate homeland in Sub-continent.

Question No3

Explore the future of democracy in Pakistan by examining the opportunities for democratic growth and the challenges that hinder its governance development.

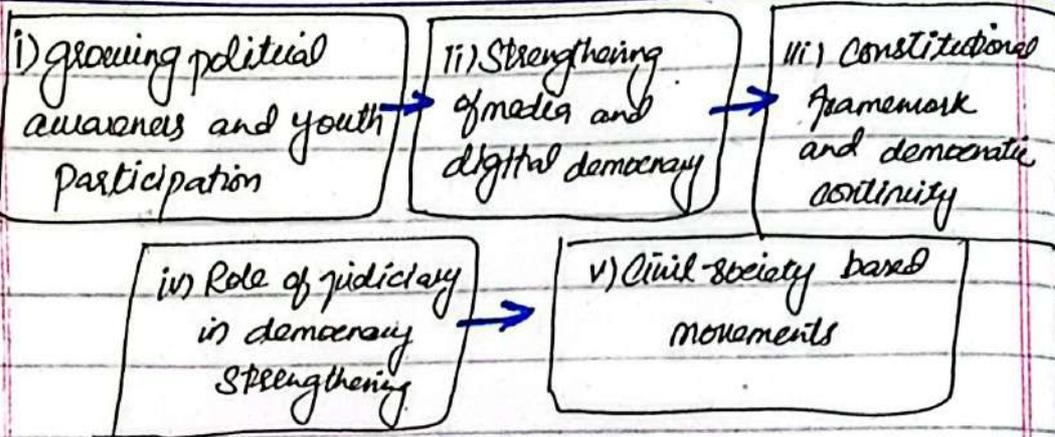
1) Introduction

Democracy in Pakistan has experienced a turbulent journey, oscillations among civilian rule and authoritarian tendencies. Despite weak base and repeated disruptions, democracy in Pakistan is the most persistent aspiration of the people. The future of democracy would depend on how effectively the opportunities of strengthening democracy harnessed and how the frequent challenges to it, are mitigated. Growing political awareness, digital media, continuity of civilian rule, role of judiciary and civil society are some of the positive traits for the democracy in Pakistan while civil-military imbalance, weak institutions, polarization, corruption, and economic fragility are challenges.

"Democracy strengthens when institutions are stronger and rule of law upheld".

(Fareed Zakaria)

2) opportunities for democratic growth in Pakistan through which its bright future can be assessed



i) Growing political awareness and youth participation

Pakistan has a large youth population that is increasing political awareness and consciousness due to social and digital media. Youth participation in Pakistan is a very positive happening for the democracy in the country.

"Youth voter turnout increased from 37% in 2018 to 48% in 2024"

(Pildat youth parliament report)

ii) Strengthening of media and digital democracy

Despite challenges electronic, print and especially digital media acts as a watchdog on state institutions. Maladministration and non-democratic mobilization are continuously exposed by it. Since it is agreed upon that free media is cornerstone of democracy, it is a positive sign for the case of future of democracy as well.

iii) Constitutional Framework and democratic continuity

1973 constitution gives a solid legal framework to run country through the parliamentary democracy having multi-party system. It guarantees civilian supremacy and federalism. Pakistan only needs strong institutions to implement that which is quite positive. Similarly, democratic continuation since 2008, despite challenges, still the future of democracy is bright.

iv) Role of democratic judiciary in democratic evolution

Judiciary have played a significant role in constitutional interpretation and democratic evolution. Judicial scrutiny of electoral processes has tried to control undemocratic practices aptly.

v) Civil Society and right-based movements

NGO, lawyer's movement, women rights groups and minority rights advocates contribute in democratic culture effectively to make it pluralistic and strengthened. Through them, transparency, rule of law and human rights are become stronger that is a good sign for democracy in Pakistan and its future.

3) challenges being faced by democratic development in Pakistan

i) Civil-military imbalance

ii) Weak political institutions and dynastic politics

iii) Electoral credibility and polarization

iv) Poor governance and corruption

v) Restricted media space and weakening media liberties

i) Civil-military imbalance

Persistent military influence in political and security discourse undermines democratic growth. Democracy grows with constitutional progress of institutions without intervention. This is the issue which undermines the democratization of Pakistan.

"Democracy is not just about conducting election; it is about the civilian control over the military" (Samuel P. Huntington
(third wave of democracy))

ii) Weak political institutions and dynastic politics

Parliament as a supreme political institutions hinders the progressive and ethical growth of democracy in Pakistan. Political polarization and

executive control undermines its supreme authority. Similarly, political parties lack internal democracy nepotism, dynastic politics and personality cult. This reason affects democracy from grass root level.

"Mainstream political parties in Pakistan are dynastic while regional parties are far better with respect to internal democracy".

iii) Electoral credibility and political Polarization

Alleged allegations of rigging, mandate disputes etc weak election system and erodes public trust on institutions. This reason leads to extreme political polarization that hinders the national integration process and democratization of the country. Competition become shaky by this behavior of fragmentation.

iv) Poor governance and corruption

Corruption, inefficiencies and lack of efficient public service delivery weaken democratic legitimacy and ultimately affects democracy. People criticize inefficiencies along with corruption that legitimize the ideas of 'technocratic and authoritarian solutions' of governance.

"Pakistan is at 27/100 scale of corruption at global level."

(Trading economics report)

v) Restricted media space and shrinking civil liberties

Free media is the essence of true democracy. In Pakistan, all political or military governments, censored media, journalists and prevail selective justice and curb freedom of expression that is granted by constitution to every citizen.

"Article 19 of the constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan" grants freedom of expression".

4) Way forwards to ensure

democratic future of Pakistan

- i) Institutional balance with civilian supremacy.
- ii) Electoral reforms to conduct transparent elections
- iii) Party reforms for merit-based leadership promotion
- iv) Rule of law across all domains of state

5) Conclusion

In essence, the future of democracy in Pakistan neither dark nor bright yet; it stands at the cross roads between opportunities which can strengthen it and limitation that can hinder it. By strengthening civil power balance with military, strengthening of political institutions and curbing dynastic politics, Pakistan can democratize it. Democratic norms should be institutionalized rather than personalized for the bright future of democracy in Pakistan.

Question NO 4

If the dangers at Eastern and western borders of Pakistan necessitate to address traditional Security threats first, or the need is to usher any other issue to address to Pakistan's national Security. Explain

1) Introduction

Traditionally, Pakistan's national security has been framed through a military-centric lens. due to the perceived threats from India (west) and Afghanistan (East) in the form of limited symmetric and unlimited asymmetric warfare. These threats are, indeed, relevant but the changed nature of security in 21st indicating that Pakistan's survival and stability heavily depend upon the non-traditional security threats including fragile economy, political instability, internal security dynamics, climate change, Human development vulnerabilities.

"Security is not only about military aggression but also political, economic, societal and environmental dimensions of states should be secured for survival of the state"

(Barry Buzan)

2) Understanding traditional vs Non-traditional security threats

1) Traditional Security

Traditional security focuses on external military threat to a country that threaten territorial integrity, borders and overall physical security of Pakistan or any other state

"Violation of territorial integrity like India and Pakistan"

ii) Non-traditional Security

Non-traditional security focuses on threats beyond military terms that affect common public and national security. It includes economy, food, water, political, climate, cyber and human security.

"Food security, economic security and social integration of the common public"

3) Why non-traditional security should be Pakistan's priority for national security

- i) Economic instability as the gravest threat
- ii) Governance failure and political instability
- iii) Internal security and social integration
- iv) Climate change and environment security
- v) Human Security (Development)
- vi) Comparison with traditional security

i) Economic Instability as the greatest security threat

Pakistan economy is fragile. Persistent BOP crisis, heavy debt repayment, inflation, unemployment and poverty are affecting country's resilience.

- \$132.5 billion → total external debt
- 64% budget → debt repayment
- Unemployment → 9% in employable public
- Poverty → 44.7% of total population
(Economic Survey of Pakistan)

All security domains including military security depends upon economic resilience.

ii) Political polarization and governance failure

The political polarization and governance failure have weakened the conditions of people and country more than Indian or Afghan threat. It paralyzed policy-making (Human centric), undermined democratic institutions and civilian authority.

"Pakistan is scored at 27 out of 100"
(Global Corruption perception index)

"This declines state legitimacy, distrust and capacity to govern which ultimately threatens the state's security."

iii) Internal Security and Social Fragmentation

Pakistan's internal security challenges are far more serious than the external ones in the shape of terrorism, ethnic and sectarian tensions and youth radicalization. These issues require education, rule of law, reconciliation to be reduced.

"Pakistan lost 80,500 people including civilian and military due to terrorism"

(South Asian Security portal)

This figure is far more than any collective figure of all wars fought by Pakistan with India.

iv) Climate change and environmental security of Pakistan

Unfortunately, despite contributing only 0.7% in global carbon emission, Pakistan is the most vulnerable country due to the climate change. Huge water scarcity, frequent floods and food insecurity is spreading unrest and governance challenges.

1) 2010, 2022 and 2025

floods collectively give → \$55 billion dollars damage to economy

2) Water Scarcity → 4550 m^3 (1947) to 850 m^3 (2025)
(Per capita) (World Bank)

3) Food insecurity → Despite agrarian, Pakistan imports wheat.

v) Human Security: The real measure of state strength

Human Security refers to a good health, education, food, rights and dignity. Moral authority of state, national integration and harmony depends on it. If it lacks, extremism prevails. True national security begins with secure citizens not just secure borders.

"Pakistan's rank at 0.58 at human development index (HDI)".
(UNDP report 2024)

vi) Importance of traditional Security threats from India and Afghanistan

India remains a traditional strategic rival of Pakistan and still insecure Pakistan. Similarly, Afghanistan instability has spill over effects on Pakistan. But, Pakistan possesses credible full spectrum deterrence to deter India. Similarly, border management with India is quite doable while internal non-traditional threats are not.

Pakistan has to balance priorities by comprehensive security framework to tackle traditional and non-traditional security.

"National Security policy 2022 has to be implemented as it deals both domains"
(Moeed ~~Yousaf~~ Yousaf)

vii) Comparison of traditional and non traditional Security threats to Pakistan

• Total casualties in Indo Pak war till date ($\sim 23,000$) (SIPRI data)	• Total casualties due to floods (40,000 since 2010) (IRSA report)
• Total casualties in Pak Afghan border issues till date ($\sim 27,000$) (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics)	• Terrorism (0.4 million approx) (World Bank)
	• Annual child death (40,000)
	• Food insecure 36 million (malnutrition report)

The above mentioned states aptly explains that non-traditional security is more worse in the case of Pakistan, and needs urgent remedies to mitigate their affects on national security and survival.

4) Conclusion

Consequently, Eastern and western domains are the important parts of national security calculus but the gravest affects are posed by non-traditional security including economic fragility, governance failure, internal security, climate vulnerabilities, human development vulnerabilities. Pakistan needs to focus on mitigating non-traditional security threats while effective control over threats posed by India and Afghanistan because they affects state ability to survive, prosper and progress.

Question No 7

Short notes on:

i) Privatization in Pakistan

ii) Case of new provinces

i) Privatization in Pakistan

1) Introduction

Privatization in Pakistan refers to the transfer of ownership, management and control of defunct building state-owned enterprises to reduce fiscal deficit of the country, improve efficiency, and encourage competition. PIA, Pakistan railways, Pakistan steel Mills, Utility stores, and Discos are some of the state-owned enterprises that give a huge loss to the economy of Pakistan.

2) Background of loss-making enterprises and privatization in Pakistan

- Initiated by prime minister Nawaz Sharif in 1991
- It gained intense discourse in President Musharraf era
- It is being guided by the Privatization Commission of Pakistan

3) Need of Privatization in Pakistan

Almost all SOEs are making huge losses and

met by the subsidies granted by governments which worsen the fiscal conditions of Pakistan.

- 1) PIA → 100 billion rupees
- 2) Railways → 40 billion rupees
- 3) Power Sector discos → 2.6 trillion
- 4) Pakistan Steel Mills → 15 billion
- Overall Fiscal impacts → 210 billion rupees annual

4) Objectives of privatization in Pakistan

- Reduce losses of inefficient SOEs
- Improve service delivery
- Attract domestic and foreign investments
- Reduce fiscal deficit (already huge)

"SOEs are the largest single structural weakness of the economy" (IMF assessment Report)

5) Problems that undermine Privatization in Pakistan

Despite economic justifications, the privatisation remained a problematic issue in Pakistan due to:

- Non-transparent bidding process
- Political interests and interference
- Labor assistance and social backlash

These issues make privatization in Pakistan debated and hinder the economic progress.

7) Strategic importance of Privatization

Privatization could contribute into:

- Fiscal discipline • Reduction in public debt
- Improved investor confidence
- Economic security of the state

8) Effective Privatization: The Way forward

- Transparent and competitive bidding
- Strong regulatory oversight
- Protection of workers through retrained accommodation
- Focus on shift from ownership to regulation

9) Conclusion

Privatization in Pakistan is not an ideological choice but an opportunity in bleeding economy. Continued state ownership has proven costlier than reform. Therefore well-regulated and transparent privatization remains a most simple path to restore efficiency, deficit control and stabilizing Pakistan's economy. Multi-domain privatization regulation by clear objectives, problem assessment, and transparency could contribute in fiscal discipline of Pakistan.

ii) Case of new provinces in Pakistan

1) Introduction

The demand of new provinces in Pakistan has gained momentum due to administrative challenges, regional disparities, local grievances and political marginalization within the existing provinces, despite the population of 243 million, only 4 provinces are in Pakistan. Positive traits of new provinces are: Addressed regional disparities, improved political representation and administrative efficiency. Negative traits of new provinces are: ethnic and linguistic fragmentation, financial burden, constitutional and political constraints

2) Rationale behind the case of new provinces

1) Administrative efficiency

Administrative efficiency is the most strongest rationale behind new provinces. Due to:

- Faster and more localized decision making
- Better implementation of policies and development projects
- Enhanced coordination between provincial government and local authorities

ii) Redressing regional disparities

Unequal development across regions has fueled demands for new provinces because:

- South Punjab face unequal resource distribution
- Hazara division claims underdevelopment
- Interior Sindh and Balochistan are remain economically backward

New provinces will ensure equal resource allocation according to needs and reduce socio-economic disparities