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*The Paradigm Shift Magazine*  
December 2022

## Pakistan's Political Circus: PDM, PTI, & the New COAS

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# How a Bloody & Battered TTP Made a Comeback in Pakistan

*Sarmad Ishfaq*

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# Foreword

Welcome to the third edition of the Paradigm Shift e-magazine. Since starting Paradigm Shift ([www.ParadigmShift.com.pk](http://www.ParadigmShift.com.pk)) on August 14th, 2020, we have come a long way.

With over 80k-100k monthly visitors, and over 43,000 followers on social media, we are now able to serve a wider percentage of the Pakistani youth. All our pieces are sent in by brilliant writers and researchers, and our gifted editors constantly ensure the quality of our content.

We aim for, and work towards three major goals:

1. To become a comprehensive library with high-quality content on international relations, current affairs, global politics, and Pakistan.
2. To provide a free medium where individuals can access research from across the globe, and can send in their own work to share their voice with the world.
3. To showcase Pakistan in a positive and factual manner through our 'Pakistan Unveiled' section.

We have handpicked 14 special pieces from our website for this edition, and we hope that you gain some insights from them. For more content on a variety of topics from across the world, please visit [www.ParadigmShift.com.pk](http://www.ParadigmShift.com.pk).

We hope that you consider sharing our website and social media with your friends and family so that we can effectively increase our reach. Thank you again for all your support through the years.





# How a Bloody & Battered TTP Made a Comeback in Pakistan

## About the Author



Sarmad Ishfaq is an independent researcher and writer whose work has been published by Harvard Kennedy School Review, the Diplomat, Open Democracy, Paradigm Shift, Mondoweiss, and Eurasia Review to name a few. Before becoming an independent writer, he worked as a research fellow for LCPR. He has a master's degree in IR from the UoWD where he was recognized as the 'Top Graduate'.

# Introduction

The recent suicide bombing in Islamabad, the first in eight years, highlights not only how successful [Zarb-e-Azb](#) was due to the hard work of Pakistan's armed forces, but also how jaded the country's policies have been recently to allow such terrorist attacks to occur again. While the writing for such an egregious event was on the proverbial wall when [the TTP reared its head in Swat](#) several months back, the frail government has done nothing to counter such machinations.



Such attacks gained traction after the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan on 15 August 2021 and the previous government's decision to give peace talks with the TTP a chance. According to [the Pakistan Institute of Peace Studies](#) (PIPS), terror attacks proliferated by 51% after the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan.

In Swat, local elites and politicians are being blackmailed and extorted for money by the TTP. The veracity of such threats is evidenced by the TTP's attack on a school van that killed the driver and injured two students in Swat. In response, the residents of the valley came to the streets in anti-TTP and anti-government protests. The message was clear: they had gone through this before and did not want to relive this horror.

The military initially stated that the TTP specter in Swat was more hyperbole than fact but with incidents escalating, so is the fear that a TTP resurgence might be nearing.

The recent hostage situation in Bannu's Counter-Terrorism Department (CTD) where one of 33 TTP detainees managed to secure a gun and forced a hostage situation has been a cause of concern as well. The Special Service Group (SSG) was called in and after a 2-day operation, it managed to secure the facility by [killing most of the terrorists and rescuing the hostages](#).

So why have such attacks proliferated in recent months? In my opinion, there are 3 primary reasons:

1. Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan
2. Peace Negotiations with TTP
3. Imran Khan's Ouster

## Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan

The Afghan Taliban has affirmed repeatedly that Afghan territory would not be used by the TTP for terror attacks in Pakistan. However, this has not materialized as promised. Pakistan was hopeful that the newly formed Taliban government would be sympathetic to Pakistan (who aided the Taliban-America negotiations) but this has not been the case. In fact, the contrary has transpired: border firings and clashes have increased on the Durand Line as well as a cross-border blame game akin to the one before the Taliban government.

The Taliban has not taken any serious action against any militant group on [its soil except ISIS](#), which challenges its writ directly. This means that safe havens provided to the TTP, its ideological brother, and others have led to a surge in terrorist attacks within Pakistan. The US withdrawal also aided the TTP in securing more or augmenting its strongholds in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's optimistic expectations that the Taliban will crack down on the TTP have therefore been a grave miscalculation as both militant groups still enjoy strong ethnic bonds, and similar ideologies, among other things. Due to this, Pakistan's frustration manifested with alleged airstrikes on Afghan territory housing TTP strongholds, to the Afghan Taliban's dismay.

Issues such as the Durand Line and Pakistan's fencing of it have perturbed the Taliban regime which does not recognize the border and considers this unilateral action. There are reports that the Taliban have been removing the fence from certain areas. Balochistan, too, has seen Baloch separatist elements being emboldened which is another cause of concern for Pakistan.

## Peace Negotiations with the TTP

PTI enjoys a lot of renewed [popularity after Imran Khan's ouster](#); however, the PTI government and the military's decision to negotiate with a bloodied and battered TTP has backfired, to say the least. Proponents of PTI's peace talk strategy could claim that this approach was adopted to



appease the new Taliban government and attempt to de-weaponize the TTP (politicize them). Whatever the case may be, it has not worked out as hoped.

History is witness to many peace negotiations, with militants falling apart and not

working more often than not. For example, the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka masterfully used peace negotiations and ceasefires to rebuild and consolidate power whenever they were on the ropes. Pakistan's track record in terms of [peace talks with a rapacious group such as the TTP](#) has been abysmal.

Critics of the peace talks, myself included, cited how could one negotiate with a terror group that was responsible for the APS massacre, among other gross atrocities. The TTP was emboldened due to the Taliban's re-entry as the kings of Afghanistan who thereafter stated that Pakistan's issue with the TTP was the country's own. The Taliban did mediate negotiations between both sides in Kabul but was not swaying the TTP as much as the Pakistani government perhaps wanted.



During the peace talks, the TTP broke ceasefires that raised more eyebrows as to its real intentions. Pakistan also allowed the release of a number of TTP militants, which backfired when the same militants returned with arms. The failure to reach a peace agreement with the TTP was also because of its outrageous demands, which included the reversal of the tribal areas (FATA) merger into the KPK province.

The space provided by the negotiations that began in 2021 has proven to be disastrous and might signal a new military operation that will weigh down an already encumbered economy. A [National Counter-Terrorism Authority \(NACTA\) document](#) unveils that the “TTP, during peace talks process gained considerable ground; increased its footprint and magnitude of activities,”

## Imran Khan's Ouster

Although it was Imran Khan's decision initially to negotiate with the TTP (that proved catastrophic), ironically his ouster has also augmented the TTP's strength. This, in my opinion, is



due to the indolent current PDM government, which many in Pakistan see as being brought in by American and internal actors.

Since Imran Khan's exodus, the mainstream media, mostly siding with the PDM, have given coverage to the

political crisis in the country. Even the [deadly floods that ravaged Pakistan](#) were initially brushed off to air the politics between PTI and PDM. The same happened when social media reports began breaking out vis-à-vis the TTP re-emerging in Swat. The mainstream media was slothful to report this as well until the TTP menace became oversized.

Since the PDM government took control, the already feeble economy has dipped into further oblivion. Inflation has reached new records as has the dollar's strength compared to the rupee.

The IMF package has been marked with stark vicissitudes and due to the package, the cost of electricity, fuel, and food have soared. Many people in Pakistan remain livid at Imran Khan's unceremonious exit and how things have transpired since.

The back and forth between the PTI and PDM has enabled a political crisis the likes of which has not been experienced in recent memory. This indicates that there is a huge economic as well as political vacuum, which made the country, including the politicians and military, look towards it, while the TTP slowly grew into a coherent threat yet again. When India saw Pakistan shooting itself in the foot post-Imran Khan, it did not vacillate but reinvigorated its militant proxy efforts in Balochistan and KPK which is why the BLA in Balochistan and TTP in KPK have become a problem.

## Conclusion

Many were hopeful, including me, that Pakistan could secure its western border as Indian influence had declined in the region right after the US's defeat in Afghanistan. However, due to poor management, capricious policies, miscalculations, and some things that were beyond control, terrorism is escalating once again. Depending on how the government and military respond will indicate if this is a short-term scare or if it metamorphoses into a long-term boogeyman.

Responding to an even small-scale insurgency will drain the limited resources the country has. Facing a perhaps imminent economic default while grappling with militancy leaves the country in a truly unenviable scenario. Therefore, a miracle or perhaps several are needed to come out of this mess. One thing is for certain though: now is the best time to be an enemy of Pakistan.

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If you want to submit your articles and/or research papers, please check the [Submissions](#) page.

To learn more about the TTP in Pakistan, please read: [Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan: How Pakistan Contained the Menacing Insurgency](#)

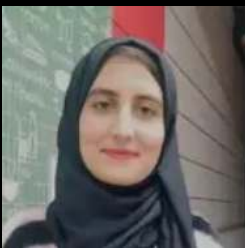
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# The Negative Impact of IMF's Policies on the Economy of Pakistan

About the Author



Hurria Binte Abdullah is pursuing a BS in Public Administration from NUST.

# Introduction

Whenever a developing state faces a balance of payment issue owing to excessive demand, they go to IMF and demand loans. That is why IMF policies are referred to as 'demand-management' policies. As a result, the IMF provides loans to developing states and provides those states with a list of economic policies which they have to pursue in order to get loans.

Like many developing states, Pakistan has also been going to the IMF for years to support its balance of payment difficulties. Instead of improving, the economy of Pakistan is continuously deteriorating because of the impact created by the policies of the IMF.

## Neo-Liberal Model of IMF

IMF sees developing economies through the same lens as developed economies. In other words, they see the 'neo-liberal' economic model as the most viable solution for developing states to get out of the economic crisis even when the economic development dynamics of the [developing states are completely different](#) from the developed ones .

As a result, the IMF's policies reflecting neo-liberal economic order are leading the IMF donor countries towards disaster.

The major pillars of the neo-liberal economic order harming developing economies are tight monetary policy, tight fiscal policy, market-based exchange rate, and increase in utility prices.

## Tight Monetary Policy

A tight monetary policy negatively impacts the real budget and increases inflation. The tightening of monetary policy suggests that both the State Bank of Pakistan and the real sector of the economy have to increase the interest rate.

IMF demanded an increase in the interest rate under the prudent and proactive monetary policy of the seventh and eighth reviews of Pakistan's economy by IMF in order to get the next IMF program.

Due to this, Pakistan increased the interest rates from 9.75% (Dec 2021) to 15% (October 2022). With the increase in the interest rate, the national consumer price index (CPI) has increased up to 26.6% in October 2022 as compared to 14.6% in January 2022 .

Increased interest rates damage Pakistan's economy in two ways. First, the lending from all the capital banks increases which, in turn, increases the capital costs. Increased capital costs



discourage investments, slow down economic growth, lessen the jobs in the market, create unemployment, and incur poverty, thereby leading to insecurity .

Second, slowed economic growth results in lower tax collection and lower government

expenditure. These statistics very clearly reflect that an increase in interest rate is directly related to the increase in inflation. Hence, tight monetary policy acts to deteriorate the economy instead of fixing it.

## Tight Fiscal Policy

Tight fiscal policy also has negative impacts on Pakistan's economy. Tight fiscal policy demands the government to take the 'austerity measure' or 'to cut down government expenditure' and to 'increase taxation over incomes as well as on power and fuel'.

As a result, the government curtails public spending in the form of subsidies, public investments, or social security programs, and increases taxes.

Under the seventh and eighth reviews of Pakistan's economy by the IMF, the IMF demanded Pakistan's government curtail public investment by ending the Public Sector Development Projects (PSDP) [to save Rs. 15 billion at the federal level](#) and Rs. 384 billion at the provincial level.

Furthermore, they also suggest the plan to gradually reinstate the fuel taxes and raise fuel levy

rates, crude oil customs duties, and other forms of taxes like personal income taxation (PIT).

Such austerity measures mean that a lot of developmental projects will end, increasing pressure on industries and businesses, and increased taxation on incomes will put pressure on individuals. In short, these policies are not only increasing inflation but also taxing



individuals' incomes which will affect the buying power of people, thereby making more and more people poor and vulnerable.

## Market-Based Exchange Rate

Thirdly, market-based exchange rates mean the devaluation and depreciation of the currency which increases the landed cost of all the imported goods. According to the seventh and eighth reviews of Pakistan's economy, the IMF stated that the exchange rate be market-based. As a result, the Pakistani rupee [depreciated by 17%](#) in July 2022.

IMF provides the rationale that a market-based exchange rate will act as a buffer protecting economic activity and foreign reserves. In addition, they think that a market-based exchange rate will support competitiveness. However, this has never happened in practice. Increased fuel and power prices, increased taxation, ending subsidies, and tightening monetary policies discourage private sector investments and increase the cost of production which makes the industries non-competitive in the international market.



Moreover, devaluation increases public debt without borrowing even a single dollar i.e., [one-rupee devaluation adds Rs. 95 billion to public debt](#) without borrowing a single dollar. As a result, instead of getting stabilized through these measures of neo-liberal economic orders, the economy has not only gotten worse but also deindustrialized.

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If you want to submit your articles and/or research papers, please check the [Submissions](#) page.

To learn more about the IMF, please read: [IMF in Pakistan: Culprit or Scapegoat?](#)

You may also read: [The Ill-Fated Relationship Between Pakistan and the International Monetary Fund \(IMF\)](#)

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# Meet Our Top Interns!



**Ayesha Zafar** is currently pursuing her Bachelor's in International Relations from National Defence University, Islamabad. Her areas of interest include Middle Eastern politics, the geopolitics of Central Asia, and the Indo-Pacific region



**Afifa Iqbal** has a keen interest in identity politics, colonialism & post-colonial development. She is currently working as an RA at ITU while pursuing her postgraduate studies in Development, Technology, & Policy. She is a Gold Medalist in Political Science from the UoP.



**M. Mustafa Ahmed Khan** is currently studying Economics and Political Science at LUMS. His interests include, but are not limited to, International Relations, political economy, & economics. He is also an avid cinephile who thoroughly enjoys listening to music.



**Hafsa Ammar** is a student of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the National Defence University, Islamabad. Her areas of expertise are hybrid warfare, narrative building, and nuclear deterrence in South Asia. She has been published on various local & intl. mediums.



**Summaiyya Qureshi** completed her bachelor's degree in International Relations from the Lahore College for Women University, Lahore. Her areas of interest include geopolitics, foreign policy analysis, and nuclearization.



**Mahrukh Khalid Siddiqui** graduated with a degree in Social Sciences with a major in Development Studies from Bahria University Islamabad. She is currently working as a Technical Associate in the Government Affairs Department of Siemens Pakistan.



**Maryam Yasmeen** is a student of IR at Kinnaird College, Lahore. She has published multiple articles on various issues and topics related to global politics. She aims to achieve excellence as a writer, researcher, and academic in the field of International Relations and cyber security.







Article

# Pakistan's Political Circus: PDM, PTI, and the New COAS

About the Author



Hina Anwar is a journalist with a long line of experience in research and media.

# Introduction

Five factors—political stability, economic prosperity, a powerful military, a firmly established civil order, and the absence of severe weather hazards—are essential for a state to be secure and stable. Presently, Pakistan is lacking in all five elements necessary for state stability.

Pakistan is suffering from a crippled economy and has not yet recovered from a humanitarian crisis that was made worse by climate change-related extreme weather events. To make matters worse, a power struggle among the political elites has dangerously polarized the nation and sent it into disarray. This deadlock was made worse by the speculation surrounding the Army Chief's appointment.

In contrast to Pakistan, the rest of the world continues to treat the appointment of the COAS as a mundane matter. In Pakistan, the Chief of Army Staff's appointment dominated politics and talk shows for weeks, sparking nonstop speculation on social media. [24th November](#) ended up being the date that eventually provided some stability to Pakistan's most volatile political power struggle.

In any case, the political breakthrough that has resulted from everyone accepting the appointment of the new COAS of Pakistan has been welcomed, in the hope that things will now be able to move in a positive direction. Will the change in command at GHQ let go of the past and usher in a new era of civil-military relations? Let's take a look back at what history has to say before we are overcome by the fever of idealism.

## Past Appointments

In Pakistan, it is believed that the COAS will act as the nation's top law enforcement officer, diplomat, or even economist as part of his constitutionally mandated duties. Politicians feel it is necessary to have a pliable Army Chief, so they play about with surprise appointments and extensions that are made out of turn. This, however, is usually not the case because every Chief appointed (or given an [extension](#)) has mostly always proven to be a man in uniform motivated by institutional values and principles.

However, the urge and desire to choose one's 'own man' always persists. With a few exceptions, all of these appointments were a complete 180 degrees from their selfish intentions and expectations.



The first coup's mastermind, General Ayub, believed that General Musa would not pose a danger to his rule, so he promoted himself to the position of President and named General Musa as the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army (later changed to Chief of Army Staff or COAS). Naturally, Ayub was an army man, and throughout his ten-year tenure, the army became very involved in domestic and international politics.

General Zia's death in a plane crash in August 1988 led to General Aslam Beg's appointment as COAS. Nawaz Sharif, who had appointed Musharraf as his COAS, was expelled in 1999. Ashfaq

Kayani, Musharraf's choice for COAS, moved for Musharraf's exit at the coalition government's request.

## The Commotion Around the Appointment

Primarily due to political reasons (and an alleged foreign conspiracy), Khan was removed from office through a no-confidence vote in April. During his rallies (after his removal) Khan kept criticizing specific individuals from the armed forces and created quite a controversy around the new Chief's appointment. Khan also claimed that the Sharif family would pick a 'pliable' COAS who would work towards ending Imran's political career and purportedly protect the Sharif family's ill-gotten fortune.

The PM has the discretionary authority to name the COAS, but this time, in a touch of irony, the final decision-maker was a man who is ineligible to sign the appointment papers and does not even reside in Pakistan: former PM Nawaz Sharif, the current PM's elder brother who lives in self-exile in England and holds numerous political records.

In addition to having been elected PM three times (1990, 1997, and 2013), he has also been ousted from office in the middle of each of those terms. There are also countless allegations of corruption against him and his family.

Moreover, Nawaz Sharif has appointed [five Army Chiefs during all his tenures](#). However, the ties have nearly always soured with either the appointees, or with the army itself. During the second week of November, Nawaz Sharif called the current PM, his younger brother Shahbaz Sharif, to London, where for days the political unrest in the country and the profiles of the major contenders for COAS were discussed.

## Higher Political Stakes

Lieutenant General Asim Munir was scheduled to retire on 27th November, but the government was still able to assure his eligibility as a contender for the COAS's position thanks to Rule 16A of the Pakistan Army Act of 1952. However, for that, the seniority list had to be delivered to the defense ministry, and a summary had to be delivered to the PM days before November 27.



After careful consideration and consultation with numerous people both inside and outside the PML-N, Nawaz Sharif allegedly decided on the new COAS. Reportedly, Imran Khan attempted to enlist President Arif Alvi's assistance to block the new appointment. However, in the end, the President allegedly adopted a more cautious approach and counseled Khan not to alienate the new COAS.

## Between the 2016 & 2022 Appointments, What has Changed?

The former COAS was chosen to take over after Raheel Sharif resigned in 2016. While the military and Nawaz Sharif's government both professed to be "on the same page" and were allegedly trying to support institutional harmony and the constitution, rumors and fears of a military takeover lingered during the (now former) COAS's tenure.

Six years later, with only a few small adjustments here and there, Asim Munir is being greeted with the same set of issues. For better or worse, the political and military elites are still engaged in a struggle for increased authority, just as they were at the time of his predecessor's appointment. The army is once again dealing with terrorism, while relations with India (and Afghanistan) get worse.

The path in front of the new COAS is rough. A plethora of obstacles stand in his way and raise many questions; will he concentrate on delivering in his area of responsibility, or engage in conflict over issues outside of it? Will he be able to implement the recommendations made by his predecessor to strengthen political institutions and advance democracy?

## The Direction of the Political Unrest

The former COAS stepped down after [asserting](#) that he had effectively sent the military back to its barracks to prevent more political misadventures. However, given the issues with history and legacies, that is easier said than done. Due to the prolonged political gridlock and economic instability, it is unclear where the new COAS will take the army's political wing.

Imran Khan is still protesting for elections to take place since he does not believe the PDM government is in power due to the 'will of the people'. Khan may still get his wish – partially due to the support he receives from his fervent popular supporters, and partially to the disappointing performance of the PDM administration, which was tasked with enacting challenging economic policies to prevent bankruptcy.





The announcement that he intends to dissolve the provincial governments that the PTI controls is his most recent move on the political chessboard. He did this in the hope of compelling the federal government to finally schedule general elections.

It seems that the PDM administration will maintain its position and leave Imran Khan no

room to maneuver. Alongside the cases against other PTI leaders, Khan's 'toshakhana' or alleged foreign funding case is likely to be enhanced and moved forward. Imran Khan will likely cause a stir and attempt to reactivate the judicial system and establishment. The poor economy will sputter and sway in the meantime amid the turbulent political climate.

Political and economic stability are important prerequisites for Pakistan's capacity to receive much of the bilateral and international financial aid promised to it. There won't be any relief because Imran Khan's plan is likely to create chaos. Every day would bring news of some economic hardship or scarcity, allowing Khan to pressurize the government.

The PDM is hoping to hold on to power until late next year. Imran Khan is making a terrible effort to avert this. Also anticipated to return to Pakistan and take center stage is Nawaz Sharif who will likely push the PDM administration to punish Imran Khan for his actions while attempting to overturn the convictions and disqualifications levied against him.

The bruised and battered judiciary of Pakistan may look to the new COAS for guidance, and if it receives none, it will have to prove its worth by making the necessary U-turns to create an open and level playing field for all parties.



Without a deliberate and concerted effort from key players in the military, judiciary, political parties, and civil society under their statutorily defined tasks, the severe wounds inflicted on all facets of the state and society can not be fixed. Pakistan's progress over the next six months will demonstrate whether or not it is on the right track.

## Conclusion

The new COAS has taken over a deeply fractured civil society, as well as a seemingly discredited and divided military command. The current crisis has demonstrated the Pakistan Army's resilience in a way that surprised many. In the future, a lot will depend on whether politicians are truly interested in a democratic process or just a power struggle. There is no reason to anticipate that the army command will stay out of politics if the politicians continue to prioritize the courts, roads, and GHQ over the parliament.

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If you want to submit your articles and/or research papers, please check the [Submissions](#) page.

If you are interested in Pakistani politics, you may read [The Youth's New Role in Pakistan's Politics](#) or [Politics in Pakistan: A Sight for Sore Eyes?](#)

If you are interested in global politics, please visit: [Prisoners of Geography: Ten Maps That Tell You Everything You Need to Know About Global Politics](#)

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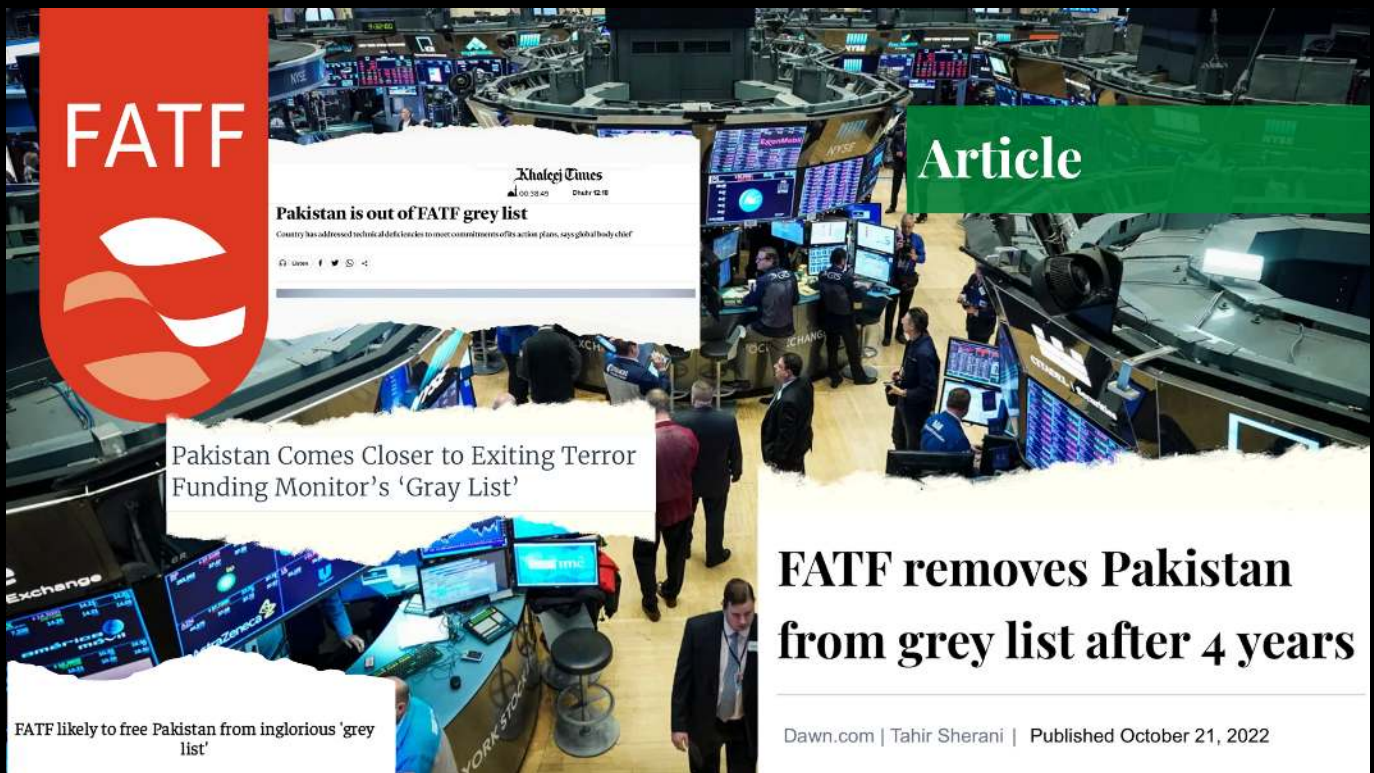
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# FATF Exit: Benefits for Pakistan

## About the Author



Muhammad Hamza Tanvir graduated from COMSATS University. He has a keen interest in international relations and regional politics.



# The Grey List

Pakistan has been grey-listed by the FATF a number of times before 2018. In 2008, the country was declared as a jurisdiction under increased monitoring, more commonly known as the 'grey list' for the first time. The key concern of the FATF at that time was that the country did not have



appropriate legislations to identify and stop terror financing and to confiscate the assets of terrorists.

It was again put on the grey list in 2012 for being unable to effectively combat terror financing and money laundering. However, it managed to clear its name from the watchdog's grey list in 2015. Pakistan was once again put on the grey list of the FATF because of a campaign by the United States and the European nations. Their campaign was aimed at asking the country to do more against terror financing and money laundering.

India and the United States allegedly accused Pakistan of assisting Jamat ud Dawah, Lashkar e Jhangvi, and other Al-Qaida-related terrorist groups. Their allegations led the country to fall into the grey list in 2018. Pakistan faced difficulty in clearing its name from this list due to the [political maneuvering by the US and India](#) in the FATF. However, the state of Pakistan succeeded to clear its name from this list and once again has been white-listed by the global monetary watchdog.

According to research conducted by Tabadlab, an Islamabad-based research advisory, Pakistan has suffered a loss of almost [\\$38 billion](#) by the mid of 2021 due to the FATF greylisting. The country also faced a major decline in foreign direct investment.

## Exiting

Pakistan has finally succeeded to get white-listed from the FATF after a tumultuous journey of four and a half years. The country was given the toughest action plan by the FATF. However, the strict action plan of the FATF proved a blessing in disguise for the country as it removed most of

the loopholes present in the financial system of the country. It improved the financial monitoring of the country which resulted in decreasing money laundering and terror financing.

It also resulted in uncovering massive corruption cases by the political and business

elite of the country. The legislation introduced under the FATF action plan has made it much more strenuous for money launderers to move their funds around. It has also tightened the grip of the state on the financial system of the country which has resulted in keeping an eye on the financial activities. This will result in lowering financial crimes in the country and increasing the tax net of the country.

If the authorities continue to implement the policies with the same spirit, Pakistan will progress unprecedentedly. If not, the country could again fall on the same list as it is no more in the good books of the US.



# Benefits

The exit from the grey list of FATF is sure to bring economic benefits to Pakistan. It would build trust in foreign businessmen which would prompt foreign direct investment in the country. The soundness of Pakistan's financial system would strengthen its position in international markets and the international community.

Pakistan would also reap several other short and long-run goals from its removal from FATF's grey list. One of the major implications will be an improvement in its public perception. It would create a positive image of the country which was tarnished by the downgrading of the country's rating by Moody's and many other international credit rating agencies. Pakistan's financial systems would also regain their declining confidence.

Pakistan complied with another structural benchmark of the IMF which paved its way for the successful combined seventh and eighth reviews, enabling the disbursement of SDR 894 million from the IMF. It is important to note that all these benefits could only be reaped if the authorities in Pakistan remain committed to ensuring the smooth working of its financial system.

Pakistan's political instability could also be a great obstacle to its financial stability, as political stability is directly linked to the economic stability of a country. Hence, the recent political instability in Pakistan could prove more inimical for the country than the greylisting by the FATF.

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*This piece was originally published on Nearpeer. For more on FATF, read: [The Financial Action Task Force and Pakistan: A Political Agenda](#).*

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# Brain Drain: The Reason Behind Pakistan's Stunted Growth

## About the Author



Maryam Ibrahim has recently graduated from Lahore College for Women University with a bachelor's in international relations. Her sphere of interest includes the digitalization of international relations, specifically digital diplomacy.

# Introduction

Not all animals, including many birds, migrate, but humans do. The practice of migration is as ancient as humanity. This concept is explored from several perspectives and has various definitions. The word “brain drain” is defined as *“the departure of educated or professional people from one country, economic sector, or field for another usually for better pay or living conditions”* (Merriam Webster, n.d.).

The idea of brain drain is regarded as a “zero-sum” game, meaning that one nation’s gain is equivalent to another nation’s loss. Therefore, social and political policy agendas have been dominated by the advantages and disadvantages of skilled migration in both sending and receiving nations, and scholarly debates over who is “winning” and “losing” have been fierce (Ferro, 2006).

In every region of the world, talented individuals and intelligent individuals are desired. They are drawn to wealthy nations because of the higher incomes, superior living standards, availability of cutting-edge technology, and more stable political environments. The majority of migration is from poor or underdeveloped countries to western industrialised and advanced ones. The intellectuals of a nation are among its most valuable resources since they committed time and money to their education and training, making mobility one of the greatest losses to such nations (Dodani & LaPorte, 2005).

## In a Review of the Literature

In the 1950s and 1960s, the British witnessed a flow of qualified scientists and technologists from Britain to the West, specifically the United States and Canada, and later they termed this phenomenon a brain drain. There are three distinct historical periods that make up the evolution of this phrase. The first period is from the 1950s to the 1960s. During this time, different scholars talked about the outflow and migration of workers and their social and economic impact (Giannoccolo, 2021).

The second period is from the 1970s to the 1990s, with the majority of academic reviews coming to the conclusion that while the host nation benefits from the influx of competent people, the original country does not profit from the phenomenon of brain drain. Implementing migration policies and strengthening the role of international organisations and institutions in managing migrant flows are offered as solutions in this regard (Bhagwati & Hamada, 1974).

The third period is from the 1990s to till date. Scholars researched many elements of migration through the lenses of both good and negative viewpoints throughout this period, during which time a variety of new concepts around brain drain arose. Kugler and Rapoport made the point that diaspora effects—despite staying abroad—overseas talented migrants may help the growth and advancement of the country by providing their knowledge, abilities, counsel, or even just financial support. Directly, as in FDI and their businesses, or indirectly, as in when diaspora members persuade other entities to do so (Brzozowski, 2008).

## Brain Drain Across the Globe

The matter of human capital movement affects the whole world, not just a few particular nations.



Losing your professors, physicians, engineers, and other qualified individuals might be disastrous for your nation. The scourge of brain drain is present when highly competent individuals migrate to

more favourable environments. For instance, only three African nations—Libya, Mauritius, and Tunisia—have one doctor per almost 1000 people at present, with corresponding physician-to-population ratios of 2.09, 2.00, and 1.29 (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2018).

It is anticipated that Sri Lanka would see a significant brain drain in the near future, given its current political and economic situation. In June 2022, the Sri Lankan foreign employment bureau published a report and according to the paperwork, a record number of Sri Lankans—more than 1.5 lakh—left the nation in search of a brighter future. From the first week of January to the first week of July, the record is included. (Ada Derana, 2022).

Pakistan is one such example of a developing country that has been a victim of the brain drain. Despite the lack of specific figures, the impact is larger. Since its birth, Pakistan has lacked to recognize and contain the intellectual pool. People with skills and competence find Pakistan an inhospitable place for their services. As the higher connection, personal references and sums of money silenced the intellectual prowess (Bangwar, 2022).

More than 10 million Pakistani people have reportedly emigrated abroad in quest of more favourable economic and career opportunities, according to reports compiled by the Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment. Engineers, paramedics, physicians, Ph.D. candidates, accountants, highly skilled professionals, postgraduates, etc. are included in this (Ahmed, 2019).

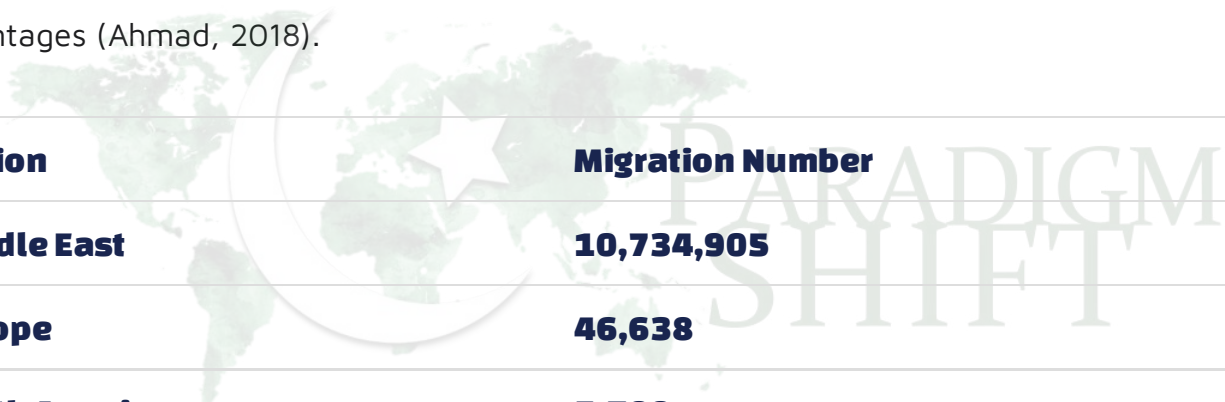
<b>Occupation</b>	<b>1971-2021</b>	<b>Upto June 2022</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Doctors</b>	<b>28,954</b>	<b>985</b>	<b>29,939</b>
<b>Nurses</b>	<b>11,085</b>	<b>883</b>	<b>11,968</b>
<b>Pharmacists</b>	<b>5763</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>5791</b>
<b>Engineers</b>	<b>84,800</b>	<b>3069</b>	<b>87,869</b>
<b>Accountant</b>	<b>61,481</b>	<b>4612</b>	<b>66,093</b>
<b>Painter/Artist</b>	<b>226,690</b>	<b>3949</b>	<b>230,639</b>

**Table 1.1 : Division of skilled worker migration by category**

**Source: Bureau of Emigration and Overseas Employment**

The table above only displays a small portion of the several categories chosen to migrate. Many more people are on the list, representing many different professions. Numerous examples demonstrate that the majority of Pakistan’s young adults wish to live overseas, with only half of them wanting to return. However, the Pakistani industry is small and mostly concentrated in a few niches.

Arsalan Ash, a well-known professional online gamer, won multiple competitions overseas and received recognition, yet in Pakistan, gaming is not regarded as a full-time occupation. One further instance is the hiring of Muqem Khan, Pakistan’s first visual effects artist, by the major entertainment film studio Walt Disney Pictures. No Pakistani company offered Muqem the same advantages (Ahmad, 2018).



<b>Region</b>	<b>Migration Number</b>
<b>Middle East</b>	<b>10,734,905</b>
<b>Europe</b>	<b>46,638</b>
<b>North America</b>	<b>5,709</b>
<b>Asia</b>	<b>133,425</b>
<b>Africa</b>	<b>94,375</b>

**Table 1.2: Region-wise division of migration by individuals**

**Source: Open Data Pakistan**

This high migration rate in the Middle East with the greatest number of migrants is what stands out. This region comprises the countries with the largest migration rates, including Saudi Arabia with 5,430,537 migrants and the United Arab Emirates with 3,860,258; Oman comes in second with 793,454 migrants, and the list goes on.



According to a survey by Start-Up Pakistan, the number of job searchers in the UAE surged significantly by 126 percent in May 2022. The primary causes of the massive mass migration are rising prices and a lack of work possibilities, which drove many to seek employment overseas, particularly in the United Arab Emirates. Furthermore, according to the report, Saudi Arabia, which saw an increase of around 31 percent, was the second-leading destination for Pakistani migrants after the UAE. Oman and Qatar, on the other hand, saw a decline (Farooq, 2022).

## Causes

Over the past five years, Pakistan's economy has been shaky. As a result, the closure of marketplaces and businesses has contributed to an increase in inflation. Although having a smart and knowledgeable population is something we may appreciate



on an individual level, it is a severe problem at the national level and has caused the emigration of bright people and skilled employees overseas (The Nation, 2022).

Up until now, Pakistan's brain drain has also been attributed to unstable leadership. According to political history, there has typically been a rivalry between various political groups. Their struggle to advance their interests slows progress in a variety of areas, education prominent among them.

The deficiency of research and improved educational possibilities in Pakistan is another issue that benefits skilled labour migration. Students in other countries are exposed to research in numerous fields and begin training at the college level.

However, in Pakistan, research is done at the graduate and postgraduate levels, and it begins as soon as the student is enrolled. For a student, this presents challenges because he is unfamiliar with research procedures (Noor, 2020).

The foundation of a modern, developed society is the productivity of research, but in Pakistan, this culture is not as strong due to a variety of factors, including a lack of funding for research, a lack of cutting-edge equipment for experimentation, and a lack of technical guidance. As a result, students are forced to leave Pakistan to compete internationally and pursue their studies in western nations (Razzaq, 2019). Climate change, natural catastrophes, pandemics, and other variables are additional elements that influence the push and pull dynamics of human capital migration.

## Remittances

The act of transferring or sending money from one party to another is referred to as remittance. The process of sending money abroad is sometimes referred to as remittance. Remittances essentially assist you to maintain your family's financial stability while you are based in another nation (Remittance /Digibank by DBS, 2021).

One of the main sources of inflows of foreign currency in Pakistan is remittances. These help to fund the nation's trade imbalance, aid in the growth of foreign exchange reserves, and lower the government's reliance on external financing. In the first half of the current fiscal year, remittances from Pakistanis employed overseas increased sharply by 11.3 percent to \$15.8 billion.



According to figures from the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP), the biggest sources of inflows were Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Saudi Arabia's remittances increased by 2% to \$4.034 billion from July through December of FY2022 (International, 2022). Many believe that this amount of money (remittances) has beneficial effects on the home nation, however, this can never be used as an excuse for the brain drain or loss of human capital.

## Effect on Pakistan's Development

Pakistan is heavily affected by the factors listed below as a result of the outflow of several people.

- There is a reduction in tax revenue.
- The intellect of a nation closely correlates with its level of development, therefore the loss of potential business owners, scientists, or researchers has a negative impact on the nation's ability to progress.
- This shortage of skilled people may lead to a loss of confidence in the economy, and the decline of the rupee may also trigger a larger population to move out.
- There is a loss of innovative ideas for the country.

## Conclusion

While the impact of brain drain is evident, countries like Pakistan continually fail to engage this



issue with the urgency it deserves. The data is overwhelming that Pakistan is losing bright individuals at an alarming rate—nearly 10 million in the last 20 years—due to a variety of push and pull factors. If it is not stopped in a timely manner and plans are not made to deal with the loss, the nation might suffer

severe consequences on a number of fronts, including the economy and intelligence.

# Recommendations

The following recommendations can be considered to curb the brain drain in the future:

- A comprehensive education system that includes everything a student seeks may be adopted; this would encourage students to study in their native countries and achieve success there.
- Those programmes with foreign professors educating Pakistani students might be implemented. They might pass to pupils fresh and alluring methods for fostering their interests.
- By enhancing the nation's political and social climate and fostering a secure and prosperous environment
- By implementing such economic measures that benefit both the people and the state and include offering a competitive compensation plan, promotions, etc.

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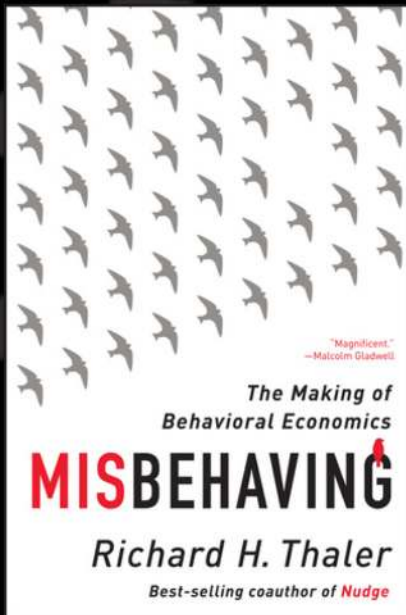
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## Book Review



# Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioral Economics

## About the Author

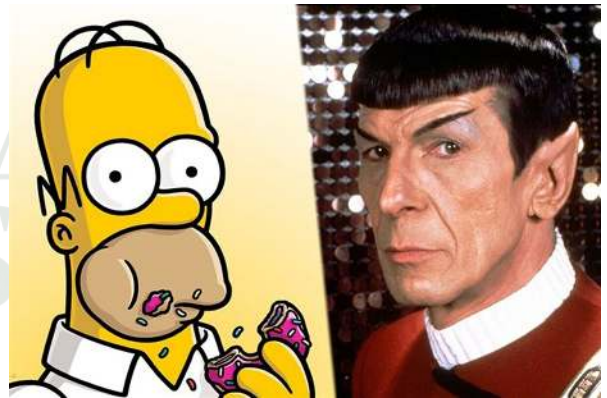


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# Introduction

The foundation of political economy and all the social sciences, in general, is based on psychology. A general perception had been there among classical social scientists that a day would come when the laws of social sciences would be primarily derived from psychological principles. *"Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioral Economics"* by [Richard H. Thaler](#) lays utter stress on the role of psychological factors and biases behind the process of human decision-making.

This book is really about the way people actually behave as opposed to the way economists think that people behave being highly rational beings in economic models. The author argues that the people he studies are humans who are closer to being like Homer Simpson rather than being like Spock. They do not always make correct choices and hence this book emphasizes bringing the psychological factors into light that force humans to misbehave at different points in time.



## Author

Mr. Richard H. Thaler is a well-known professor of economics at the Booth School of Business at the University of Chicago. He was awarded with the Noble Price in 2017 for his contributions to the field of behavioral economics. His work was acknowledged by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences with due regard that it served as a bridge between psychological and economic analysis of individuals' decision-making processes.

Moreover, he was the president of the American Economic Association in 2015. Theoretical and empirical depth in his work has had instrumental benefactions to behavioral economics over the past few years. He concluded his thesis on the topic "The Value of Saving a Life: A Market Estimate" which was published in 1974 by the University of Rochester's Economics Department.



# Summary

In the initial pages of *"Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioral Economics"*, Richard Thaler makes a significant point that there is a substantial problem with the economic models being utilized by economists. These models replace homo sapiens with the pure rational creature whom he calls homo economicus which are fictional characters in a true sense.

The fictional characters to whom the economists have been referring in their models for years, represent humans as rational creatures. It reflects that in any given situation, humans will always choose the best optimal outcomes for themselves. This pre-made point of view about humans' rational behavior is a notable flaw in economic models. Furthermore, Thaler states that the learning process takes practice.

The majority of Thaler's work is refuting the traditional economic beliefs about humans. One of the then economic thoughts regarding decision-making argues that buying a new car or a new house is an irregular event that involves high stakes. Therefore, one will get it right because of the high-risk factor. However, psychology teaches the opposite way that as the stakes go up, the decision-making quality goes down because learning takes practice.





Thaler also comments that the more people look at their portfolios, the less the likelihood that they will be able to take on the risks. It is because when someone observes oneself more often, he/she may find more negative areas to ponder about his/her abilities to take on the odds which will present more losses regarding the future in front of that particular person. In this way, these discouraging thoughts impede one from marching on towards practical steps.

## Analysis

*"Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioral Economics"* brings into light many dormant aspects regarding the natural way of human decision-making. It nudges economists and policymakers to take into account realistic facts while carrying out their research and policy formulation tasks.

It quotes interesting instances including the comparison between traditional beliefs and modern psychological teachings of decision-making and human behaviors. It not only equips the readers with historical knowledge regarding old economic thoughts, but it can also make the readers learn to diversify their thinking patterns.

## Critical Remarks

While it talks about taking into account realistic facts than assumptions, the realistic facts vary and are different at one location from the other. Therefore, will there be separate economic models based on realistic facts for different parts of the world? More importantly, how can the economic models be generalized without having assumptions like rationality?

How can abstract traits such as the level of utility and rationalization be measured in order to formulate economic models based on exact realistic facts? Is it possible in this highly globalized world to have different economic models based upon differences in realistic facts for similar variables? Is it not more suitable to have generalized forms of economic models given the fact that generalized forms of various complex models are easy to perceive and translate?

These are some of the concerns that behavioral economics will have to deal with in order to prove itself as an essential aspect of modern-day economics.

## Conclusion

To summarize this entire discussion, "*Misbehaving: The Making of Behavioral Economics*" will have an instrumental effect on the thinking style of modern economists. If behavioral economics succeeds in prolonging itself as a significant and undeniable field of study and research in economics, it may serve as a bridge to shift assumption-based economic models closer to realistic grounds. Consequently, owing to the psychological factors, it will also make economic research efficient enough to justify real-life decision-making processes and economic activities.

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Research  
Paper

# Administrative Reforms in Pakistan: The Past, Present & Future

## About the Authors



Muhammad Adnan Khan is a final year student of BS International Relations at National Defence University. Being a student of International Relations, the writer has diverse opinions and information about the different scenarios happening around the globe.



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# Historical Background

While talking about administrative reforms in Pakistan, it has been often the case for the historical aspect to be ignored. Before the 1947 partition, an administrative system was founded in the sub-continent by the British rulers. That system was termed Indian Civil Service (ICS), but it was later named Civil Services of Pakistan (CSP) after the formation of Pakistan.<sup>1</sup>

In 1954, the Governor-General of Pakistan and the governors of the provinces agreed to establish an All-Pakistan service valid across Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> The foundation of the contemporary ICS was laid in 1854, at the suggestion of the Macaulay Commission.<sup>3</sup> It suggested the elimination of the East India Company's patronage-based system with a competitive review to encourage competence.

To increase the standard of candidates, it also advocated the recruitment of graduates from Oxford and Cambridge. East India Company adopted the Committee's decision and began a merit-based enrolment scheme from 1855 onwards. It continued to employ different officers from Oxford and Cambridge until 1922 when the company decided to hire only the locals.<sup>4</sup>

## Post-1947 Dilemma

The trained civil service took up the task in spite of the logistical challenges they faced as a result of the partition. Around 157 officers out of a total of 1,157 ICS officers chose to join the workforce in Pakistan at the time of partition. The main reason for such representation of Muslims in the ICS was their conservative anti-Western stance on education, which made them unwilling to join the ICS.

A variety of British officers were appointed in different roles to take up the slack, including some very critical positions of governors and secretary establishment. In the early days of Pakistan's independence, political pressure for favors began to be extended to civil servants. When all this came to the attention of Mr. Jinnah, the founder, he pointed out the basic guidelines for civil servants.

"The civil services are the state's backbone. Governments are formed, governments are defeated, prime ministers come and go, and ministers come and go, but you hold on, because you have a very big responsibility on your shoulders. In supporting any political party or leader, you should have no side. It is not your business here. Whatever government is established in accordance with the Constitution, and whoever happens to be the Prime Minister who comes to power in the ordinary constitutional course, your duty is only to serve that government faithfully and faithfully, but at the same time to uphold your high reputation, dignity, honour and honesty of your service fearlessly."<sup>5</sup>



Almost around 2.3 million civil servants were generally seen as uncooperative, and mostly corrupt, and the same was for the bureaucratic processes that seemed to be inefficient and morally corrupt in public opinion.<sup>6</sup> Since Pakistan's freedom, several intermittent efforts had been made in the past to boost the productivity of the public sector, as governments rely heavily on their executive branch to turn their policies into action.

In Pakistan, more than twenty studies have been performed on administrative reforms by various government committees and commissions over the last six decades. These reports recommended a range of steps to make improvements to the administrative structure of the country, but only a few recommendations were adopted.

Due to regular switches between political setups or military takeovers, most of these attempts stayed on the shelf. The following are the three main phases in which different reforms have been brought in in the last 6 decades.



## 1948-1971

This was the period of emergence just after the independence, where the focus primarily remained on the formation of different government agencies and their administrative laws for operating state affairs. While Pakistan and India gained independence in 1947, India acquired more developed and organized institutions than Pakistan.

It was because of two major reasons: one, Delhi was the capital and from Delhi, the British



administered the sub-continent, and second, most of the civil servants were either Hindus or Sikhs who preferred to live and work in India instead of the newly independent state, Pakistan.<sup>7</sup>

Ayub designed a local government structure dubbed "Basic Democracy" to provide his dictatorship with a political facade, in which the country was split into around 80,000 single-member districts, with each having to elect a member on a non-party basis. At the district and sub-district levels, municipal councils were formed, with about half of their members appointed instead of elected.

Allegedly intended to devolve authority, Ayub's political base and his electoral college became the fundamental democrats. In a referendum of 1960, almost 95% of the voters voted for him and elected him again in 1965, albeit this time in a disputed but rigged race.

Basic Democracy consolidated power over the federating units by expanding the military's control over local government and building up a new political center at the grass-root level. Central district bureaucrats were able to control access to the state capital, dominating municipal politics by interacting exclusively with the emerging elite, sidestepping political parties, and trying to isolate them from the electorate.

## 1973-1990

Unfortunately, Pakistan was split up in 1971 and Bangladesh came into being, throwing the public sector of Pakistan back into shock because a huge number of Bengali separatist bureaucrats chose to represent Bangladesh instead of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> Throughout this period, two remarkable acts were to put bureaucracy under political leadership via constitutional reforms to regulate them and the nationalization of private leadership. This circumstance basically stopped Pakistan from globally advancing its public sector to gain the possible perks of globalization.<sup>9</sup>

To curtail the power of the civil bureaucracy, Bhutto fired around a thousand civil servants because of corruption and misconduct. He also enforced reforms in order to limit the civil service's sovereignty and put it



under the jurisdiction of the political entrepreneur. More importantly, Bhutto removed legally guaranteed work privileges that had previously protected government interference from the bureaucracy.

Administrative reforms by Bhutto also fundamentally altered the structure of the administration in Pakistan. The CSP system, which controlled the roles of civil service at all administrative levels, including federal, provincial, and district, was outlawed; the significance of service was also terminated, and all cadres were branded as "occupational groups".<sup>10</sup>

Bhutto implemented a system known as "Lateral Entry" in an effort to "draw fresh blood" into government through which approximately five thousand officials of different grades were immediately appointed into the civil bureaucracy.

While its organizational structure had undergone major changes, primarily through the abolition of the CSP, the elite system continued to enjoy wide-ranging control.

Later, Zia set up a Civil Service Reform Commission that suggested a range of extreme



alterations from the Bhutto system, such as the abolition of all occupational groups; the establishment of many professional favours just to satisfy experts in sectors such as cultivation, learning, and medicine; the

renovation of administration; and the establishment of many training institutions that were in service.

Zia institutionalized military recruitment into the civil service, a procedure undertaken by earlier regimes on an occasional basis, effectively solidifying the role of the military in the administration. The three levels of local government in rural areas were created: union (village), tehsil, and zila as well as regional committees and municipal corporations.<sup>11</sup>

## The 1990s

Different governments implemented NPM-inspired reforms to retrieve Pakistan from deeply rooted economic and monetary problems and to boost the functioning of the public sector, but still, no significant achievement was able to be achieved. In two respects, governments appeared to have been taking drastic measures: shifting their position from encouraging and reducing the size and budget of the government to quitting the market via denationalization and deregulation.

A retired public servant, who had already worked as the federal secretary in the late 1990s, said that "Bhutto and Sharif had their own gang of civil servants who were disparaged and awarded not really for merit, but for their perceived loyalty to their preferred political rulers".<sup>12</sup>

## More Reforms in Public Administration

Both military and civilian leaderships made reforms in the administrative process and this led to the ineffectiveness and incompetence of the administrative services of Pakistan. Moreover, factors like corruption, political turmoil, and nepotism have contributed more to this process of ineffectiveness and incompetence of the country's public administration.<sup>13</sup>

Musharraf, like Ayub and Zia, used a method involving the local authorities in order to legitimize and maintain military rule. In 2001, Devolution Power Plan was conceived by the National Reconstruction Bureau (NRB), which was headed by a retired lieutenant general, under which three local government levels (District, Tehsil, and Union) were formed. Musharraf's devolution plan varied as compared to Zia's local system in the context of Musharraf providing local authorities with the power of administration and development.<sup>14</sup>

Deputy Commissioners or District Magistrate and Assistant Commissioner or Sub-Divisional Magistrate, who historically managed the executive, judiciary, revenue, and other functions of the district, were demolished and a new administrative system replaced it, who were directly responsible to the Nazim, led by the District Coordination Officer (DCO).

Magisterial powers were given to the judges of the district and sessions, while the authority of revenue and police supervision was to the Nazim of the district. Executive District Officers (EDO) and District Officers (DO) were put under the supervision of the DCO. The Nazim of the town or Tehsil was assisted by a Municipal officer of the Tehsil or Town (TMO).

Each Tehsil administration was led by the second-most officer of any tehsil. Three Union secretaries were to assist the Union Nazim and were headed by the lowest level of local government, the union council.

The resulting administrative uncertainty and disputes over jurisdictional rights hindered service delivery because all three levels worked independently of each other. As many as eleven provincial departments were transferred to the districts, with each department headed by an EDO.<sup>15</sup>



Musharraf's rule of 9 years in power had seen a drastic rise in the role of the military in the civil institutions.<sup>16</sup> In 2002, the National School of Public Policy (NSPP), the country's largest training



institution for senior civil servants, turned into the Pakistan Administrative Staff College, and it was put under the direct authority of the Lieutenant General.<sup>17</sup>

## Public Administration under the Democratic Rule

The second democratic rule started with the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) coming into power, facing the major dilemma of reforming the public administrative services in order to make them in line with democratic values and rules. After the PPP government, in 2013, Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) government came into power and made more reforms in the public administration.

In 2018, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) came into power and they also introduced reforms.<sup>18</sup> The National Commission for Government Reforms (NCGR) was formed in 2006 to recommend reforms, which would allow the institutions of government and its infrastructure to work under the social, economic, and political structure of the 21st century. In 2008, a report was produced by this commission under the head of the State Bank of Pakistan, after consultation with experts in public administration.

Thereafter, in May 2008, the Commission submitted the report to Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani, who vowed to consult with provincial governments and other stakeholders on the recommendations of the report, as well as to discuss them in the National Assembly.<sup>19</sup>



# Recommendations

## Enhancing Civil Service Performance

It was recommended by the government to improve and enhance the performance of civil services and revitalize the public service spirit by increasing the pay as well as pensions of the people, especially for those people who were at the bottom line of the hierarchy. Regular training, including different courses for refreshers, was also recommended at all levels of the bureaucracy.<sup>20</sup>

It was also suggested to raise the training standards in vocational training institutions, along with the customs, beliefs, and practices that value professional solidarity and commitment.<sup>21</sup> Compensation and competitive advantage were also proposed to attract qualified and motivated coaches.

## Elimination of Military Interference

It was recommended by the government to eliminate military interference and intervention by ending the recruitment of military officers who were currently serving. It also proposed that the laws must prohibit employees or retired military personnel from running institutions involved in the training, recruitment, or promotion of civil servants, and also immediately stop the practice of recruiting senior officers, who were supposed to be evaluated and approved by the agencies of military intelligence.<sup>22</sup>

## Upgrading Federal and Provincial Secretariats

It was suggested to improve the operation and functioning of federal and regional secretariats by minimizing inadequate centralization of roles; by moving administrative and financial bodies under appropriate supervision to lower levels; and by reviewing and simplifying the applicable rules and procedures to ensure officials consider their rights and obligations.<sup>23</sup>

## Establishment of Effective Accountability

It was also recommended to establish functional accountability to the citizen bureaucracy by executing the recommendations of the Democracy Charter signed between PPP and PML-N for the establishment of an independent accountability committee to the “National Assembly’s Public Accounts Committee (PAC)”.

The commission was formed to work with Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) to investigate claimed harassment, financial and other matters of corruption by different government officials, and take technological actions against all those who are responsible.

Moreover, it was suggested to establish an effective form of accountability over civil bureaucracy by directing federal as well as provincial secretaries to report to parliaments and provincial assemblies and empowering both national and provincial parliamentary committees to have regular hearings during which government officials could be asked to use resources, organization, management and personnel efficiently for their own respective departments.<sup>24</sup>

## Promoting Fairness

It was proposed that parliamentary committees be empowered to review and approve the appointments of senior civil servants that had been put forward by the Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) and certify that they are made only on merit rather than on personal interests or political connection.<sup>25</sup> It has also been recommended that Federal Service Courts be empowered to monitor postings and transfers and to examine complaints from officials about arbitrary transfers.



## Settling the Status of the Report

It is also recommended to resolve the status of the report which was given by the National Commission on Government Reforms (NCGR)<sup>26</sup> just by regulating through the formation of a non-partisan parliamentary public service reform commission, in which half of the government-appointed members and half of the opposition, under the joint leadership of the prime minister and opposition leaders, evaluate reports and make recommendations to national and provincial judges.

## Improving Land Administration and Local Governance

A recommendation for improving land management as well as administration and local governance through computerized land registration, the provision of title certificates and other property-related documents at small fixed costs, has been forwarded. Moreover, the setting up of call centres for reporting bribery claims, illegal commissions, and offences has also been requested.

## Modernizing the Civil Service System

The modernization of the system and its process according to standards set by the Directorate of Electronic Administration have been recommended as well as the introduction of mandatory coaching in fundamental processes of information technology for all officials at the level BPS-5 and above.

## Improving the Functioning of Police

It is highly recommended to improve the police functioning by revising the Police Ordinance by Parliament and also by setting a parliamentary subcommittee to deal exclusively with the police.<sup>27</sup> Empowering the authority and governance bodies including the Public Safety Commission and also the National Police Management Board has also been recommended.

## Establishing FATA's Bureaucracy

In order to engage FATA's bureaucracy, it has been recommended to remove the FATA secretariat and political agency offices by handing over their powers to the secretariat of KPK, their relevant ministries, and the provincial district departments.<sup>28</sup>

## Conclusion

Pakistan's ambition is to become a high-income economy by 2047 when it will be 100 years old because it will only depend on the quality and performance of its government institutions.<sup>29</sup> Governance influences investment, citizen trust, and human resource development, and improves the quality of institutions and policies, by innovating government business processes and improving service delivery to citizens.

There is likely to be a more decentralized system of government as provinces and the federal government will continue to implement constitutional provisions on decentralization. Population growth, the complexity of service delivery challenges, and the modernization of feedback systems for citizens will require states to sharpen their focus on regulation and reduce their role in direct service delivery.<sup>30</sup>

The existing model of state ownership will be limited, and the public sector is expected to guarantee continued state domination. This pressure will come not only from the private sector, which demands a fair playing field but also from service users who are interested in providing better services.

These new challenges, and the ability of the public and the public sectors to successfully address these challenges through modernization and capacity building, will require Pakistan to redefine the social agreement between the nation and its nationals in the year 2047.

Officials need to be aware of the modern spirit of good governance in the public sector, including professionalism, innovation, technological sophistication, and strategic decision-making. The government must also respond to new and emerging demands for efficient and effective institutions.<sup>31</sup>

If we talk about the reforms in the field of public administration, then it is the end that justifies the means. In order to achieve the end, the means must be kept intact throughout, so that they bring the sound end.

For this purpose, stability in the governance and democratic system is very important because it helps the country to prosper. A little disruption in governance brings instability to the system, which ultimately creates hurdles in the way of means and thus delays the achievement of the end.

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Article



# Prospects of a Technocratic Government in Pakistan

About the Author



Muhammad Hamza Tanvir graduated from COMSATS University. He has a keen interest in international relations and regional politics.



# Introduction

Pakistan's economic condition is totally in shambles nowadays, as political governments have failed to implement IMF's tough conditions. Many experts and political leaders are signaling that the country could default in some weeks or months. The alarming condition of Pakistan's economy can be gauged from the fact that Finance Minister Ishaq Dar has felt the need of announcing more than once that the country is not going to default.

Some have proposed the idea of a technocratic government in Pakistan that would take all the necessary actions to make the country go on the right track without any fear of losing the vote bank. However, both the government and the opposition are rejecting the idea of a technocratic government. Furthermore, no one is sure who proposed this idea.

## What is a Technocratic Government?

A technocratic government is such a form of government in which the ministers of the government do not necessarily belong to any political party and are not politicians by career. Individuals are appointed to the ministries on the bases of their expertise. For example, the finance minister of the country would be someone which an academic background in the field of economics who might have worked at IMF for years just like Reza Baqir, the former governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, and Abdul Hafeez Shaikh, former finance minister of Pakistan.

Technocrats do not run for elections to hold offices. In some countries, the Prime Minister of the state is also a technocrat from a majority party. [In Greece and Italy](#), the Prime Ministers are both economists and technocrats. A technocratic setup is brought into a country when the political parties fail to deliver.



A technocratic government is known to take hard decisions that a political government fails to take lest losing their vote bank. In some instances, a technocratic government is also set up by the consensus of all the parliamentary parties when they don't agree to form a normal government. Pakistan has seen technocratic governments in the past in the eras of General Zia and General Pervez Musharraf.

## Is it a Viable Option?

The option of a technocratic government is echoing in the upper echelons of Pakistan's leadership. This setup is being touted as a panacea to all the economic and governance issues of the country, with many experts including senior economist [Shabbar Zaidi](#) supporting the idea of this setup. However, people from the opposition and government benches are opposing the idea of a technocratic government.

Currently, it is being proposed that a long-term interim government be set up which would take all the necessary actions to improve the economic conditions of the country. Mr. Zaidi holds that the current government has already wasted ample time in taking much-needed decisions and that the country is not in a condition to afford this attitude. He holds that the previous PTI-led government, too, failed to take such decisions.

All these imprudent and popular decisions by the incumbent and former governments have resulted in the current economic predicament of the country. Although the PDM government is opposed to this notion, it seems that the PDM might relent as it does not want early elections due to the increased popularity of Imran Khan.



All the recent surveys and political *jalsas* show that the PDM government is highly unpopular and that the popularity graph of Imran Khan is at its peak. If an early election happens, it would be difficult for the PDM coalition to defeat PTI.

A technocratic government would buy the PDM some time for improving its public image. The PDM coalition would use it as a tool to put the onus of all the economic ills on that technocratic setup and the establishment of the country. Therefore, it is likely that the PDM coalition might support this notion of a technocratic government in Pakistan.

The constitution of Pakistan, however, does not allow a long-term interim setup. Article 224 bounds the interim government to act only as a caretaker setup and hold elections within a duration of 3 months. So, a long-term interim government would be a violation of the constitution. Similarly, Article 232 only allows the proclamation of emergency on account of the war, internal disturbance, etc. Hence, it seems impossible to set up such a form of government in the country.

One thing that should be kept in mind is that whenever a technocratic government is set up in a country, most of the technocrats hired have served in international institutions like the IMF. This shows why people having a personal interest in coming to power are advocating this type of government. One should be reminded that the intentions of imported technocrats would always remain questionable.

Moreover, it does not seem that a technocratic government could take Pakistan out of this mess, as that would only be possible by changing the basic setup of the state institution.

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Opinion

INTEREST RATES

%

# Is an Interest-Free Economy Possible?

About the Author



Raja Abdullah is a final year student of BS IR at the National Defence University, Islamabad.

# Introduction

Federal Minister for Finance and Revenue of Pakistan, Ishaq Dar, after taking the oath in September 2022 promised to [eradicate interest](#) from Pakistan's economy and comply with the [Federal Shariat Court](#) (FSC) in April. The first petition in FSC to eliminate interest was filed in 1990 and the process is still ongoing.

The coalition parties arranged a Hurmat-e-Sood conference at FPCCI hall in Karachi in which Ulema of almost every sect was present. They collectively promised to help the government of Pakistan in freeing the economy from the evil of interest. A transition towards an interest-free economy seems quite revolutionary but it is much more of political rhetoric than reality.

Islam prohibits interest and calls it a war with the Almighty God. To gain political objectives, several individuals in leadership wish to eliminate interest and save the ship of the Pakistani economy. Although the FSC and the finance division of Pakistan announced these motives, no pragmatic steps have been taken in this regard.

Islamic Banking or Shariah-compliant desks have been introduced in banks, but they are unable to achieve the motives. In the last two decades, Islamic banking has grown exponentially trusting the fatwa of so-called shariah boards of banks. Yet there is a staunch critique on the issue of what comprises riba.

Even post-2007/2008 financial crisis, industrialized nations brought their interest rates to zero but, before dreaming about such a destination, the economy of Pakistan has to go through some major changes and thorough research. Interest rate is directly proportional to some economic needs that I will try to argue here.



# Inflation

Production is the building block of capitalism, and it is related to the supply and demand theory. For this purpose to be served, high investments are inevitable. In the modern capitalistic system, banks are the providers of investment. Capitalistic economies strengthen themselves by meeting the demands and using financial resources efficiently. Intermediation by the banks is the core facilitator to fulfill the gap on the investment side, thus giving rise to interest-rate disparities.

Money is a basic commodity in itself. It is the most liquidated product available in the capitalistic framework. Inflation and interest rate complement each other by maintaining the economy. The money supply is managed by the interest rates and thus inflation is controlled. I want to argue that the government can control inflation without having fluctuating interest rates.

The interest rate tool is used to curb the growing inflation rate. Interest rate contracts the money supply in the economy and consequently lowers the demand, with the low demand leading to low inflation growth. Without the interest rate tool, inflation will grow to an extreme level, the money supply will increase to an intense level, causing economic viability to be jeopardized.

The aforementioned graph represents the inflation growth rate (YoY) and policy rate of the State Bank of Pakistan. The graph depicts how the policy rate of the central bank played a positive role in lowering the inflation growth rate from March 2017 to Nov 2022. Whenever the inflation growth rate was at a high level, the central bank increased the policy rate to limit the inflation growth rate. (Graph 1)

## GDP Contraction

The interest tool is used to slow down the economic growth of the country i.e. GDP growth. It limits the expansion of businesses, expenditures, and profits. When an economy is heated, businesses continue to expand their operations through borrowing from commercial banks. The interest rate is increased to curb the expansion of the business by lowering the borrowings. The raised interest rate leads to less expenditure and hence limits GDP growth.

The interest tool is not only used for businesses but also a large population borrows from banks through credit cards. When the interest rate is high, the markup payments rise, ultimately limiting the share of income for expenditure. This makes the GDP grow at a slower pace.

The real-time example is from the economy of Pakistan. In [FY 2018](#), Pakistan grew at a pace of 6.1%, but in 2019, the GDP growth slowed to 3.1%. In [July 2018](#), the policy rate was at 7.5%, but in July 2019, the policy rate was clocked at 13.25%. Without any limitations tool, the borrowings will increase to a tremendous level and the economy will be overheated, which consequently leads to the destruction of the economic system.

## Banking Structure

Interest rates act as a bread earner for the banking system in modern times. Banking is a complex structure whose profit is based on the interest rate. Governments and the public borrow from banks to run their businesses and, in return, pay back the principal amount with the decided interest rate. In this way, the needs of both—the lender and the borrower—are fulfilled which eventually assists the economy.

The recent shout for an interest-free economy could endanger the existence of the banking system and pose an existential threat to the credit payments that are lent by the banks. One of the largest banks in Pakistan, Habib Bank Limited (HBL), earned [PKR 131 Billion](#) in interest income in 2021 compared to PKR 81 Billion in 2016.

United Bank Limited (UBL) earned [PKR 71 Billion](#) in the year 2021. In terms of profiteering, interest is the quintessential component of the modern banking structure. If the government of Pakistan aims to eradicate the interest rate and transform our financial system, it would be devastating and costly if done without suggesting a solid and functional alternative.

## Conclusion

The Pakistani economy has been suffering severely for the past three decades, with the total debt surpassing PKR 50 trillion, out of which PKR 33 trillion is domestic debt in Pakistani currency. Pakistan has rarely seen balance in its payments, as recurring deficits pave the way to more borrowing, doubling the repayments. How we are going to fund our deficits? How are inflation and banking structures going to work in an interest-free system? These existential questions demand thorough research rather than mere rhetoric.

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# The Holodomor in Ukraine: Famine or Genocide?

## About the Author



Amna Walistan is currently pursuing her bachelor's in international relations at National Defence University, Islamabad. Her areas of interest include the geopolitics of the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Indo-Pacific region.

# Background

Before WWI, Ukraine was just a part of the larger Russian empire. However, in 1917, after the collapse of the Russian empire, Ukraine gained freedom, declaring itself the independent Ukrainian People's Republic. This independence turned out to be quite brief as by 1922, Ukraine got forcefully integrated into the newly formed Soviet Union, and Ukraine became known as the 'Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic'.

At that time, Ukraine was largely rural and was known for its farmlands. The population largely constituted villagers and farmers whose livelihoods depended on the farming and cultivation of the land that they owned. With one of the world's most fertile soil, the country was among the largest grain-producing states in the USSR. Therefore, it gained recognition as the "breadbasket of the Soviet Union".

## Causes

Ukraine had a history of opposition and resistance to the Soviet Union, and so was a major threat to the Stalin regime. Moreover, the Ukrainization that took place in the 1920s further strengthened Ukraine's cultural autonomy. These factors gave rise to the fear of the secession of Ukraine from



the Soviet Union, which prompted Joseph Stalin, then premier of the Soviet Union, to take measures that ultimately resulted in the most terrible famine in the country's history.



To prevent the “Ukrainian national counterrevolution” which the Stalin government saw as an ideological threat to the Soviet Union, it resorted to large-scale mass repressions and crackdowns. The supporters of pro-Ukrainian policies, be they Ukrainian intellectuals, church leaders, or members of the Ukrainian Communist Party, were arrested, imprisoned, and executed to curtail Ukraine’s cultural autonomy.

Similarly, the goal to gain complete control of the “breadbasket of the Soviet Union” made Stalin introduce the [First Five-Year Plan](#) in 1928. Another objective of this Five-Year plan was to industrialize the entire Soviet Union at a rapid pace which meant building up industries like electricity, steel, and coal. To fund this project of transforming the USSR into an industrial power, Stalin turned to the “collectivization” of agriculture.

This collectivization focused on confiscating the private property of independent farmers and consolidating individual farms across the Soviet Union into large, state-run farms. The collectivization made it easier for the Stalin government to extract surplus grain produced by the farms which in turn gave them direct control over Ukraine’s rich agricultural resources including grain production, its supply, and export.

Consequently, many Ukrainians, who were small-scale or subsistence farmers and had worked independently for their entire lives, resisted Stalin’s plan and collectivization. Over [4,000 local rebellions](#) were recorded against Stalin’s policies, which were suppressed by the Red Army and the Soviet secret police. In addition to this, Stalin also responded by making use of propaganda campaigns.

Those who opposed Stalin’s policy of collectivization were [labeled as ‘kurkuls’](#), a Russian term for the wealthy peasant. They were depicted as greedy, exploiters, and enemies of the state and their belongings were seized by the government. The elimination of these so-called Kulaks was a crucial part of collectivization as hundreds of thousands of them were exiled, imprisoned, or executed. This destruction of Ukrainian rural life through the various policies of Stalin, most importantly that of collectivization, set the stage for the Holodomor, which shook entire Ukraine.

# The Terror Famine

In 1932, the Communist government set extremely high grain procurement quotas that were far beyond the capacity of the farmers across the USSR. When farmers failed to meet the quota, Stalin's men swept their farms to confiscate all the grains they could find. Records show the Soviets took over 4.27 million tons of grain from Ukraine alone in 1932. That same year, a new law punished anyone who even took a handful of grain or was caught hiding grain or bread with 10 years in prison or the death penalty for stealing "socialist property". Thus, about 54,645 people were imprisoned; of those, 2,000 were executed.

Stalin's oppressive collection policy resulted in a famine that started spreading in grain-producing regions across the USSR. Some party members sent Stalin letters about the growing crisis pleading for a policy change. However, instead of reversing its policies, the Stalin government doubled them down. The government's adherence to collectivization had deadly impacts all over the Soviet Union, but in Ukraine, the impacts of the famine aggravated due to Stalin's fear of Ukrainization.

In the fall and winter of 1932, Soviet police began seizing not just grain but anything edible, even livestock. The farms and over one-third of the villages in Ukraine were blacklisted for missing grain quotas, torn apart for food, and prohibited from receiving any supplies. In January 1933, to stop Ukrainians from leaving Ukraine in search of food, Stalin seized the borders of Ukraine. Moreover, the migration from Ukrainian villages to cities was also policed by initiating a system of internal passports.

In the coming months, tens of thousands of Ukrainian villagers were caught trying to flee and were sent back to their homes to starve. To escape death by starvation, people began to catch birds, mice, dogs, cats, and just anything that could give them some sort of sustenance. The desperation of people was evident from the fact that they began eating the flesh of the animals and some even resorted to cannibalism.

After May and June of 1933, the impacts of famine began to alleviate as the labor force debilitated, prompting the Stalin government to take measures to decrease grain confiscations and massive arrests of farmers. Holodomor perished millions of people so the government had to send people from other parts of the Soviet Union over to Ukraine. Several resettlement programs



had to be initiated to rebuild the country's labor force.

As far as the death toll is concerned, the exact number of victims remains unknown. However, various estimates have been made, even though many deaths remained unregistered. As per the most recent study conducted by a team of demographers from Ukraine, around 3.9 million Ukrainians lost their lives in Holodomor. Other areas that constituted a large number of the Ukrainian population like the North Caucasus also suffered greatly.

## The Holodomor as Genocide

The majority of historians have deduced the Holodomor as man-made, engineered by the Stalin government, to subjugate the Ukrainians. It is evident from the factors that gave rise to famine and the fact that even at the start of 1933, [the USSR had enough grain reserves to feed well over 10 million people](#). Moreover, the Stalin government refrained from organizing famine relief or accepting any foreign aid. Instead, the government exported Ukraine's grain and other food abroad for cash, while the people in Ukraine starved.

However, the debate on whether the Holodomor can be termed genocide or not continues to rise among scholars as they hold diverse views and opinions. Raphael Lemkin (1900-1959), a Polish lawyer, known for coining the term 'genocide', declared Holodomor "the classic example of Soviet genocide."

According to the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, formed on the basis of Lemkin's ideas, genocide has been defined as acts *"having the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such."*

Lemkin applied this definition to Holodomor's case and proved that it was a genocide aimed to crush the Ukrainian nation. Lemkin's application of genocide to the Holodomor in Ukraine was based on four reasons. The first one was the extermination of intellectuals. In Stalin's era, millions of Ukrainian writers, artists, thinkers, teachers, and politicians were beheaded, imprisoned, or deported. Moreover, around 75% of the Ukrainian intellectuals and professionals were brutally exterminated by the Soviet regime.

The second reason was the destruction of churches and priests. *Between 1926 and 1932, around 10, 000 clergy died.* Thirdly, the starvation of farmers was also a major reason to declare this famine a genocide. Stalin's Five-Year Plan and the policy of collectivization were deliberately devised in a way that led to the massive starvation of farmers. Lastly, the disintegration of Ukrainians through resettlement also made Lemkin categorize this famine as genocide. To destroy their ethnic unity, the Ukrainians were dispersed throughout Eastern Europe.

Stalin's policies served as a plan for the systematic destruction of the Ukrainians as a nation. The severe decrease in the Ukrainian population is evident from the fact that the Ukrainian population *reduced from 23.2 million to 19.6 million* in the face of the Holodomor. Lemkin's ideas regarding the Holodomor as genocide were shared by several other leading scholars and historians like Robert Conquest, Anne Applebaum, Timothy Snyder, Norman Naimark, and James Mace.

## Holodomor Denial

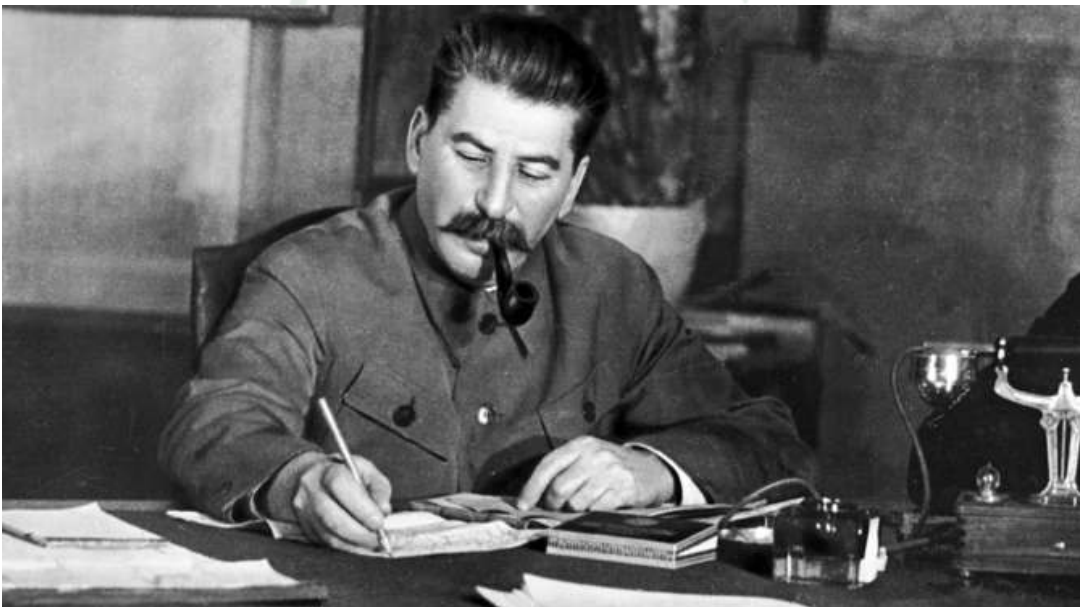
In Russia, Stalin carried out a major propaganda campaign to conceal the impacts and devastation of this planned famine. During the famine, Stalin blatantly rejected the notion that a famine ever took place by declaring the reports of starvation an exaggeration. Not only did he prohibit the Soviet press from covering the Holodomor but he also banned the entry of foreign correspondents into Ukraine.



Stalin intentionally allowed the use of words like “food shortages” or “food supply problems” instead of famine, as it would help to understate the Holodomor and its impacts. For example, Walter Duranty, a popular American journalist who wrote extensively on the success of Stalin’s policies and even won a Pulitzer, denied the existence of Holodomor in his accounts, calling it a “food shortage”.

Many journalists disagreed with Duranty and wrote about the chaos and destruction caused by famine. One such journalist was Gareth Jones, who wrote several articles on how “famine ruled Russia”. In response, Duranty put on another article insisting that “Russians were hungry, but not starving”. Scholars like Robert Davies, Stephen Kotkin, Stephen Wheatcroft, and J. Arch Getty rejected the idea that the Holodomor was planned by Stalin. Rather, they declared it as a by-product of the unintentionally bad policies of Stalin’s government and the lack of adequate information regarding the problem.

Apart from media manipulation, chronicles were also destroyed, and the use of the word



“starvation” in death certificates as the cause of death was restricted by the Stalin government. Similarly, Stalin refrained from making the report of the 1937 census public as it showed a significant

decline in the Ukrainian population. In the decades that followed, the Soviet Union continued to suppress the Holodomor.



# Holodomor in Modern Politics

In 2003, at the United Nations, 25 countries recognized the Holodomor and declared that it caused the [death of 7 million to 10 million lives](#). Holodomor was not only recognized as genocide in Ukraine but the country's parliament also criminalized its denial in 2006. The Holodomor is quite significant as it provides the details of oppression in a multi-ethnic society, under the rule of a dictator. The relevance of the Holodomor has further increased in the present era with the Russian invasion of Ukraine, but this time, Ukraine has no plans to bear genocide and is ready to show resistance with the help of the West's support.

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# Rasool Pur: A Model Village with 100% Literacy

## About the Author



Aleena Imran has an MBA from NUST and has worked as an HR professional at MPCL, Coke, Jazz, and LMKT. Apart from being an avid reader, she enjoys writing, photography, and art.

In the Rajanpur district of Punjab, there lies a small village called Rasool Pur. Home to almost 2000-3000 residents – most of whom are ethnic Ahmadani Baloch – the village boasts a shocking literacy rate of almost 100%, and claims to have had no crime reported in the last 100 years.

Reports claim that there is no concept of littering – and that surprisingly, the whole village is a smoking-free zone. The ancestors of these Ahmadani Baloch [people migrated from Balochistan](#) to Rasool Pur (and other adjoining areas in Southern Punjab) in 1933-34, after being displaced many times due to flooding in various areas.

Since they did not have any other source of income at the time, they opted to focus on education to earn and sustain their livelihood. The first primary schools (for both boys and girls) were financed and built by the villagers themselves. The unique village has one primary school and two high schools. Once the students complete their high school education, they usually opt to continue their higher education at a college in Jampur city, which is only 8-10 kilometers away.

According to a source, the residents do not accept the UN's definition of literacy (i.e., the ability to sign one's own name), and the elders of the village ensure that all the young individuals complete their education – at least till the high school level. Anyone who fails to do so can not participate in their society.

According to Mehtaab Jahan, the principal of Government Girls High School Rasool Pur, the reason why the village is so unique is because of the high literacy rate of women. [During an interview with Anadolu Agency](#), she stated, "All the women of the village are educated here. This shows that they understand the importance of women's education. This is the main reason that all the children, as soon as they reach the age of 4-5, start their education". She further went on to state that there are over 300 students in the high school for boys, and almost the same number of students in the high school for girls.

To ensure that no one drops out of school because of financial constraints, the villagers started their own project titled the 'Rasool Pur Development Society'. Society is responsible for collecting donations for anyone who can not afford to obtain an education. Moreover, to keep the culture of obtaining an education intact and to encourage the students to excel, the community organizes an annual event to honor the students who obtain high positions in university-level and other competitive exams.

While [discussing the annual event](#), Dilawar Saleem (a resident of Rasool Pur) stated that “encouraging the students and showing them the success stories of their elder siblings make them achieve even higher goals.” While discussing the astounding lack of crime, Saleem said, “We have a strong network of communication among us, which has been passed on by our ancestors. No one tries to cross the line when it comes to maintaining the law and order situation. This is the rule which has abled us to attain zero crime rate in our village”.

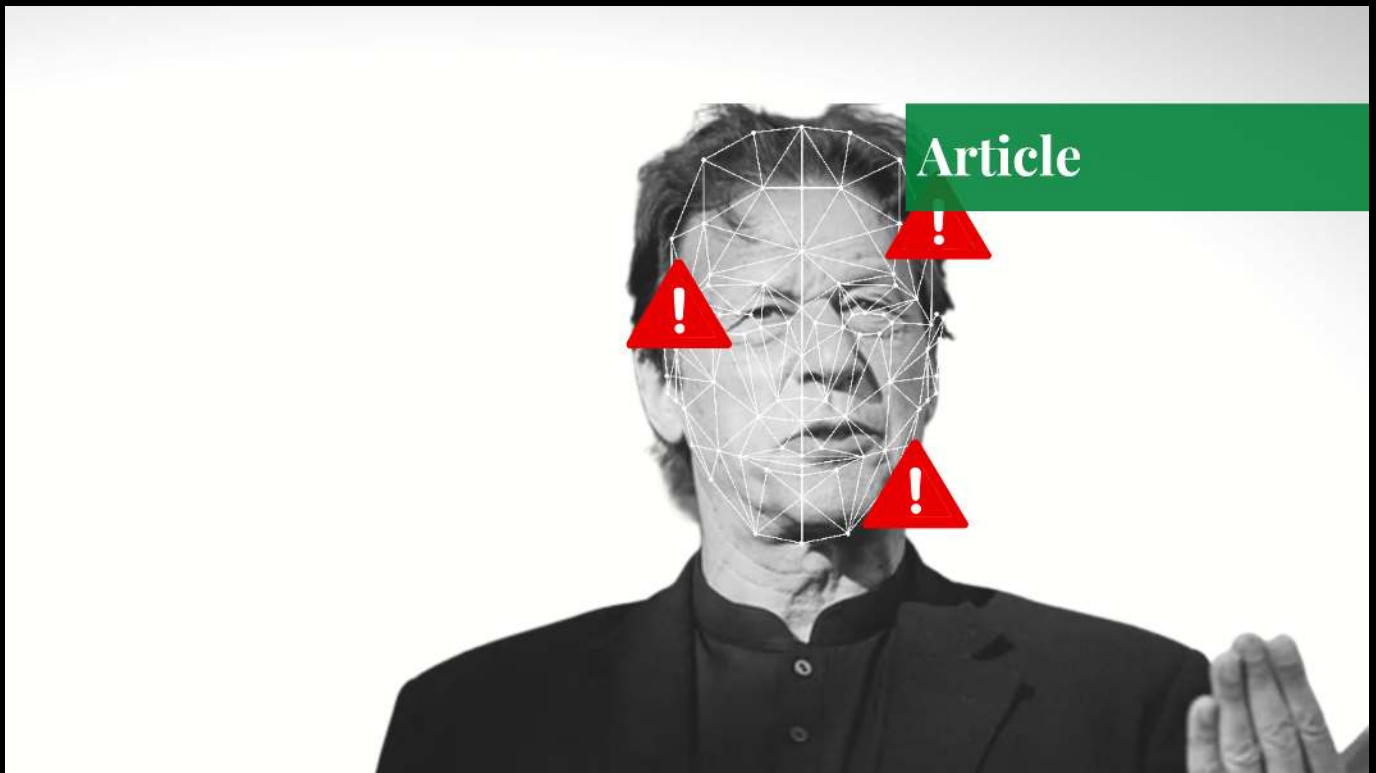
While the data collected from the 2017 Pakistan Census shows that the actual literacy rate of Rasool Pur is almost 70% (and not 100%), it is still much higher than the usual district average of around 33%. Other villages can learn from this small, but forward-thinking village – and the government/lawmakers should make an active effort to try and duplicate Rasool Pur’s successful model wherever possible.

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# Deepfake or Real? Here's How to Tell the Difference

About the Author



Shahzeb Rizwan Raja is currently a high school student.



Taking the internet by storm, a recent video leak of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf's (PTI) senator, Azam Swati, left many at sixes and sevens. Many are baffled and frightened at this new necromantic Deepfake technology that has sprouted. In such heightened times of cyberattacks on our country, influential personalities are becoming more cognizant of their activities and are desperately grasping onto their dignity.

Unfortunately, in a country like Pakistan where even fake, tailor-made media content could end a person's career, and impose undue stress on them by the social media— which blindly blames the victims without any inspection—we have to tread cautiously and pay heed to every detail.

There are a lot of intricate ways of scrutinizing a video to ascertain whether it is a deepfake video or not, which requires some level of skill in computers. However, for the general public, I will list some tips you could look out for in such elaborately edited videos.



A pair of images from Metaphysic's tests showing a deepfaked Jim Carrey, and the result of turning to the side.

Shown are a pair of photos from metaphysics tests [showing a deepfaked Jim Carrey](#), and the result of him turning to the side. You can catch the editing from the photo of the deformed side profile, and this is something you should be keeping an eye out for.

However, this is a more visible form of deformation. In other videos, it could be extremely subtle and would need a more wary eye to locate it.

The reason for this deformation is that most deep-fake applications use 2D-based facial alignments algorithms, which assign only 50-60 percent of the number of landmarks from a front-on face view to a profile view. Without the algorithm being able to see enough reference points for the side profile, it simply does not know how to project that part of the fake face.

Besides this, there are 8 points that are highlighted in an article published on the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) media page regarding how to discern [between a real and a deepfake video](#).

1. You must pay close attention to the face because high-end deepfake manipulations are almost always facial transformations.
2. Pay attention to the cheeks and forehead, and notice if the skin's texture and condition match the agedness of the hair and eyes. Deepfakes are often incongruent on some dimensions.
3. Pay attention to the eyes and eyebrows, and check if there are shadows and lighting details. Deepfakes often fail to fully represent the natural physics of a scene.
4. Pay attention to the glasses and notice any changes in the glare. Once again, deepfakes often fail to fully represent the natural physics of lighting.
5. Pay attention to the facial hair or lack thereof. Deepfakes might add or remove a mustache, sideburns, or a beard, but they often fail to make facial hair transformations fully natural.
6. Pay attention to facial moles.
7. Pay attention to blinking.
8. Pay attention to the size and color of the lips.

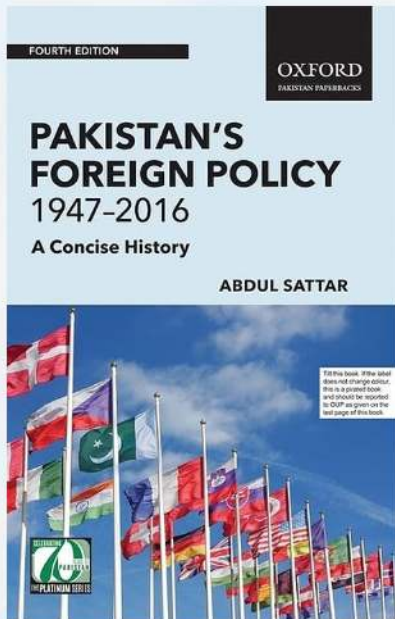
As deepfake video technology continues to advance, gauging differences between videos is becoming more serpentine. This is always going to be a game of cat and mouse. As soon as a new model to detect one type of deepfake will be in circulation, there will be a generator that will be able to beat that detector.

We, as a country, have to be up to date in making our people aware through widely used social media platforms, like Tiktok, Facebook, or Instagram, on new forms of digital attacks, and how to steer clear from them.

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You may also like [Propaganda Against Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: From "Islamic Bomb" to Biden's Comments.](#)

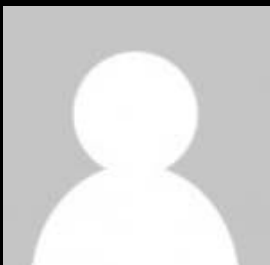


## Book Review



# Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947–2016: A Concise History

## About the Author



Muhammad Shahzad Akram is a Research Officer at the Center for International Strategic Studies (CISS), AJK. He holds an MPhil degree in International Relations from Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

## Author

Abdul Sattar, the author of *"Pakistan's Foreign Policy, 1947-2016: A Concise History,"* brought many laurels to the country while serving as the foreign minister and permanent ambassador to International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). He stepped into the foreign services of Pakistan in the 1950s and remained part of many foreign delegations such as the Simla Agreement of 1972. As a foreign secretary in the 1980s, he played a vital role in diffusing the tension between India and Pakistan while working on various nuclear issues and strategies.

## The Indian Subcontinent

In *"Pakistan's Foreign Policy,"* Abdul Sattar [chronicles the events](#) that affected foreign relations and the domestic politics of Pakistan. It tries to provide a more authoritative view of foreign policy and how it evolved during different tenures. In the starting chapters, he portrays a scenario of historical events which laid the foundation of Pakistan. The state which was carved out from the vast empire and that expanded from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian sea was a conglomerate of many religions, languages, ethnicities, and cultures.

Following Alexander's invasion across the Suleiman range in 325 BC, Chandragupta Maurya conquered the Gangetic and Indus plains. This land gave birth to the greatest civilization in the world, the Indus civilization. The region later became an amalgamation of empires and dynasties.

When Muslims swept across the world carrying the zeal of religion, the Indian subcontinent, too, wouldn't be spared.

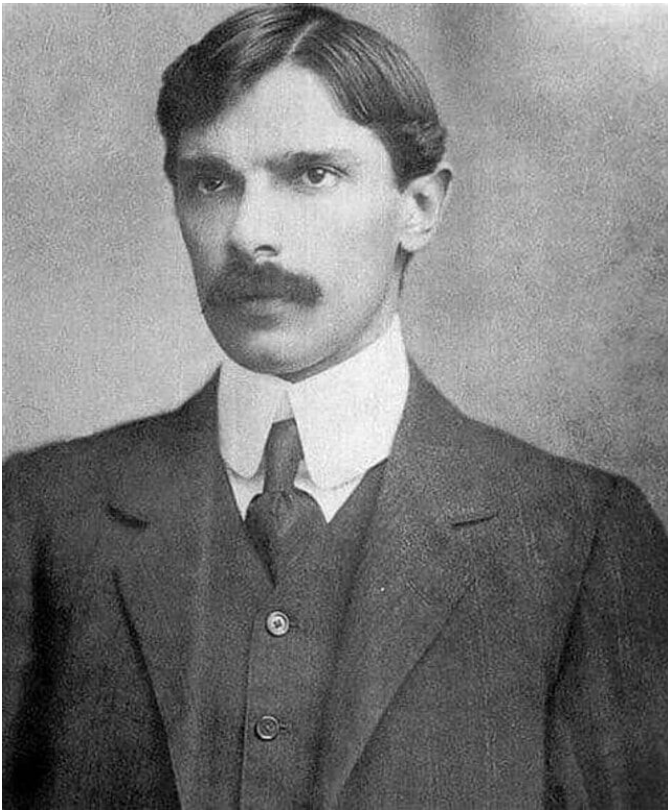




The most galvanized story of the Muslim world is where Muhammad Bin Qasim defeated the tyrant leader, Raja Dahar, and laid the foundation of a new empire. The subcontinent also attracted the British, a colonial power far advanced in economy, power, and knowledge.

## Pakistan is Born

The strenuous struggle bore fruit and Pakistan emerged as an independent Islamic state on



August 14, 1947. Muhammad Ali Jinnah articulated a new vision for Pakistan based on the quest for peace and prosperity. In one of his speeches, he said, "There lies in front of us a new chapter and it will be our endeavor to create and maintain goodwill with Britain, and our neighborly dominion, Hindustan, along with other sisterly nations so that we all together may make our greatest contribution to peace and prosperity."

There are several occasions where Mr. Jinnah elaborated the foreign policy of Pakistan based on the principles of bilateralism, cordial relations with neighboring countries especially India, open door policy for Muslim nations, and support for the self-determination of oppressed and colonized states.

The first foreign minister of Pakistan, Sir Zafarullah Khan, vociferously raised his voice for the independence of Indonesia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and other colonial states. The matters soon worsened due to the Kashmir issue, Pakistan's rejection of the USSR proposal, and the visit to the US in February 1950.



For economic support, Pakistan incessantly painted the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire.' Soon, Pakistan signed defense treaties with the US like the Middle East Defense Organization (1953), Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954, SEATO 1954, CENTO 1956, and the Mutual Defense Agreement in 1959. Pakistan's sudden jump to the Western camp prompted Muslim countries to withdraw their support for the unsolved Kashmir issue.

## Changing Camps

During the sixties, Pakistan changed its camp and aligned with USSR and China. Nikita Khrushchev extended a hand of friendship and offered economic and technical support to Pakistan.

The Indo-Pakistani war of 1965 proved very disastrous for both countries economically and politically. The Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 also proved to be another hit to Pakistan's diplomatic and political fronts.



In the socialist seventies, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a man with Bonapartist attributes and authoritative proclivity, became the savior of the shattered nation. He elevated the nation from the ashes of

disintegration to the sky of prestige. The momentous turn was the nuclear program of Pakistan. The foreign policy had also been more tilted towards Middle Eastern states and the Soviet Union.

The revivalist eighties was a turning point where the West and Muslim countries started pouring billions of rupees into Pakistan, as the country was an epicenter of the training of Mujahids and CIA operations. The flow of the economy also helped Pakistan to expedite its nuclear program and reinforce its ailing economy.

The muddling nineties were marked by unstable political governments—with Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif competing with each other to consolidate their position in the government—followed by a military coup. Pakistan was also widely condemned for recognizing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan.

After the 9/11 attacks, the US waged a global war against terrorism. Due to economic restraints and international isolation, Pakistan had no choice but to join the war on terror as a non-NATO ally. Later, China inked the “China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)” with Pakistan in 2014 and pledged to invest 62 billion dollars in Gawadar, the energy sector, and the infrastructure of Pakistan.

## Conclusion

In “*Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*,” Abdul Sattar maintains that Pakistan remained a victim of inherited security paranoia and structural compulsions.

The book represents a thorough view of Pakistan’s foreign policy during different eras. The rejection of the proposal of the USSR for friendship was a “diplomatic blunder” for Pakistan which adversely affected Pakistan’s standing on various issues, particularly Kashmir.



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Opinion

# Importance of Geographic Information System (GIS) in Securing Pakistan

About the Author



Muhammad Osama Asghar is currently pursuing a Masters's degree in Geographical Information Systems and Remote Sensing from NUST, Islamabad. He holds a Bachelor's degree in Geophysics from Bahria University, Islamabad.

# Introduction

National security is geographical by definition because different regions have different physical conditions and cultural systems. In short, national security encompasses time, space, and the essence of what occurs inside those bounds of space-time.

The Geographical Information System (GIS) is a cadre of tools and datasets that are used to analyze, manipulate, and identify the geospatial aspect of things. From locating traffic congestion on Google Maps to analysing the meteorological patterns over our skies, almost every process that we study holds a geographic characteristic.

We know that our planet has been divided into latitudes and longitudes that define a specific location of an object on the map at a specific point in time. The study of these advanced mapping and navigation systems of can be used to enhance the national security apparatus of Pakistan.

## GIS in Intelligence

National security is itself a spatial phenomenon, starting with the boundaries of a country. These borders are placed at a point of topographic barriers, such as a river, a mountain range, or a plateau, that help us in drawing a geographic line between two nation-states. Moreover, GIS and more precisely, Remote Sensing, via drones and satellites have been used by several security agencies to identify, locate, and eliminate targets simply by the press of a button via drones.

These drones are equipped with advanced sensors (or cameras) that are capable of zooming in to lengths we cannot begin to fathom. A simple example of the geographic information system (GIS) is how the [CIA located Osama bin Ladin's cabin](#) in the middle of the heavily populated city of Abbottabad, Pakistan. Combining GEOINT (geospatial intelligence) with HUMINT (human intelligence), the CIA carried out a dramatic operation deep inside the Pakistani territory.



## GIS in Domestic Security

Taking into consideration domestic security, the successful implementation of the geographic information system in the field of crime can significantly reduce unlawfulness in Pakistan. An example of this can be a proper WebGIS portal where crimes can be reported based on where they are occurring in a cluster. This can be displayed on a map for public awareness. Security in those hotspots could be increased. This increased security will flush out the lawless element in a matter of days.

Talking about surveillance, police can be equipped with a drone operating squad that can monitor the activity in real-time over a hotspot. If this model is successful for a small area, then perhaps one day, we can make ourselves able to monitor entire cities via autonomous drones that are able to identify criminal activity all on their own based on AI.

## GIS in Situational Awareness

Moving forward, we saw a great example of an active geospatial situational awareness system when COVID-19 struck in 2020. We saw the creation of a web portal that divided the active, dead, and treated cases of the coronavirus. This web portal was available to the public with a touch of a button, and the data on this portal came directly from the general public. This contribution of individual humans who operate as sensors on the ground and contribute to an open-source platform can make a massive difference in situational awareness.

## Secondary Areas of Implementation

We cannot ignore the other areas of geographic information system technology that can help protect Pakistan from natural calamities and economic stresses. There are various sectors in Pakistan that require a comprehensive framework for the implementation of bigger and better geospatial systems. These improved GIS and Remote Sensing systems will not only improve the workings of these sectors but also provide a boost to our economy and prevent unnecessary strains on our finances.



## GIS in Disaster Management, Rescue, and Relief

One of the most amazing perks of GIS is its contribution to disaster response and mitigation. Observing the meteorological conditions, assessing the intensity of a storm, identifying the vulnerable spots or disaster-prone areas, and allowing smooth rescue and relief operations are some of the categories that involve GIS analysis.

We saw destructive floods in 2010 and now again in 2022 that strained our economic conditions even further. This could have been easily prevented had we assessed the intensity of the rainfall before it started pouring down. Therefore, the implementation of a strong GIS program in disaster management could create a massive difference in securing our fertile land, thereby, avoiding such calamities in the future.

## GIS in Agricultural Security

Pakistan is an agricultural state that heavily depends on a good harvest. The more the yield, the more we earn from our exports and domestic consumers. The art of precision agriculture has been revolutionizing the agriculture industry since it was discovered. This precision agriculture technique is also a spatial phenomenon. Machine Learning and AI tools are coupled with geographical information systems to implement a model that increases the yield while decreasing the work done.

Almost every country is working on this aspect of the geographic information system, and Pakistan needs specific programs to promote this among the farming community. Perhaps educating them about its benefits, holding workshops and seminars, and spreading the word could be a solution.

## GIS in Natural Resource Preservation

One of the gifts that Pakistan has been blessed with is the presence of numerous natural resources. From Tharparker's massive seams of coal to Balochistan's Riko Diq gold reserves, there are various hidden treasures that could sustain this country for a very long time. GIS can be used to identify, locate, and preserve these areas of high potential before they become ravaged by unauthorized human intervention.

## GIS in Urban Planning

Rapid population growth is one of Pakistan's major issues. This unguided rise in population is no less than an unguided missile for us. The growth in population gives way to an irregular pattern of urban sprawl. GIS can be used to monitor population growth in the country.

Government should implement strict measures in areas with denser population clusters and create an even pattern of distribution of the populace. As a dense cluster of inhabitants puts an immense strain on natural resources and facilities like groundwater access, this can be skilfully monitored and mitigated using GIS.

## Conclusion

A strong GIS and Remote Sensing apparatus can help improve the national security of Pakistan from external, internal, natural, and man-made threats. To allocate resources in a disaster-prone area, we need a successful model to reduce street crime; to enhance our food security requiring public opinion over matters, a spatial aspect does exist.

The reason, in my opinion, why Pakistan lags behind in GIS technology is the lack of a functioning space program. That's right, GIS and Remote Sensing heavily depend upon a strong space program as satellites that revolve around the earth give information that is obtained in real-time. Right now, we use data from Chinese satellites or American satellites, but these countries share low-quality data that can only be used to study large-scale phenomena.

For a good grasp and a deep analysis of the emerging situations, we need high-quality, high-resolution imagery that can only be obtained if Pakistan has its own satellites up and running. These satellites will provide us with reliable, good quality, and high-resolution datasets that we could use to monitor our borders, cities, and even neighbourhoods. It will be an invisible suit of armour around Pakistan, protecting it from foreign, domestic, and natural hazards.

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# Infographic of the Month!

## The Scale of The Tsar Bomba

The largest nuclear bomb ever detonated visualized on different cities (surface detonation).



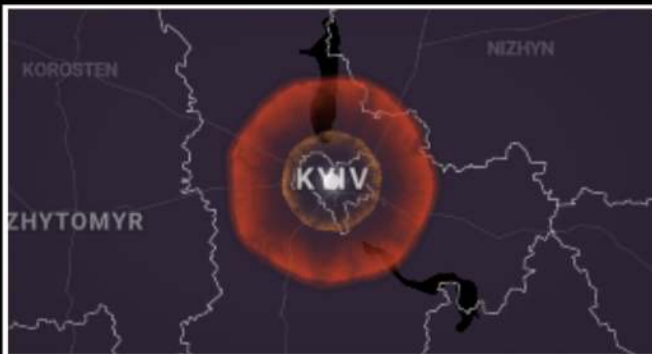
**London, United Kingdom**

*4,680,520 Fatalities\* (approx)*



**New York, United States**

*6,429,874 Fatalities\* (approx)*



**Kyiv, Ukraine**

*2,183,434 Fatalities\* (approx)*

**Shock Wave**

*893.65 km<sup>2</sup>*

**Heat**

*8289.25 km<sup>2</sup>*

**Fireball**

*113.31 km<sup>2</sup>*

**Radiation**

*80.23 km<sup>2</sup>*



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