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A brief history of Pakistan's democratic journey

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Abstract. The paper analyses Pakistan's journey through 2008 to 2018 in establishing strong democratic precedence and rule of law that the analysis suggests is finally transforming into structural changes in the economy while further strengthening its institutional and macro-economic governance. With every new democratic government in place after completing its turn as mandated by constitution of Pakistan, in the last ten years the country has been addressing many challenges that have emerged as an aftermath of dictatorial rule of President Musharraf. Though President Musharraf remains to be an enlightened autocrat taking some important steps to strengthen the economy but his government witnessed a steep slide in social trust among people of Pakistan amid armed conflict in Afghanistan that took an ugly turn and affected Pakistani social and ethical fabric due to porous nature of Durand Line.

Keywords. Economic thought, Transform governance, Pakistan.

JEL. A12, B00, B40.

1. Introduction

Though the global economic landscape is dominated by several billion dollars' worth of multinationals, national economies are still being identified with their respective governments. Most of the times represented by well-practiced democracies like in the case of Pakistan within South Asia. Do democracies deliver what is expected of this system of governance? A democratically elected government has an incentive to work towards issues that the common citizen faces, in order to re-elect itself for another term (Tilly, 2007).

In Pakistan, where majority of the people lack literacy and are poor, identification of basic issues becomes necessary for the sustenance of livelihood of the average Pakistani (IMF, 2010). Signifying economic empowerment with provision of decent housing, clean drinking water, and basic consumer amenities such as internet, mobile phone, television, nutrition, education, health and insurance of safety. Countries, like Pakistan, facing a balance of payment crisis annually, are indicative of weak democratically elected governments at best. Pakistan neither has a socialist orientation like the European Union where state takes care of the deprived segments of the population and nor has a capitalist approach as followed by Americans, empowering people through incentivizing private property; encouraging them to individually and collectively decide their welfare through free and fair participation in economic activities. Pakistan

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is a developing country suffering from not only a weak state but also a stagnant private sector, hugely dependent upon international donors to intervene to address economic, social and political crisis. A part of Pakistani population does have access to quality education, better health facilities, security of life and property. This small segment makes up the ruling elite in the country, who happen to dominate all professions within Pakistan. However, economic prosperity has been able to trickle down to benefit the middle class, who have been direct beneficiaries of globalization over the past two decades or so. The most significant bequeath of middle class of Pakistan in 1960s and 1970s has been education and economic, social and cultural stability to their children that is achieved by carrying out personal savings from their incomes instead of relying on the government. So traditionally government has been of little help to the people that form middle and lower middle classes. The ruling elite have traditionally been more concerned with power politics and amassing personal wealth as is evident with prevalence of high rates of corruption in Pakistan. The power politics between military and civil institutions did not help either and the focus towards economic, social and cultural empowerment of common citizen has been at best marginal and minimal. On the contrary, whenever given a chance to vote, people of Pakistan supported democracy as a preferred form of government. The enlightened dictators like General Ayub Khan in 1960s or General Pervez Musharraf in early 2000s were pushed to initiate democratic process by the people. Even though their regimes witnessed one of the most progressive spurts of economic activity, dominated nevertheless by state run activities rather than a thriving private sector. So what road should the democratically elected government of Imran Khan take to address various issues faced by Pakistan? This report aims to present an objective analysis of the first hundred days of PTI's government.

Imran Khan took office on August 18, 2018 as Prime Minister of Pakistan, amid various challenges faced by social, political and economic spheres in Pakistan. The previous government of Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) successfully curtailed inflation and achieved a GDP growth rate of above 5 percent. Despite this, the structural challenges to the economy remained at large.

Over a span five years, from 2013-2018, more than Rs. 14,000 billion borrowed from international donors was not translated into sustainable private sector activity. By failing to facilitate pro-business environment in the country that has been dominated by few multinationals, the government through Public Sector Development Programme (PSDP) remained the biggest contributor to economic activity within Pakistan. Most of the new projects initiated under the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) remained within the energy and infrastructure sectors. The socioeconomic situation did not improve despite Pakistan becoming a signatory of initiatives such as the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals.

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The trends of inadequate funding in the education and health sectors showed no visible improvement with international donors providing funding for issues like primary education and health facilitation for population well over 207 million.

The biggest achievement of PML-N's government was on account of Pakistan's bid for moderation. Whereby action against armed factions of Taliban was successfully undertaken which led to a visible improvement in law and order situation across the country. Another achievement was the implementation of infrastructure and energy projects, primarily under CPEC. These projects consequently helped address the energy shortfall crisis which was prevalent in the country.

A slowdown of the economy, by early 2018, and corruption allegations against leadership of PML-N turned voters in favor of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI). The population voted out the former and elected the latter in the 2018 general elections.

Accumulating debt, predominantly on account of large, non-performing public sector enterprises such as Pakistan Steel Mills, Pakistan Railways and Pakistan International Airlines, coupled with a rise in oil prices made the already poor post-election economic situation worse. The situation was further aggravated with devaluation of Pakistan Rupees on account of rising imports bill, depleting reserves and circular debt. Collectively these factors further exacerbated the current accounts crisis which witnessed a shortfall of nearly \$18 billion by the time Imran Khan took office in August 2018. With this PTI started its first 100 days' program that aimed to establish the right direction for Pakistan's economy and society.

The party identified all the major issues which had emerged as foreign policy and socio economic challenges. PTI's government committed to make decisions that would

- Transform Governance,
- Strengthen the Federation,
- Revitalize Economic Growth,
- Uplift Agriculture and Conserve Water,
- Revolutionize Social Services,
- Ensure Pakistan's National Security,

in next five years of their government.

This report aims to examine PTI's performance within the first 100 days of taking charge of the Federal Government based on the six pillars identified by the party itself.

2. Transform governance

During 2013-2018 PTI was the ruling party in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KP), and hence had the experience of implementing good governance practices across the province. Initiatives such as the police reforms, where political appointments and postings of police officers were discouraged, took political pressure away from the department. Similarly the introduction of mobile courts helped expedite delivery of justice to the

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province's population. Initiatives of the sort confirm PTI's commitment to reform governance in Pakistan. But for good governance practices to become a norm, Pakistan still has a long way to go.

Some of the more binding factors of good governance will come out when rule of law is further strengthened in the country. Additionally the judiciary and civil law enforcement agencies need to be given incentives to expedite legal proceedings, particularly those of criminal litigation or land disputes, to aid in improving the general scenario.

Women rights are also fundamental in devising and enforcing laws which do not discriminate among gender. Therefore biased laws need to be discouraged and patriarchal aftermaths of law enforcement need to be checked. Democracy should mean freedom of expression and protection of rights of every citizen irrespective of occupation, gender, religion and ethnicity: prevalence of democratic values should be guaranteed. Efficient rules, that relate to the working of institutions of good governance like provincial and national parliaments, highest and lowest courts and bureaucracy, need to be formulated.

Table 1. *Good Governance Indicators*

Year	Rule of Law	Political Stability	Democracy
2010	-0.74	-2.68	0.353
2011	-0.9	-2.81	0.353
2012	-0.88	-2.68	0.354
2013	-0.86	-2.6	0.357
2014	-0.76	-2.4	0.357
2015	-0.77	-2.48	0.345
2016	-0.83	-2.47	0.342

Source: World Bank, Worldwide Governance Indicators

Table 1 suggests that rule of law in Pakistan remains poor. Despite the highest court, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, taking suo moto not only in cases pertaining to corruption and criminal litigation but also within the jurisdiction of civic issues pertaining to social services, for example the sanitation and water issues faced in Karachi along with the rest of the country. The anti-corruption drive, after the Panama Papers in 2016, led primarily by PTI has led to a thorough accountability drive by Pakistan's judicial system in a rather selective manner whereby the law was only exercised for leading politicians representing PML-N or Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPPP). The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, was deposed in 2017, on account of money laundering accusations.

Overall, justice remains an elitist feat in Pakistan, unavailable to majority of the population. A major percentage of the population still resort to tribal resolutions like *Jirga* and social deterrence to punish or discourage crime in society.

Because for the first time in Pakistan's history, two democratic governments in Pakistan have completed their five year terms, one would expect the country to score high on account of political stability. However,

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that is not the case and we see in Table 1 that Pakistan does not perform well in this front either. In this entire scenario, PTI cannot escape the blame. In some part back in 2014 PTI, as opposition, decided to bring its supporters to the streets and started a sit-in protest against the government leading to a mob attack on the parliament (Rabia *et al*, 2017).

The then incumbent government of PML-N handled the situation swiftly with the help of PPP by not aggravating the situation further. They continued their talks for an effective resolution of the protest. It is important to mention that the military, viewed as a traditional stakeholder in Pakistani politics, did not support either side and called for a political solution to the situation. A stand that proved a precursor for free and fair 2018 general elections in Pakistan. The elections were won by PTI and PML-N had the second highest number of seats in the parliament.

PTI should learn from the previous governments and their role as an opposition to devise a political strategy where all political parties are made equal stakeholders to contribute towards political stability within the country. Not only will it resolve the “*Dharna Syasat*” (politics of sit-ins, and a siege of Islamabad), but PTI in cooperation with the opposition would have more resources and time to concentrate on lifting an economy in recession. With rising political instability in the country, democracy scores also dwindled in Pakistan. As shown in Table 1, democracy scores witnessed the lowest score in the last ten years of democratic history. But with 2018 elections, the commitment for democracy by people of Pakistan and state institutions are refreshed. This is a positive omen for all stakeholders that are committed to the progress of liberty and democracy in Pakistan.

Within First 100 days following steps and suggestions were put forward by PTI to strengthen governance in Pakistan:

- PTI government established a task force to introduce reforms in the Federal Board of Revenue in order to devise incentives for taxpayers. The Federal Cabinet further decided to separate revenue collection from tax policy formation to promote equity and transparency in the tax machinery. Taking away policy formation powers from FBR would lead to a more efficient tax administration and collection.
- Work has already begun on appropriate legislation to devise a structure of local bodies.
- The incumbent government is revisiting the Civil and Criminal Procedures Code, Anti-Terrorism Act and the National Accountability Bureau ordinance, focusing on prevention of crime that would increase the working efficiency of law enforcement agencies and give lower and higher courts space to manage litigation in civil cases effectively. The law ministry is introducing the Whistle Blower Act which provides incentives for voluntary identification of blue collar crimes. The inheritance law that delayed settlements for as long as 8 to 9 years has been changed to reduce settlement time to 15 days. Legal Aid Justice Authority has been

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established to facilitate people, especially women and children of backward areas.

- Well known economist and former civil servant Dr. Ishrat Husain has been appointed as Adviser to Prime Minister on Institutional Reforms.
- The government signed a partnership with relevant authorities within United Kingdom to check practices of money laundering and cases of stolen assets.

3. Strengthen the federation

Unlike with PPP and PML-N in government from 2008 to 2018, the civil military relationship seemed more cordial when Imran Khan took office of the Prime Minister in August 2018. Furthermore, consensus on national issues like building dams in Pakistan also came forth more strongly. Civil and military institutions have been actively participating in fund raising for building dams in Pakistan, initiated by a call of fund raising by the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr. Saqib Nisar. The proposal of dams, like the Kalabagh Dam, has always seen to be a point of contention between various federating units. The presence of PTI in all four provinces of Pakistan helped absorb the dissent between federating units and facilitated a favorable opinion on building large scale dams in the country.

To strengthen the federation PTI has already started work on the merger of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) with Khyber Pukhtunkhwa. Foreseeing that this will support bringing economic activities of the tribal belts to the mainstream economy. In addition to curbing prevalent practices of informal trade between Afghanistan and Pakistan across the Durand Line. This shall have a direct benefit to the locals as they will be facilitated with code of conduct in economic, social, legal and political sphere according to Pakistan Penal Code.

PTI has also submitted a resolution to the parliament for creation of a new province: Southern Punjab. If accepted, it would bring the most neglected areas of Punjab into mainstream with proper allocation of funds and improved local governance. Imran Khan, in a bid to give more attention to the derelict province of Baluchistan, has asked Punjab government to assist the former in introducing local body government system reforms.

Though PTI seems serious in strengthening the federation through various measures, it has traditionally been a very vocal critic of major political parties that have traditionally been the representative political parties of the Federation; such as PPP, PML-N and Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM). Isolating them on account of PTI's struggle against corruption in Pakistan is not a wise option since it will corner these moderate political forces. PTI should not only resort to punitive measures against corruption through empowered, autonomous state institutions of accountability but also encourage consensus among all major political forces to sideline corrupt elements in the political class of Pakistan. This should be done in a manner so that it does not come across as a campaign

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of political vengeance against leadership of political parties in opposition but give a more inclusive impression. The best way to this effect is to let the institutions of accountability freely decide on their steps to curb corruption in the country. For example, despite bringing top leadership of PPPP and PML-N into the ambit of accountability over the years, menace of corruption only worsened in Pakistan as seen in Figure 1. Rise in corruption within Pakistani society is a direct outcome of prevailing uncertainties in Pakistan's economic, political and social spheres that force the population to resort to corruption as a safety net to their crude survival. The root causes of corruption, rather than the actions of the corrupt, need to be addressed.



Figure 1. *Corruption Perceptions Index of Pakistan (2010 - 2016)*

Source: Transparency International, Corruption Perceptions Index

4. Revitalize economic growth

Every government in Pakistan had a choice to implement policies that were favorable to short term economic growth as a trade off with difficult but much needed structural reforms that may put Pakistan on the course of long term sustainable economic growth path. Short-term lending sprees by the PTI predecessors had put Pakistan into a precarious situation where by yearly growth trends were improved but in the absence of structural reforms. Every few years, Pakistan undergoes severe balance of payment crisis putting at risk the short term gains especially when a transfer of power takes place every five years after the general elections. PPPP government blamed Musharraf for empty treasury just as the PML-N government blamed PPPP after winning the 2013 elections.

The situation has not changed since then despite PML-N taking concrete steps towards revitalizing Pakistan's economy that suffered immensely due to terrorism spread all across Pakistan after the 2007 War on Terror intensified. The debt taken by PML-N failed to transform to increased private sector activity over the years whereby as soon as PTI came to power the economy launched into another debt crisis with blame resting on the shoulders of five years of governance by PML-N.

Nevertheless, PML-N promoting a reform agenda does suggest that it is never too late to bring reform. Finally, in 2018, Pakistan advanced 11 places

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to 136th place on the ease of doing business global ranking. On the measure of absolute progress towards best practice, Pakistan's score improved to 55.31, from 52.78 last year.

During the past year, starting a business was made easier by enhancing the online one-stop registration system, replacing several forms for incorporation with a single application, and establishing information exchange between the registry and the tax authority. As a result, the time to start a business was reduced from 20 days to 17 days, while the cost was reduced from 7.9 percent of the income per capita to 6.8 percent. The reform applies to both Karachi and Lahore, the two cities measured by the Doing Business report.

Several improvements have also been made in the area of Registering Property. For instance, Lahore made registering property easier by streamlining and automating administrative procedures and by increasing the transparency of its land administration system. Karachi similarly made registering property easier by increasing the transparency of the land registry. The reforms resulted in reducing the time needed to register a property by 13 days. However, at 144 days, registering property in Pakistan can be made yet easier so that the country can surpass the South Asia regional average of 114 days.

The paper also finds that Pakistan made Resolving Insolvency easier by enabling the continuation of the debtor's business during insolvency proceedings. As a result, the country significantly improved its global ranking in this area to 53, from 82 last year.

Pakistan performs best in the area of Protecting Minority Investors, earning 9 out of 10 points in the extent of ownership and control index, which measures governance safeguards protecting shareholders from undue board control and entrenchment. Globally, Pakistan ranks 26 on this measure.

Capitalizing on these improvements, there are more opportunities for improvement in many other Doing Business areas. For example, in Getting Electricity and Dealing with Construction Permits, the country ranks 167 and 166, respectively. It takes a business in Pakistan 161 days to obtain an electricity connection, compared to the South Asia regional average of 98 days and the cost is 50 percent more than elsewhere in the region.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth as it is evident from Table 2 has been improving steadily from a little less than 1% annually in 2008 to a healthy trend of above 5% by end of 2017. This gives an impression that the PML-N government has taken up significant reforms to improve economic activity in Pakistan. However, economic growth accounts more for public sector activities than for private sector contribution. This is evident from several years of stagnant or poor performance in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as well as in falling exports as a proportion to overall GDP. PSDP expenditures show a steady rise over the last ten years. Taking into account recent Chinese investments in energy and infrastructure related projects under CPEC. The growing economic equation has been accounted for and

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structural reforms that are key to put Pakistan on sustainable economic growth have not been forth coming.

Table 2. Economic Growth Performance

Year	GDP (Constant basic prices)	Gross Capital Formation (Constant basic prices)	Exports of goods and services (% of GDP)	Imports of goods and services (% of GDP)	Foreign direct investment, net inflows (% of GDP)	Federal PSDP (Rs in Billion)	Gross savings (% of GDP)	Real GDP Growth
2008-09	0.36	1626948	12.1	23.2	3.1	41896700	16.8	0.4
2009-10	2.58	1520646	12.3	19.6	1.3	51000000	20.3	2.6
2010-11	3.62	1418781	13.5	19.3	1.1	19600000	21.5	3.6
2011-12	3.84	1454831	13.9	18.9	0.6	30366400	21.3	3.8
2012-13	3.68	1495238	12.3	20.4	0.3	38840700	20.5	3.7
2013-14	4.05	1536447	13.2	20.0	0.5	42500000	21.4	4.1
2014-15	4.06	1760001	12.2	18.6	0.7	54200000	22.5	4.1
2015-16	4.56	1887998	10.6	17.0	0.5	66129700	23.5	4.56
2016-17	5.37	2068210	9.1	16.1	0.8	71508500	23.0	5.37
2017-18	5.79	2185547	8.2	17.5	0.9	75000000	20.1	6

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics.

Following steps within the first hundred days in government by PTI gives an impression that the party understands long term challenges that are faced by Pakistani economy.

- A target of 10 million new jobs for the youth in Pakistan has been given to the government by PTI within next couple of years.
- The jobs are expected to come from projects like 5 million housing that would also bring a boom in related industries.
- Furthermore, special focus is given to development of SME sector through identification of relevant skillset of youth as well as local industries that have a competitive advantage.
- Punjab Credit Guarantee Scheme (PCGS) is to be introduced to Pakistani youth whereby they can finance their start-ups.
- The government constituted a 22-member Council of Business Leaders aimed at getting input from the private sector to boost exports and to create jobs. To this effect Prime Minister has also constituted an 18-member Economic Advisory Council (EAC) comprised of most senior and seasoned Economists of Pakistan.
- Development of the Special Economic Zones (SEZs) under CPEC is identified as the priority area of the new government to ensure creation of new jobs, achieve high economic growth and encourage exports.

5. Uplift agriculture and conserve water

Agriculture sector employs most of the unskilled labor in Pakistan and to move forward in making a significant impression towards poverty, progress; development of agriculture sector is mandatory. Pakistan is planning to bring agriculture as one of the important sectors, which needs to be included in post infrastructure CPEC debate. Agriculture sector efficiency can greatly be enhanced through efficient water management but also through introduction of Chinese agriculture based technologies in

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efficient cropping and farming techniques. Figure 2 suggests that agriculture sector development has been traditionally ignored in the country for the past ten years. Though high prices of crops did fetch farmers some economic respite but the monetary gains were more concentrated for farmers who own larger agricultural land.

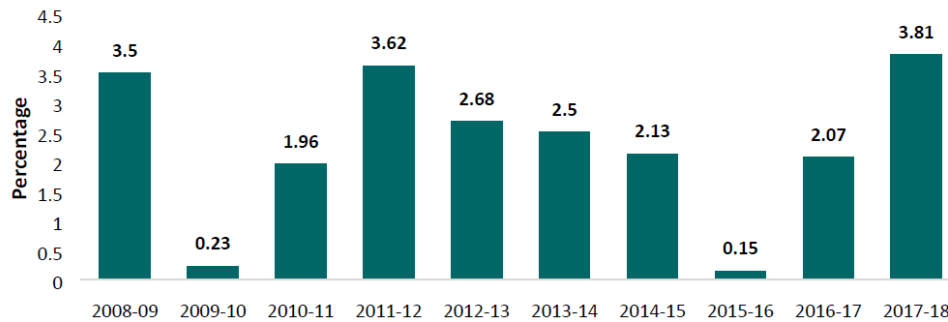


Figure 2. Share of Agriculture in National GDP

Source: State Bank of Pakistan

Tangible steps that PTI government took in its first hundred days to improve agriculture performance and water conservation include:

- The PTI government identifies water conservation by urban areas as a necessary policy measure to facilitate urban lifestyle.
- Punjab government has asked the director general of Parks and Horticulture Authority (PHA) to form committees comprising locals to look after parks and ensure water conservation.
- They were also directed to make service stations bound to install recycling plants to save water.
- According to government representatives drip and sprinkler irrigation system should be used as much as possible for irrigation purposes.
- Imran Khan encouraged Pakistanis to crowd fund a whopping \$14 billion for desperately needed dams, a plea capitalizing on nationalist fervor. If it succeeded it would be the largest crowd funding effort in history. The need to build dams is significant when the country is rich in glaciers and rivers, but has just two large-capacity dams, and has for decades slept through warnings of a water crisis. With its surging population, experts have warned that Pakistan might face "absolute water scarcity" by 2025.

6. Revolutionize social services

In a practicing democracy, the citizens are at the center of power and all policies by governance institutions of the country should converge towards the welfare of citizens. The provision of social services is a key barometer of success of economic, social, political and foreign policy of governments. Unfortunately Pakistan's social sector has been neglected for most part of Pakistan's existence. Figure 3 suggests that over the years, government

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investment towards an educated and healthy population has actually been declining, resorting to donor interventions that put emphasis on universal education and health services in developing countries.

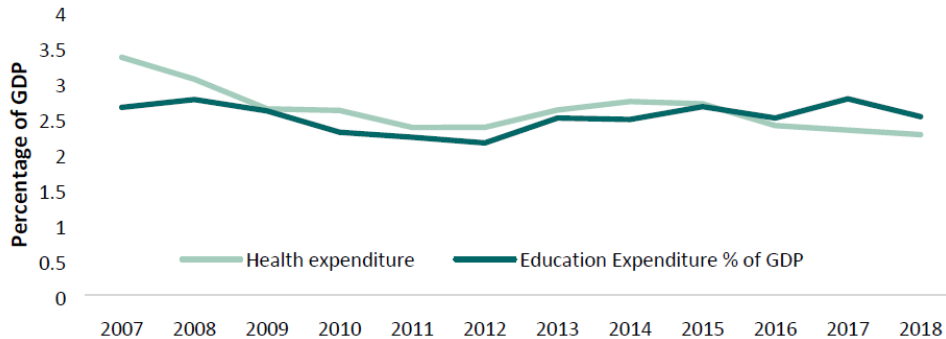


Figure 3. *Social Service Development*

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

The ignored social sector of Pakistan partly explains why democracy in Pakistan remains a more unaccepted phenomenon for the public that generally does not relate to policies that may put Pakistan on a sustainable path of development in the long-run. General mistrust is prevalent among the population. Most of whom neither have access to modern education facilities, to associate themselves with a global postmodern culture, nor receive treatment at modern health facilities. Due to poor education and unavailability of adequate health services for majority Pakistanis drive general insensitivities towards importance of life and property of other citizens especially who lie within or in higher income rung. Though self help by communities through local social initiatives and indigenous capital does prevent the larger population to crude Darwinism, the general population mostly fails to understand the true importance of modern day human rights interjections that promote tolerance and free speech. People only come together on religious or sectarian grounds that help them to survive economic, social and political uncertainties in the country but present some level of rigid behavior for global culture of modernism.

Imran Khan is the political leader who has earlier been a very successful philanthropist in the health sector besides cashing popularity in his cricket career. Imran Khan successfully ran a crowd funding campaign for one of the first cancer hospitals in Pakistan, run entirely on donations. The hospital provides treatment to the poor and the needy for free. So PTI under the leadership is highly sensitive towards improving the health and education status of Pakistani people. Following are important steps undertaken by PTI to improve social sector situation of Pakistan once in power.

- A total of 175,000 saplings were grown at the schools of Sheikhpura district under plantation campaign.
- There were 1,158 public schools in the district where teachers' attendance was 95 percent and of students was 95.5 percent.

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- Nursery classes and Quranic education had been started at many public schools.
- Governor Houses in Punjab, Sindh and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa were opened for public encouraging the youth to not only visit these public places for recreation but also to learn about governance culture in Pakistan.
- National Food Security and Research Institute of Pakistan signed an agreement with Lanzhou Veterinary Research Institute of China for transfer of technology to produce local vaccines to protect animals against different diseases that can lead to healthy food and diary services in Pakistan.
- Minister for Federal Education and Professional Training, Shafqat Mahmood has affirmed the commitment of the government in provision of equity in education system by creating single education system through single curriculum so that people can compete on same level of education. This will be done by enhancing the quality of education in public schools.
- The Ministry of Narcotics Control revised regulations related to prohibited chemicals used in making of narcotics. According to officials, the Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) 2010 for local purchase, consumption, distribution, manufacturing and transportation of the precursor chemicals have been reviewed and revised.
- Punjab Minister for Health Dr Yasmin Rashid has pledged that goal of polio free Pakistan would be achieved.
- The Punjab Health Department had decided to run a campaign against measles due to the increasing number of measles patients in 2018. A total of 305 teams of Health Department will cover District Toba Tek Singh. 217 teams will go door to door while 88 teams will manage the Health Centers to administer measles vaccine injections to the children of six months to seven years of age.

7. Ensuring Pakistan's national security

Pakistan army has been instrumental in curbing the activities of non-state actors who have taken upon themselves to spread acts of terror all over the country. The outline of peace by Pakistan Army with due cooperation from PPPP and PML-N governments over the last ten years in the fight against terrorism have successfully been charted down within Pakistani borders. PTI government should continue provision of this initiative not only within Pakistan, but also outside Pakistan. Initiatives for peace should be extended outside national borders, just as the PML-N government practiced negotiations and peace talks with neighboring countries. By continuously calling for peace with India and assisting Afghanistan to end the spade of violence there, Pakistan strengthened regional ties. Establishing peace regionally is the best national security policy that should be propagated to convince other countries with similar economic, political, social and ideological orientations. Pakistani government should engage near or distant regions of the globe to extend economic and social cooperation within and with each other to work for

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empowering their populations with benefits of technical, economic and social globalization.

The strength and guarantee for Pakistan's national security is its armed forces that need to be involved in internal and external security matters as has been the practice with previous governments. The level of deterrence to address possibilities of outside aggression should be maintained as a key national interest.

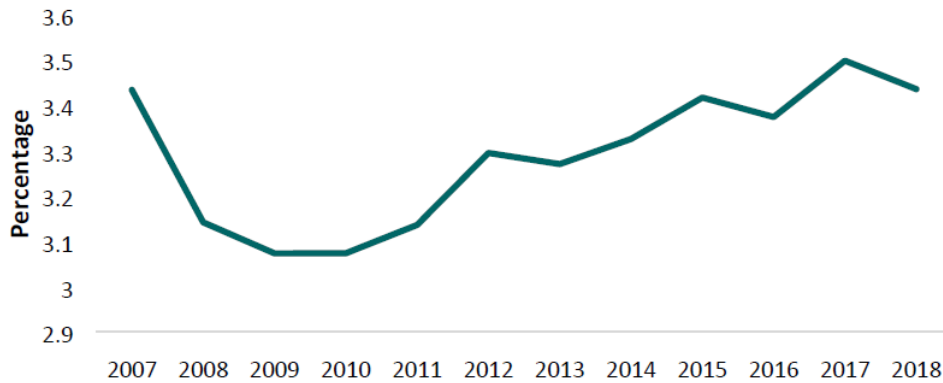


Figure 4. Military Expenditure in Pakistan

Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators

It is a common conjecture in popular opinion that military budgets crowd out investments in social services while being non-development expenditures. However, in defense literature maintaining a strong army is a strategic asset that is highly useful in countries that face a situation of internal or external conflict for extended periods of times. (Murshed & Mamoon, 2010) Figure 4 suggests that military expenditures in Pakistan remained in the range of 3 to 3.5 percent of GDP contesting the argument that military in Pakistan has been detrimental to the state capacity to invest in social services. The resource generation of the state is more curtailed due to debt servicing, rising imports, hike in oil prices and reluctance to introduce much awaited tax reforms.

As part of its 100 day direction setting agenda, PTI has taken many initiatives that not only set the direction for Pakistan's future as a peace promoting nation within the region but to the larger world. Some of the high lights are as follows:

- PTI seeks right to vote for overseas Kashmiris.
- Prime Minister Imran Khan offered services of Pakistan to resolve conflict in Middle East and re-affirmed its cordial relationships with both Iran and Saudi Arab.
- Imran Khan personally invited Indian leadership to identify a resolution to bilateral issues between India and Pakistan. Foreign minister, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, on the eve of UN general assembly emphasized on talks with India on all bilateral issues.

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- Pakistan's government showed its commitment to further extend CPEC related activities in Pakistan in coming years and make it an active part of Pakistan's economic, social and security discourse.
- Foreign minister, Shah Mehmood Qureshi, stressed Pakistan's support for all political initiatives towards achieving peace in Afghanistan during a meeting with the United States Special Envoy for Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, in New York. The government also committed to device a comprehensive policy on Afghan refugees. It is proposed that Afghans whose children have been raised and born in Pakistan will be granted citizenship because this is the established practice in countries around the world.
- To strengthen Pakistan's foreign policy only career foreign office professionals be posted to Pakistan's foreign mission and political appointments would be discouraged.

8. Conclusion

True to its campaign promise, the biggest achievement for PTI in its first 100 days in government is to introduce legal reforms in the judicial system of Pakistan. The incumbent government is revisiting the Civil and Criminal Procedures Code, Anti-Terrorism Act and the National Accountability Bureau ordinance, focusing on prevention of crime that would increase the working efficiency of law enforcement agencies and give lower and higher courts space to manage litigation in civil cases effectively. These measures are by far the most effective steps creating legitimacy for democratic precedence in the country in the eyes of poor and down trodden segments of the population that form most of the citizens of Pakistan that also feel to have been largely excluded from measures undertaken by previous governments in a bid to achieve macro economic stability and social co existence usually been skewed towards more economically prosperous urban areas. As it seems the dividends of democracy are finally giving positive results for voters across all economic classes of Pakistan. For example, the law ministry is also introducing the Whistle Blower Act which provides incentives for voluntary identification of blue collar crimes. The inheritance law that delayed settlements for as long as 8 to 9 years has been changed to reduce settlement time to 15 days. Legal Aid Justice Authority has been established to facilitate people, especially women and children of backward areas.

The foreign policy achievements of PTI within the few days in government are also quite visible. Saudi Arab and Iran that are main power brokers within the Muslim world see Pakistan as a serious contender to play an effective role in improving sectarian divide if any within different conflict areas in the Middle East. A legitimate democratic transition from PMLN to PTI after 2018 elections in Pakistan has strengthened the image of the country such that it can address the voice of dissent within a multi cultural and multi ethnic environment without conflict and national issues converge towards local interpretations with consensus where all the state

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and private institutions of national and local governance contribute for the rights and empowerment of the people.

Civil-Military relationship did witness some distrust during the past years but, with PTI in government, the civil-military relationship showed visible improvements and PTI government should capitalize on this trust dividend that shall provide the government with more free hand to incorporate even tough choices in economic policy making. For example, the recent choice of going to IMF for a bailout or introducing structural reforms that may irritate some, within the political class, benefiting from the status quo.

Though much needed privatization of PIA and Pakistan Steel Mills is postponed considering its socioeconomic fall out on thousands of employees that may find it difficult to get jobs in other fields due to general economic slowdown and it would also be detrimental to the commitment to create jobs in the country. In the longer run, the government may have to privatize these state run organizations as per its vision of competition and private sector competitiveness.

Recently, PM Imran Khan attended Shanghai Expo as 'Guest of Honor' in China which provided him with an opportunity to meet the leading businessmen as well as heads of government that were attending the event. This event has created a good will among both countries in strengthening their commitment to take CPEC to next level that plans out to formulate Special Economic Zones and facilitate surrounding issues like skill development of the population resulting into poverty reduction. Pakistan is planning to build an Oil refinery in Gwadar that may reduce the bill for crude oil import by \$ 7 billion. China has also agreed to increase its imports from Pakistan from existing level of \$ 1.2 billion dollars to \$ 3.2 billion by next fiscal year 2019 by providing Pakistani products duty free access to Chinese markets.

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