# **Policy Brief**

"Resurgence of Far-Right Government in Argentina and Prevailing Economic Situation: Lessons for Pakistan"

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## **Executive Summary**

Both Argentina and Pakistan are facing various political and economic challenges. Argentina is a presidential republic with approximately 47 million people. Under the presidency of Javier Milei, the country is pursuing a strict economic reform policy that includes aggressive economic liberalization through a reduction in the size of government, cuts in subsidies, and dollarization to dampen high inflation and public debt which is contributing to social unrest. On the other hand, Pakistan is a federal parliamentary republic with a population of over 252 million. The country is pursuing economic stabilization under international aid to manage a large fiscal deficit and high inflation. However, it has amplified the economic challenges and political fragmentation. Furthermore, the economic freedom index is slightly better for Argentina as compared to Pakistan due to its high GDP and FDI inflow, though Pakistan's economic environment dampens the opportunity to attract huge investments. Pakistan should focus on pragmatic economic reforms and debt management to effectively resolve fiscal problems and ensure productive use of the funds to avoid unsustainable levels of debt. The strict austerity measures by Argentina has deepened social fragmentation so, Pakistan must carefully evaluate the policy repercussions to manage the social discontent. The rising social and political disparities emphasizes the need for continued dialogue and consensus building in Pakistan's approach towards social and economic balance. It is also significant to strengthen the institutional structures, foster economic diversification, attract foreign direct investment, and assure transparency in the regulatory frameworks for economic growth and resilience.

## "Resurgence of Far-Right Government in Argentina and Prevailing Economic Situation: Lessons for Pakistan"

#### Introduction

Argentina and Pakistan have to go through certain economic and political issues in the year 2024 and it's important to know that Argentina and Pakistan have really different journey towards political and economic struggle. While, Viz., Argentina's current President Javier Milei is having more radical policies aiming at economic liberalization and shift of allegiance and Pakistan on the conservative line with policies awaiting stabilization through international assistance and keeping up political alignments. Argentina's domestic political and social crisis can be attributed to economic liberalisation while, as in many other countries, Pakistan's problems stem from economic adversity and divided political sentiments although there has not been a shift in policy goals in this case. They are discontent with a vast population of politics, yet the aspect in each of the countries differs depending on the political—economic environment of the countries in question.

## **Comparative Analysis of Argentina and Pakistan**

Comparative analysis of the political and demographical structure and national policies of Argentina and Pakistan in 2024, presented in a table format:

Aspect	Argentina	Pakistan		
Area	2,780,400 sq. km <sup>1</sup>	796,095 sq. km <sup>2</sup>		
Population	46,994,384 <sup>3</sup>	252,363,5714		
Government	Presidential Republic	Federal Parliamentary		
		Republic		
<b>Executive Branch</b>	Chief of State: President	Chief of State: President		
	Javier Milei	Asif Ali Zardari		
	Head of Government:			
	President Javier Milei			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Argentina', in *The World Factbook* (Central Intelligence Agency, 17 July 2024), https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/argentina/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'Pakistan', in *The World Factbook* (Central Intelligence Agency, 17 July 2024), https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/pakistan/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'Argentina'.

<sup>4 &#</sup>x27;Pakistan'.

		Head of Government:	
		Prime Minister Shahbaz	
		Sharif	
Legislative Branch	Bicameral National	Bicameral Parliament	
	Congress consisting of the	consisting of the Senate	
	Senate (72 seats) and the	(96 seats) and the	
	Chamber of Deputies (257	National Assembly (336	
	seats)	seats)	
Economic Reforms	Aggressive economic	Focus on economic	
	reforms under President	stabilization through	
	Javier Milei, including	international financial aid,	
	reduction of government	maintaining subsidies for	
	size, dismantling	essential goods, and	
	subsidies, and potential	managing fiscal deficits.	
	dollarization.		
Government Size	Reduction in government	No significant reduction in	
	size and elimination of	government size;	
	subsidies as part of Milei's	maintaining subsidies to	
	reforms.	protect low-income	
		populations.	
Foreign Policy	Shift towards closer ties	Maintaining strategic	
Realignment	with Western liberal	relationships with both	
	democracies, distancing	China (through CPEC)	
	from China and Russia.	and the United States,	
		without significant	
		realignment.	
Public Debt	Struggling with growing	Managing a large fiscal	
Management	public debt despite IMF	deficit and balance of	
	supervision; focused on	payments issue, relying	
	gradual economic	on IMF support for	
	adjustment. economic stabilization.		
Social Unrest	Increased social unrest	Social unrest is mainly due	
	due to public spending	to economic hardships,	

	cuts and economic	with protests against		
	hardship, with frequent	inflation and fiscal issues.		
	protests.			
Political Fragmentation	Milei's La Libertad Avanza	Political fragmentation		
	coalition lacks a majority in	and polarization, with		
	Congress, making it	multiple parties vying for		
	difficult to pass key power and opposing			
	reforms. reforms.			
Subsidies	Plans to dismantle	Continuation of subsidies		
	subsidies quickly under	to support the low-income		
	Milei's administration.	population as well as elite		
		segments despite fiscal		
	strain.			
Strategic Goals	Aims to overhaul the	Aims to stabilize the		
	financial system and	economy through		
	stabilize the economy	international aid and		
	through radical reforms.	gradual reforms, with a		
		focus on maintaining		
		social stability.		

## **Economic Situation of Argentina**

Argentina has already had an experience of default on its international sovereign debt in 2001, whereas Pakistan, being in rather a precarious economic situation, has not experienced this. This rooted contrast may imply that Pakistan will not find Argentina's economic experiences very helpful. IMF reviews suggest that Pakistan has been reviewed 24 times while Argentina has been reviewed 21 times mainly regarding standby arrangements. While both countries had similar economic trends and faced similar problems and risks related to their sovereign debts, the country steering clear of sovereign debt default standpoint, Pakistan dramatically differs from Argentina where sovereign debt default became somewhat traditional. Such commitment makes it easier for Pakistan to engage with the IMF, which has undergone 24 reviews as compared to Argentina's 21, thereby reasserting confidence in its own debt management strategies. Moreover, variations in economic systems – Argentina is

appealing to investors since it boasts of natural resources, industrious sector, and large and diverse middle-income earners that provide a market for the business while on the other side, the factors that make it difficult for Pakistan to attract FDI in Pakistan include restricted government finances, dangers of alterations in exchange rates and inflation, catastrophe prone country that affects agricultural sector, and feeble manufacturing and export sector with little diversification. Therefore, Pakistan needs to study more its own experiences and those of the countries which have comparable characteristics of economic development.

Variables	Pakistan	Argentina	Sources	
Index of Economic	147/184	145/184	World Bank <sup>5</sup>	
Freedom	(Score 49.5)	(Score 49.9)		
(World Ranking)	,	,		
FDI inflow	\$1.3 bn	\$15.1 bn	World Bank <sup>6</sup>	
	(2023)	(2023)		
GDP	\$338.24 bn	\$604.26 bn	IMF <sup>7</sup>	
	(2023)	(2024)		
GDP per capita	\$1680	\$12.81	Economic Survey of	
		Thousand	Pakistan 2023-24	
			IMF	
Inflation Rate (CPI)	24.8%	249.8%	IMF	
annual % change				
Unemployment rate	6.3%8	10% <sup>9</sup>	Pakistan Economic	
			Survey 2023-2024	
			BBVA Research	
General Government	72.8% of GDP	86.2% of GDP	IMF	
Gross Debt	(2024)	(2024)		
Foreign reserves	\$14.645 bn	n \$28.7 bn State Bank of Pakistar		
	(Aug 2024) <sup>10</sup>	(2024)11	BBVA Research	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Heritage.org. Index of Economics Freedom, Pakistan. October 2023. Available at <a href="https://www.heritage.org/index/pages/country-pages/pakistan">https://www.heritage.org/index/pages/country-pages/pakistan</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Heritage.org. Index of Economics Freedom, Argentina. October 2023. Available at: <a href="https://www.heritage.org/index/pages/country-pages/argentina">https://www.heritage.org/index/pages/country-pages/argentina</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> International Monetary Fund. Pakistan Profile. April 2024. Available at: <a href="https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/profile/PAK">https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/profile/PAK</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pakistan Economics Survey 2023-2024. Available at: <a href="https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter-24/Highlights.pdf">https://www.finance.gov.pk/survey/chapter-24/Highlights.pdf</a>

<sup>9</sup> BBVA Research. Argentina Economic Outlook. Available at: <a href="https://www.bbvaresearch.com/en/publicaciones/argentina-economic-outlook-june-2024/#:~:text=ln%20the%20first%205%20months.of%20GDP%20for%20this%20year.">https://www.bbvaresearch.com/en/publicaciones/argentina-economic-outlook-june-2024/#:~:text=ln%20the%20first%205%20months.of%20GDP%20for%20this%20year.</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> State Bank of Pakistan. Liquid foreign exchange reserves. Available at: <a href="https://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/forex.pdf">https://www.sbp.org.pk/ecodata/forex.pdf</a>

<sup>11</sup> BBVA Research. Argentina Economic Outlook. Available at: https://www.bbvaresearch.com/en/publicaciones/argentina-economic-outlook-june-2024/#:~:text=ln%20the%20first%205%20months,of%20GDP%20for%20this%20year.

Exports	\$28.7 bn	\$23.9 bn (May 2024) <sup>13</sup>	Pakistan Ministry of
	(June 2024) <sup>12</sup>	2024)	Finance MOFA, International
			trade and worship,
			Argentina <sup>14</sup>
Imports	\$49.5 bn	\$17.8 bn (May	Pakistan Ministry of
	(June 2024) <sup>15</sup>	2024)	Finance
			MOFA, International
			trade and worship,
			Argentina <sup>16</sup>

## **Economic Performance and Challenges**

- Economic Freedom and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI): According to the World Bank's Index of Economic Freedom Pakistan is low ranked 147th and Argentina is 145th with a score of 49. 5 and 49. But Argentina receives more than five times greater amount of FDI, approximately \$15. It expected to generate \$1 billion in 2023 compare to Pakistan which is having \$1. 3 billion. This means that Pakistan must try to make its environment more attractive for investors to increase the level of FDI inflows.
- Inflation Rate: Argentina has already deal with hyperinflation with an inflation rate of 249 percent per annum. 8% while Pakistan's rate is 24 percent." 8%. While it is seen that Pakistan also suffers from high inflation rate this rate is comparatively lower in Pakistan. So, for both the countries it is important to have appropriate monetary policy that can act against rising inflation rates.
- Unemployment and Population: They both are the same regarding the unemployment rate as the percentage is 8%. However, a greater and more diverse population of Pakistan and its unemployed youth numbering 236. 17 million compared to Argentina's 47. 16 million pose greater challenges in job creation and economic

Ministry of Finance. Pakistan's Economic Outlook. Available at: https://www.finance.gov.pk/economic/economic\_update\_June\_2024.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Trade and Worship. Argentine Trade Exchange – First four months of 2024. Available at <u>Argentine trade exchange – First four months of 2024 | Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Comercio Internacional y Culto (cancilleria.gob.ar)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. International Trade and Worship, Argentina. Available at: <a href="https://cancilleria.gob.ar/en/cie/news/argentine-trade-exchange-first-four-months-2024#:~:text=In%20the%20first%20four%20months,USD%206.2%20billion%20was%20reached.">https://cancilleria.gob.ar/en/cie/news/argentine-trade-exchange-first-four-months-2024#:~:text=In%20the%20first%20four%20months,USD%206.2%20billion%20was%20reached.</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ministry of Finance. Pakistan's Economic Outlook. Available at: <a href="https://www.finance.gov.pk/economic/economic\_update\_June\_2024.pdf">https://www.finance.gov.pk/economic/economic\_update\_June\_2024.pdf</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. International trade and wordship, Argentina. Available at: <a href="https://cancilleria.gob.ar/en/cie/news/argentine-trade-exchange-first-four-months-2024#:~:text=In%20the%20first%20four%20months,USD%206.2%20billion%20was%20reached.">https://cancilleria.gob.ar/en/cie/news/argentine-trade-exchange-first-four-months-2024#:~:text=In%20the%20first%20four%20months,USD%206.2%20billion%20was%20reached.</a>

rights. In this context, sound labour market policies remain core to Pakistan's ability to steer its demographic dividend.

#### **Lessons for Pakistan**

Based on the comparative analysis of Argentina and Pakistan's political and economic policies in 2024, there are several key lessons that Pakistan can learn from Argentina's approach:

#### • Economic Reforms and Government Size

The current scenario in Argentina where President Milei attempts to cut back the government size and eliminate subsidies shows why structural reforms are conducive to eliminating fiscal issues. Even now that Pakistan still possess subsidies and a very large governmental bureaucracy it also needs to embark on structural reforms that will remove those unnecessary expenses while at the same time protecting vital services. This could imply the stressing of rationality in government functioning, which may implies the elimination of unnecessary layers of bureaucracy and enhancement of the delivery of services to the public.

#### • Foreign Policy Realignment

The recent change of direction of Argentina from the extra-hemisphere axis of nations for closer relations with Western democracies is the best example of strategic reorientation by shifting away from traditional strategic partners like China and Russia as part of effective adaptation of international politics. Pakistan being an ally of both China and the US, should consider reviewing its foreign policy to fully exploit the geopolitical opportunities that favour the establishment of trade, commodity and economic partnership within the region and elsewhere.

### • Debt Management and Fiscal Discipline

it is important to understand how the country failed to manage its public debt or control its fiscal deficits even with the IMF supervision as evidenced by the Argentinian experience. Same like Pakistan, which is also an IMF client country, should also pay its attention to fiscal as well as monetary policies so that there should not be a tendency of excessive borrowing and hence the accumulation of unsustainable debts. This encompasses increasing the efficiency or collection of taxes, cutting down on government expenditure on the non-essential sectors and ensuring that borrowed monies are spent productively to stimulate economic growth in the long run.

#### • Handling Social Unrest

The social tensions existent in Argentina because of the economic crises compounded by aggressive spending restraints act as a signpost for Pakistan. Before making any changes to the structure of subsidies or the Pakistani economy in general it must be noted that subsidies are an important aspect of Pakistani social fabric and any alterations should be made with great consideration to prevent the people's backlash to austerity measures. This may include the use of policies such as the social protection floors, more public debate to garner support and the phase-in approach to avoid groups of the society suffering severe setbacks while making the transition.

#### • Political Fragmentation and Reform Implementation

Argentina's struggle to pass crucial structural reforms is that bipartisan consensus is crucial. Even in Pakistan political segregationism is observed, therefore the dialogue with the opposition and other stakeholders should be the primary objective of the government to gain support for the necessary reforms. It is to be noted that it is possible to obtain political stability and unity only to work out long-term economic policies.

#### • Strategic Economic Planning

Argentina's drastic changes in its economy indicate that it has planned its economy in the long run. Pakistan can benefit from this by formulating a well-coordinated policy concerning its short-term and long-term problems and opportunities. This implies not only a response to crises but also the prospect of further development that implies making necessary investments in such spheres as construction, education, and technology.

#### • Balancing Economic Reforms with Social Stability

Argentina's attempt at the economic liberalization was aggressive, but it has resulted in electoral instability arising from spending cuts. This is because, like any other country, Pakistan has to deal with its own problems of a sustainable economy while also working towards ensuring the necessary fiscal reforms put in place do not lead to social unrest. Political ideals should be made with considerable regard for social ramifications so as to safeguard the dignity of the downtrodden while pressing for the required economic reforms.

#### • Effective Political Communication

The social turmoil going on in Argentina clearly shows the necessity and importance of the implementation of political policies to the general public. Pakistan can learn from

this by the fact that any major change in the political or economic policies in the country is conveyed effectively to the people. The public can therefore be engaged and a story built that justifies why reform is needed, this will go a long way in reducing social unrest.

### • Strengthening Institutional Frameworks

The condition in Argentina, where the parties struggled to manage the political aspects of the country, must have weak institutions for other forms of governance to supplement government policies. Pakistan should also concentrate on building institutional capacity and making its political institutions ready and competent enough to put into practice and execute political decisions and strategies in the country despite the fragmentation.

#### Maintaining Fiscal Discipline and Sustainable Funding

Argentine experience clearly shows that the process of printing money to finance government expenditure result in inflation. Fiscal discipline should be given the topmost priority in Pakistan by expanding the tax net, enhancing tax administration, and searching for some other modes of revenue mobilization. Funding of social programs and infrastructure must be done in a sustainable manner so that this does not result in inflation.

#### • Promoting Economic Diversification

Sustaining agriculture or any type of industry alone makes them open to any shift that may occur. It is therefore important for Pakistan to diversify its economy through export-oriented manufacturing, IT tourism and renewable sources of energy. Agricultural value-added products also increase the economy's buffer against shocks.

#### • Attracting Foreign Investment

Argentina was able to receive a large amount of FDI but on the other hand, the country also faced many problems due to excessive reliance on foreign capital. It means that Pakistan can learn the ways how to attract foreign investment while maintaining control over certain strategic sectors for the national state. Where there is opacity in the legal environment and experience reveals difficult regulatory circumstances, transparency in regulation and encouragement of cooperation between the government and private actors are effective ways to guarantee investors' confidence.

#### Strengthening Institutional Framework and Governance

Institutions play a crucial role. The unpredictable business environment in Pakistan calls for the strengthening of regulatory agencies, support of the rule of law, and fight against corruption. Measures that can strengthen justice are capable of bringing back the public's trust in the economic system of the country.

#### • Encouraging Innovation and Entrepreneurship

There is potential, for instance, for a policy that fosters innovation and entrepreneurs to encourage the diversification that expands an economy. Pakistan can open innovation campuses, give initial capital for start-ups and propose tax incentives for start-ups. There are positive effects of interactivity and interface between schools, businesses and government such as the promotion of research and development.

#### • Implementing Targeted Social Programs

While social programs and policies are important they need to be sustainable. Pakistan can combine selective public policies that strengthen the social protection system like conditional cash transfers and community-based interventions to assist the needy and the deserving to come out of the vicious cycle of poverty without putting much pressure on the government's fiscal resources.

## Conclusion

The divergent political and economic trajectories of both Argentina and Pakistan are interlinked with their specific historical backgrounds. The comparative analysis underscores the challenges faced by both states and the relevant lessons that can be drawn particularly in the context of Pakistan. Argentina has adopted strict economic reforms including reduction in the size of government and cutting of subsidies to address the high fiscal imbalances and inflation which was causing widespread social discontent. It is requisite for Pakistan to effectively assess the impact of economic reforms or policies on the most vulnerable sections of the society for ensuring social harmony. Pakistan should adopt economic expansion that could result in foreign direct investment and economic stability. Argentina's case of default on sovereign debts is a lesson for Pakistan to implement the strategies for efficient debt management. The country needs to promote enhanced institutional capacity, innovation, and entrepreneurship. Thus, by drawing lessons from the experiences of Argentina, Pakistan can move towards the path of economic growth and social stability by reinforcing strategic economic planning and effective regulatory frameworks.

# **Action Matrix**

Problem/	Pathways to	How to	Actors	Implementatio
Issue	Solution	Implement	Responsible	n Timeliness
		Each		
		Solution		
Rampant	Ensure	Strengthen	National	Medium-term
corruption and	transparency,	institutional	Accountabilit	(2-5 years)
incompetency	rule of law,	framework	y Bureau	
	and	by	(NAB)	
	accountability	implementin		
	in government	g anti-		
	institutions	corruption		
		measures		
Social	Implement	Establish	Pakistan	Medium-term
polarisation as a	policies to	mechanisms	Electronic	(2-3 years)
source of conflict	foster mutual	to regulate	Media	
	respect	media	Regulatory	
	among	platforms	Authority	
	diverse	and counter	(PEMRA)	
	populations	polarising	and Ministry	
	for national	narratives	of	
	cohesion	through	Information	
		dialogue and	Technology	
		reconciliatio	(IT)	
		n		
Maintaining	Broaden the	Reform tax	Ministry of	Short-term (1-2
Fiscal Discipline	tax base,	laws and	Finance	years)
and Sustainable	improve tax	increase	Federal	
Funding	collection	enforcement	Board of	
	mechanisms,	Implement	Revenue	
	and explore	progressive	(FBR)	
	alternative	taxation		

	revenue			
	sources			
Promoting	Develop	Provide	Ministry of	Medium-term
Economic	export-	incentives	Commerce	(2-5 years)
Diversification	oriented	for export-	Ministry of IT	
	manufacturing	oriented	Ministry of	
	, IT, tourism,	industries	Tourism	
	and	Invest in		
	renewable	technology		
	energy	infrastructur		
	sectors	е		
		Develop a		
		tourism		
		master plan		
Attracting	Balance	Create a	Board of	Short-term (1-2
Foreign	attracting	transparent	Investment	years)
Investment	foreign	and investor-	(BOI)	
	investment	friendly	Ministry of	
	with domestic	regulatory	Commerce	
	control of	framework		
	strategic	Establish		
	sectors	SEZs		
Encouraging	Establish	Set up	Ministry of	Short-term (1-3
Innovation and	innovation	innovation	Science and	years)
Entrepreneurshi	hubs, provide	hubs in	Technology	
p	seed funding,	major cities	Higher	
	and offer tax	Collaborate	Education	
	incentives for	with	Commission	
	startups	academia	(HEC)	
		and industry		
		for R&D		