#### South Asian Studies

A Research Journal of South Asian Studies Vol. 33, No. 2, July – December, 2018, pp. 621–628

# Politics of Persuasion and Power in the Political and Apolitical Institutions of Pakistan (2008-18)

### Rana Eijaz Ahmad

University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

#### ABSTRACT

This paper is going to explain about the power politics among the political and apolitical institutions in Pakistan. Politics is an activity for seeking power in a legitimate way. Persuasion is a force that obliges the state actors to achieve objectives through power. Power is a capability to shift the probability in to ones own favour especially when circumstances are going against any actor. Political institutions are a backbone of any country and they keep the country on a right track. However, if the institutions became dysfunctional owing to their bad construction or composition, it undermines the state on a large scale.

Pakistan's political institutions like parliament have been under pressure due to the persuasive role of apolitical institutions that are judiciary, military and bureaucracy. It is the case of legitimacy and authority, our political institutions do not enjoy. The dynastic politics among leading interest (political) groups, nepotism, and corruption are such social evils that allow apolitical institutions to intervene in the state. The regular elections within political groups are necessary for transforming those groups in to political parties. This paper is based on empirical method of research and purely on personal analysis.

Key Words: Power, Politics, Persuasion, Dynastic Politics, Apolitical

**Scope:** The study has its broader scope regarding understanding the conceptual and operational framework of the power politics in Pakistan.

**Objective and motivation:** The objective of the author is to suggest policy makers that how political institutions can change the whole scenario of the country. It motivates the author to mention the apolitical institutions that make the system dysfunctional.

### **Theoretical perspective**

Political institutions are the institutions which are supposed to make government, legislate, and enforce the laws. Besides that such institutions punish the transgressor of laws and known as judiciary. Thus, Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the political institutions at the macro level in the country. Trade unions and political parties are micro level of political institutions. Different countries have different types of political institutions. Not only this, these institutions have different behaviours according to the idiosyncrasy of the political

elite. The leadership plays an important role in the authority and legitimacy of the political institutions. Authority as a might usually carry legitimate actions while authority as a power is usually abused.

Thus, political institutions that carry authority as a might, they protect others and give rights through performing their duties. Such institutions are usually run by political elite who try to seek power through legitimate means. The groups who try to achieve power through strikes, demonstrations and protests are just interest groups. Not only this the groups who protect the specific group, family and party interests instead of national interests such groups also come under the banner of interest groups. They do have their leaders but such leaders are mere group leaders.

Before going in to more details we should understand here who is the leader? Leader is a person who commands respect, legitimacy, and authority among his people. Such a person is always honest, sincere, disciplined, punctual, dedicated and committed for serving others. He considers the welfare of the whole not of a specific group, family, party or any region.

In the ancient times, more than twenty five hundred years ago, Plato gave his theory of the philosopher king and education. It based on idealism and considered as impractical. His own student Aristotle negated his theory of leadership and learning. Almost two thousand years later Machiavelli presented his theory of the Prince that was also too authoritative and did not serve the purpose of the people. In the modern world, although Machiavelli is considered a hero under the guise of villain yet it is not welcomed anywhere in the world. Unfortunately, Machiavellian approach has usually been pivotal in the policy making of every ruler in the world. After understanding the meaning of the word 'leader' we may call leadership as a phenomenon that believes in guiding and governing people rather protecting and ruling over the peoples of the world. The protection of the people from external dangers is the duty of the institutions that a leader devised during guidance. In the twenty first century, it can be considered that the western style of leadership is no more valid for the world leadership. The collapse of Communism in 1991 and failure of Capitalism after the so-called on terrorism exposed the reality of democracy as a mean to an end not as an end to mean. It is the high time to consider any Asian model of leadership and learning. Realistically speaking the model, the West has been employing for leading the world was semi Islamic as it was void of faith. Therefore it could not be implemented in its true spirit. The absence of spirit makes the body fragile and empty of action. All other models of government are also based on Islam or we can say that have been a charade of Islam. Simulation remains temporarily and makes an impression for a while and vanishes at last leaving a vacuum behind. This is what world feeling today, a vacuum of leadership that could harmonize the relationship of humanity.

Historically, Asia has been intellectually dependent upon the West. What is good for the West is considered good for the rest. Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Marx and Lenin could never create a workable leadership who

## Politics of Persuasion and Power in the Political and Apolitical Institutions of Pakistan (2008-18)

could lead the world peacefully and objectively. Their theories of Ideal State, education, Justice, Prince, Sovereignty, General Will, Socialism, and Communism had never been practicable in any society of the world. The economic crises in 2009-10 in the West exposed the shallowness of Capitalism. The bailout plan was introduced to sustain the big business tycoons in America. It is against the essence of Capitalism.

In South Asia, Pakistan is a true democracy with the numerous problems like, praetorianism, dynastic politics, and corruption at the top. Pakistan has been under institutional crisis owing to the early demise of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan in 1948 as compared to its neighbouring India whose first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru had been in power since 1947 to his last breath in 1966. This more than a quarter of a century made Indian institutions comparatively and relatively stronger as compared to Pakistan.

The individuals of the country are the only source of development. Since independence to date, Pakistani individual has been remained silent sarcastically against the malpractices of civil and military bureaucracy. It leads to one crisis in Pakistan that is known as political crisis. These political crisis are a result of the silence of a common man in Pakistan against the Machiavellian rule of the civil and military bureaucracy. Thus governance crisis, economic crisis, energy crisis, and all other so called crisis are sprouting only from political crises.

Empirical analysis shows that in the first sixty years of their history most of the developed and industrialized countries were living in a sorry state of affairs. For example, the United States (U.S.) experienced a civil war in 1861 on the issue of slavery; when it was eighty five years old. In the mid of eighteenth century (1760-1795), eight wars fought in the name of religion in France when its age was more than centuries. In the same era the United Kingdome (U.K.) had four wars in the name of religion. Russia and China were also living in crisis, as China had a revolution in 1949 but it had been an oldest civilization on the earth. Russia had a Bolshevik Revolution in 1917; it had never been colony of any country. The contemporary Pakistan may be the most developed in the first sixty seven years of its history as compared to all other developed and industrialized world.

Apolitical institutions are such institutions who are supposed to show allegiance towards the state. Inadvertently, such apolitical institutions have been challenging Pakistan's security institutions like military and police forces. Because of these apolitical institutions, Pakistan is lagging behind in all walks of life. The Zarb-i-Azab Operation under the leadership of General Raheel Sharief has been successfully serving the purpose of the country at the behest of thousands of sacrifices. The feeble education system, bad health conditions, corruption, nepotism, overlapping of non political elite over the political elite are the major reasons behind the unstable political system in Pakistan. Here is the operational framework regarding the persuasion of the apolitical institutions in Pakistan for making the system dysfunctional.

### **Operational framework**

The overlapping of the non political elite over the political elite has been a feature of Pakistan politics. Agitation and coalitional politics are other political evils that have been deep rooted in Pakistan. After the 9/11 incident, there have been numerous intervening variables, undermining the very fabric of Pakistani society and culture. Afghanistan, India and the U.S. have been the most popular intervening variables against the autonomy of Pakistan. Mullah or religious elite has been making Pakistan weaker day by day and isolating the country in an odd fashion. Ongoing Zarb-i-Azab and agitational politics is again inviting the praetorianism in Pakistan. The main reason for this troubled system of Pakistan is Musharaff regime and Zardari government. The said governments depleted Pakistan's resources relentlessly. It is making a heavy toll on Pakistan's economy. Besides that more than three million Afghan Mahajerines have made themselves a part and parcel of Pakistani society and culture. Therefore, terrorism in Pakistan is a direct corollary of the presence of Afghan Muhajerines in Pakistan. These Muhajerines are unfortunately being used by the Indian RAW and the U.S. The Indian government official exposed in a TV interview that "India has political and economic investment on Nawaz Sharief." Not only Panama Leaks scandal exposed the corrupt nature of the government of Pakistan but also explained how the apolitical institutions can intervene anytime to uproot the civil government. Election Commission of Pakistan and judiciary were unable to arrest the culprits for a long time showing the real nature of persuasion and power of the apolitical institutions of Pakistan who have been exploiting the resources of Pakistan under the guise of political institutions. In the outset, it has been mentioned that political institutions which are not working for the welfare of the people and for the national interests, are in fact working against the very nature of Pakistan and its people. Pakistan is facing real crisis in the institutional jurisdiction as parliament of Pakistan is passing such bills which are against the basic norms of political institutions. For example, almost all amendments in the Constitution of Pakistan are made for the protection of interests of the rulers. The government in Pakistan is very much efficient in developing the infrastructure at the stake of education and health that is unacceptable in any civilized community. What is the way out for sustaining the national integration and countering terrorism or apolitical institutions in Pakistan? They are working under the banner of extremist groups like, Taliban, ISIS, or al Qaida. Next segment of the paper produces the different ways to counter the apolitical institutions in Pakistan.

### Consolidation

The apolitical institutions can be dealt easily if the leadership gives preference to counter the prevailing threats in Pakistan. For example, in 1998, Pakistan decided to explode nuclear detonation, even knowing all threats of economic sanctions from the developed part of the world but Pakistan went for the nuclear detonation.

## Politics of Persuasion and Power in the Political and Apolitical Institutions of Pakistan (2008-18)

It was the preference that given to the nuclear technology and its announcement for the neibouring enemy. Second example is when Pakistan decided to have a motorway, it made it. Pakistan decided to develop infrastructure at the stake of all other developmental projects, it got the metro busses project speedily. When Pakistan decided to have an immediate road network, it got it at the fastest speed.

- Hence, If Pakistan needs today to counter apolitical institutions successfully; it has to make it its priority.
- After making it priority, efficient and dedicated people have to be engaged in managing the conflict resolution with the resonant groups in the width and breadth of the country. University teachers should be involved for consultation.
- Research projects should be conducted for conflict management.
- Media campaign is call of the day for spreading the message of conflict resolution at all levels.
- Religion should be the affair of the state not of an individual and state has to maintain its writ in implementing its policies.

Today Pakistan is facing worst ever crisis of its history and undoubtedly it is heading towards betterment. Although it has been facing very dismal situation in health and education yet developing on a very rapid scale. It is the only country in the world that has been vulnerable owing to the media, mullah and military those are a direct result of the inappropriate role of the political elite, bureaucracy and mullah. Bureaucracy was the descendant of the British legacy who adopted specific bureaucratic style for getting control over the colonies. This bureaucracy either military or civil be fooled the feudal lords in Pakistan and transformed them as a so called political elite. Since 1958 to date, military and civil bureaucracy has been keeping the country in a state of turmoil just to keep people in the state of uncertainty and confusion. It is popularized that only English medium is the best in Pakistan and Punjabi is the worst. It suits both the bureaucracy and the military in Pakistan.

Recent developments regarding a historic decision of National Accountability Bureau (NAB) announced on July 6, 2018 in which Pakistan judiciary and NAB have effectively shown their priorities and gave very bold decisions against Nawaz Sharief, Maryam Nawaz and Captain Safdar in the Avenfield reference case. They got 11 years, 8 years and 2 years rigorous imprisonment respectively. Nawaz and Maryam also fined for 20 million pounds in total. It is explicit now that the process of accountability has been started in Pakistan. We may say that the process of accountability has been selective in nature and this is true to an extent but it has to start from anywhere and starting with the most powerful elite is quite appreciating. It will make other people conscious if they make any embezzlement or malfeasance in public funds must be punished anytime. This is how apolitical institutions get chance to intervene and minimize the trust level among the masses.

The civil government has to learn a lesson from NAB's decision against Nawaz Sharief.

There is no government in the world that came into existence without the help of establishment. Since Nawaz was also in power with the help of establishment as he was working for the interest of Pakistan. In 2013 when Nawaz government assumed powers decided to get control over the establishment forces. Nawaz being a very powerful three times prime minister of Pakistan may have decided to introduce his daughter Maryam Nawaz in politics of Pakistan. Maryam being inexperienced in politics became very much ambitious and started overriding the top PMLN political elites like Hassan Nasar, Zaeem Oadri, her uncle Shahbaz Sharief, Khawaja Saad Rafique and Rana Sana Ullah etc. It created animosity within PMLN leadership that came at the front just before the general elections 2018 and different groups in PMLN started leaving the party in the southern Punjab and other parts of the country. The PMLN started blaming establishment for its internal crisis. Instead of controlling Maryam Nawaz, Nawaz Sharief gave her a free hand. She allying with Tariq Fatimi, Pervaiz Rasheed and some other PMLN leaders allegedly caused Dawn Leaks. It jolted the politics of Pakistan as it was considered against the security interests of Pakistan. Thus, parting of ways between PMLN and establishment was written on the wall. Thus, it was Maryam Nawaz Sharief's stubborn character, indolent behaviour and consistence obduracy that destroyed the PMLN.

In 2018 general elections establishment decided to push PMLN in the backdrop and getting the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf at the front. The future of Pakistan seems a hung parliament will remain under the influence of establishment.

Is it the establishment or someone else that making Pakistan politics unsustainable? If we have an objective analysis of the prevailing circumstances in Pakistan, there is no rational choice other than PTI to rule over Pakistan. Since Pakistan People's Party and PMLN completed their terms successfully but kept Pakistan under severe socio-political and economic crises owing to their personal gains. Personal, party and dynastic interests remained dominant over the national interest in the last decade of Pakistan politics from 2008 to 2018. Therefore, establishment has no choice but to select PTI to make the next government as it is propagated in the TV shows and in different newspapers of Pakistan. The PMLN so called narrative gives rise to this notion in Pakistan. The establishment is a Pakistani establishment it has to see its national interest and national security issues and it cannot tolerate anything against the national interests thus it has to support such political groups in Pakistan who intend to promote Pakistan's national image at home and abroad.

The PTI chief Imran Khan is trying to integrate well to Pakistani masses in the name of religion as done by the founder of Pakistan and there was no harm in it. Since Lenin once said, "the colour of cat does not matter until or unless it catches mice." The result of general elections 2018 will explain the further situation of

## Politics of Persuasion and Power in the Political and Apolitical Institutions of Pakistan (2008-18)

Pakistan's next government's features. The establishment intervenes when civil government remains unsuccessful in securing the national interests.

Considering Islam as the threat to Pakistan or any other country is a wishful thinking. Since Islam integrates people, it is a binding force instead of disuniting force as propagated very much today. Again when we try to make very thing Muslim specific it creates problem for others. In the twenty first century, we need to reinterpret Ouran under the guidance of Ouran and Sunnah. Ouran as a universal manual and a source of harmony talks about integration and global peace. It is not a book for Muslims only. It is a predominant misperception that it has been a Muslim book. Islam and Ouran are for the whole universe not for Muslims only. Interpretation of Quran as a Muslim book is a sheer injustice with this universe. Every newly built machine in the modern world keeps a manual for its smooth application. The manual tells about the use of the machine and precautions that may harm anyone. In the same way, Quran is a manual for employing Islamic Junctions for this universe. Allah not only gives the manual but also provides us a living model in the form of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The author of Quran is Rabulalameen (for the Whole universe) not only Rabulmuslaimeen (for the Muslims). The role model is Rehmatullilalameen (blessing for the whole universe) not Rehmatulmuslaimeen (blessing for Muslims). Thus, the Muslim specific Islam and Muslim specific Quran is a nucleus of all problems in attaining global integration in the twenty first century. It is the only secular book believes in noninterference of others' affairs until or unless others invite us for any advice. It is a handbook, integrates humanity. It can create harmony in the world through Ijtihad (It is an utmost effort of an individual, resolving any problem or issue in the light of Quran and Sunnah besides his wisdom according to the prevailing circumstances). The only cure is to reinterpret Quran through Ijtihad that people could live a peaceful life in harmony and peace all around. Quran is the real liberator in the existing problematic scenario. This era is based on so-called parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. Militant and non-state actors in the name of Islam attacked all the security agencies and civil population in Pakistan. It challenged the military of Pakistan and Zarb-i-Azab went well in eliminating terrorism from Pakistan to an extent.

Islam is the only secular religion in the contemporary world. It abhors eves dropping and cannot afford the killing of bird without reason. The example of victory of Makkah is with us when Prohet Muhammad (PBUH) trained his followers not to even break a branch of tree, don't attack the unarmed, old age and a woman. Forgive the person seeking forgiveness and made the house of his enemy Abu Sufyyan a source of General Amnesty. Islam is the only way of life that gives an eternal and universal set of learning for sustaining harmony among living and non-living organisms. It does not only concern with human beings but also take care of animals, birds, insects, plants, and mountains. Therefore the universality of Islam is unquestionable. The question is how it can be made

pragmatic and operational in the contemporary twenty first century. The answer is very simple: Ijtihad. IJtihad is a dynamic aspect of implementing Islam in all times. Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) himself departed Muaz Bin Jabal (RA) for Yemen and asked him if he could not find any solution how he would manage the conflict? He replied that would consult Quran and not finding in it, he would consult Sunnah and if he remained unsuccessful in finding any solutions or source for managing the prevailing issue, he would use his wisdom in the light of Quran and Sunnah and would decide. Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) appreciated Maaz RA and departed him happily.

However, politics of persuasion and power works everywhere in the world. We need to be more pragmatic in learning that human beings are more important than any other thing in the world. Religion sustains through human beings not the human beings sustain through religion. The overlapping of political and apolitical institutions make the system dysfunctional therefore, both have to work hand in hand to avoid overlapping for the national interests not dynastic, party or personal interests.

### **Biographical Note**

**Rana Eijaz Ahmad** is a Director Confucius Institute and an Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab Lahore & Ph.D. in the International Relations from the School of Politics and International Relations, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.