



**RESEARCH PAPER**

**Paradoxical Democratizing Process in Pakistan: A Qualitative Analysis**

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**ABSTRACT**

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An essential customs for a democratic system is strong civil-military relations but in the history there are certain states in which military take over the civilian government like Africa, Cuba, Malaysia, Libya, Thailand, Turkey, Egypt etc. While observing Pakistan's history, it was evident that the absence of democratic values in our political culture has permitted the military to effortlessly infiltrate all parts of the legislative framework. Toppling over democratic institutes by Military Dictators started soon after independence. There were many difficulties which provoked uncertainty towards a stable governmental framework in Pakistan. In this research both analytical and descriptive methods will be utilized. The analytical method will help to critically evaluate the role of military and gaps of civilian government. The tenacity of this paper is to suggest some tools to tackle the military intervention in politics that will enhance the process of democratization

**Introduction**

From the beginning, many countries have experienced their military's involvement in their government system. Few have evolved into civilian governments and others have experienced a regular military intervention. Pakistan is one of those countries which experienced the nonstop increasing impact of military into governmental issues. In its early sixty-two years since independence, the Pakistan military has had either direct or indirect control of government. It has had massive effect on the instructions that Pakistan has taken. The ongoing absence of stability in Pakistan is actually due to miss-managed civil-military relations. A healthy civil-military connection allows military to stand in the background and civilian on front to enhance their institutions. Samuel P

Huntington is famous for his work on civil-military relations projected the different levels of relationship between army and civilians.(Huntington, 1957) He holds that interference of army in civilian matters must be prohibited on any cost. Many others analysts agreed with his account.

Pakistan's military played a vital role especially in politics while the military's role pervades throughout the political system, while there have been decades of challenges to this role.(Ahmed, 2013) In ongoing years, especially after the War on Terror was taking on by President Musharraf; the military is questioned by many groups. The army of Pakistan has ruled Pakistan by a direct route for more than half of the country's history. The remainder history of Pakistan is also governed by military in an indirect way. The army manipulates civilian departments and political parties in many ways. The unwillingness of Army institutes to transfer power to political system is also a major reason behind failure of civilian government (Rizvi H. A., 1988). Self- belief of newly elected governments after Military Coups was never so high. Military always tried to ensure a strong share for themselves even when they are not in power.

There is a plenty of work on why and when military intervene in politics but here are some tools and suggestion to overcome military intervention and that will help to create a healthy balance between civil-military relations.

### **Controlling Defense Budget**

In developing countries, generally civilian governments are confronted with difficult security situations. Same is the case with Pakistan, the state of turbulence between Pakistan and India after independence created this upper hand for military establishment and now terrorism is doing the same. This unwanted situation has severely damaged our economy and public safety. To challenge these situations, civilian governments reserved on increasing their military institutions. The main concern was to deal with the many complex factors which creep up our nation's existence. In the meantime, the large number of resources allocated to the Pakistan's military has resulted in increased political and economic influence of the Armed Forces in state's affairs. To control these influence governments must take certain measures which will create a more balanced division of power. . This shouldn't at any cost, affect Pakistan's security situation. Some tools that can be implemented to improve this situation are given as;

- Forming parliamentary committees to discuss need of military according to present requirements.
- Defense budget must be allocated according to needs of military.
- Military must be answerable to parliament about expenditures and institute's policy. This doesn't allow the parliament to dictate military.

### **Putting History Behind**

“Concordance Theory” of scholar Rebecca Schiff describe how exactly a good civil-military relation can be achieved. According to her theory, smooth civil-military relations can be achieved through a cooperative relationship between the political elite, military and the public (Schiff, 2008). The strength in this age can therefore not be attained through confrontation but cooperation, be it the civil-military or the interstate equation.

Although the political setup has truly endured a very unforgiving treatment from military rulers, but for the larger interest of the Nation they must learn to let go of those harsh feelings. Security forces are a very important part of any establishment and if any grudge comes in between the civil and military, it will be devastating for the whole country. Both ought to have the capacity to put that horrible history behind them and push forward towards a prosperous and stable Pakistan.

### **Self-determining Foreign Policy**

Our history shows us that our policies towards other nations are not entirely according to the wish of people. This is because we took sides from the start by picking U.S over USSR while our neighbor remained an unbiased territory. We have enjoyed many perks of American friendship time to time but the losses we have faced are even greater. We compromised our democracy, we lost control over our foreign policy and worse of all, and we were alienated in our own region (except for China). America always preferred a military dictator over elected leadership because they find them easy to persuade and coax them into fighting their wars i.e. General Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez Musharraf.

If we want a strong civilian government, then we must unburden our foreign policy from these dictated terms and conditions of foreign forces. Army’s role in foreign policy must be put under braces and scrutiny. Moreover, political leadership must decide the way country is going to relate with other nations. Army should be given a suggestive or advisory role in this matter and those advices must be implemented on merit base. No military or foreign pressure is acceptable if the aim is to give control to civilian governments.

### **Maintaining Supremacy of Democracy**

The much needed civil-military regulation and balance between people, politicians and the military can only be achieved by establishing authority or control over the military. For Pakistan, the best suited military control strategy found in modern democracies is the “Objective Civilian Control” strategy. It is “a term coined in the US civil-military literature that means complete autonomy to the military in its professional sphere in return for complete obedience to the civilian government in political and national policy making spheres”. (Daily Times)

Military and Civilians must sit together to form an agreeable solution for both sides. A cabinet level committee, an ordinance or legal Act can be formed such that the role of Defense Organizations is not undermined. From civilian government, the defense ministry and National Security Directorate are effective and resourceful with full understandings about the military's point of view.

### **Practice of Good Governance**

Bad Governance has been a major issue when it comes to failed democracy in Pakistan. Given the condition of political activities and the organization in our country today, the idea of good governance had been reduced to only a political slogan. We have seen in past that military dictator's take this as an opportunity to overthrow governments and gain support of people by promising punishments for criminals. To reduce military involvement in government's manifesto, an upright leadership and sincere effort is required. People will stand behind the elected members of both houses if their needs are met and they can see a genuine effort on part of political government. Governments should put resources into human services, nourishment, lodging, training and ending poverty. They should guarantee a financial domain where individuals can discover occupations and build up business undertakings. As said by Abraham Lincoln, democracy is kind of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

### **Independent Election Commission**

Sovereign Election Commission is a precondition when it comes to electing true representatives of the people. Elections held under a sovereign institute increases the trust of people sitting in parliament. People feel like they are part of the system and only at that point they start to accept the failures of attitude and try to mend it for the greater good of Nation. Taking responsible ingenuities and nourishing the will of the general population are central to certifying that decisions are a way to a popularity based society, not an end in them. It is very important that elections in Pakistan are free and fair while providing a level plane environment to candidates. Laws are in place with respect to general elections, all we need is a sincere effort on part of political parties to enforce those laws and practice them as much as possible. Every member of the society must get an equal chance to contend elections or to select their desired runner. There is a sanctified duty when it comes to casting your vote. Voters must choose the candidate on basis of their manifesto or vision. To get the best judgment out of people, election commission must provide all the necessary data concerning participant's experience. Free and reasonable decisions are open and straightforward to all individuals without discrimination of religion, or race.

Election commission must ensure that outgoing government is not affecting the elections by any direct or indirect way. Pre-poll rigging by introducing attractive incentives at the end of tenure must be a punishable offence. No candidate impedance and compulsion by cash and muscle should be allowed

and strict action must be taken against the guilty party. The privilege to free and reasonable election should be ensured by an autonomous and neutral election body having proper abilities and expertise to convey agreeable and pleasing results. Most importantly, voters should have the resources or forums to share their concerns openly in the political procedure. These political meetings are a way to strengthen democratic values if they don't take a violent turn.

### **Independent Judiciary**

Another tool for good governance and avoiding unjust military interferences is free and sovereign judiciary, as it is very vigorous for rule of law. It is remarkably essential to have solid legal courts to guarantee that a country's laws are upheld continually and decently (Neudorf, 2017). All pillars of government must be truthful to each other and especially to the people of Pakistan. Following path of law ensures for business ventures to go smoothly and the enables a strong foundation for market, which support financial improvement. Will of people and their chosen delegates ought to be asked in all levels of lawmaking.

Moreover, it is desirable to limit the political power by introducing strict laws and by taking action either through courts or election commission. Such laws ensure honest and respectable politicians, guarantees of fundamental rights to all races and sects, assurances of Human Rights by a free justice system. These sureties permit citizens to look for insurance of their rights and evaluation of government activities. Independent judiciary help make pillars of state accountable to each other and to the general population.

As long as law is implemented, as well as be upheld decently and with no kind of segregation with assurance for all, with no segregation of cast, statements of faith, and race. There must be an open and simple access to legal and regulatory frameworks. A country's courts ought not to be interested in just a chosen few. Government organizations ought to permit interests of directions and national investment in their basic leadership process and countrymen ought to be allowed access to these bodies in a convenient and simple way. Governments additionally have an obligation to shield their residents from criminal violence, particularly the act of human trafficking. Although, regard for the citizens and rights' identifying with individual defense is a long way but not impossible.

### **Freedom of Speech**

The validity of an independent state with democratic attitude is judged by independent and free media and open exchange of information and ideas. This type of freedom can only be best understood in a democratic setup. The more media is open, efficient and unbiased, it makes difficult for nonpolitical powers to fool the masses. The freedom of speech and expression is a basic human right which cannot be subjected to any kind of restrictions. Only a free and independent media can provide voters with the information and necessary education on basis of which they need to make knowledgeable choices.

It encourages political talk by making an "open place for thoughts" where no view is ignored and the best are picked. Free Media can likewise fill in as look out of government power ensuring that administration, authorities and ensuring that government divisions stay responsible to the voters. The media's capacity to give an account of exchange and industry and the economy is likewise vital for safeguarding open trust in the free economy. The privilege of the free media to distribute, to editorialize, to condemn, and to advise is a central rule of voter based system. But apart from all this there should be a proper check and balance on media.

### **Across the Board Accountability**

From bad governance in 1958 to supposedly rigged elections in 1977 and tunes of corrupt leadership in 1999, military has always justified their interference by ensuring the common people that they can alone fix the situation of country (Ziring, 1980). But people must understand that organizational policies that work in the barracks of Rawalpindi, rarely work in administrative corridors of Islamabad. An effective accountability institute is necessity of our developing nation. Accountability must be across the board and first of all politicians must present themselves to the investigative authorities, without hiding behinds privileges and immunities (Khan, 2001). Accountability shouldn't be just a political slogan. Rather if criminal offense is proved, it must be taken to a logical conclusion. Data must be checked to guarantee accountability at authoritative levels beginning from the inside.

From the independence, corruption rests a matter of severe concern in Pakistan. Laws to check corruption are present, yet these laws are essential to be supported and thoroughly performed. A democratic setup always tries to implement necessary measures to fight corruption. Governments that fail to control the disease of corruption, mostly find themselves in an unpleasing situation, when sound of military boots boom in parliamentary halls. To save the dignity of democratic systems, political governments must try to free themselves of humiliations. Legislators and state authorities must unveil their possessions before accepting any public office and afterward they should present yearly data of their accounts. Corruption blocks the development of democratic values and changes the balance of power in the hands of a very low percentage. To reconstruct the trust of democratic norms and political environment, accountability reforms must come from within the parliament.

The most ideal approach for governments to address this matter is to be open and honest about this issue. In some specific cases governments have a duty to hold secret and confidentiality in regards to national security. But this should never stop them from taking swift and just action against guilty party. Government's dedication towards finishing corruption can not only is observed the solid laws against corruption are being introduced. What they need to do is to

develop a political accord on eliminating the extreme perquisites and benefits available to the selected few.

### **Ending of Islamic Fundamentalism**

Today Pakistan has turned into a risky state that utilizes Islamic activists, jihadi gatherings, and non-state actors and on-screen characters to seek its aims beyond states boundaries. The idea of Islamic fundamentalism which was firstly supported by upper class of our society and later funded by ISI with help of CIA have today turned into a frustration for the state itself.

It is to be comprehended that Islamic fundamentalism is a conservative, non-logical development. This turmoil that we have been going through for last 3 decades is returning society to a Stone Age thinking and social set-up. It is not only challenging the intellectuality of humans but also discourage the efforts which made to help lead better life.

The base of fundamentalist ideology lies in the backwardness of society, social hardship, a low level of awareness, hardship and these all constraints fit exceptionally well on Pakistan. It is now imperative for Pakistan to understand that in such case that Pakistan could achieve peace with its neighbors and control the circumstances inside the state with a strong hand, it would assurance balance in the area and uniform progress for Pakistan itself.

### **Bridging a Positive Gap between Military and civilians**

It is understood that there is a critical need to develop more prominent willingness and understanding amongst political and military administration. It is a key that inflexible disposition for legitimacy and emphasis on skill and respectability over the entire range of private and open circles was one path in which concordance could be set up amongst civil and military circles as well as between all fragments and segments of society. In any case, this massive arrangement could be achieved just through certain major changes in the way Pakistani society had been sorted out. Dedicated endeavors must be attempted for the acknowledgment of the large objective.

### **Regular Learning Sessions for Military and Civilians**

A fascinating and encouraging tool to reduce tension between civil military relations is regular learning sessions, directed by key national and worldwide specialists for various institutional levels. Opening of such initiative from the national level is certainly going to help both sides to understand each other and adapt to the needs of each other. This will keep distances to a very balanced point and will help both parties in their given fields according to the requirements of 21st century states.

These sessions are going to be a serious instrument for making the objective and thoughtful mentality required for representing Pakistan. Extraordinarily, the People's Republic of China had consistent with such learning sessions for its authority at the most elevated amount decades prior which, to an expansive degree, empowered China to end up distinctly a first-arrange worldwide power in a space of only three decades. It was perceived that these sessions, on the off chance that they were ever to be directed in Pakistan, must be diligent and durable so that the core inculcated criticism of bureaucracy could be overcome.

## **Suggestions**

### **Strong Leadership**

Pakistan needs an indication that can come up from the people and motivate the individuals to request change. Be that as it may, the ruling elite from decades has made situation deceptive and dangerous for anybody willing to battle for changing Pakistan. Three of the last four nonmilitary leaders i-e Prime Minister, have originated from a similar family. This nepotism must end; consequently, should the practice of patrimonialism. These ways to deal with government have been damaging to Pakistan's advance. It is important for Pakistan to start to depend upon a governance plan based on meritocracy. Pakistan request a fair government that serves its people, it might require someone to go the extra mile to topple the vested forces that have ruled Pakistan since its beginning.

### **Elimination of Corruption**

The problem lies in immense corruption that is found in different levels of ruling class. Military has always promised to hold the corrupt political components accountable for their deeds. As has been seen in past, different civilian Governments have been expelled with a specific end goal to free the nation from this monopoly of corruption. But in the long run we have seen military administrations to have ended up part of a similar problem. General perception is that from bureaucracy to local bodies' operators and lawmakers in assemblies, all are engaged in loot. This is why people chose not to pay taxes, which in return puts immense pressure on governments to perform according to will of masses.

To end this excuse for military intervention, civilian government must act strong and mend their shortcomings to gain the trust of People of Pakistan. This problem can be solved to some extent by reinforcing the different organizations with just framework, for example, the Parliament, Political Parties, FIA, Judiciary, NAB and so on so that rather than the Military sitting in judgment of the chose Government, the state establishments start a culture of strong responsibility.



## **Organized Government Framework**

Strong and systematized institutional as well as operational framework is very important in resisting the Army's interference in Politics. Take example of our neighbor India, since the independence of both of our nations in 1947, our political history is quite the opposite of each other. Pakistan was ruled for about 30 or more years by military dictators while in India, it mostly remained steady. A brief tension period was when 1962 India China war happened. The solution is to keep a very firm bureaucratic and political oversight over military affairs and also by ensuring military about their role in policy decisions.

## **Mindset of Military Institute**

Generally, it is perceived that demonstration of stern attitude and power by military institute comes from the highly organized and well-disciplined culture of their training. They think themselves to be superior to civilian governments in not only managerial but decision- making positions. About the military upbringing it is said that military developed as an institution that deliberately cultivated a mindset defined by contempt for civilian politics and politicians, extreme suspicion with regards to India and other external forces, and a belief in the efficacy of violence in dealing with ethnic and ideological tensions within the country. They believe to be from a non-corrupt system which makes them necessary for nation's survival. Hence, repeated interventions in political system.

Military's symbol is thought to be 'Unity of Command' which allows them to exercise total control over running government structure. But by carefully studying precious military regimes in Pakistan, it is evident that this concept of 'Unity' works well for the military. This dictated administration creates grave complications in complex framework of civilian and political institutions.

## **Strategy for both Military and Civilians**

To change this mindset both military and civilians must devise a strategy which will be doable for both pillars of state. Civilian leaders must be encouraged to speak to military seminars and take part in operational workshops. Democratic leaders must invite military leadership to visit Parliamentary sessions and also introduce legislations that can change negative perspective of our lawmakers.

## **Ensuring Rule of law**

It must be clear that no one is above law. Military must be oriented with its constitutional role but not enough steps are taken in this regard. According to a research the curriculum of National Defense University of Pakistan for 2012-13 only devotes two hours (out of a total of 987) to explaining and understanding the Constitution.

This apparent status of impunity for military is one of the reasons why dictators are not afraid to topple judiciary along with civilian government. Moreover, almost every military takeover was shielded by the courts. "The Constitution was also amended to allow Zia to continue serving as Army Chief after the restoration of civilian rule who was Pakistan's longest serving Army Chief, from 1977 till his death in August 1988. He created the impression of a sharing system by setting up a parliament through nonparty, regulated election and installing a docile Prime Minister, Mohammad Khan Junejo" (Rizvi, 2013)

### **Boundaries for Military**

The efficiency of government institutes depends upon many important factors but the most vital is defining the military and civil role in running state affairs. First of all, military's role and boundaries must be set in order to create a better and understandable working environment. From independence, we are observing that military took special interest in matters related to foreign policy like Kashmir, Pakistan India relations, Afghanistan and militants. This unchallenged position of military changed the perspective institute very much, making them aggressive and in commanding position. Civilians mostly inherited these issues and military dictated policy matters on these points.

### **Government Needs to Handle Policy Matters**

If a clear role of military was defined and implemented from early years of independence, then these problems faced by democratic setups would be much less. Government needs to take policy matters in their hand. Military is supposed to defend the guidelines set by government but looks like in Pakistan it's the other way around. The military must be consulted and heard before any final decision but they shouldn't be allowed to dictate terms.

### **Systemization of Civil-Military Interaction**

A proper platform must be created and used regularly to discuss and take military on board with changing policies or internal situation of country. Last government i.e PPP's Defense Committee of Cabinet met only 12 times in 5 years. In present government's first 2 years, National Security Committee met only 4 times (PILDAT: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency). This shows the offhand attitude of government towards solving these issues.

An alternate situation that is being observed is the communications between civil military away from a formal platform. Policy decisions and defense budgets are still discussed but not through established stage. This informal infrastructure is not helping to move towards a constructive Pakistan government. Sincere efforts must be put forward to use as much of this platform as possible. These meetings must be fruitful and not just only a lot of hot air.

## **Political Stability**

Optimistically in 2018 a peaceful changeover of power will occur in Pakistan, finishing a decade of political stability for the first time in Pakistan. We need this democratic mindset to grow and nourish and there is no better way than to practice it more and more. Take example of Turkey, since 2001 Turkey has enjoyed a decade of almost extraordinary political strength. This not only resulted in a strong economy but recently when a coup was staged, people rushed to the streets against collaborators. This is the kind of trust which can only be built by political strength and by working for the good and welfare of the people of state.

Apart from these few suggestions and tools few suggestions are as under:

1. Peaceful power transition. (Political parties accepting election results with open heart rather than calling intervention on basis of alleged rigging).
2. Educate people about democracy by addressing lack of political awareness through Courses in universities and colleges.
3. Local Government system: Shift powers to the people. (it will complement the tool given above i-e educating masses about democracy)
4. Safety to minority rights ( To secure minorities)
5. Reducing institutional imbalances by establishing clear chain of command
6. Eradicating feudalism and racism from its root.
7. Addressing grievances of small provinces

## **Three Ways to Remove Military Supremacy**

There are two main problems to be addressed to gain better civil-military relations: **First** is flourishing and macadamizing the ways for different actors of the state to fill the gap. **Second** is to ensure a smooth transformation similar to open heart surgery.

The **First** strategy is similar with fire-fighting the state should focus on maintaining existing margin of civilian space. In this case European Union should observe the need of building democratic institutions and also put some measures for rule of law and human rights. These type of interests are only assessable through strengthen civil society organizations.

The **second** strategy is to focus on strength of the state institutions to empower them by constitutional amendments through this there would be more chances for civil supremacy and this will push the military back to barracks. The

dependency on military decreased by only this strategy; when state's institutions are strong and capable by every sort then supremacy of military decreased.

### **Conclusion**

When a country having a long history of military rule confronted a transition of civilian government to another civilian government; it means that the country is in a more mature era. The civilian rule from 2008 to 2013 in Pakistan creates a custom and at this time the process of democratization is deliberately more forward. Now the country should focus on positivity rather than hopelessness and cynicism. The process of reconciliation and justice will help in stability of the civil government in the state. The Civil-Military relations only enhance in the atmosphere of trust that can ensure stability in the country.

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