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A Critical Discourse Analysis of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's Manifesto

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Abstract:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analyses texts to deconstruct the underlying assumptions of power, dominance and inequality (van Dijk, 1998a) which work strongly to give meaning to texts. It views language as 'social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258). It is a powerful lens through which the relationship between language and society is viewed from an angle which is much more different from other discourse analysis methods (Rogers, 2004). According to van Dijk the major purpose of CDA is to 'critically analyse those who are in power, those who are responsible and those who have the means and the opportunity' to handle social problems (van Dijk 1986, p.4). Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model (1993) is often applied to analyse media discourses. However there has been little effort to apply the model on political parties' manifestoes. This paper is an attempt to analyse Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's manifesto to deconstruct the relationship between power and language which has the capacity to reshape the existing ideologies of the people. The data of the manifesto has been analysed by applying van Dijk's socio-cognitive model. The study is to reveal through the analysis how ideologies are constructed and deconstructed through the relationship between power and language.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, PTI manifesto, power, dominance, inequality

1. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emphasizes upon the relationship between language and society. It sees language as 'social Practice' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p.258). Many other theorists view CDA in somewhat different ways. Ruth Wodak views CDA from the perspective of Sociolinguistics which is the study of texts in context. She led an approach which she termed 'the discourse, historical method'. According to her the term historical means an attempt 'to integrate systematically all available, background information in the analysis and interpretation of the many layers of a written or spoken text' (1995, p.209). In the discourse, historical method approach it is believed that language 'manifests social processes and interaction' and 'constitutes' those processes as well (Wodak and Ludwig 1999, p.12). Fairclough is another great name in the field of CDA who called his approach Critical Language Study (1889, p.5). He described the purpose of his approach as 'a contribution to the general raising of consciousness of exploitative social relations, through focusing upon language' (1989, p.14). According to Van Dijk CDA analyses written and spoken texts to demonstrate legitimate sources of power, inequality and dominance (1995). Wodak believes that in a society the relationships of 'dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language 'can be described, explained and interpreted (Wodak 2001, p.2). It means that in a society where powerful groups dominate every discourse is produced historically. Thus the three major themes focused by all CDA models are 'the concept of power, the concept of history and the concept of ideology' (Wodak 2013, p.3). However Dijk views discourse analysis as ideology analysis, because he believes that 'ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages, such as pictures, photographs and movies' (p.17). It analyses how these legitimate sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. Fairclough (1993) explains CDA in a similar vein. He believes that CDA

'aims to systematically explore opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p.135).

2. Literature Review

Critical Discourse Analysis developed in late 1970s by a group of literary theorists and linguistics. Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) provided the backbone to the approach. These linguists tried to isolate ideology from discourse and showed how

'ideologies are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics' Halliday's view of language as 'social practice' is central to many CDA analysts (Sheyholislami, p.1).

In 1980s van Dijk started to apply his discourse analysis theory to media texts and to news reports both at national and international level. He presented analysis, both at textual and structural levels. In structural analysis he presented analysis of higher level properties such as coherence, overall themes and topics of news stories and the whole schematic forms and rhetorical dimensions of texts. However, he believed that this structural level will not suffice, for 'Discourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather, it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as production and reception processes (van Dijk, 1998. P.2)

His production and reception processes take place at two levels: microstructure and macrostructure. At the microstructure level the analysis emphasizes on the semantic relations between syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements that give coherence to a text. At the macrostructure the analysis emphasizes on the thematic/topic structure of the texts and their overall schemata. Themes and topics are mentioned in the headlines and the lead paragraphs. According to van Dijk (1988), the headlines 'define the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse and also what information readers memorize best from a news report'(p.248). He says that the headlines and the lead paragraph 'express the most important information of the cognitive models of journalists, that is how they see and define the news event. Unless readers have different knowledge and beliefs, they will generally adopt these subjective media definitions of what is important information about an event' (p.248).

Dijk also believes that the news schemata ('superstructure schemata') are constructed according to specific narrative patterns. These narrative patterns consist of the following:

Summary: Headline or the lead paragraph

Story: Situation consisting of episode and background

Consequences: Final comments and conclusion

All these sections of a text are sequenced in terms of relevance. What distinguishes van Dijk's approach from other approaches is his focus on cognitive analysis. His approach for analyzing ideologies has three parts: social analysis, discourse analysis and cognitive analysis (1995, p.30). Social analysis examines the overall societal structures (the context). The discourse analysis is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures etc). However he emphasizes on socio-cognition i.e. the social cognition and subjective cognition that mediates between society and discourse which gives the concept of ideology discourse analysis to his approach. According to him social cognition is a 'system of mental representations and processes of group members' (p.18). Ideologies, according to him are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize...socially shared attitudes (p.18). So they have the power to 'indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members'. Dijk further says that mental representations 'are often articulated along Us versus Them dimensions in which speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their group in positive terms, and other group in negative terms' (p.22). Seen through Dijk's model political manifestoes are those communicative events which work to exploit the personal cognition of group members to construct new ideologies. However, little effort has been made to apply his model on manifestoes. This paper is an attempt to analyse PTI's manifesto in the light of Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model.

3. Framework of the Study

In the present study three sections of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf have been analysed in the light of Van Dijk's socio-cognition model (1998: 61-63) in the following aspects. According to this model a discourse needs to be analysed in the following aspects to deconstruct ideological dichotomy underlying it (1998b, pp.61-63).

1. Analysis of the context of the discourse: historical, political or social background of a conflict and its main participants.
2. Analysis of groups, power relations and conflict involved.
3. Identification of positive and negative opinions about Us versus Them.
4. Make explicit the presupposed and the implied.
5. Analysis of formal structure: lexical choice and syntactic structure in a way that helps to deemphasize polarized group opinions.

4. Data

The present study is a critical discourse analysis of the language used in the manifesto of Tehreek-e-Insaf. (1) Preamble (2) Pakistan's History: A Nation Betrayed and (3) Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf's Naya Pakistan a dignified, self respecting and prosperous people from the manifesto provide the data for the study.

5. Background of Pakistan Tehreek e Insaf

PTI was founded on 25th April 1996 in Lahore. Presently it is the fastest growing political party in Pakistan. It came into existence when only two political parties PPP and PML had always been swaying the politics of Pakistan for decades. Many other parties tried their luck in Pakistani politics but none could attract as many members as PTI has recently enrolled. It now has become the second largest political party in terms of membership across and abroad Pakistan. PTI as defined in the Preamble of its manifesto

'is built on the core principal of justice. It is committed to fighting injustice in our state and society in order to establish a social and political order premised on justice for all..... Justice ensures women, minorities, the poor, the dispossessed and disadvantaged are not exploited by the powerful or discriminated against.

There is a repeated emphasis on the need for justice for the masses who are deprived and exploited by the powerful. These are the poor, the minorities, the dispossessed and the women. The preamble closes on a promise that PTI's 'Naya Pakistan is a message not only of hope but of a promise by PTI for the deprived, the dispossessed, the discriminated against for all the people of Pakistan'. This discourse of establishing the plight of the people of Pakistan as totally neglected by the political leaders of the country continues in the next section History of Pakistan: A Nation Betrayed with a new vigor.

6. Historical, Social and Political Context of the Study

PTI is a comparatively new political party in Pakistan. With its slogan of Naya Pakistan it gave a new ideology to the people of Pakistan. Presently PML founded in 1962, is the largest political force securing 186 seats in the National Assembly following the 2013 general election. On the other hand PPP founded in 1967 is a centre-left progressive party. It has been voted into power on five occasions. Once regarded as the most influential party it performed poorly in general election 2013 securing only 33 seats in the National Assembly. Whereas the ideologies of these two major parties, the centre-right PML and center-left PPP are deeply rooted in 'self respecting, prosperous, sovereign Pakistan' and 'social democracy' respectively, the ideology of PTI tries to completely sweep away the political scene by giving a new vision of Naya Pakistan. At the macrostructure of the discourse PTI's ideology has been clearly defined in the headline and in the lead paragraph of the 3rd section of the manifesto. Ideologies or themes, according to Dijk are defined in the headlines and lead paragraphs. The lead paragraph of the section constructs the ideology of the party. Naya Pakistan is going to be a totally new idyllic place for the people of Pakistan. The party hopes that it is a modern welfare state that will certainly reclaim Jinnah's Pakistan.

'The foundation of this will be the principles of Justice, Peace and Prosperity. On this foundation PTI will build a developed, educated, self-reliant, non-exploitative Naya Pakistan at peace with itself and its neighbors'.

7. An Analysis of Conflicts Involved

After defining the ideology of the party, the discourse takes a new dimension where the 65 years of Pakistan's history have been referred as dark period for the nation. The very title of this section Pakistan's History: A Nation Betrayed clearly establishes the fact all the previous political parties have been misruling the country. They betrayed the whole of the nation in the name of democracy with the result that for 65 years the people of Pakistan had been subjected to 'opportunistic constitutionalism, exploitation by elites, corruption, injustice and inefficiency'. The lexical choice in this section of the manifesto has specifically been crafted to deconstruct the political allegiances of the masses. Each word contributes to make the people realize that up till now they have been totally living an ignorant life because of the inefficient rulers of the country. For example, it is a 'nation' that has become 'subject'/slave to the 'will of external power'. Today's Pakistan is not 'The Pakistan envisioned by Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Independence Movement'. However, this was not the fate of the people of Pakistan. The discourse works to inform the readers that they were not the people to be led by such and such rulers. They are the great people of a great country. It is the irony that 'A country with highly skilled people, abundant natural resources and an advantageous strategic location has been reduced to a discredited and fragmented polity with decaying state structure'. The text makes use of the readers' knowledge to make them understand the injustice done to them in the name of politics. Seen through the lens of 'Schema Theory' the writer draws upon a number of schemas for the cognitive construction of PTI ideology. According to Cook

'the mind stimulated by key words or phrases, in the text, or by the content, activates a knowledge schema, and uses it to make sense of the schema' (1989, p.69)

The manifesto frequently uses phrases and terms like 'US-led War on Terror', 'corrupt elite', '18th Amendment and its use for personal aggrandizement, 'lack of direction over the issue of Local Bodies' and compromises made with external powers etc. These key words and phrases with exophoric implications make the readers visualize the relationship between foreign aid and drone attacks, the rich rulers of the country and an increasing rate of poverty on the level of masses etc. Pakistan suffers terrorism because its rulers have always knelt before US policies on drone attacks. The Pakistani governments had always been hungry for powers and never went for the decentralization of powers. That is the reason the issue of local bodies has no importance for the governments. It is with the help of the same words and phrases that the text builds the new ideology of Naya Pakistan by counterclaiming the present claims. It will be a place free from these evils. In place of these evils, PTI will make a Naya Pakistan. The discourse has made careful counterclaims against the existing claims of present day politics. In a typical claim-counterclaim text the writer explains one view and then counters it with his own opinion. Against the claims presented in the discourse PTI has made a number of counterclaims which work to bring relief to the readers. For example PTI's Naya Pakistan will provide 'peace'(counter claim) against 'US-led War on Terror'(claim), it will give 'justice'(counter claim) by holding Local Bodies Election against the 'injustice'(claim) of present day politics. It will also bring 'prosperity' (counterclaim) by the elimination of the system of 'the corrupt elite' (claim).

8. Analysis of Positive and Negative opinions about Us versus Them

The text of the manifesto represents a strong discourse of 'Us versus Them' (van Dijk 1998). It is one of the main features of political texts that they make use of positive opinions about Us and negative opinions about Them. The lexical words used in the text clearly draw boundaries between us and them. All the phrases and words which can define a political party as the best party have been used for PTI while all those lexical terms that can stamp a party as the worst groups have been selected for the other parties. The discourse of the manifesto fits into van Dijk's (1995) concept that WE are democratic while THEY are not, and Our soldiers are fighting for freedom while the Others are terrorists. The text continues to claim that PTI is the only party that can deliver the nation from injustice

done to it by all the other political parties. The repeated focus on ‘justice’ and ‘corrupt elite’ within the text leaves a strong impression upon the minds of the people about US as good versus THEM as bad.

<u>About Us</u>	<u>About Them</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. PTI will build a developed, educated, self-reliant, non exploitative Naya Pakistan. 2. A country with highly skilled people, abundant natural resources but 3. Instead of relying on Pakistan’s own potential 4. Our aim of a modern welfare state 5. We will reclaim Pakistan from 6. Power will devolve to the people 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The people of Pakistan have been subjected to exploitation by elites, corruption, injustice and inefficiency 2. Reduced to a discredited and fragmented polity with decaying state structure 3. Corrupt and inept elites have sought to seek foreign support. 4. Centralized state building 5. Those who have.....destroyed the country for the sake of their own personal interests, greed and subservience to external powers. 6. opportunist constitutionalism

Table 1: Discourse representing ‘Us versus Them’

9. Cohesion

The very first line of the section entitled Pakistan’s History: A Nation Betrayed says ‘for over 65 years, the people of Pakistan have been subjected to.....’ The 65 years refer to a period beyond the text. It is the history of Pakistan. It means that the people of Pakistan have been living a life of slavery since its creation. Without mentioning the name of any political party the discourse puts blame on all the parties for enslaving the nation through the references such as ‘opportunist constitutionalism, exploitation by elites, corruption, injustice and inefficiency’. By implication all the ruling parties before the creation of PTI have been just exploiting Pakistan. It is through such references that the texts specifically the political texts say more than the words written. This is the basic pattern of the PTI manifesto that provides a wide variety of meaning to it. Halliday calls such construction as having ‘non-structural resources’ (1985, p.288). The linguistic force of the manifesto is mainly embedded in its non-structural resources specifically the exophoric references that provide cohesion to its discourse. For example the first paragraph of the preamble closes on a counterclaim made by PTI that

‘PTI leads by example as unlike other parties that are family enterprises, PTI is a party now wholly structured on elected representatives from the grassroots up to the Chairman’

To understand family enterprises one needs to go beyond linguistic knowledge and look into the writer’s purpose in giving this particular reference. It is beyond text reference. The writer, by drawing upon the background knowledge of the readers did not feel the need to say which of Pakistan’s political parties are family enterprises. Of course a Pakistani reader does not need much imagination to comprehend that this beyond text reference targets PML and PPP. Both the parties have been frequently criticized for adjusting their family members on high posts. Similarly, these corrupt rulers have been continuously adjusting and amending the constitution for ‘personal aggrandizement’. The writer emphasizes that the ‘haphazard devolution, through a hastily passed 18th Amendment has only created further chaos’. 18th Amendment works as an anaphoric reference that can be related to the preceding reference of ‘personal aggrandizement’. The 18th Amendment was passed by the National Assembly on April 8, 2010 under President Asif Ali Zardari (PPP). The amendment brought a decisive change to the constitution of Pakistan. On the one hand it dismissed the powers of the president to dissolve the assemblies, on the other it lifted the ban on the third time prime ministership and chief ministership thus giving opportunity to Nawaz Sharif (PML) to become Prime Minister for the third time and securing the same opportunity for PPP. Similarly the closing line of the Preamble says

‘Naya Pakistan is a message not only of hope but of a promise by PTI for the deprived, the dispossessed, the discriminated against, for all the people of Pakistan’.

If the writer had said ‘Naya Pakistan is a message not only of hope but of a promise by PTI for all the people of Pakistan’ the text could have communicated the message. Every party claims to be the representative of all the masses of the country, but the specification of three classes ‘the deprived, the dispossessed, the discriminated against’ point toward a state of conditions within the country where the ruling party is neglecting them. PTI is going to be a ray of hope for this 80% along with the other 20% for ‘We will reclaim Pakistan from those who have.....destroyed the country for the sake of their own personal interests, greed and subservience to external interests’

10. The Nationalist’s Language

According to Dijk discourse is a complex communicative event. It embodies a social context featuring participants and their properties. A greater part of the participants of political texts are those group members whom the party politics attempt to influence by presenting before them strong political agendas against other political groups. That is why the rhetorical pattern of political texts is a scene of high flown language e.g. the overall narrative of the manifesto presents a highly formal language. There is a continuous

emphasis on principles, ideology, nation, and above all justice, peace and change. Naya Pakistan will be no less than a super power. It is going to be so powerful that its people will be the masters of their destiny. 'It is a commitment to ensure that every Pakistani feels empowered and has control over his/her own destiny'

In order to 'activate a knowledge of schema' the writer, draws a sharp contrast between people's present miserable condition and a promise for Naya Pakistan that makes the readers realize that they have been historically 'betrayed' since '65 years'. So it is now, the patriot PTI's duty to deliver them. PTI is presenting a grand nationalist's vision for the great people of a great nation. Ideologies, according to him are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize....socially shared attitudes. So they have the power to 'indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members'. The discourse explores the national spirit of the readers by using a highly formal language that is deeply embedded in Pakistanism for PTI

'has never and will never seek compromises for the sake of power. Hence its refusal to compromise on its principles and ideology of Justice and Change: A Naya Pakistan built on Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision encapsulated in an Islamic Welfare State'.

For Pakistani nationals nothing is more sacred than Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision. They can easily acquire a new ideology in the name of Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision. Every Pakistani knows that these two great prophets of the national history of Pakistan wanted to see Pakistan a great Islamic Welfare State that is now being promised by PTI.

11. Conclusion

Ideology construction is an inevitable process of linguistic system. Critical Discourse Analysis helps in analyzing ideologies that underlie different discourses. The overall discourse of the manifesto establishes the view that since its creation Pakistan had been misruled by the minority elites. The present day politics of Pakistan has marginalized everyone in the country except a small elite. The people of Pakistan have never enjoyed the fruits of true democracy. Indeed the elite kept them so ignorant that they do not even know their rightful democratic rights. Without mentioning the name of any political party the manifesto makes explicit references to almost all the political parties by naming them the 'elite' and who kept Pakistan backward in every field of life. My paper has made a critical discourse analysis of the manifesto and found that the discourse of the PTI manifesto has built its ideology on the basis of conflicts between PTI and other parties. Naya Pakistan is going to be everything that others parties have never been.

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Appendix

1. Preamble

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, as its name signifies, is built on the core principle of Justice. It is committed to fighting injustice in our state and society in order to establish a social and political order premised on justice for all. A just order is the foundation for creating a nation where equal opportunity exists for all citizens in all fields from health to education to security of life and property. Justice ensures women, minorities, the poor, the dispossessed and disadvantaged are not exploited by the powerful and discriminated against. PTI leads by example as, unlike other parties that are family enterprises, PTI is a party now wholly structured on elected representatives from the grassroots up to the Chairman.

PTI is the Party of the ordinary Pakistani toiling hard to make a better future for himself/herself and his/her family. PTI stands committed to providing that future because it sees the people of Pakistan as the wealth of Pakistan. That is why PTI has always dedicated itself to the welfare of all the people of Pakistan without discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, origin, gender or religion.

PTI stands for an effective government with merit and responsiveness as the guiding principles. PTI strongly believes that an ineffective state structure has generated a crisis of governance that has effectively marginalised everyone in the country except a small elite. Therefore PTI will end this corrupt and decaying system to build anew on the foundation of Justice and Equity. The legacy of misrule and misery by a corrupt inept elite will be relegated to the dustbin of history.

PTI also recognizes the scourge of terrorism and its devastating effect on Pakistan and its citizens. Forty thousand plus people have lost their lives, including over four thousand soldiers and police. Even worse, a once tolerant society has become polarized into intolerance, fear and hate. PTI stands committed to restoring the spirit of tolerance and acceptance amongst all the citizens of Pakistan. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has a mission to change the status quo destructive politics in Pakistan. It has never and will never seek compromises for the sake of powers. Hence its refusal to compromise on its principles and ideology of Justice and Change: A Naya Pakistan built on Iqbal's dream and Jinnah's vision encapsulated in an Islamic Welfare State. A Pakistan where all are equal before the law and where all have equal access to health, education and opportunity in every field. A Naya Pakistan that will place the life and dignity of all its citizens above all else.

PTI's vision is a Naya Pakistan that is confident in itself and at peace with its neighbours on the basis of mutual reciprocity. A Pakistan that seeks friendly relations with all states on the basis of transparency, mutuality of interests and respect for sovereignty. A Naya Pakistan that will be premised on a strong strategic deterrence but will seek conflict resolution. A Naya Pakistan that will not fight others' wars or act as a surrogate for any power.

These guiding principles and commitments are reflected in the Manifesto that is being placed before the people of Pakistan. It is a commitment to ensure that every Pakistani feels empowered and has control over his/her own destiny. Power will devolve to the people so that they take control of their own lives within a just and equitable environment. Naya Pakistan is a message not only of hope but of a promise by PTI for the deprived, the dispossessed, the discriminated against, for all the people of Pakistan.

2. Pakistan's History: A Nation Betrayed

For over 65 years, the people of Pakistan have been subjected to Opportunist constitutionalism, exploitation by elites, corruption, injustice and inefficiency. The nation has been subjected to the will of external powers, with the most recent involvement in the Pakistan's polity. The Pakistan envisioned by Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and the Independence Movement is not the Pakistan of today.

A country with highly skilled people, abundant natural resources and an advantageous strategic location has been reduced to a discredited and fragmented polity with decaying state structures. The Constitution is a tool in the hands of corrupt rulers who have exploited it repeatedly as rules have been amended and adjusted for personal aggrandizement. The life and welfare of ordinary citizens has no value for the ruling elite. Haphazard devolution, through a hastily passed 18th Amendment, has only created further chaos without giving people real control over their lives in terms of decision making. This has been further aggravated because of a persisting confusion and lack of direction over the issue of Local Bodies, the third tier of government and the essential start of meaningful devolution. Corruption has become endemic leading to a powerful black economy and flight of capital and increasing poverty. The continuing evasion of tax and nonpayment of loans has further burdened the economic wellbeing of the nation leading to a steep decline over the last five years of Pakistan's Human Development Index and major economic indicators. One outcome of this has been a sharp rise in violent crime.

Instead of relying on Pakistan's own potential, corrupt and inept elites have sought to seek foreign support by offering to further external powers' agendas at the cost of nations own internal and external security including destruction of its economy. Nothing symbolizes this more acutely than the US imposed War on Terror which has degenerated into a war of terror for ordinary Pakistanis. Society has become polarized and militarized with the proliferation of militant groups and external aggressive and often hostile agencies all of whom operate freely in the country. Furthermore, absence of a comprehensive national strategy and a total refusal to pay heed to parliamentary consensus on crucial security issues has made the Pakistani nation irrelevant to the compromises the rulers have made with external powers. This has been the culmination of the betrayal this nation by successive corrupt ruling elites.

3. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's Naya Pakistan: A dignified, self respecting and prosperous people

The state of affairs in Pakistan has come to such a head that in order to commence the process of reform one has to change everything if we are to achieve our goal of a modern welfare state so as to reclaim Jinnah's Pakistan. The foundation of this will be the principles of Justice, Peace and Prosperity. On this foundation PTI will build a developed, Educated, self-reliant, non exploitative Naya Pakistan at peace with itself and its neighbours.

The vision of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf derives from the ideas and vision of Allama Mohammad Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. We will reclaim Pakistan from those who have successively subverted national development and almost destroyed the country for the sake of their own personal interests, greed and subservience to external interests.

Pakistan's tragedy has been that it has been unable to evolve a Pakistan's national indigenous narrative which would allowed it to focus on realizing its national potential and being on the road to attaining credible self reliance and security. In the absence of a national narrative it has been vulnerable to external exigencies, exploitation and intrusions.

Pakistan's strategic location at the confluence of South, West and Central Asia, should have been a source of strength but has become a source of weakness because of the inability or unwillingness of the leaders to exploit this natural geostrategic advantage. It has also failed to exploit and use its myriad of natural resources from agriculture to the world's largest known reserves of gold and copper for the betterment of its people.

Politically, instead of embracing the diversity and heterogeneity of its population and converting this into a rich national ethos, focus was on centralized state building which led to a total neglect of nation building, especially in the wake of multiple military interventions. The result has, over the years, led to a dissipating sense of national cohesion and identity.

PTI will evolve a national narrative for its policy making, ensuring that Pakistan embraces its diversity and moves to national cohesion premised on decentralization and the richness of its heterogeneity. Nation building will be a priority and its national resources will be exploited for the benefit of its people, especially for those people living in the areas where the wealth is located. The strategic location will be used to strengthen the nation through developing the potential of energy corridors and pipelines. No foreign diktat will influence decisions related to national security and socio economic development. The resources of the country belong to the people of the country and will be used for their progress and development. PTI will ensure that the poor, the underprivileged, the discriminated and the marginalized will be the focal point of all its policies.

Pakistan's economy, resource mobilization and foreign policy have remained hostage to the objectives of stronger allies that distorted economic growth and foreign policy needs of Pakistan. Military interventions in Pakistan's politics tended largely to coincide with the geostrategic interests of big powers in the region, relegating Pakistan to a militarized state and undermining growth and development of a multidimensional state.