

Political Resistance and Democratic Revival: Examining ANP's Role in the Musharraf Regime

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.70670/sra.v3i3.1334>

Abstract

This research examines the political conditions during the rule of General Pervez Musharraf (1999–2008) and highlights the efforts of the Awami National Party (ANP) to restore democracy. This study describes the active role that the ANP played during various political crises—such as the removal of the Chief Justice, the imposition of Emergency, the All Parties Conference (APC) 2007, and the situation that arose after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. The research shows that the ANP not only maintained strong ties with opposition coalitions but also consistently raised its voice for the restoration of democratic principles, parliamentary supremacy, and the constitutional system. Despite state pressure, arrests, and media restrictions, the party continued its political activities and actively participated in opposing the authoritarian policies of the Musharraf government. During the 2008 general elections, the ANP ran an active public campaign, presented a policy narrative in favour of reforms, and later played a significant role in the government formation process, which allowed the political system to move forward in a democratic direction. The research concludes that the ANP's resistance, political strategy, and its consistent stance towards promoting democratic values not only influenced the politics of the Musharraf era but also played a significant role in strengthening the democratic process in Pakistan.

Keywords

Awami National Party (ANP), Musharraf regime, democratic restoration, democratization in Pakistan, constitutionalism,

Introduction

An associated party with Socialist International, the ANP is one of the prominent socialist parties in

Pakistan. Strongly aligned with Pashtun nationalism, its primary electoral spheres of influence are provinces predominantly inhabited by Pashtuns, with some influence in Baluchistan and Sindh provinces. In 1986, the National Democratic Party merged with an alliance of progressive political and ethnic nationalist factions to establish the ANP. The party elected Abdul Wali Khan as its president and Rasul Bakhsh Palijo, a Sindhi nationalist, as its secretary general.

During the years 1986-1988, the party actively engaged in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The party established a coalition government with the People's Party in the North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Islamabad following the 1988 election. In April 1989, this alliance collapsed as a result of divergences among the leaders of the two parties. The ANP established a coalition with PML in early June 1989, resulting in a formal division within the party, as numerous activists joined forces with PPP. Following the election of Sharif in the 1990 elections, ANP once again forged a coalition with its previous adversary, PAL. Long-lasting, this alliance endured until 1998 when it disintegrated as a result of disagreements over the Kalabagh Dam and the renaming of the province Pakhtunkhwa. Subsequently, the party became a member of the Grand Democratic Alliance, actively opposing the policies of the progressively autocratic Sharif regime.

Following Pervez Musharraf's decision to overturn Sharif, the party continued to be a prominent participant in the coalition for Restoration of Democracy until the September 11 attacks in 2001, when it withdrew from the coalition due to the United States' endorsement of the Taliban's forced removal. Azam Khan Hoti, the senior party leader and former federal minister, was arrested during this period, resulting in a tarnished reputation for the party. In the 2002 elections, the party formed a coalition with PPP. However, both parties were defeated in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provincial elections by the religious-political alliance known as MMA because of the prevailing anti-American feeling in Pakistan.

During the 2008 elections, the party independently successfully secured a majority of votes in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, along with seats in Baluchistan for the first time in fifteen years and seats in Karachi for the first time. It later established a government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and backed the PPP administration in Sindh and Baluchistan.

This study aims to underscore the significance of ANP, a prominent political entity in Pakistan, known for its progressive ideology and commitment to democratic principles. Rooted in the ideological framework established by its leaders, including Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Asfandiyar Wali Khan, ANP's intellectual agenda serves as a guiding force for its political actions and policies. Through an in-depth analysis of ANP's agenda, this research seeks to explain the party's vision for governance and societal transformation. Moreover, this study investigates the ANP's role in advocating for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan, particularly during the tenure of General Pervez Musharraf's regime (1999-2008). By examining the party's struggle against authoritarian rule, this research sheds light on ANP's efforts to uphold democratic principles and challenge the consolidation of power by military forces. Through its activism, grassroots mobilization, and participation in pro-democracy movements, ANP emerges as a pivotal player in the push for democratic reform and political accountability in Pakistan.

Organizational Structure of ANP

During the first part of the twentieth century, whenever individuals mentioned political parties, their main consideration was their ideology rather than their machinery, organisation, and equipment. A political worker's contemplation of his loyalty and the foundation of his affiliation with the party was atypical. Recently, two main categories of parties have arisen in terms of their organisational structure. The political parties that relied on substantial financial contributions from influential persons were referred to as the traditional parties. The second category consists of mass parties that primarily rely on modest regular contributions from regular party members for their financial support. (Duverger, n.d.) The organisational structure of ANP mirrored that of mass political parties. Socialist and communist

parties in the early half of the twentieth century, and subsequently parties in emerging nations, employed the strategy of organising mass parties. In essence, this approach substitutes the capitalist funding of political campaigning with democratic funding. Rather of targeting a small group of major private donors, industrialists, bankers, or affluent merchants, mass parties distribute the responsibility among a far larger number of members, each of whom makes a little contribution. These political parties attract the paying public, whose contributions enable the electoral campaign to be free from capitalist control. They also attract the politically mature individuals who are now more politically conscious and have acquired the knowledge to influence the state apparatus. (North, n.d.) The mass parties were a manifestation of the dissemination of democratic principles to every individual person. Individuals are unable to properly fulfil their political responsibilities if they restrict themselves to voting only every five or six years. Mass parties afforded their members the chance to marry into a larger organisation and an enlarged political sphere, therefore enabling them involvement in governmental matters. The systematic payment of party dues necessitated a highly structured organization, a prevalent feature of mass parties. The probable motive is to exert control over the permanent members of the party, which often include hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of individuals. This phenomenon explains the progressive evolution of an intricate, hierarchical party structure and the establishment of the central committee of internal leaders, which undermine the authority of individuals occupying parliamentary positions. The leftist parties, characterized by their radical stance and the corrupt influence of the legislative environment, consistently adhere to the notion of rigorous subordination of representatives to the central committees, as described by Duverger. (Singh, 2021)

Within its organizational framework, the policy makers of the ANP embraced the practice of funding elections through popular investment due to their inability to secure financial support from bankers, industrialists, and major landowners. The strategic approach was embraced by revolutionary factions within the party due to the considerable challenges they faced in effectively handling election funds using their limited resources. The concept was devised to enlist a large number of permanent members, each of whom would make a regular, yearly, or monthly payment to support the campaign operations. This particular party policy situates the ANP under the classification of a mass party.

Membership in the major unit of the party is open to any Pakistani citizen who is 18 years of age or older, who takes the party pledge and pays a biennial fee of one Anna. The subscription was structured such that one-eighth was allocated to the central party office, while the remaining portion was to be distributed as determined by the regional units. (Mahmood & Faiq, 2022)

No minister or parliamentary secretary in the central or provincial governments must meet the eligibility criteria to be elected to any job within the party's central organisation. If any office bearer were to successfully assume a position in the government or parliament, their party office would be automatically relinquished. The national council, the highest governing body of the party, comprised 214 members. Out of them, 100 members would be elected from each wing every two years by the corresponding regional councils. Furthermore, the president would nominate 10 members, with 5 from each ideological faction. The ex-officio members of the national council would consist of the leader of the parliamentary party in the National Assembly and the two presidents of the regional bureaux. A further ex-officio member, the Salar-i-Aala, was appointed by the president. (Marwat & Latif, 2022)

The national council, as the supreme organisational body of the party, had the responsibility of formulating various policies and programs. The election of its members was based on the principle of parity between West and East Pakistan. It would convene on an annual basis, rotating between each wing. The council required a quorum of 50 members in attendance to conduct its business. Given a written notice of 30 days, any 40 council members have the right to request the general secretary to convene a meeting at the headquarters. An innovative approach was developed to maintain equality between the two branches of the country in the national council. If a council meeting is conducted in one wing and members from the other wing, being minority, are present, they would have an equal number of votes as the number of members from the wing where the meeting is taking place, as long

as no person has more than three votes.

The national council held unrivalled authority inside the party with regards to policy formulation. This entity possesses the authority to choose the president of the party and appoint the members of the working committee and the parliamentary board. In previous political parties in Pakistan, it was customary for the president to handpick the members of the working committees, while the working committee would nominate the members of the parliamentary board. A noteworthy characteristic of the ANP structure was its linguistic composition of the national council of West Pakistan. Its distinctive characteristics set it apart from other political parties in the country. By way of example, the council of the Pakistan Muslim League failed to uphold equality between the two wings. Representation from diverse linguistic groups was completely absent in the council of the League. In contrast to other political parties, the council of the NAP had the special responsibility of evaluating the performance of various branches within the party. The body possesses the authority to modify the constitution and to assign authority to the president, general secretary, working committee, and other sub-committees, in addition to the powers and authority designated to these entities by the constitution. It designates and establishes several sub-committees to implement the party's agenda, exercising powers and imposing restrictions as it sees appropriate.

An executive committee was established to function as the national governing body of the party. Ex-officio members of the committee included the president, general secretary, two joint secretaries, one from each wing, head of the legislative party in the National Assembly, two vice presidents, and the treasurer. In addition, there were 30 further members, with 10 selected from each wing by the members of the national council of their respective wings. (Aziz, 2007) Out of the council members, the president would nominate five individuals from each wing. The body should possess the authority to deliberate and approve resolutions and to implement appropriate measures about any issue pertaining to these objectives or policies that it deemed to be inconsistent with the declared beliefs and philosophy of the party. Its primary responsibility was to execute the decisions and resolutions adopted by the national council. The working committees were responsible for preparing the annual budget, managing expenditures, overseeing the activities of several organs, striving to fulfil the party's goals and objectives, and overseeing the nomination and conduct of the national council election. One of the organs of the ANP was a nine-member parliamentary board. This board comprised the president as an ex-officio member and four members from each wing, who were elected by the personnel of the respective wing. (Gul et al., 2022)

During the early years of the establishment of the ANP, the exact number of members in the party was not officially verified. There was no definitive declaration from which the overall membership of the party could be determined. Certain authors have reported that the party in NWFP had a membership of 400,000 individuals. Chairman of the Sindh Hari Committee, a subsidiary of the ANP, Hyder Bakhsh Jatoi, previously asserted that the Committee has a membership of 200,000 individuals. (Aziz, 2007) The fundamental unit of the ANP was referred to as the 'branch', which was a construct of communist origin. The socialist parties, which were established based solely on political principles and a direct organisational structure, pick the branch as the fundamental unit for their political endeavours. Although these parties initially recruited the privileged members of the working classes, their primary objective was to mobilise the general population and provide them with political instruction.

At the workers convention of the ANP, Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani was chosen as the president of the entire Pakistan ANP. He also assumed the crucial role of chairing the provincial committee for East Pakistan. Furthermore, a central organising committee consisting of thirty members was established. Within the all-Pakistan committee, Mahmud-ul-Haq Usmani assumed the position of general secretary, while Abdul Ghaffar Khan was elected as the head of the West Pakistan provincial committee. Abdul Majid Sindhi, Mian Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Haji Muhammad Danish, Dabir-ud-din Ahmad, and Muhammad Toha respectively assumed the positions of vice-presidents. Kaswar Gardezi and Professor Muzaffar were appointed as co-secretaries. Shaukat Ali was appointed as the party's

Treasurer. Mahmud Ali assumed the position of general secretary of the East Pakistan ANP. Among the members of the party, Ali Ahad, Ahmadul Kabir, Mohiy-ud-Din Ahmad, Khondkar Muhammad Ilyas, Ata-ur-Rahman, Abdur Razzaq, Maulana Azmi, Bijoybhushan Chatterjee, Musharraf Hussain Mondal, Aziz-ul-Haq, and Ghazi-ul-Haq were appointed as joint secretaries of East Pakistan. Various sub-committees were established to oversee the operations of different units within the party. Afzal Bangash was appointed as a member of the sub-committee of ANP assigned with the responsibility of creating additional rules and regulations for the party manifesto and offering direction to the organisational wing in formulating the party's constitution.

Role of ANP in Anti-Musharraf Movement

Pervez Musharraf assumed administrative control through a military coup when the army leadership declined to acknowledge the decision made by democratically elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif to remove the former Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and designate General Ziauddin Butt as a new COAS on October 12, 1999. The decision of the prime minister was a result of the disagreements that arose between him and the COAS over the Kargil war, which General Musharraf allegedly embarked on without the authorisation or awareness of Sharif. In a televised address to the country, Musharraf declared the removal of the civilian administration, which includes the prime minister, his cabinet, province chief ministers, and governors. The Constitution of Pakistan was suspended by Musharraf on October 14, and thereafter, the National Assembly implemented a state of emergency in the country. Nevertheless, it was declared that President Rafiq Tarar would retain his position.

Musharraf declared himself as the Chief Executive of the nation, therefore assuming the responsibility of the prime minister and exercising the corresponding authorities. Furthermore, he issued a Provisional Constitutional Order (PCO) which prohibited all courts and tribunals from issuing any "judgement, writ, order" or similar measures against any action carried out by "the chief executive or any authority designated" by him, including the declaration of emergency.

Nevertheless, the military government explicitly stated that the basic rights that do not conflict with "the state of emergency proclamation" will continue to be valid. The administration further guaranteed Chief Justice Saeeduzzaman Siddiqui, the Chief Justice of Pakistan (CJP), that it would not impede the autonomy of the judiciary, which is to operate in accordance with the constitution. (Naazer et al., 2018)

President Musharraf failed to fulfil the majority, if not all, of his commitments, especially those pertaining to the tenure of President Tarar, autonomy of the judiciary, and implementation of basic human rights, including civil and political rights, within the nation. For example, he compelled the judges of the higher courts to take an oath under the Professional Conduct Ordinance (PCO) and dismissed many of them who declined to do so or the government prohibited them from doing so due to its disapproval or fear of them. In addition, Musharraf unlawfully removed President Tarar from his position and thereafter elevated himself to the presidency. Therefore, the Musharraf government eroded the autonomy of the court, making it subordinate to the executive, particularly military leadership, reduced political freedoms and limited media freedom. Throughout the military regime of Pervez Musharraf, the general human rights situation in the country remained grim. Notwithstanding the apparent shift to civilian control (and reinstatement of democracy) after the general elections conducted in October 2002, no substantial change occurred. The 2002 elections were conducted under the backdrop of military rule, presenting unique challenges to political parties amidst constraints imposed by the ruling regime. Despite these obstacles, the ANP emerged as a key player, advocating for the interests of the Pashtun community and regional autonomy.

Within the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD), formed to challenge Musharraf's undemocratic practices, the ANP aligned itself with opposition forces to push for democratic reforms. The objectives of the ARD, including the restoration of democracy and the repeal of authoritarian laws, resonated ANP's commitment to democratic principles. Despite facing crackdowns and

obstacles, ANP remained steadfast in its support for the ARD's goals, participating in protests and rallies to raise awareness about the need for democratic governance. Additionally, the ANP played a significant role within the framework of the Charter of Democracy (CoD), advocating for constitutional reforms and the promotion of civil-military relations. Through its engagement in the CoD, ANP demonstrated its commitment to strengthening democratic institutions and ensuring the rule of law in Pakistan.

Furthermore, ANP actively contributed to opposition movements such as All Parties Conference (APC) of 2007, advocating for democratic principles and challenging Musharraf's authoritarian rule. Despite facing repression and intimidation tactics, ANP remained resilient in its pursuit of democratic ideals.

The chapter aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of ANP's role in anti-Musharraf government, highlighting its mobilization efforts, ideological stances, and impact on Pakistan's political discourse. By examining ANP's contributions within this context, the chapter seeks to offer insights into the party's enduring commitment to democracy and its influence on Pakistan's political development.

ANP's Role in the 2002 Elections: Mobilization, Ideology, and Dynamics

The 2002 national elections in Pakistan marked a pivotal moment in the country's political landscape, occurring under the governance of a military regime led by General Pervez Musharraf. This electoral event was distinct from previous ones, characterized by the participation of political parties despite constraints imposed by the ruling regime. Notably, the exclusion of key leaders such as Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto due to disqualification criteria, including educational requirements and term limits for elected officials, reshaped the electoral dynamics. International scrutiny, evidenced by observer missions from organizations like Commonwealth Secretariat and European Union Electoral Observer Missions, highlighted the global significance of these elections. However, allegations of interference by military government, including restrictions on opposition leaders and instances of defections from opposition parties, raised concerns about the integrity of the electoral process. The emergence of new political players, notably Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), an Islamist coalition, added complexity to the electoral landscape. Despite challenges and controversies, the MMA surprised many by securing a significant number of seats, reflecting shifting political alliances and strategic maneuvers. The election results, characterized by intricate power dynamics and strategic alliances, underscored the complexities of Pakistan's political environment during this period.

A thorough analysis of 2002 national elections in Pakistan provides valuable insights into the country's democratic processes, institutional frameworks, and the role of military intervention in shaping political outcomes. By examining the factors influencing voter behavior, party strategies, and the impact of external actors, scholars can gain a deeper understanding of Pakistan's political development and its implications for democracy and governance.

The 2002 national elections in Pakistan witnessed a dynamic political landscape characterized by intricate alliances, ideological posturing, and electoral strategies. Within this milieu, Awami National Party (ANP) played a significant role, particularly in representing the interests of the Pashtun community and advocating for regional autonomy. This section provides an in-depth analysis of the ANP's involvement in the electoral process, highlighting its mobilization efforts, ideological positions, and impact on the broader political discourse.

Mobilization Strategies and Grassroots Outreach

Amidst the backdrop of seat adjustments and political alliances, ANP embarked on a comprehensive mobilization campaign, leveraging its grassroots network and historical resonance with the Pashtun populace. The party's mobilization strategies were geared towards galvanizing support from across the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP, now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), emphasizing regional concerns and aspirations. Through public rallies, door-to-door outreach, and engagement with local

communities, ANP sought to consolidate its electoral base and amplify its presence on the national stage.

Ideological Rhetoric and Advocacy for Regional Autonomy

Central to ANP's electoral narrative was its commitment to Pashtun nationalism and the pursuit of regional autonomy. The party's ideological stance resonated with voters, particularly in the NWFP, as it championed the rights of the Pashtun community and advocated for greater provincial autonomy within the federal framework. By foregrounding issues such as the equitable distribution of resources, opposition to the Kalabagh Dam project, and rejection of the National Finance Commission (NFC) award, ANP positioned itself as a vanguard of Pashtun interests in the electoral arena.

Engagement with Electoral Alliances and Political Dynamics

Amidst the broader landscape of electoral alliances and seat adjustments, ANP navigated strategic partnerships while staying true to its core ideological principles. Unlike some mainstream parties, ANP maintained its distinct identity and refrained from compromising its principles for short-term electoral gains. Through strategic alliances with like-minded parties and a steadfast commitment to Pashtun-centric issues, ANP carved out a unique space within the electoral discourse, shaping regional politics and policy agendas.

Impact and Legacy

ANP's participation in 2002 elections left a lasting impact on Pakistani politics, both regionally and nationally. By articulating the aspirations of the Pashtun community and advocating for regional autonomy, the party contributed to the diversification of political discourse and the representation of marginalized voices. (Waseem, 2006) Despite electoral challenges and the broader political landscape, ANP's legacy endures as a testament to the resilience of Pashtun nationalism and progressive politics in Pakistan. (Ayres, 2009)

ANP's Performance in the 2002 Elections

Awami National Party (ANP), a prominent political entity representing Pashtun interests, faced significant challenges in 2002 national elections. Despite its historical significance and grassroots support base, ANP encountered difficulties in securing electoral victories, particularly in the Pashtun-majority areas of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP, now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Despite its vigorous campaigning efforts and appeals to Pashtun nationalism, the party failed to win a single national assembly seat from the province, marking a significant setback in its electoral history. Factors contributing to ANP's electoral defeat include internal organizational weaknesses, strategic miscalculations, and the emergence of formidable opponents, such as the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA), which capitalized on the prevailing political landscape. (Khan et al., 2020)

An analysis of ANP's electoral strategy reveals the complexities of seat adjustments and political alliances that influenced its campaign dynamics. (Hossain, 2000) The party's decision to engage in seat adjustments with Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (PPP-P) aimed to consolidate opposition forces against the ruling regime but led to internal discontent among its grassroots supporters. ANP's alliance with PPP-P, while intended to strengthen its electoral prospects, faced criticism from within the party ranks, as some viewed it as compromising ANP's distinct identity and principles of Pashtun nationalism. The repercussions of these strategic alliances and seat adjustments significantly impacted ANP's electoral performance and shaped the broader political landscape in NWFP.

Despite its electoral setbacks in NWFP, ANP continued to assert its presence in provincial and national politics. While the party failed to secure national assembly seats, it maintained a significant presence in provincial assemblies, signaling its enduring relevance in regional politics. The absence

of electoral victories at the national level underscored broader shifts in provincial and national politics, with other political entities, such as MMA, emerging as formidable contenders. ANP's struggle for representation amidst evolving political dynamics highlights the complexities of Pashtun identity politics and regional aspirations within the broader context of Pakistani democracy.

Lessons Learned and Future Prospects

The elections of 2002 served as a crucial learning experience for ANP, prompting a reevaluation of its electoral strategies and political objectives. Despite electoral setbacks, the party emerged with valuable insights and a renewed commitment to its core principles of Pashtun nationalism and regional autonomy. Post-election reflections within ANP focused on addressing internal organizational weaknesses, fostering greater unity among party ranks, and refining its messaging to resonate with diverse constituencies. Moving forward, ANP remains poised to navigate the complexities of Pakistani politics, advocating for the rights and aspirations of the Pashtun community while contributing to the broader democratic discourse in the country.

ANP's Role in ARD during the Musharraf Regime

The formation of the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) marked a pivotal moment in Pakistan's political history, emerging as a response to General Pervez Musharraf's military dictatorship. The ARD, led by Nawabzada Nusrullah Khan, aimed to challenge the undemocratic practices of the regime and advocate for the restoration of democratic governance in Pakistan. Within this alliance, the Awami National Party (ANP) played a crucial role, aligning itself with the objectives of the ARD and actively participating in efforts to oppose military rule.

Objectives of ARD

ARD articulated clear objectives, including the restoration of democracy, reinstatement of the 1973 constitution, removal of the Legal Framework Order, and cessation of military involvement in governance. These objectives resonated with ANP's commitment to democratic principles and its advocacy for the rights of the Pakistani people. By aligning with ARD, ANP demonstrated its dedication to challenging authoritarianism and promoting democratic reforms.

Composition of ARD

Comprising a diverse coalition of political parties, ARD brought together entities such as Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz group), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), and others. Despite ideological differences and internal challenges, ANP stood alongside these parties within the alliance. This reflected ANP's emphasis on maximum provincial autonomy and its commitment to collaborating with other opposition forces to confront military dictatorship and advance democratic governance. (Sahgal, 2008)

Challenges and Obstacles

ARD faced significant challenges during its campaign against the Musharraf regime. Government crackdowns on opposition leaders, including the arrest and imprisonment of Javed Hashmi, acting leader of the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz group) and president of ARD, highlighted the regime's efforts to suppress dissent and hinder opposition movements. Despite these obstacles, ANP remained steadfast in its support for ARD's objectives, participating in protests, rallies, and advocacy campaigns to raise awareness about the need for democratic reforms.

ANP's Role and Contributions within ARD

Awami National Party (ANP) played a pivotal role within the Alliance for the Restoration of Democracy (ARD) during the Musharraf regime, demonstrating a steadfast commitment to

democratic principles and advocating for political reforms in Pakistan. Through active participation in the alliance, ANP amplified the voices of the Pakistani people and collaborated with other opposition parties to confront authoritarianism. This essay explores ANP's contributions within ARD, highlighting its dedication to democracy and resilience in the face of adversity.

Commitment to Democratic Governance

ANP's involvement in ARD underscored its unwavering commitment to democratic governance. Despite challenges posed by the military regime, ANP remained steadfast in its advocacy for democratic principles and the rights of Pakistani citizens. By aligning with ARD, ANP signaled its determination to challenge military dictatorship and promote inclusive governance that prioritized the interests of people.

Collaboration with Opposition Parties

Within ARD, ANP actively collaborated with other opposition parties to confront authoritarianism and advance political reforms. Recognizing the importance of collective action, ANP worked alongside entities such as Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz group), and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) to amplify the opposition's voice and advocate for democratic reforms. Through joint efforts and solidarity, ANP strengthened ARD's advocacy initiatives and contributed to build a united front against military rule. (Misra & Clarke, 2013)

Advocacy for Political Reforms

Through its participation in ARD's activities, ANP advocated for political reforms aimed at restoring democratic governance in Pakistan. The party actively engaged in protests, rallies, and advocacy campaigns to raise awareness about the need for constitutional restoration, electoral transparency, and civilian rule. By mobilizing support from grassroots communities and engaging in political dialogue, ANP played a crucial role in shaping ARD's agenda and advocating for meaningful reforms.

Resilience in the Face of Adversity

Despite facing repression and government crackdowns, ANP remained resilient in its pursuit of democratic ideals. The party's leaders and activists demonstrated courage and determination in the face of threats and intimidation, refusing to be silenced by the regime's attempts to suppress dissent. Through perseverance and resilience, ANP continued to uphold its commitment to democratic governance and remained a steadfast advocate for political change.

ANP's role within ARD during the Musharraf regime exemplifies its dedication to democratic principles and its resilience in the face of adversity. (Belokrenitsky & Moskalenko, 2013) Through active participation in the alliance, ANP amplified the voices of the Pakistani people, collaborated with other opposition parties, and advocated for political reforms aimed at restoring democratic governance. Despite facing challenges and repression, ANP remained steadfast in its commitment to democracy and played a crucial role in advancing the cause of democratic governance in Pakistan.

ANP in CoD

During the Musharraf regime, the Awami National Party (ANP) emerged as a pivotal player within the framework of the Charter of Democracy (CoD), actively contributing to the collective endeavor aimed at restoring democratic norms and principles in Pakistan. ANP's involvement in the CoD was multifaceted, encompassing a range of initiatives and advocacy efforts aimed at promoting constitutional reforms, fostering civil-military relations, and advocating for free and fair elections. This section provides a comprehensive exploration of ANP's role and contributions within the CoD framework, elucidating the party's strategic engagement and its impact on the broader democratic movement in Pakistan.

ANP's Commitment to Constitutional Amendments

Within the CoD, ANP demonstrated a steadfast commitment to advancing constitutional reforms aimed at revitalizing democratic institutions and processes in Pakistan. The party actively endorsed the repeal of the 17th Constitutional Amendment, which had served to consolidate the military's grip on power and undermine the principles of parliamentary democracy. By advocating for the elimination of constitutional provisions that facilitated military intervention in governance, ANP sought to restore the primacy of civilian authority and parliamentary oversight. Additionally, ANP played a pivotal role in advocating for the establishment of mechanisms to ensure judicial independence, including the formation of a commission for the appointment of judges and the evolution of Federal Constitutional Court.

These measures were aimed at addressing constitutional disputes and enhancing the rule of law within the country. Furthermore, ANP advocated for the abolition of the Concurrent List in the Constitution and the formulation of new National Finance Commission (NFC) awards to promote equitable resource distribution among provinces. (Khan, 2009)

The party also championed the cause of gender and minority representation in Parliament, emphasizing the importance of reserved seats for women and minorities to ensure their meaningful participation in the democratic process. Through its active engagement in the CoD's agenda for constitutional reforms, ANP demonstrated its commitment to strengthening democratic institutions and promoting inclusive governance in Pakistan.

ANP's Role in Promoting Civil-Military Relations

An integral aspect of the CoD was its focus on improving civil-military relations in Pakistan, and ANP played a crucial role in advancing this agenda. The party advocated for reforms aimed at enhancing civilian oversight of security agencies and promoting accountability within the military establishment. Specifically, ANP supported measures to make security agencies accountable to the elected government and to ensure that their budgets were subject to approval through respective ministries. By advocating for greater transparency and oversight in defense matters, ANP sought to reduce the military's autonomous influence in national affairs and strengthen civilian control over security institutions. Additionally, the party endorsed the establishment of a Defense Cabinet Committee (DCC) headed by the Prime Minister to provide civilian leadership in defense-related decision-making. (Naz, 2022) Through these efforts, ANP contributed to the CoD's objective of fostering a more balanced and accountable relationship between the civilian government and the military, thereby safeguarding democratic principles and constitutional norms. (Akhtar, 2017)

ANP's Advocacy for Free and Fair Elections

The CoD underscored the importance of free and fair elections as a cornerstone of democracy in Pakistan and ANP played an active role in advocating for electoral reforms and transparency measures. The party supported initiatives aimed at ensuring the independence and impartiality of the electoral process, including the establishment of an independent election commission through consultation between government and opposition leaders. ANP emphasized the need for equal opportunities for all political parties in the electoral arena and advocated for the release of political prisoners to ensure their participation in the democratic process. Furthermore, the party endorsed the repeal of restrictive eligibility requirements for electoral candidates, thereby promoting inclusivity and democratic participation. By advocating for electoral reforms and transparency measures, ANP contributed to the CoD's goal of fostering democratic practices and principles in Pakistan's political landscape, thereby promoting public confidence in the electoral process and strengthening democratic institutions.

In summary, Awami National Party (ANP) played a pivotal role in advancing the objectives of the

Charter of Democracy (CoD) during the Musharraf regime, actively contributing to efforts aimed at restoring democratic norms and principles in Pakistan. Through its commitment to constitutional reforms, promotion of civil-military relations, and advocacy for free and fair elections, ANP demonstrated its dedication to democratic governance and its active participation in collective endeavors to uphold democratic values and principles in Pakistan's political landscape.

ANP's Struggle for Democratic Governance

In the charged political environment of Musharraf's regime, the Awami National Party (ANP) faced criticism from rivals, particularly the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), for its role within the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA). Despite facing allegations of betrayal and ineffective governance, the ANP remained steadfast in its commitment to restoring democracy and addressing the grievances of the people.

The PPP's verbal assault on the MMA and the ANP underscored the intense political rivalry and the challenges encountered by parties advocating for democratic governance. Accusations of hollow slogans and failure to address public issues highlighted the contentious dynamics within the MMA coalition. Amidst these challenges, the ANP's efforts to promote democratic values and pursue genuine solutions to societal problems stood out.

Despite criticism from political rivals, the ANP maintained its stance against authoritarian tendencies and advocated for the rights of opposition lawmakers and their constituencies. The denial of funds to opposition MPAs was portrayed as an affront to democratic principles and an injustice to the people they represented. Through such challenges, the ANP continued its struggle for democratic governance, navigating the complexities of Musharraf's regime and striving to uphold the interests of the people. (Dawn, 2005)

ANP's Key Role in APC 2007: Advancing Democracy

Awami National Party (ANP) played a crucial role in All Parties Conference (APC) of 2007, serving as a vocal advocate for the restoration of democracy amidst the authoritarian rule of General Pervez Musharraf. ANP's contributions within APC can be delineated as follows:

- **Leadership in the Opposition Coalition:** ANP's participation as a key member of All Parties Democratic Movement (APDM), demonstrating its commitment to challenging military rule and promoting democratic values in Pakistan.
- **Advocacy for Democratic Principles:** ANP consistently advocated for democratic principles such as civilian governance, constitutionalism, and the rule of law within APC. The party emphasized the importance of upholding these values to ensure the legitimacy and stability of Pakistan's political system.
- **Resignation Strategy:** ANP, along with other APDM members, adopted a strategy of resigning from legislative assemblies to protest against Musharraf's presidential nomination. This bold move aimed to delegitimize Musharraf's regime and pave the way for democratic reforms.
- **Resistance to Repression:** ANP confronted repression and intimidation tactics from the Musharraf regime, including the arrest of APDM leaders in September 2007. Despite these challenges, ANP remained steadfast in its commitment to democratic ideals and continued to advocate for political change.

Collaboration with Opposition Figures: ANP collaborated with other opposition figures and parties within APC, fostering unity and solidarity in the collective struggle against authoritarianism. This collaborative effort strengthened the opposition's stance and amplified its voice in advocating for democratic restoration. (Dawn, 2008)

- **International Advocacy:** ANP engaged with the international community to garner support for Pakistan's democratic movement. The party highlighted the importance of international solidarity in pressuring the Musharraf regime to respect democratic norms and uphold human rights.
- **Legacy and Impact:** ANP's active participation in APC of 2007 left a lasting legacy in Pakistan's political landscape. The party's advocacy for democracy contributed to raising awareness about the importance of democratic governance and paved the way for future democratic reforms in the country.

Overall, ANP's role in All Parties Conference of 2007 was instrumental in advancing the cause of democratic restoration in Pakistan during the Musharraf regime. (Ghulam, 2022) Through its advocacy, resilience, and collaboration with other opposition forces, ANP played a crucial part in shaping the political discourse and paving the way for democratic change in the country.

ANP's Strategic Engagement at APC 2007

The imminent All Parties Conference (APC) in 2007 held substantial potential as a pivotal event poised to influence Pakistan's political terrain. Within this dynamic context, the Awami National Party (ANP) emerged as a pivotal player, navigating complex alliances and strategic positions during the conference.

A primary focus of deliberation at the APC revolved around the potential boycott of the upcoming elections should General Musharraf fail to meet the conditions outlined by the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) for ensuring free and fair polls. Unlike the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), which opposed the idea of a boycott, the ANP found itself navigating internal discussions and strategic alignments within the conference.

The MPC's demands encapsulated critical aspects such as the transfer of executive powers from the military-led government to an interim civilian setup led by a person of integrity, inclusive consultations in formulating election regulations, appointment of a neutral election commissioner with enhanced powers to counter rigging, and the establishment of an authenticated voter list acceptable to all parties. Moreover, while the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) advocated for President Musharraf's complete disengagement from future roles, the ANP, alongside other parties, sought a reduction in his powers.

The APC held substantial expectations for formulating a strategic framework capable of mobilizing public support against the Musharraf regime and averting prolonged military rule. Notably, the absence of Benazir Bhutto from the conference, attributed to her European tour, was a significant aspect, although key leaders such as Nawaz Sharif from PML-N and representatives from various parties, including ANP, JI, MMA, and civil society groups, actively participated. (Dawn, 2007)

The anticipated outcomes of the APC bore substantial implications for Pakistan's political trajectory, potentially shaping the course of democratic processes or extending the tenure of military rule. The participation and positions of key political figures, alongside upcoming engagements such as Benazir Bhutto's discourse on Pakistan's challenges at the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS), added layers of significance to the unfolding political dynamics.

In essence, the APC of 2007 marked a critical juncture where the role of ANP, alongside other political entities, in shaping electoral strategies and governance frameworks was under scrutiny, providing valuable insights into Pakistan's evolving democratic landscape.

ANP's Role in Pakistan's 2007 Political Crises

In 2007, Pakistan underwent a tumultuous period marked by a series of significant political crises, culminating in the tragic assassination of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on December 27th. (Feyyaz, 2013) This event not only shocked the nation but also dealt a severe blow to Pakistan's efforts towards democratization. Concurrently, the country grappled with escalating security

challenges, including armed rebellions in several provinces and a surge in suicide bomb attacks, exacerbating an already precarious political landscape.

President Pervez Musharraf's governance structure faced mounting pressure and scrutiny amidst these crises. Despite a controversial re-election in October, Musharraf's hold on power steadily weakened throughout the year. The dismissal of the Chief Justice, Supreme Court rulings undermining Musharraf's credibility, and debates regarding his legitimacy as president further destabilized the political environment. The return of former Prime Ministers to the political forefront added to the turmoil.

November 3, 2007, represented a pivotal moment as Musharraf imposed a state of emergency, suspending the Constitution and assuming extensive powers. (Kronstadt & Vaughn, 2004) Widely perceived as a desperate attempt to cling to power, this move prompted a crackdown on dissent, resulting in the dismissal and imprisonment of opposition figures, lawyers, and the suppression of independent media outlets. Although the emergency order was lifted on December 15th, concerns lingered regarding the restoration of rule of law and democratic norms.

Throughout these turbulent times, Awami National Party (ANP) emerged as a steadfast advocate for democracy restoration in Pakistan. Despite facing repression and intimidation tactics, ANP championed democratic principles such as civilian governance, constitutionalism, and the rule of law. As a key member of the opposition coalition, ANP played a crucial role in mobilizing public opposition to military rule.

ANP's resilience and commitment to democratic ideals were evident in its efforts to organize protests, mobilize public support, and engage with international stakeholders to pressure Musharraf's regime. Despite media censorship and political crackdowns, ANP remained unwavering in its advocacy for democratic reform, amplifying the voices of citizens demanding accountability and democratic governance.

ANP's pivotal role during Pakistan's 2007 political crises underscores its dedication to democratic values and its significant contribution to shaping the country's democratization process. Despite facing formidable challenges, ANP's resilience and advocacy were instrumental in influencing Pakistan's political trajectory during this turbulent period.

ANP Contribution to Democratization: Parliamentary Elections 2008

Parliamentary elections of 2008 in Pakistan represented a pivotal moment in the country's political landscape, marked by a significant shift towards democratic governance. Among the key players in this democratic resurgence was Awami National Party (ANP), whose proactive engagement and advocacy for democratic principles played a crucial role in shaping the outcome of the elections and fostering stability amidst political uncertainty.

In the lead-up to the 2008 elections, Pakistan faced a myriad of challenges, including political instability, electoral rigging concerns, and rising extremism. (Kronstadt, 2008) Within this context, ANP positioned itself as a staunch advocate for democratic reforms and constitutional governance. Despite facing obstacles, including intimidation and violence, ANP remained steadfast in its commitment to democratic ideals.

ANP embarked on a series of advocacy initiatives aimed at promoting democratic values and raising awareness among the electorate. Through public campaigns and strategic alliances with other opposition parties, ANP sought to mobilize support for democratic governance and institutional reform. By articulating a clear vision for a democratic Pakistan, ANP emerged as a leading voice for political change. (Grare, 2013)

Despite challenges, ANP made a strategic decision to participate actively in the electoral process. Through meticulous planning and grassroots mobilization efforts, the party worked to ensure a fair and transparent election. By encouraging voter turnout and promoting democratic participation, ANP played a critical role in shaping the outcome of the elections.

Following the elections, ANP played a pivotal role in coalition negotiations with other opposition parties. By fostering unity and consensus-building, the party contributed to the formation of a broad-based coalition committed to democratic governance. Through constructive engagement and dialogue, ANP helped to shape the agenda for institutional reform and political stability.

In the aftermath of elections, ANP remained actively engaged in the implementation of key democratic reforms. From advocating for the restoration of deposed judges to participating in parliamentary proceedings, the party demonstrated its unwavering commitment to uphold democratic principles and institutional integrity.

Throughout the democratic transition, ANP faced numerous challenges, including political pressures and external influences. Despite these obstacles, the party remained resilient, adapting its strategies to navigate the complex political landscape. By staying true to its democratic ideals, ANP emerged as a formidable force for change.

ANP's role in Pakistan's democratic transition left a lasting impact on the country's political landscape. By championing inclusivity, pluralism, and democratic values, the party helped pave the way for a more stable and democratic Pakistan. The legacy of ANP serves as a testament to the power of grassroots activism and enduring the importance of democratic governance.

ANP's Role in Musharraf's Impeachment: Driving Democratic Reforms

Awami National Party (ANP) played a pivotal role in the concerted effort to impeach Pervez Musharraf, serving as a vocal advocate for the restoration of democracy amidst the authoritarian rule that characterized Musharraf's tenure. As a key member of the opposition coalition, which included parties such as Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League (N) (PML-N), ANP demonstrated steadfast leadership in spearheading the campaign to remove Musharraf from office. ANP's advocacy was firmly rooted in the promotion of democratic principles such as civilian governance, constitutionalism, and the rule of law, underscoring its commitment to upholding the foundational tenets of democracy in Pakistan.

Through collaborative efforts with other opposition parties, ANP actively contributed to formulate strategies and coordinating actions aimed at pressuring Musharraf to either resign or face impeachment, thereby presenting a unified front in the collective pursuit of democratic change. Additionally, ANP undertook extensive efforts to mobilize public support and raise awareness about the urgent need to hold Musharraf accountable for his actions and restore democratic norms in the country. By engaging in grassroots organizing, public rallies, and media outreach, ANP effectively amplified the voices of citizens demanding accountability and democratic governance, thus galvanizing popular sentiment in favor of impeachment. The legacy of ANP's involvement in the effort to impeach Musharraf extends beyond the immediate political context, leaving a lasting impact on Pakistan's democratic landscape. (Pakistan Today, 2015) Through its unwavering commitment to democratic values and its determination to confront authoritarianism, ANP contributed significantly to strengthening the democratic institutions and processes in Pakistan, while also providing invaluable lessons for future democratic movements in the country.

Conclusion

The role of the Awami National Party (ANP) during General Pervez Musharraf's regime reflects a consistent and principled struggle for the restoration of democratic governance in Pakistan. Throughout the political upheavals of 1999–2008, the ANP emerged as a vocal and persistent opponent of authoritarianism, using both parliamentary and non-parliamentary platforms to challenge undemocratic actions. Its stance during critical events—such as the suspension of the Chief Justice, the imposition of Emergency, and the political uncertainty that followed the assassination of Benazir Bhutto—demonstrates the party's commitment to constitutionalism and democratic accountability. By aligning itself with opposition coalitions and actively participating in initiatives like the All Parties

Conference (APC) 2007, the ANP contributed to strengthening collective resistance against military rule. Despite facing arrests, intimidation, and restrictions on political activity, it continued to mobilize public opinion and advocate for civilian supremacy. The ANP's performance in the 2008 general elections further underscored its relevance, as the party not only campaigned on a reform-oriented agenda but also played a constructive role in the subsequent government formation, helping transition the country back toward democratic normalcy.

Overall, the ANP's steadfast resistance, political engagement, and unwavering commitment to democratic principles positioned it as a significant actor in Pakistan's struggle against authoritarian rule. Its efforts during the Musharraf era not only shaped contemporary political developments but also contributed meaningfully to the broader process of democratization in Pakistan.

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