



**Politics of Reconciliation in Pakistan:
An Analysis of the Governance of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians (2008-2013)**

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Abstract:

This study aims to conduct an analysis about the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan and focuses on the era of Pakistan People's Party Parliamentarians' (PPPP) government from 2008 to 2013. In this period, the politics of the PPPP was based on the reconciliations with all the stakeholders of the country which brought fruitful results for the democracy in Pakistan. The paper employs qualitative approach and historical and analytical methods relying on both primary and secondary sources. The study is significant as the Musharraf era which almost excluded both the major political parties PPP and the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) compelled them to think about reconciliation. The mutual discussions resulted in the signing of Charter of Democracy (CoD) in 2006. This new journey of the political reconciliation and then implementations of CoD for the restoration of democracy, provincial autonomy, independent judiciary, and revival of true and parliamentary democracy, the free and impartial Election Commission of Pakistan, appointment neutral caretaker set up are the matters of prime importance.

Keywords: Pakistan, Charter of Democracy, Pakistan People's Party, political parties, democracy, politics of reconciliation, provincial autonomy

INTRODUCTION

The term reconciliation means the way to resolve the socio-political conflicts and issues and issues in the best interests of the country (Hilton, 2002). It is a primary source to promote political harmony among the political entities and the state. Reconciliation can be defined as the mutual

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harmony, respect, law and order and the peace process (Bhutto, 2007). There are so many efforts and peace pacts made by the states for the reconciliation process. Hudaibia Pact in the state of Muslims during Holy Prophet (PBUH) period is the first example of reconciliation followed by the period of Nelson Mandela in south Africa, Lucknow Pact 1916 between the All India National Congress and the All India Muslim League during the British rule in India, the tripartite agreement of 1972 in Pakistan and the Charter of Democracy 2006 are the few examples of political reconciliation.

The immature politics, unorganized state and society in the third world countries are the dilemma in the democracy. Most of the time, these societies remained in civil wars, conflict with each other and even imposition of martial law is the common practice in these countries (Hilton, 2002). The democratic and peace loving workers always tried to bring harmony among the stakeholders for the resolutions of conflict and durable tranquility for the democracy in these suffering states. These peace and democratic loving workers always used 'reconciliation' as an effective tool for the durable peace for democracy in the country. Through reconciliations, the stakeholders sit together and reached on some agreements to create some rooms for the democratic institutions for the sake of democracy in the country. Later on, all the conflicts are to be resolved by the political forces through reconciliations and mutual consensus.

Political instability and politics of confrontation is the common feature in underdeveloped countries where the democratic forces are not so much matured to bear and accept the mandate of the opponents hence it led towards the political instability and non-democratic forces were provided opportunities to interfere and close the democratic process through their direct and indirect involvement. After so many coups, ultimately the political parties found the way of reconciliation to strengthen the democracy in the country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although, a lot of work has been done on the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan, but the very few have focused the politics of reconciliation during the governance of the PPPP from 2008 to 2013. Thus, this important phase of the Pakistani politics needs attentions to bring focus under scholarly work. This research work covered almost all the aspects of the reconciliatory politics from 2008 to 2013. Rabbani (2014) in his book "A Biography of Pakistani Federalism, Unity in Diversity" elucidated details about the charter of democracy and the reconciliatory politics of the PPPP. As this work mainly focused on the issues of federalism in Pakistan and the author has not given details about the reconciliatory politics therefore this is not enough to understand the politics of PPPP from 2008 to 2013 as he did not focus the challenges which were faced by the PPPP from 2008 to 2013.

Reconciliation, Islam, Democracy and the West by Benazir Bhutto is a comprehensive study about understanding the concept of reconciliation followed by the efforts of reconciliation in Pakistan (Bhutto, 2007). Although, the author discussed the efforts of reconciliation in Pakistan with special focus to the Pakistani politics during Musharraf period but this study is delimited to Musharraf period. It has not discussed the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan during the governance of the PPPP from 2008-2013. Khan (2012) in his book discussed the political and constitutional history of Pakistan. Although, the author has gone through the phase of reconciliation of PPPP from 2008 to

2013 but one cannot find enough details about the topic as he has given passing references to the events in this period therefore this study lacked in many aspects to understand about the politics of reconciliation during the PPPP's period.

Gohar et. al. (2023) focused on the politics of PPP from 1999 to 2008 which covered the politics and efforts of PPP during the Musharraf Period for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. She did not discuss the efforts of the PPP for the political reconciliation in Pakistan. As, her work is delimited to the Musharraf Period, therefore she ignored the politics of Pakistan from 2008 onwards. Rizwan et. al (2014) focused on the "Reconciliation of Pakistan People's Party: A Conduit to Sustainable Democracy in Pakistan" in which they very comprehensive discussed the reconciliatory politics the PPP since signing of the Charter of Democracy CoD. This paper lacked detailed discussion of CoD and post CoD politics in Pakistan. Further, this paper did not focus on the challenges faced by the PPPP after the passing of 18th Amendment and aftermath. The separation of MQM from the coalition government and the inclusion of the PML (Q) in the government after the adaptation of reconciliatory politics of the PPPP are also not discussed in detail.

Zikria et. al. (2019) focused on the democratic and development in Pakistan from 2008 to 2013. In this work, he focused on the political and democratic development in Pakistan during the PPPP tenure. He did not cover CoD and the efforts of the PPPP for the reconciliation in Pakistan therefore this work is not enough to understand the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan (Zikria, 2019).

Ali and Shahid (2022) analyzed the details of Pakistani politics and the need of CoD. Although they have analyzed the CoD in a very comprehensive manner but this study lacked enough analysis after the 2008 (Ali & Shahid, 2022). It did not focus the governance of the PPPP regarding the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan in detail therefore this study is also not sufficient to understand the politics of reconciliation from 2008 to 2013. Chawla (2017) too focused on the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan between 2006 and 2017 but the era of PPPP from 2008 to 2013 has not been given special focus. Therefore, this study also lacked in various aspects to understand the politics of PPPP from 2008 to 2013.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative that used historical and analytical method as the topic is related to the past therefore it is mostly based on library sources. For analyzing and collection of data, both primary and secondary sources are used. Although, it is principally a qualitative research, but quantitative tools have also been used to analyze and interpret data. The seats secured by the political parties in the different general elections are quantitatively analyzed.

The primary sources consisted of the interviews of various prominent personalities, speeches and the handwritings of the leaders of PPPP, party manifestoes, autobiographies of different leaders, the provisions of the 1973 constitution of Pakistan, the original text of CoD and Murree Declaration while the secondary sources included various books, articles, newspapers and journals.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The examining of the reconciliation procedures is to distinguish them from standard peace building practices, even if reconciliation is likely the least studied phenomenon when compared to mediation, negotiation, or arbitration. Unlike Pakistan, the democratically developed societies

understand reconciliation as the process of mending broken relationships. According to Harber & Kelly (2004), this process includes a variety of actions like developing a shared vision of an interdependent society, acknowledging and resolving past grievances, establishing positive relationships based on the highest level of trust, bringing about a significant shift in attitude and having a commitment for a significant social, economic, and political change (Rizwan, 2014).

It is well known that agitation, political upheaval, military coups, and the dissolution of democratic institutions are common occurrences in non-developed countries. The growth of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs) in the modern world, however, is giving a vital platform to these nations to respond particularly those undergoing political upheaval and flagrant violations of human rights. Numerous TRCs have been formed and have operated successfully since 1973. Many developing nations, such as South Africa, Ghana, Sierra Leone and many more, adopted the TRCs for a smooth political transition between 1974 and 1994 (Rizwan, 2014). Despite of their best efforts, a lot of developing nations are suffering under military or civil dictatorship, which created unrest in society. Reconciliation is regarded as a useful and contemporary instrument for raising social and political consciousness in such situations, nonetheless. Renowned political scientist Montville (1996) identifies reconciliation as a peaceful process associated with peace and its consequent forgiveness. He identifies three interconnected elements for a good settlement like knowledge of the past conflict's and the establishment of trust, awareness of inequality and the ensuing historical wound, and acceptance of the moral obligation and commitment to incite political unrest are all necessary. This paper has analyzed the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan with special reference to the era of PPP in the model of TRCs.

GENESIS OF POLITICAL RECONCILIATION IN PAKISTAN

The first decade of Pakistan democratic history witnessed the absence of political reconciliation. During the period the stakeholders of Pakistani politics failed to develop an environment of reconciliation. Thus the country got heavy loss in term of several ups and downs in the politics (Afzal, 1987).

After the first decade, the President and other stakeholders got enough excuses to close the democracy in Pakistan and to impose the first martial law in the country in October 1958 (Pasha, 1995). Ayub Khan who later became the president of Pakistan started victimization of politician through his various controversial orders and the sense of political reconciliation was totally absent from his era. Although in the last years, some efforts were made to develop negotiations but these were not proved fruitful.

After the Ayub regime, the country witnessed another experience of martial law by Yahya Khan in March 1969 (Mehmood, 2000). During this period, the first ever general elections were held in the country but once again due to the absence of political reconciliation, the country went into the civil war and eventually the East Pakistan separated from West Pakistan in December 1971 (Ziring, 1997).

After the separation of East Pakistan, Z.A. Bhutto took the powers in December 1971 and started negotiations with other political Parties NAP and JUI. As a result of these negotiations, these parties firstly agreed on an interim constitution and later on, a tripartite agreement was signed between them which provided a roadmap for the Pakistani politics in future political and constitutional

developments. The first consensus based constitution of 1973 was also the result of political reconciliation.

After the result of 2nd general elections in 1977, the element of political reconciliation was absent due to which the country went into massive protest and demonstrations were started which provided an opportunity to military to impose the third martial law in Pakistan in July 1977 by General Zia-ul-Haq (Ahmed, 1970). This era continued till 1988 which could not provide any platform for political reconciliation.

The year of 1988 witnessed the return of democracy in Pakistan but unfortunately the politicians could not develop the environment of political reconciliation which witnessed the political instability and democracy could be flourished in Pakistan. Since May 1988 to October 1999, five governments were dismissed which was the result of the lack of political reconciliation in the country.

In October 1999, General Pervez Musharraf imposed emergency in the country and suspended the constitution of 1973. Later on, he got legitimacy from the Supreme Court of Pakistan which gave him a period of three years to hold general elections and transfer of powers to civilian government. During this time Musharraf wasted no opportunity to victimize the politicians. A new political party was created with the name of PLM (Q) which was backed by him with the sole aim to support the military regime. Eventually, the results of 2002 elections witnessed the majority of PML (Q) which formed its government at the center (Ullah, 2008).

It provided an opportunity to the two big political parties of Pakistan PPP and the PML (N) to come closer to each other. First they joined together in ARD and then made various efforts to join hands against the non-democratic forces.

Charter of Democracy (COD)

The long negotiations between the PPP and the PML (N) remained fruitful and both parties signed an agreement in London on 14 May 2006 which is known as the Charter of Democracy (CoD). The CoD provided a platform for not only the political parties but also the other institutions to be in the constitutional limits. It not only provided the mechanism of new constitutional amendments, code of conduct, holding free and fair election under an impartial caretaker setups and neutral ECP but also defined the civil military relations under a democratic regime (Shahid 2022).

National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO)

During the military regime of Musharraf, the leaders of two big political parties viz Benazir Bhutto of PPP and Nawaz Sharif of PML (N) were in exile. There were so many cases against them due to which they were 'wanted' by the courts. Due to the possibility of their arrest on their return to Pakistan, these leaders preferred to be in exile. The political and electoral mandate of PML (Q) and other parties were not in a position to carry on the smooth democratic process in the absence of the leaders of PPP and the PML (N) (Ullah, 2008). Being the largest political party, Musharraf was compelled to hold dialogues with the PPP to play its role in the future political setup. He also held various rounds of negotiations with his supporters and other stakeholders for the safe return of exiled political leadership. He also held various rounds of talks with BB. For this purpose, both also met with each other at the residence of BB in Dubai (Bhutto, 2007). After the various rounds of

talks and exchanging of drafts between the PPP and Musharraf, finally both agreed on the so called National Reconciliation Ordinance (NRO) which was promulgated on 5th October 2007 (Khan, 2012).

Under the NRO, the politicians were given favored in eliminating their political cases from 1st January 1986 to 12th October 1999 followed by creation of Federal Review Board and Provincial Review Board which will review all the cases (Khan, 2012). The NRO was termed as a political deal between the PPP and Musharraf by the political pundits and various political circles. Some considered it against the constitution while for the others, it will ensure the smooth functioning of democracy in Pakistan.

The NRO paved the way for the safe return of BB from exile in October 2007. The five-years term of the PML (Q) government was completed in November 2007 and after the set-up of care take government, the election campaign was on its full swing in December 2007. The sudden suicide attack killed the BB on the spot when she was coming back after addressing a public gathering at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi on the evening of 27th December 2007 (Khan, 2012).

General Elections 2008 and the PPPP in Powers (2008-13)

The new general elections were held on 18th February 2008. The PPPP issued its electoral manifesto on December 1st 2007 which was based on the 5 Es Employment, energy, education, environment and equality. The election campaign of the PPPP was going on its full zeal and vigor but the eventual death of the BB gave it a severe setback. After the death of BB some political parties announced their boycott of the general elections but the PPPP remained successful in convincing them to take part in the elections.

The results of these elections confirmed the majority of the PPPP with 120 seat of National Assembly followed by the PML (N) with 90 seats of National Assembly. The PML (Q) could get only 51 seats while the MQM secured 25 seats and ANP 13. Remaining seats were won by the other political parties (Ahsan-ur-Rahim, 2016).

So far as the results of provincial assemblies were concerned, the PML (N) stood victorious in Punjab by grabbing the 165 seats while the PPPP stood runner up by capturing the 106 seats. In Sind, the PPPP emerged as the largest party with 88 seats while the MQM got 51 seats. In NWFP, the ANP was the majority party with 46 while the PPPP stood second with 39 seats. In Baluchistan the PML (Q) won the majority seats with 20 while the 11 seats were won by the PPPP followed by the 10 seats each by MMA and independents simultaneously (Ahsan-ur-Rahim, 2016).

The elections results were very favorable for the PPPP because it emerged as the largest party at Center and Sind while stood second in the remaining three provinces of Punjab, NWFP and Baluchistan.

Murree Declaration 2008

After the announcement of official results of 2008 elections, both the leaders of the majority parties PPPP and PML (N) held a common meeting at PC Hotel Murree on March 8, 2008. This meeting was attended by the Asif Ali Zardari and Mian Nawaz Sharif along with the other politicians from both sides. After a long discussion, the two parties reached on an agreement which called Bhorban Pact or Murree Declaration (Chawla, 2017). In this pact both parties decided to continue the process of

reconciliation in the light of CoD and pledged to work jointly for the smooth running of democracy in Pakistan. Both decide to accept the electoral mandate of all the political parties in all over Pakistan the majority party would be provided every possible support to form its government. They also promised to implement the CoD after making coalition government at the center.

As per agreement, the PPPP will nominate its candidates for the post of PM and Speaker NA while the PML (N) will support it while for the post of deputy speaker, the PML (N) would nominate its candidate and the PPPP would support it. In Punjab, the PML (N) will nominate its candidates for the post of CM and speaker Punjab Assembly, the PPPP will provide its support while the PPPP will nominate its candidate for the post of deputy speaker Punjab Assembly and the PML (N) will support it. It was also decided the PML (N) will not interfere into the matters of Sind and NWFP where the PPPP can make its coalition government with MQM and ANP. Both parties decided to restore the sacked judges within the 30 days of the formation of federal government (Khan, 2012).

FORMATION OF FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

After the Murree Declaration, the other parties like ANP, MQM and independents also decided to join the coalition government of PPPP and PML (N). Fehmeeda Mirza and Faisal Karim Kundi of PPPP were elected as the Speaker and deputy speaker of national assembly on 19th March 2008 while Yousaf Raza Gilani, an MNA of PPPP from Multan, was elected as the PM of Pakistan on 24th March 2008 (Chawla, 2017).

After coming into powers the PPPP adopted the politics of accommodation. Despite of getting huge mandate in NA, it did not refuse to any party or independent to take them in government. All the political parties and independents were given huge respect. They were also given share in the federal cabinet.

In the provinces, the PML (N) was provided opportunity to make its government in Punjab where the PPPP supported the PML (N) in government formation. After electing Mr. Rana Muhammad Iqbal and Rana Mashud as the speaker and deputy speaker of Punjab Assembly, Mr. Dost Muhammad Khosa was elected as the CM of Punjab. PPPP fully provided its support to all the nominees of PML (N). In Sind, PPPP made its coalition government with MQM, while in NWFP the ANP made its coalition government with PPPP. In Baluchistan, although the PPPP was not in majority but due to the reconciliatory politics of the PPPP, the runner up parties in Baluchistan like PPPP, PML (N) and MMA decided to form a coalition government with Nawaz Aslam Raisani of the PPPP as the CM of Baluchistan (Khan, 2012).

Thus, after the 2008 elections, the reconciliatory politics of the PPPP worked and the PPPP was in government not only in the federal setup but also in the four provinces of Pakistan.

Resignation of Musharraf, Presidential Elections 2008 and the Reinstatement of Sacked Judges

As per agreement between the PPPP and the PML (N), both were agreed to bring impeachment motion against the President Musharraf. After preparing the impeachment motion and before its submission in the joint session of Parliament, both the parties held a joint meeting in which they formally ask Musharraf to resign from the post of President failing which an impeachment would be submitted against him. Musharraf consulted the leadership of PML (Q) who also gave their

constitution to step down. Thus President Musharraf resigned on 18th August 2008 (Gohar et. al., 2023). The reconciliatory policy of the PPPP worked as no one of the allied forces were there to support Musharraf or stay with him.

After the resignation of Musharraf, the presidential elections were held on 6th September 2008. Both the big parties decided to bring their separate candidates for the presidential election. At last the nominee of the PML (N) Mr. Asif Ali Zardari secured total 481 electoral votes and thus elected as the President of Pakistan (Khan, 2012).

On the issue of the reinstatement of the sacked judges, there emerged some differences between the PPPP and the PML (N). The PPPP wanted to fully implement the CoD in which it was decided not to restore or appoint any judge who has taken the oath under PCO therefore, the PPPP wanted not to restore Iftikhar Muhammad Choudhary who has taken oath under PCO in 1999 (Khan, 2012). But the PML (N) insisted on the reinstatement of all the sacked judges including Iftikhar Choudhary. On this issue the PML (N) left the cabinet and decided to sit in the opposition and later on declared long march from Lahore to Islamabad against the government. When the long march of the PML (N) reached Gujrat, the PPPP announced to reinstate all the sacked judges including Iftikhar Choudhary. Although I was the violation of the CoD, but at last, the PPPP adopted the reconciliatory policy rather confrontation with the opposition and decided to restore all of them (Chawla, 2017).

Aghaz-i-Huqooq-i-Baluchistan and the Gilgit-Baltistan Reforms

The province of Baluchistan is highly neglected province of Pakistan as it the smallest province in term of population. No governments paid due heed to the issues of the Baluchistan provinces (Sautman, 2006). During Musharraf period, the issue of Baluchistan further deteriorated as the military operation took place in the selected areas of Baluchistan which killed so many Baluchis including Nawab Akbar Bhugti, a Baluch nationalist while so many were missing or disappeared. When the PPPP came into powers, it decided to negotiate with the Baluchis and tried to resolve their problems by initiating the Aghaz-i-Huqooq-i-Baluchistan (AHB) (Khan, 2012).

The AHB contained the granting of provincial autonomy and to enhance the due share of the provinces in National Finance Award (NFC) Award to all the provinces by amending the eight articles (From 153 to 160) which included the strengthening the NFC and Council of Common Interests (CCI). Regarding the political matters, so many political prisoners were set free while the Home department withdrew cases against the 173 activists. The federal government also adopted the 17 resolutions out of 27 as passed by the provincial assembly of Baluchistan which was a great sign of relief to the people of Baluchistan. Regarding other matters, the wounds of the Baluchistan were also healed. It was made compulsory for the federal government that no mega project will be initiated in the province of Baluchistan with its consent. Recruitments were also made in Baluchistan in which almost 6000 people were given jobs and the share of Baluchistan in NFC Award was also increased from 45 billion in 2009 to 83 billion in 2010 while in 2011 it was increased to 93 billion and 114 billion in 2012 onward respectively (Khan, 2012).

The area of Gilgit and Baltistan is the part of the state of Jammu and Kashmir which is the disputed area between Pakistan and India therefore no special attentions was given to these areas by governments of Pakistan. Although some reforms were introduced by the previous governments of the PPP in 1975 and 1994 but these are not enough to meet the requirements of these areas. In

2009, the government of the PPPP introduced new reforms in these areas by declaring the Gilgit-Baltistan Empowerment and Self Governance Order 2009. It contained the legislature for the Gilgit-Baltistan, distributions of legislative powers, final provisions, Islamic provisions, services, the judiciary, emergency provisions, general provisions and miscellaneous provisions (Siddiq, 2014).

Under this order, now the areas of Gilgit-Baltistan contain a separate legislative assembly consisted of 33 members which will be directly elected by the people of Gilgit-Baltistan. It can also legislate on those 61 subjects which were not in the domain of GB Council. There will be the separate government of Gilgit-Baltistan including its CM, Governor, ECP, PSC, Auditor General and Chief Court with one Chief Justice and 5 other judges (Ali, 2022).

After these reforms, the 1st elections for the legislative assembly were held in 2010 in which the PPP got the majority. Mr. Mehdi Shah was elected as the 1st Chief Minister of Gilgit-Baltistan. The new reforms definitely provided due compensation to the people of Gilgit-Baltistan which has ensured the basic rights of the people of Gilgit-Baltistan.

The 7th NFC Award 2009

The National Finance Commission (NFC) is a constitutional body which is responsible to distribute the resources of the country between the center and the provincial governments. In the previous governments, the center has its monopoly over the share of NFC hence the provinces were not happy over it. After coming into powers, the government of PPPP reconstituted the NFC in July 2009 in order to adopt the new mechanism of distribution of resources for next five years.

After the thorough discussion, an agreed formula was finalized by the federal minister of Finance and the four finance ministers of Punjab, Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan in December 2009 which was signed by the President Asif Ali Zardari in March 2010 hence it is called the 7th NFC Award (Uddin, 2010).

Under the new award, the vertical distribution between the federal and provinces was changed. The share of provinces was increased from 47.5 percent to 56 percent during the fiscal years of 2010-11 and then to 57.5 percent after 2011. In the horizontal divisions, the Punjab would get 51.74 percent, Sind 24.55 percent, NWFP 14.62 percent, while Baluchistan would receive 9.09 percent. The three big provinces Punjab, NWFP and Sind withdrew its share at the percentage of 1.27 percent, 0.39 percent and 0.26 percent while these shares were given to Baluchistan (Uddin, 2010).

It was the first even agreed Award in the history of Pakistan in which all the major provinces as well as the center withdrew from its share for the sake of national unity which was the best example of national reconciliation.

Constitutional Reforms

The constitution of 1973 is parliamentary in nature in which all the powers are vested in parliament. The military dictators made many controversial changes in it, which changed the basic spirit and structure of the constitution. In CoD both the PPPP and the PML (N) decided to reverse the controversial amendments from the constitution and to introduce many new reforms in it. After coming into powers, the President Asif Ali Zardari constituted a parliamentary Committee for Constitutional Reforms (PCCR) in which all the parliamentary parties and independents were given nomination in it. After several meetings, the PCCR presented its proposals which were submitted in

the parliament. After a long debate, the proposals were accepted by the parliament which introduced so many changes in the constitutions. This bill of constitutional amendment was called the 18th Constitutional amendment which was passed in April 2010 (Shah, 2012).

The 18th amendment not only reverse the controversial 17th amendment introduced by the military dictator Pervez Musharraf but also restructured the basic spirit of the constitution of 1973. It restored the original constitutional of 1973 by abolishing the Sixth Schedule and LFO of Musharraf. It also strengthened the parliament by deleting the National Security Council, renaming of NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, enhanced fundamental rights and redefined the term 'High Treason' under article 6 of the constitution. It also restored the real parliamentary system of government by erasing the 58 2(B) and gave representation to minorities in Senate (Khan, 2012).

The new amendment also restructured the judiciary regarding its appointment procedure. Now the Judicial Commission of Pakistan (JCP) under chief justice would nominate any name for each position to the parliamentary committee for final approval. The JCP consisted of the Chief Justice of Pakistan as its chairman with two most senior judges, a former chief justice or judge of SC, Federal Law and Justice Minister, Attorney General, President or nominee of Pakistan Bar Association. After the recommendation of any name for any post, the parliamentary committee would hold its meeting and gave its approval or rejection as the case may be which will be final and cannot be refused by anybody. The opposition was given equal representation in the parliamentary committee. The same procedure will be adopted in appointing the provincial judiciary (Shah, 2012).

It also made new changes regarding the procedure of appointments of care taker set up and the ECP. Now the consultation of opposition leader is necessary for the appointment of caretaker setup in the center as well as in the provinces.

The 18th amendment was a consensus based amendment and no vote was casted against it. It was only due to the reconciliatory politics of the PPPP that it consulted all the political stakeholders and they were given due weight age. It was the best reflection of the politics of reconciliation in Pakistan.

The passing of 18th amendment was challenged in the supreme court of Pakistan which in its verdict differs some articles of this amendments specially 175-A which is related to the appointment procedure of judges of SC (Rizwan et. al., 2014). The SC was of the view that the government tried to minimize the effective role of this institution. In its verdict it directed the government to review the same article and include two more judges in the JCP so that the SC will have majority in the JCP. It was quite clear that the SC is going towards collision but the ruling party once again adopted a reconciliatory politics and called the meeting of PCCR to resolve the matter. It was an easy task to bring all the parties and to convince them over the controversial decision of SC but the PPPP did it very successfully. Finally, the bill of 19th constitutional amendment was passed by the parliament in December 2010 which increased the numbers of JCP from seven to nine in which two more judges were added (Khan, 2012).

The SC suspended the membership of all those 43 parliamentarians who were elected as the members of NA, Senate or provincial assembly on a plea that these were elected under an incomplete ECP after the passing of 18th amendment and their membership remained suspended till the completion of new ECP. This was another strange decision by the judiciary which openly

inviting the government for conflict. But the PPP once again adopted the reconciliatory politics and negotiated with the other parties and convinced them over the new amendment. Thus the twentieth amendment was passed in February which dealt with the composition of ECP, the term of office of CEC, other members of CEC and the mechanism of appointment procedure of caretaker set up.

Separation of MQM and Coalition Building with PML (Q)

In early 2011 differences emerged between the PPP and the MQM over the law and order situation in Karachi and the killings of MQM activists and workers. MQM started the boycott of the Sind Assembly and warned the government to leave the coalition government. Although various rounds of talks were held between the leadership of both PPP and MQM but all efforts were failed as the MQM left both the federal and Sind government and decided to sit in the opposition (Rizwan et. al, 2014).

This put enormous pressure on the PPP. The PPP despite of the bitter relations with the PML (Q) negotiated with it on the inclusion of PML (Q) in the federal coalition. After a number of meetings between them, an agreed formula was reached upon between both parties. According to this formula, the PML (Q) would join the coalition government with the PPP after getting 14 ministries in the federal and one ministry each in each four provinces. Furthermore, Pervez Elahi would be made the deputy PM of Pakistan. Although various criticisms were made on the alliance of the PPP with PML (Q) but the leadership denied it for the sake of democracy in Pakistan. Even within the PPP various leaders did not agreed with it but the PPP continued its reconciliatory politics and saved the democracy from all dangers.

Tensions with State Institutions

Like other third world countries, the state institutions like military and judiciary are much powerful in Pakistan. The military was not happy over the Memogate scandal. After the severe reaction from the military, the government had to explain the matter and one of its federal minister had resigned. Differences also emerged on the Kerry Lugar Bill and over the statement of prime minister to bring all the intelligence agencies under the government control and to discuss the defense budget in in parliament. Later on, over the severe reaction of military, PPP government had taken back these statements in the larger interests of the democracy in Pakistan.

Meanwhile, the judiciary was openly giving invitations for collision by reversing some clauses of amendments and suspending the membership of parliamentarians. Prime Minister Gilani was given sentence and even implemented the same within the court room which is not the domain of judiciary (Choudhary, 2015). Later on, the premier was dismissed on the basis that a convicted person could not more serve as an MNA and hence stood disqualified. The PPP elected a new prime minister rather emerging conflict with the state institution. It was due to the reconciliatory politics of the PPP that the democratic process went on smoothly.

Long March of PAT and Politics of Reconciliation

The democracy was going on in the country which was not tolerable for the non-democratic actors therefore they adopted another strategy to derail the democracy. On 22nd December 2012, while addressing the public gathering, Tahir-ul-Qadri announced that the current system is not

acceptable for him and the mechanism of caretaker set up is also not neutral and the elections under this setup would not be acceptable for him without election reforms. He gave a time of three weeks to change the system failing which he announced a long march against the government on 10th January 2013.

It was not an easy time for the PPPP. The government tried its level best to stop this long march but failed. The long march was started from Lahore on 11th January and reached Islamabad D-Chowk. The PPPP held various meetings with the opposition parties and its allied parties for the saving of democracy and adopted the democratic way to deal with the PAT. Due to its reconciliatory policy with the allied parties, opposition parties and with the leaders of PAT, it remained successful in handling the long march. This the long march ended with an agreement between the government and PAT ("Qadri announces end," 2013) which was not more than a "face saving for PAT."

The five-years term of the PPPP government completed on 16th March 2013 and the appointment procedure of the caretaker set up was also completed with mutual consensus at the federal as well as in all the four provinces which became only possible due to the politics of reconciliation of the PPPP. It was definitely a good sign for the flourishing of the democracy in Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

The politics of reconciliations provided a road map for the nascent democracy in third world countries. The democratic and political culture needs continuity and mutual talks for stability. Unfortunately, both these basic elements remained absent from Pakistani politics. The lack of political reconciliation among the political and state stakeholders resulted in the failure of political system. A lot of controversies occurred but the political system could not address them due to the lack of mutual talks and consensus. Although many efforts were made for the reconciliation in Pakistan in order to strengthen the political system and the democracy but due to the various factors it failed. The PPPP took an initiative of reconciliation during the period of Pervez Musharraf. It remained successful in convincing the PML (N) for the mutual talks. These talks ultimately resulted in the signing of Charter of Democracy in 2006. The reconciliatory politics of the PPPP not only bring the political and economic stability in the country but also gave a new life to the fragile democracy in Pakistan. It was due to the politics of reconciliation that despite of even not having a simple majority by it alone, the PPPP secured two-third majority for the constitutional amendments to restore the original constitution through 18th amendment, nineteenth and then twentieth amendment. The restoration of the original constitution, supremacy of parliament, consensus based NFC Award, healing the wounds of Baluchistan through negotiations and giving them their due rights on their demands, reforms in Gilgit-Baltistan to win their confidence, careful policy on sensitive national and international issues, dialogues with the non-democratic forces as well as the opposition helped the government to complete its five years tenure for the first time in the democratic history of Pakistan. Although, the long march of PAT insisted on the one day early dissolution of the assemblies so that the elections could be held in 90 days so that the non-democratic forces could get excuses to delay the future elections but the timely decisions of the PPPP and its working relations with the all the political stakeholders worked smoothly and remained successful in bringing the opposition parties on one page for the completion of constitutional term of assemblies and holding the new election in time. Undoubtedly, this

reconciliatory politics put a new life into the political system of Pakistan which is very healthy for politics, economy as well as for the democracy in Pakistan.

The lack of reconciliation in Pakistani politics could not bring political stability in the country. The political parties were victimized and were not provided enough opportunities to promote political and democratic culture in the country. The PPP after its emergence tried its level best to fill this vacuum. The initiative of politics of reconciliation by the PPP worked a lot and it promoted a mature political culture in the country. The other political parties followed the PPP which brought fruitful results for the political stability in the country from 2008 to 2013. Although, there are a lot of challenges for the nascent democracy in Pakistan after 2008 but the mature response by the PPP and the other political parties helped to face all these challenges.

The political parties which are the backbones of any political system and democracy must be provided enough space and healthy atmosphere to play their role in the politics of the country. The non-democratic forces must not intervene into the political matters of the country as well as in the political parties. On the other hand, the political parties should also develop a mature political culture and avoid leg pulling of each other. The politics of reconciliations must be promoted in the third world countries for the flourishing of democracy. As this is the only way to bring the political and economic stability in the country, therefore the political parties and other non-democratic forces should provide enough opportunities to work independently for the politics and democracy in the country.

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