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Government and Politics in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (A Study of ANP Governance) (2008-13)

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Abstract

Democracy, necessitates basic freedom without any discrimination in terms of ethnicity, religion or any ideology. Each and every party under the philosophy of psephology to participate an efficient role both in political and electoral grounds so that utmost socio-economic welfare in very interests of common man is ensured and this is the basic essence of politics and any political party in the state whether national or regional and this is the reason that ANP after acquiring government in KP tried its best to bring this party and its community to mainstream national politics as Pakhtun community has been suffered in almost all fields as compared to rest of ethnicities in Pakistan and it is therefore ANP after 2008 tried with iron-hands The conflicting forces of unity and diversity in Pakistan could not be balanced due to prevalence of acute ethnic and linguistic variations and lack of mutual interdependence of national and regional sub-systems. This study completely is an analysis of these crisis and its impacts on national politics with special reference to ANP, its manifestoes, character and orientation towards the national integration and development. The study will also analyze the participation of the concerned party in the socio-cultural values of the Pakhtun nation that for how much ANP became successful in its regional ambitions. The study of ANP as a political party is important as it is one of the key players in regional politics.

Key words: Ethnic Diversity, Pakhtun Nationalist Movement, ANP, Eighteenth Amendment, Politics and Governance in KP

Introduction

In a country like Pakistan, where federalism has brought about political unity but the state by itself witnessing struggles for the assertiveness and conflicting claims of identity groups. These struggles are though on regional lines but because of uneven development and unequal access to political power. Bhutto succeeded to

some extent in countering inter-regional and intra-regional problems due to his party support in Punjab and Sindh and these provinces bargained with the central government for more prosperity and developmental benefits. Bhutto for his political survival maintained a balance in regional aspirations of Punjab and Sindh but however KP and Balochistan didn't get any favor rather their regional aspirations were suppressed because of demand of regional autonomy in accordance of new constitution of Pakistan. These provinces in response recorded their protest against Bhutto authoritarianism and Punjab and Sindh domination over national politics (A. P. Memon, 1997).

Keeping in view that small provinces opted for majority constraining federalism through 1973 constitution in the form of bicameralism with equal representation in the upper chamber for all provinces (19 each, 8 FATA) along with recognition of provincial languages. These were confidence building measures in order to counter balance the Punjabi dominated lower house. But the upper house still had no jurisdictions related to money bills and budget may directly be sent by the lower house for Presidential assent without any interruption by the Upper Chamber. The 17th Amendment inducted in 1973 constitution during Musharraf era through LFO increased the seats of Senate to (22 each) and 8 for FATA. Moreover it became essential to present money bill to the Senate (Waseem, 2010).

But as the regionalist parties were mainly concentrated in NWFP and Baluchistan and had very less or no representation in the central legislature while secured seats for provincial assemblies. ANP was established in 1986, got support in the rural Pakhtun areas of KP. Securing 8-38 % seats in KP assembly from 1988-97 and raised the issue of provincial autonomy and renaming the province of NWFP but didn't get the required objectives. Interviews conducted in May 2005, in which views were expressed by the interviewees that regional political parties are not the only issue of Pakistan rather Punjab's domination in politico-economic and military aspects is the real issue which made the regional parties to demand regional autonomy in the remaining federating units (Adeney, 2007).

As the provincial units have been struggling for the allocation and distribution of resources (fiscal, water and mineral) which ultimately cause sectarian and ethnic polarization in Pakistan influencing negatively on Pakistan's economy though large scale projects of national importance been initiated but mutual provincial agendas and acute differences in them have rolled back these mega projects and so made Pakistan's future prosperity suspicious (Job, 2002). Post 9/11 Era, U.S intervention and 'War on Terror' has changed the geo-political importance of the region as "*Talbanization*" has resulted into terroristic activities but despite all, ANP has emerged as a single largest party in the wounded constituencies of Pakhtun region in the elections of 2008 (Mushtaq, 2009).

Moreover, the deteriorating law and order situation in Pakistan generally and KP specifically has made the foreign investors to fold back their capital elsewhere

away from Pakistan. Terrorism and target killings have harmed KP and Pakistan economically. A survey conducted by the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, one-day strike results in losses accounting for Rs1.18 billion in terms of GDP. So how can be the social infrastructure improved. Thus internal and external security and economic development are interdependent variables for both Pakistan and KP's political stability (Khaleeq, 2004).

One of the Reasons for regional grievances of aggrieved groups of concerned units of federation is the domination by the ruling class of Punjab and therefore demands for complete independence, federation with transferring residual powers to provincial list for the center, greater provincial autonomy within the federal structure, establishing new provinces which are ethnically homogenous and the demand for arranging local government elections and rendering more power to local representatives have been heard in different times in Pakistani polity. Another important reason for struggle between provinces and between ethnic groups is the negligence of a definite territory or region by the ruling national level parties and centralization of administrative and political power in the hands of respective elites also give rise to demand for devolution of powers and bifurcation of unilingual units like in KP "*khpla khawra khp likhtiar*" or "Sons of soil theory" is used to promote the interests of specified group.

The local elites, of regional parties (ANP, BNP, MQM and QWP) in desire of seeking power also led to regional ambitions in Pakistan. These parties and their leadership fanned regional issues in order to gain power at the local level or have a say in central government. Awareness or Perception of the backward areas people for their discrimination against the others also promotes feelings of regionalism in the country. The political leaders also try to inculcate in the minds of common people that the regional imbalance is due to polarization of the central government and so some areas are therefore being socially and economically neglected (Gochhayat, 2013).

Demography Of KP

KP is located to the North of Pakistan encircling territory of 74,521 km² and the FATA 27,220 km square. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and tribal areas are situated along the West bank of the Indus. Punjab to its eastern side, Afghanistan to its Western, huge mountains of Hindu Kush (Hindu Killer) and China to its North linking through Karakurm and Baluchistan and Sulaiman hills to its southern part. The politics and culture of the province has ever been remained significant due to its strategic location with a demarcating line (River Indus) between the KP and the rest of subcontinent. In-between the surrounding hills of the province are valleys made fertile by river Kabul and other rivers from Swat and Kurram from which various irrigation channels are diverted in different directions with a view to meet the increased needs of agriculture. The climate of the province is dry, continental with trembling cold winter and scorching summer which lastly ends with pleasant monsoon rains (M.Banerjee, 2004).

KP is comprised of seven divisions which are further sub-divided into thirty six districts Peshawar, Charsadda, Nowshera, Mardan, Swabi, Kohat, Karak, Bannu, LakkiMarwat, Tank, Hangu, Haripur, Abbottabad, Mansehra, Battagram, Kohistan and Dera Ismail Khan, and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) of KP which has a population of 831,000 consists of Malakand Agency and the districts of Upper Dir, Lower Dir, Chitral, Swat, Buner, Shangla and the pocket of Kala Dhaka. In reference to the census of 1998, the total population of KP was estimated as 17 million with an annual increase of 2.82 percent. Along with *Pakhtun* tribes, KP is also the residence of other identities and linguistic groups. Northern hilly areas spoke different local languages, that are, Khowar, Hindko, Kohistani, Shina, Torwali, Kashmiri, Kalasha and Kaghani. A large group of inhabitants of Peshawar and Kohat speaks Hindko. The people of D.I Khan speak Seraiki as their mother language. The immigrants of Afghanistan brought Tajik and Hazarvi language with themselves. With the theological point of view, if KP is studied so almost all the inhabitants of the province are Sunni Muslims while there is a minority of Shia Muslims as well including Ismailis, along with small portion of Shamanists in Chitral (NWFP, 2010). KP is ethnically diverse having 30% population of Chitralis and Hindko speakers in the Hazara and Siraiki speakers in D.I.Khan however politics of the province is dominated by Pakhtu language. NWFP is called 'SoobaSarhad' in Urdu means 'the border region' which is irritating to most of Pakhtuns as they are proud of their distinct identity and these ethno-national sentiments are represented by the Pakhtun representative party, ANP (Dawn, 2008).

ANP Five Years Governance In KP

Law And Order Situation

After a remarkable victory in elections of 2008 in which ANP fought both for central and provincial seats and got a number of seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and one seat in Baluchistan and Sindh assembly as well. This was for the first time in political history of the party which subsequently formed a government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and rendered support to the government of PPP in Sindh and Baluchistan but ruling in Pakistan is not an easy task and especially in the case of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa which has, in a political perspective, a highly tense environment specifically after the event of September 11, 2001 and the result of Afghan Jihad, future of Taliban government, challenges to Pakistan and peace and security in KP and FATA region. Anyhow, in the general elections held in 2008, both ANP and PPP planned to cobble a coalition government that was almost dominated by the ANP, as its Chief Minister Amir Haider Khan Hoti remained at the helm throughout the provincial government's constitutional tenure. As a whole, it was not possible to contain all the good and bad done by the coalition government, but there is a general opinion that its performance was not up to the mark with regard to certain issues particularly combating terrorism, getting its due share in the NFC awards and dues against hydel power, corruption and so on.

A sharp rise in terrorist attacks has been occurred in the KP in 2009, in which total 49 suicide attacks being made by Taliban in Peshawar and badly targeted police, security agencies, party leaders, markets, and other common social and public places. Terrorists posed a challenge to the provincial government of ANP. Al-Qaida and Afghan militants entered into KP from different tribal areas of KP and Southern Punjab which was the training centre for Kashmiri mujahideen where militants were trained. Socio-political dynamics and law and order in KP are ever negatively affected by militancy in 'illaqaghair' although the same political parties operate in both regions of the province (SATP, 2009).

Socio-Political Climate Of KP

The political cause of the crisis in Pakhtun region is the absence of citizens fundamental rights due to which KP government faced failure in smooth ruling. FATA has a historical experience of alienation, corruption, poverty and non-development, lawlessness, insecurity and extremism. The system in KP is unaccountable, lacks transparency, and is often notorious for misuse of funds for vested interests and personal gain. Mutual distrust exists to consult with different institutions with the aim to render services and address people needs. The reform package introduced by local and provincial government was incomplete having no positive impacts so made the civil administrations more weakened. It not only discouraged employment but also the investment which endangered economic growth. The persistent mal-execution has provided an opportunity to the militant groups, as the only emancipators and alternative to the state with administrative qualities in general and to lessen their degree of needs in particular. The concept of fundamentalism or extremism emerged in Islam also helped to reshape the provincial political landscape. Religion was politicised to keep control over or weaken the opposition through secular-religious political alliances and strategic use of religious authorities to advance political interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir through the cultivation of ideological, educational and institutional hubs linked to militancy. The abuse of religion for political ends, therefore, ever remains an initial source of the crisis in the KP.

Moreover, the misperception of KP or FATA citizens regarding their skillful manipulation by militants created a sense of alienation for Pakhtun region. Lack of voice of citizens of KP and their non-involvement in public affairs resulted in distrust between state and citizens sharpened the crisis (NWFP, Post Crisis Needs Assessment, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa and Federally Administered Tribal Areas, 2010) . Expectations of the people were however high after the mutual alliance of PPP-ANP took the reign in March, 2008. Anyhow when the ANP started negotiating with TNSM leadership, faced assassination campaign by TTP in FATA. Many parliamentary and non-parliamentary members of these parties were kept on the gun point, targeted and threatened in order to disappear from Public screen.

ANP in a dialogue with TNSM explained,

“If army is not interested in challenging the expanding writ of Taliban, why should we continue to sacrifice our lives (Times, 2008)”.

Interestingly, AsfandiyarWali Khan while dealing with U.S authorities, secretly visited Washington and later on in a deal with Sufi Muhammad for his release from jail on humanitarian basis with a view that he will be able to withdraw militant forces from Swat led by Maulana Fazlullah (Dawn, US silent on asfandiyar's Visit, 2008).

According to KP's Chief Minister, *“Our policy is political dialogue. That will eventually be the way out.”*

However, Sufi Muhammad violated the “confidential agreement with the ANP after his release and declared democracy in Pakistan as un-Islamic. Eventually under pressure of U.S, Pakistan's army started ‘Operation Rah-e- Raast’ which eliminate elements of TNSM from Swat. However, the operation made fractures in the political reputations of ANP in his whole episode. The suicide attacks from 2009- 2010 had significantly increased which frustrated public badly and despite military operations, the youngsters residing in border areas of FATA joined militant groups because of absence of economic opportunities and development of the region of FATA. The coalition government was unable to tackle the Taliban issue, particularly in the KP's most peaceful settled district Swat where Maulvi Fazlullah ran a parallel government. Though initially an armistice known as Nizam-e-Adl Regulation for the enforcement of Shariah in Malakand Division was reached with the TTP (Tahreek-e-Taliban Pakitan) led by Fazlullah, it was soon revoked and a military action was initiated. This troubled the locals very badly and millions of Swat residents were forced to live in makeshift camps as IDPs (internally displaced persons) which bore a stigma on their faces as they had to go from door to door for their livelihood. Even the faithful spent the days of Ramadan away from their homes in a miserable state. Apart from Swat, the remaining Malakand districts and the adjoining Mohmand, Bajawar, Khyber, Orakzai, North & South Waziristan, Kurram and FR regions remained in the grip of terror and fear in the wake of military operations and terrorist activities of non-state actors (News, 2010).

ANP And Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)

The election campaign of ANP specifically been affected with violence and Talibanizaion. The Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), has made several suicides and bomb attacks on the country's secular parties to oust these parties from holding big gatherings and so several election candidates have been killed and civilians were wounded. Moreover, serious security concerns have been expressed for the polling staff and voters particularly the female voters. Over 850 political workers of the party, including its parliamentarians, have been murdered by Taliban attacks in the last ten

The disrupted law and order situation in KP was not a product of military operations against talibanization but the result of poor governance, regional

tension, economic distress and in addition to the gradual strengthening of militant forces, especially since the Taliban government in Afghanistan in 2001. The prolonged presence of U.S and NATO troops in Afghanistan for defeat of insurgents both within and without the state and tribal areas of the province also adverse effects on the inhabitants of KP (SATP, 2009). The militants hit the leaders and workers of the ANP in at least 37 attacks between January 1 and May 15, 2013 (Waheed, 2013). On the other side the remaining political parties were calmly running their campaigns and were not attacked by the Taliban. Obviously there seems to be some understanding between them that these parties avoid from pointing out talibanization and in response they were allowed to carry on their election campaigns without any hindrance from Taliban side. In a joint conference, representatives of ANP, PPP and MQM declared that the religious and right wing political parties are 'political wings' of the militant Taliban.

ANP And Military Operations Against Terrorism

The support of ANP to military operations against extremists in the Pakhtun tribal belt and in the result of which millions of tribesmen are still living in different settled areas particularly in Jalozai camp near Pabbi Bannu and D.I.Khan or elsewhere with their relatives and friends or in costly rented cell-like houses. Still there is no ray of hope which can be seen that their native areas will have conducive atmosphere in the coming days. "ANP, MQM and the PPP were secular and vowed to sabotage their campaign", said Militants. The Taliban in a reaction to operations intimidated people through video messages to stay away from political rallies, processions and campaigns etc. held by the three ruling political parties – Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and the ANP – which they deem foes to Jihad against America and its allies (H.Yousaf, 2012). Letters of threat of destroying votes of Lalain on daily basis were received to ANP leaders, workers, polling agents and people of districts Peshawar, Sawabi and Charsadda as these areas had majority of ANP. Moreover Fitwa was being issued abstaining people from vote because ANP is 'un-Islamic' (Hussain, 2013).

Poor Economy

Through good governance, the KP could have enhanced economic position and become self-sufficient as the province is rich in many natural resources, tour spots, and agricultural land. But still the literacy rate was not appreciable, poor health facilities and capabilities of law enforcing agencies were weak. Business and commercial illegalities, smuggling, and inadequate infrastructure have undermined the economy. The Finance Department of KP declared the economic conditions in stark terms:

"KP has very limited tax base and relies for 92% of its revenues on the Federal Government. All the vital socio-economic indicators of the Province are lowest among the other Provinces. The Province is also confronted with war on terror, causing huge losses to human life, business and property (NWFP, White Paper On 2009-10, 2009).

NFC Award and the 18th constitutional amendment has raised the provincial share in federation from 49 percent to 56 % during 2010/11 and 57.5 % in the remaining years of the Award. The province will get 16.42 percent from the federation along with 1 percent as grant for war on terror. Most of Pukhtoos are helpless and are victims in the face of an “attack on Pukhtoos from all sides” – the religious militants, the Pakistani army, and the U.S led forces. They were/are angry that other identities in Pakistan consider them as pro-militant and therefore violence is their innate habit. These social concerns are accompanied by economic concerns,

According to Sarhad Chamber of Commerce,

“In January 2009 only 594 of the province’s 2,500 “industrial units” were functional. The common man was also angry that police and civilian law enforcement agencies failed to provide adequate security, though security personnel tend to be a prime target of terrorists” (Zeb, 2009).

The economic situation in KP and FATA had chronically been influenced by certain elements such as geographic location with undefined boundaries, the adverse effects of worldwide tension of terrorism due to which neither indigenous nor foreign investors were in position to invest, limited or no investment in human resource (especially women), and an environment not favorable to private sector growth were all those reasons which altogether produced low levels of GDP’s growth in the province, high unemployment and high incidence of poverty in the region. Escalation of war on terror and conflict in almost a fifth of the combined territory of KP and FATA has complicated the already major economic challenges. The intensification of terrorism in mid-2009 has reversed the advancements made in 2003/4-2008/9. The deteriorated consequences of security, no rule of law and absence/poor provision of public service in the affected areas had greatly damaged economic development. Since 2008 and onwards the KP and FATA region as compared to the rest of parts of the state had continuously under-performed both in political as well as in economic sectors. The GDP growth was estimated to be decelerated to 3% in 2009 as it was already slowing down as compare to 5.7% during 2004-8. Higher growth in the earlier period was led by services, especially retail trade and remittance-fuelled financial services. The greatest source of employment, (Agriculture), accounting 42% of the whole and industrial sector also had a positive contribution. But, growth in these sectors shrewd because of contraction of manufacturing plants in 2008-10. The conflict with Taliban has imposed a huge economic sufferings and on top of it obvious human loss. Fighting gave rise to as many as 2.3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and caused considerable damage to physical and social infrastructure. Over all industrialization has come to a standstill: tourism in Swat was ceased completely because of security reasons. Mining of gems and stones was continuing at less than 10% of previous output levels due to the ban on dynamite. This experience in other sectors was similar, and overall the economy of KP and

FATA was likely to have contracted in 2009/10. Poverty rate in KP in the year was 41.4% in 1998-9 which fell down to 16.6% by 2007-8 through remittances of 21% of expenditure, a larger share than any other provinces of Pakistan could give but this rate of poverty reduction been reversed in coming years. FATA, most affected and suffered from poverty with 250 \$ per capita income per year which is half to national per capita income (Bank, 2010)

ANP And Comprehensive Developmental Strategy For KP

After 2008 election, the socio-economic conditions of KP were on a right drive with the ultimate execution of ANP in the region. Since last decades, the developmental projects were stagnant due to war in Afghanistan and its impacts on the province specifically. ANP while in government therefore formulate a comprehensive plan of development ranging from employment opportunities to better civic services and this plan will be accomplished by the government, civil society and non-governmental sector. The developmental plan will have objectives to be achieved in three different targets- short and middle range to be achieved from 2010-2016 and long range to be sought from 2017-2030. These goals encompass governance and security, civic services, infra-structure, economic development and urban development are included as well. The strategies estimated to be completed with Rs. 960 billion. Answering the question that what socio-economic betterments were ensured by ANP during its ruling in KP, Ex-Chief Minister Ameer Haidar Khan Hoti answered that ANP's government had devised a comprehensive developmental strategy which encompassed almost all sectors- agriculture, industrial development, fishing, livestock for meat and milk production, stipends and scholarship programs for education promotion and development of infra-structure in which billions of rupees were disbursed by ANP government (NWFP, Comprehensive Development Strategy, 2009).

a. Promotion Of Information And Communication

ANP and provincial government believe in freedom of press and communication but as the provincial government was very backward in the promotion of electronic media so the ANP government took certain initiatives which include installation of FM radio stations in Peshawar and Mardan in the name of (Radio Pakhtunkhwa). Besides this, Pakhtu TV channel was inaugurated along with ten other FM radio stations throughout the province. Moreover, the plan also included the construction of Press Clubs, residential colonies for journalists in various districts of the province (Safi M. I., 2013).

b. Sports And Culture

The provincial social climate was already deteriorated by the growing militancy and extremism since November eleven, the rest of atrocities were culminated by the MMA government during its tenure by banning Pakhtun artists not to publicize un-Islamic culture. The artists were beaten, tools of fun were broken down and some were made to exile and humiliated. ANP which represents itself as the sole representative party of Pakhtun culture when came to power in 2008,

establish a Directorate of Culture through which spent 461.19 million rupees on sports and culture in initial two years. ANP opened Nishtar Hall, arranged culture fairs and entertainment programs to liberate a common man from the stress of fear and terror. Along with this, ANP gave financial assistance to local artists and encourage them to promote their culture (Ian, 2014).

c. Social Welfare And Women Development

In order to improve the living standard of poor, orphans, widows and special or disable people of the province who already had been ruined and deprived by the troubles and complexities of the society, the ANP government proceeded to establish 138 professional and vocational centers for women. Under Gender Reform Action Plan (GRAP), a committee was composed to protect children from social evils. Stipends were given to old and unemployed educated young ones. Similarly, in the 2009-10 816.838 million rupees were spent on family planning and good reproductive health. Twenty-one new health centers were opened in which 14,13,802 patients were freely treated (Yousafzai, 2013)..

d. Municipality And Rural Development

The provincial government under ANP tenure from 2008-10 through department of local government and rural development provided basic civic facilities like provision of clean water and sanitation from which 1.8 million benefited. Another plan on which expenses were estimated to be 124 million rupees on construction of local government schools was under consideration of provincial government. Another project which was started with amount of 3.5 billion rupees for construction of under passes, over bridges, water supply from Warsak Dam to Peshawar and construction of modern bus terminal for Peshawar were included. Department of local government with Rs. 213 million installed 4330 hand pumps for rural population, 2333 schemes of sanitation, 820 washrooms in houses and 820 gravity water supply schemes in areas of Haripur, Mansehra, Taimergera, LakkiMarwat, Hawalian, Sawabi, Takhtbai, and Tangi Charsadda were completed. In district Peshawar, on amount of 772 million rupees, various new parks, zoo in Regi Lalma, beautification and greenery of all parks and erection of biggest flag of Pakistan in Jinnah park were conducted, apart from all these, KP is the first province which is provided by new local government system and approve it from Provincial assembly by ANP government (Bureau, 2001).

e. Provision Of Food

KP province is always deficient of food and it import food from other provinces. The year 2008 had the same problem so ANP government realizing the fact imported 86000 metric ton of wheat in 2008 while purchase 90000 metric tons from local farmers saving 540 million rupees as subsidy payment (Mehboob S. R., 2011).

f. Livestock And Diary Development

Millions of people live in rural areas of KP and the growing rate of population had alarmed the natural resources of the province so in order to overcome milk and

meat deficiency in KP, excess of amount was utilized by ANP government in different areas of the province to produce cheap source of food in order to meet daily needs and may improve their living standard by marketing livestock (Mehboob S. R., 2011).

Table: Region Stock Estimated Amount

Peshawar ,Mardan, D.I Khan	Diary Colony	300 million
All KP	Preservation of Achai Cow	222.147 million
All KP	New veterinary Dispensaries	230 million
Mardan	Poultry Form	45 million
All KP	Renovation of Dispensaries	200 million
Peshawar (ChagharMitti)	Con. of Teach. Vit. Hospital	30.895 million
Charsadda (Harichand)	Diary Form	21.835 million
All KP	Production of Meat and Milk	153.29 million
All KP	Promotion of Khanabadosh Animals	150 million

***g.* Energy And Power**

KP has established a separate department with the endeavors of ANP government to search new resources of electrical energy for development of power and energy sector. This department will overlook matters of electricity and gas though matters are dealt by the federal government but in future these matters will be conducted by the provincial department. The department has already started work on it and is trying to persuade non-governmental sector in this field. The department tries to introduce wind power, hydal power, geo thermal and solar systems to meet the requirements of the province.

***h.* Industrial Development**

As earlier stated that KP has very limited industrial and tax base structure and mostly dependent upon federal budget so in 2008-10, attention was given to promote industries and economic affairs in order to create direct and indirect opportunities of employment and revenue resources of KP will also be enhanced. For this purpose, industrial and mines department were made separate. Pakhtunkhwa Development Authority was in front line to make the vision of Amir Haidar Khan Hoti practicable. One thousand and eighty-one million rupees were specified under the developmental authority to establish industrial zones and to rehabilitate industrial colonies for the labors.it was hoped that these initiatives will ensure investment of 3 billion rupees in this sector. This will give job

opportunities to 150000 persons. Similarly, 2.5 billion rupees will be invested in different districts to promote home industries as well (Gohar, 2011).

i. Distribution Of Zzakat

The lives of common men not only ruined by ever increasing terroristic attacks of the militant taliban but also by the poverty, unemployment and price hiking before 2008. When ANP took the reign in the province, sincerely took steps to lower the poverty level as much as possible. The amount distributed through zakat schemes from which different people were financially assisted were as such:

Table:

Sector	People Benefited	Amount in Rupees
Guzara Allowance	1,0000087	1, 21, 00,000,00
Educational Stipends	4,57,000	36, 59, 0000,0
DeeniMadaris	4,00000	16,26,0000,0
Health Care	81,000	12,00,000,00
Jahaiz	1, 62,000	16, 00, 000,00
Technical Education	-----	48,00,000,00

j. Agriculture

KP government under the 2008 election manifesto kept friendly policy regarding agriculture and farmers on the basis of which capacity was built up and production per acre increased. This policy had increased agriculture revenue to a good extent. Agriculture department in the month of October-November 2012 distributed 4000-ton wheat as seed from which 75000 farmers took advantage. Hybrid seeds were provided to farmers for cultivating vegetables to increase food production on export basis. The provincial government established Model Farm Services Center provided agro-services under one roof. This center, from 2008-9 to 2012-13 distributed 15000 ton wheat seed, 3000-ton Maize seed and 48000-ton fertilizer to farmers. Agriculture department devised a plan for agriculture machinery and modern equipment to farmers to enhance production with new ways and methods. Provincial government allotted 50 million rupees for this project.

k. Alleviation Of Addiction

Addiction is one of the global issues which require intensive attention. This problem has destructed the families which were once prosperous. In Pakistan, addictive substances became an epidemic and have destroyed lives of young ones by damaging brains and bodies. The talented individuals both mentally and physically become incapable to work and become a burden on society. ANP government, like other social reforms, took the responsibility to stop unlawful business of all types of heroin. For this purpose ANP banned to cultivate crops of opium in, Buner, Swat, Sawabi, Mansehra, Bajaur, Khyber, and Malakand agencies and set on fire their factories. Welfare homes established in different districts where 1934 addict persons were rehabilitated with monthly stipend to all addict

persons amounting 299700 rupees. The provincial government also took assistance from various donor agencies to eradicate this curse from Pakhtun society.

1. Education

ANP while making government in KP was ambitious in making the province prosperous in almost all social aspects of a common man like education, health, peace and development. As promised in election manifesto of 2008 that book and pen will be provided to each child of PK so took a revolutionary step by starting “Storii Da Pakhtunkhwa” program. Under this program, stipends were given amounted (10000- 150000) to intelligent students of all boards of KP who had distinction in their carrier. Two hundred schools were reconstructed and new furniture and equipment were provided which were damaged due to ‘war on terror’ in the province. Since 1947 till 2008 KP had only ten universities, ANP when empowered established eight more universities within five years. Forty-seven new colleges were constructed for both boys and girls. Four-years degree program (BS) was initiated in these colleges at very low fee ratio. These colleges were also acquainted with multi lingual laboratories, human resource development (HRD) and information technology (IT) . \Five thousand Kanal land were purchased to establish Bacha Khan Medical College, Abdul Wali Khan University and Agriculture University Ameer Muhammad Khan Campus Mardan for which 37 cror\ 36 lac rupees were provided by KP government to erect basic infra -structure of these institutions. Besides this, Nave Sahr (New Morning) Laptop Scheme and Rokhana (Brightened)Pakhtunkhwa programs were initiated from which 25 thousand students were benefited by the efforts of ANP government from 2008-13 (Mayar, 2013).

Conclusion

Although KP had a powerful nationalist movement since independence and so advocated the cause of One Unit, defence pacts and independent foreign policy but it is also a fact that Pukhtoon never challenged the national institutions. ANP in the past raised its voice for Pukhtoon regional autonomy, renaming the province but after the passage of 18th amendment, it has now adopted itself to the posture of national politics along with the trends of provincialism. The ANP on the one hand made certain achievements in some spheres like developments in education, health and other social infrastructure but on the other hand failed in its claim of receiving the control of generating hydroelectric power by KP and royalty payment from center. Neither new industries were opened nor closed industrial units in Gadoon, Peshawar or Charsadda were re-launched and nor incentives were given for socio-economic uplift of the region. The construction plan of Kalabagh Dam was made controversial which was permanently put under the rugs by PPP government and so now the province is facing serious problem of energy shortage and acres of barren land due to non-availability of water. Poor governance in political and economic terms, allegations of corruption, pro-

American tag and lack of coordination with common people were the factors which caused failure of ANP in 2013 general elections.

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