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Analysis of Awami National Party's Theory and Practice During its Rule in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2008-2013)

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Abstract: In Pakistan, the political parties, during their election campaigns, present their manifestoes with a promise to solve the multiple issues and problems of the people. However, after winning elections, either due to hurdles within the existing system or inefficiency and incompetency of political parties, those promises are not fulfilled. Awami National Party, as a political party, also promised many reforms during its election campaign in 2008. It won a considerable number of seats in provincial assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but, it lacked simple majority to form a government in KP independently. Hence, it made a coalition government in partnership with Pakistan Peoples Party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Having Ameer Haider Khan Hoti as its own Chief Minister, Awami National Party tried to fulfil its electoral promises practically. An analysis of its ruling tenure in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2008-2013) reflects that after coming into power, though, it could not fulfil all of its electoral promises but, practically, it remained true to its words in a larger extent.

Introduction

Awami National Party (ANP) came into being in 1986 under Abdul Wali Khan (Marwat, 2015). Its basic manifesto was to raise voice for the lower strata of the Pakistani community. Its main objective was to strive for the rights of a common man. That's why; soon, it came to be known as the "Left-Wing Party" which tended towards socialism. Earlier, it emerged as a political party at national level but, with the passage of time, the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) became its centre of political influence (Akhtar 2011).

Since 1986 till 2018, ANP contested different elections and secured multiple seats at the provincial and national levels. In general elections of 2008, it emerged as a dominating political party in KP. Previously, during the general elections of 2002, the Mutahidda Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) used the religious card in the general elections of 2002

in KP. At that time, the region of KP had been a hallmark of conflicts between Afghanistan and Pakistan throughout the US-led war on terror since the incident of 9/11. The political environment, economy and society in KP had been affected badly by the terrorism. The voting behaviour of the general public of KP was noted as more nuanced which brought a change in political outlook of the province. It evoked an anti-Musharraf and anti-US election campaign to stir-up the sentiments of general public in their favour which, ultimately, resulted to make the MMA as a single winning party in KP. Prior to the general elections of 2008 in KP, the paradigm of politics shifted from religion to ethno-nationalism and secularism. The general public was demanding for peace and welfare. Therefore, in KP, they voted in majority to the ANP and the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarians (PPPP) respectively. As per the

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Election Commission of Pakistan's (ECP) schedule, the general elections held on February 18, 2008 to the provincial and national assemblies. Though, the ANP got a high number of provincial seats in KP but it could not get simple majority which was essential to form provincial government in KP. Hence, it formed a coalition government with the PPPP in KP [\(Farmanullah 2014\)](#).

ANP's Electoral Manifesto for the General Elections of 2008

ANP's electoral manifesto for the general elections of 2008 was comprised of four major parts. The first part was a preamble, the second was related to Pakistan's internal affairs, the third one was about its external affairs, and the fourth one was related to the then proposed reforms in the former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). The preamble of its manifesto incorporated to follow the ideology of Abdul Ghaffar Khan [\(Shah 1999\)](#). Secondly, it focused over the internal affairs including social issues, administrative problems, and policies to counter the havoc of on-going terrorism. It also demanded to rename the former NWFP as Pakhtunkhwa. The third part of the manifesto was mainly related to the foreign policy of Pakistan. It comprised ideas for improving and enhancing relations with the neighbouring countries of Pakistan. It stressed adopting diplomatic policies for improving the economic and trade interests of the country. In the last part of the manifesto, the ANP highlighted a dire need to merge the former FATA into KP bring them into the main strata of the country and over-come their political, economic, and social problems. It proposed to annex FATA with KP to give them equal representation in politics and other domains of life [\(ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007\)](#). Being mainly based among Pakhtuns, the ANP has also a Pakhtun ethno-nationalist orientation. Therefore, it talked about the unity, uplift, and welfare of Pakhtuns within the federation of Pakistan. Its leadership was of the view that there was an ethnic-cleansing of Pakhtuns under a systematic conspiracy in the name of terrorism and so-called war on terror to counter it. In its manifesto, the party stressed the elimination of terrorism from Pakistan in general and from the Pakhtun dominant areas in KP, Balochistan, and FATA in particular. The party always raised its voice in favour of the lower strata and marginalized

community of the society. During ANP's election campaign, one of its leaders, Khawaja Muhammad Khan Hoti, claimed that he believed in free and fair politics, therefore, he joined the ANP. He further proclaimed that the ANP's central president, Asfandyar Wali Khan) was a symbol of Pakhtun unity and all the Pakhtuns were united under his leadership [\(The Nation 2007\)](#).

The General Elections of 2008

On February 18, 2008, general elections were held for the national and provincial elections. These elections were held when terrorism was at its peak in Pakistan. Being a front-line province of Pakistan in the on-going war on terror, KP was facing frequent terrorist attacks. However, still, the participation of the voters in the general elections of 2008 was encouraging. Registered voters for the National Assembly were 80,910,318 out of which 45,306,540 were males and 35,603,778 were females. The collective turn-out of the general elections to the national assembly was 44.6% which had been increased by 2.7% as compared to 41.9% in general elections of 2002 [\(Ahmad and Hussain 2016\)](#).

Election Results

On March 1, 2008, the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) announced the official results of the general elections of 2008. Results of the general elections to the national assembly of Pakistan were mixed one. No political party could get a simple majority to form the government at the centre independently. The PPPP gained total 122 seats out of which 95 were general seats and 27 were reserved seats for women and minorities. The Pakistan Muslim League – Nawaz Sharif Group (PML-N) got total 92 seats including 72 general seats and 20 reserved seats for women and minorities. The Pakistan Muslim League - Quaid-i-Azam Group (PML-Q), the former ruling party at the centre from 2002 to 2008, got only 53 seats including 41 general seats and 12 reserved seats of women and minorities.

In KP, the total number of seats for the national assembly was 35 out of which the ANP got 10 seats, the PPPP gained nine, the PML-Q won 05 seats, the PML-N and the MMA got 04 seats each. Only 01 seat went to the Pakistan Peoples Party – Sherpao Group (PPP-Sherpao)

and 02 seats to independent candidates. (Ahmad and Hussain 2016).

In provincial assembly of KP, there were total 124 seats including 99 general seats and 25 reserved seats (22 for women and 03 for minorities). The total registered votes in KP were 10,66,1,212. The total polled votes in the general elections of 2008 were 35, 76, 523. Out of the total polled votes, 34, 80,103 were valid while 96,420 were rejected. The total turnout as per the total polled votes was 33.54% but the turnout as per the valid votes was 32.64% (General Elections 2008 Volume-II, 2008). Elections were delayed in PF-59 and PF-81 due to the death of contesting candidates. The decision was taken by ECP under Section 18 of the People Representative Act 1976 (General Elections 2008 Volume-I 2008). In KP, the main reason behind the low turnout in general elections of 2008 was that the terrorism was on its peak in the province. On the elections day, the general public was under a fear of terrorist attacks as they had witnessed the attacks even on the contesting candidates generally and the ANP particularly. So, they could not dare to come out of their homes and poll their votes on polling station.

Out of total 124 seats, the ANP got 48 seats including 10 reserved seats of women and minorities and became the major political party followed by the PPPP which got 30 seats. Though, the ANP emerged as a major political party in KP's provincial assembly, but, it could not get simple majority in the assembly to for its own provincial government in KP independently. Hence, it formed a coalition government with the PPPP in KP with Ameer Haider Khan Hoti as its Chief Minister.

Analysis of Awami National Party's Theory and Practice During its Five Year Rule in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (2008-2013)

ANP's Electoral Manifesto on Education

Education is one of the basic requirements of life and, that's why, it is considered as the main concern of any political party to grab the attention of the masses in this regard. The ANP also promised to bring changes in the education system. It promised to spend 6% of the total GDP on education, free education up to the primary level, to abolish the double standard of education which

was in favour of the elite class, and to ensure that the mother tongue would be the medium of instruction up to the elementary level (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007).

ANP's Practical Steps for Educational Reforms in KP

Education was the subject of the Federal Legislative List in 1973-Constitution (Awais 2014). Article 37 (a) (b) (c) of the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan dealt with education. Article 37 (a) delineates that state is responsible to promote the educational and economic interest of backward areas with special care. Article 37 (b) deals with the educational rights of citizens and removal of illiteracy. It states that citizens will be provided with free and compulsory education up to the secondary level within the minimum possible period. Under the Article 37 (c) state will ensure the availability of technical and professional education and easy accessibility of higher education to all citizens on the basis of merit (Awais 2014). Education has become an enforceable right after the induction of Article 25 (A) in the 18th Amendment to the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan. Article 37 (b) ensures the removal of illiteracy, free and compulsory educations within the minimum possible time. In the 18th Amendment, Article 25 (A) was introduced which stated that the state will provide free and compulsory education to all children between the age of five to sixteen years according to the standard educational policy (Dawn 2010).

After assuming power in KP, the ANP worked for the up-gradation of primary, middle, and secondary schools. During the first two years of its government, ANP spent PKRS.906.2 million for the provision of free textbooks to girls' students in 6th to 10th classes. Similarly, it spent PKRS.625 million on the Parents-Teachers' Committees in different schools for improvement. It provided basic facilities like furniture, equipment for human resource and institution capacity buildings in the educational sector of KP. During the MMA's government in KP (2002-2008), the educational institutions in KP had been badly affected by terrorism especially the girls' schools and colleges. The number of affected schools in Malakand Division of KP was about 200. The ANP's government issued a comprehensive

reconstruction plan for the construction of damaged bodies. Several initiatives were also taken for the betterment of higher education. In this regard, ANP established 20 new colleges during its first two years of government. It also established day-care centres in 12 female colleges. Transport facility was also provided to female staff. The ANP's government also established multi-lingual laboratories, human resource development, and information technology centres in different colleges. Different Acts including the University of Peshawar Act 2009, the Gomal University Act 2010, the University of Peshawar Act 2011, and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Universities Act 2012 were passed to replace the previous rules and regulations with advanced ones. (Turning, Turning the Tide Two Years Performance of the ANP/PPP Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 2008-2010 2010). It also established new universities by passing the Khyber Medical University Amendment Act, 2008, the Islamia College Peshawar Act, 2009, the Abdul Wali Khan University Mardan Act, 2009, the Abasyn University Act, 2009, and the Iqra National University Act, 2011 (Gazette of KP 2008-2013).

ANP's Electoral Manifesto on Health

ANP's electoral manifesto focused on the provision of health facilities to all. It promised insurance schemes and privatization and decentralization of health department. It also promised to allocate 6% of total GDP to health. Its manifesto focused on the child and mother-care along with provision of preventive medicines, and clean drinking water (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007).

ANP's Practical Steps for Health Reforms in KP

To provide an essential and effective health care package including preventive, curative and rehabilitative health services, the ANP's government sanctioned huge funds. Special attention was given to the patients of Hepatitis B, C, and Tuberculosis (TB). The grant of PKRS.85.96 million was spent on 8000 patients with Hepatitis B and C. Free treatment was given to TB patients. The government also paid attention to Lady Health Visitors' (LHV) program and the stipend of an LHV was increased from PKRS 620

PKRS.3000 per month. Bacha Khan Medical University was made functional and Khyber Medical University was upgraded with modern health facilities. Different health care centres were established in the Malakand Division for the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as a result of *Rab-e-Haq* [a military operation in Swat by Pakistani security agencies against *Tebrik-i-Taliban* Pakistan (ITP)]. Different health projects like rehabilitation centres at Peshawar for psychiatric patients and Benazir Bhutto Children Hospital at Mardan were approved by the government (Turning 2010). During 2008-2009, the ANP government completed twenty-six projects of the health department. It spent PKRS.763.643 million on development projects and improvement of District Headquarter (DHQ) hospitals in Chitral, Bannu, Sawabi, and Haripur. The amount of PKRS.59.500 million was spent on the provision of generators to various DHQ hospitals. The Mardan Medical Complex was established at the cost of PKRS.253.182 million. The amount of PKRS.379.736 million was spent on the establishment of the Girls Campus of Khyber Medical College, the establishment of Khyber Medical University (Phase-II), the establishment of TB centre at Ghazi Abad in Kohistan, and the establishment of the Civil Dispensary at Wanda Mir Alam in Lakki Marwat. PKRS.456.377 million were allocated for the rehabilitation of Paraplegic Centre at Hayatabad in Peshawar, construction of *Sarkari Sarai* with shops at LRH in Peshawar, construction of a Mosque at Khyber Medical College in Peshawar, rehabilitation of existing health outlets in KP (Phase II and III. PKRS.195.95 million were granted for the establishment of Khyber Institute of Child Health, promoting safe motherhood, up-gradation of Basic Health Unit (BHU) to Rural Health Centre (RHC) at Darasan in Chitral, and the up-gradation of Bed Head Unit (BHU) to RHC at Regi in Peshawar. PKRS.129.283 million was granted for purchase of ambulances for the various hospitals in KP and equipment for LRH, Peshawar. PKRS 159.982 million was allocated for the improvement of the Post Graduate College for Nursing at Hayatabad in Peshawar, the extension of the infrastructure at Khyber College of Dentistry (KCD) in Peshawar (Turning 2010). In addition, the ANP's government passed, the North-West Frontier Province Preventive Health Act, 2009, the

Paraplegic Centre (Taking Over and Re-establishment) Act, 2009, and the North-West Frontier Province Medical and Health Institutions and Regulation of Health Care Services (Amendment) Act, 2010 [_\(Gazette of KP 2008-2013\)](#).

ANP's Electoral Manifesto on Economy

In its electoral manifesto, the ANP promised to pay due attention to economic development by boosting up the private sector along with the public sector and ensure safety line for groups with low incomes. It also promised to promote and secure foreign investment and provide unique incentives. In its manifesto, it focused on the idea of Restoration Opportunity Zones (ROZ), implementation of the decision of the Council of Common Interests (CCI) made in 1992 in respect of hydel profits accruing, new royalties after the discoveries of gas and oil in Pakhtunkhwa, and the sales tax under the National Finance Commission Award (NFCA). It also promised to allocate additional funds to set the reserves and infrastructure of KP damaged for more than two decades due to influx of Afghan refugees after Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 [_\(ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007\)](#).

ANP's Practical Steps for Economic Development in KP

KP is a resource-deficient province that generates only 70% of its budget to meet its requirements. To fulfil its remaining needs, it requires federal government fiscal transfers. ANP's government in KP made policies to meet the gap in this direction. To a larger extent, it remained successful in getting its delayed due share under sales tax and hydel revenue from the federal government. At provincial level, it collected PKRS.10 billion in the financial year of 2010-2011 by increasing taxes on crude oil, excise on coal, oil, and gas production surcharge. Due to the cessation of tobacco products in the financial year of 2008-09, the revenue collected by KP's Excise and Taxation Department raised to PKRS. 211,649 million. The Department also established tax facilitation centres at divisional and district levels with all facilities under one-roof to facilitate the general public and to make tax payments easy for them. Significant recoveries were also made by the department due

to urban property tax, motor vehicle tax, holding tax, registration fees, and provincial excise, etc., [\(Turning 2010\)](#). To bring economic reforms in KP, the ANP's government also made legislations and passed several Acts including the North-West Frontier Province Finance Act, 2008, the North-West Frontier Province Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, 2009, the North-West Frontier Province Finance Act, 2009, the North-West Frontier Province Urban Immovable Property Tax (Amendment) Act, 2009, the Provincial Motor Vehicles (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Amendment) Act, 2010, the Provincial Motor Vehicles (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) (Amendment) Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Procurement Regulatory Authority Act, 2012 [_\(Gazette of KP 2008-2013\)](#).

Awami National Party's Manifesto on Industrial Development

During its campaign in general elections of 2008, the ANP promised development and promotion of large-scale industries, oil and gas etc., by increasing the investments in public and private sectors' industries. I also promised extraction and polishing of marble, gemstone, and mineral processing industries [_\(ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007\)](#).

ANP's Practical Steps for Industrial Reforms

KP is blessed with immense mineral and natural resources; therefore, it attracted international and local entrepreneurs. About 19 exploration and reconnaissance licenses were applied by these parties in the Chitral, Kohistan, and Kohat districts, particularly for precious metals such as gold and silver, base metals, iron ore, copper, and platinum metal groups. 10 mining licenses were issued by the Mineral Production Department.

Energy and Power Development

To improve the province's local capital in the power sector, a new Energy and Power Agency was set up by the ANP's government. However, instructions and guidelines of the central government were also taken into consideration by the Energy and Power Agency. Furthermore, private investment proved to be the key driver for boosting up the economic development of the province. Agency built various renewable energy

sources including wind power, hydro and geothermal and solar water heating etc. It took initiatives with the financial support by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). It started the projects of 18 Mega Watt (MW) in Karora, and 8 MW in Jaborri. Its outstanding power project of 84 MW was in Matiltan. The provincial government of ANP in KP approved the Hydel's Potential Vision of 2021-2025 at a cost of PKRS.353.894 million with a total capacity of 2038 MW. The provincial government also focused on expanding the KP's irrigated area which was about only 2.27 million hectares, comprising only 34.65 per cent of the total agricultural area. An amount of PKRS.2230.1977 million was invested in different construction projects in the irrigation sector during 2008-2010. One main project was Baizai Irrigation System to irrigate about 25,200 hectares of land in the Mardan and Malakand Areas. Similarly, the provincial government of KP re-modelled the Warsak Canal and Takhta Baig Khovar System in Peshawar at the cost of PKRS 4534, million and 552.1 million respectively_(Turning 2010). To improve the industrial sector, the ANP's government passed different Acts including the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Industrial Relations Act, 2010, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Highway Authority (Amendment) Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Industrial and Commercial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 2012, the Travel Agencies (Amendment) Act, 2013, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Hotels and Restaurants (Amendment) Act, 2013, and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Tourist Guides Amendment Act, 2013.

The ANP's government in KP also took the following steps to improve the sub-sectors supporting the industrial sector directly or indirectly:

Obtaining Fishing Rights of Big Water Reservoirs

The significant accomplishment of ANP's government in KP was the attainment of fishing rights in Tarbela Dam, Ghazi Barrage Lake, and Khanpur Dam. Formerly, Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) was taking revenue from these reservoirs but, by then, these revenues were given to KP which was made possible as a result of the ANP's government in

KP. It enhanced fish production, job growth, and revenue generation in KP. Moreover, to enlarge the environmental protection, three regional offices were established in Abbottabad, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mingora_(Turning 2010):

Improving the Communication Network in the Province

The ANP's government in KP recreated the Connectivity and Works Department to build infrastructure including highways, bridges, and government offices etc. Roads with a length of 921 kilometres were blacktopped and 132 kilometres of existing roads were rehabilitated. In 2008-2009 allocation of grants for the betterment of the communication network was PKRS.4478.89 million which was enhanced to PKRS. 6538.49 million during the fiscal year of 2009-2010 (Turning 2010).

ANP's Electoral Manifesto on Social Issues

ANP's electoral manifesto was based on social welfare of the general public. It promised to ensure the provision of fundamental rights, elimination of social evils, eradication of poverty and child abuse, protection of women's rights, and counter terrorism_(ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007).

ANP's Practicle Steps for Social Reforms

Bacha Khan Poverty Alleviation Program

The Bacha Khan Poverty Alleviation Program. This program was initiated KP's four districts, i.e. Mardan, Karak, Dir Upper, and Battagram with an estimated budget of PKRS.1500 million. Community mobilization, social security, and strengthening the livelihoods were the core components of this initiative. Apart from other diverse schemes in the fields of urban skills acquisition, agriculture, and poultry, the initiative had completed thirty-seven community infrastructure schemes. In the neighborhoods of the respective districts, the initiative had also established a mutual savings fund. It was owned and operated by the society itself without any financial funding to fulfill their subsistence needs on a need-based basis_(Turning 2010).

Bacha Khan Khapal Rozgar Scheme

Bacha Khan *Khapal Rozgar* Scheme was launched by the ANP's government in KP for poverty alleviation. It was to provide a micro-credit system with a budget of PKRS.1 billion. I aimed to encourage the unemployed needy individuals to receive interest-free loans ranging from PKRS.25,000 to PKRS.100,000. In this scheme, 30% was allocated for women as their share. (Turning 2010).

To introduce social reforms in KP, the ANP's government also passed different Acts including, the North-West Frontier Province Establishment of Commission on the Status of Women Act, 2009, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Child Protection and Welfare Act, 2010, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Ombudsman Act, 2010, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Zakat and Usher Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Emergency Rescue Services Act, 2012, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Borstal Institution Act, 2012 and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Elimination of Custom of *Ghag* Act, 2013. (Gazette of KP 2008-2013).

ANP's Manifesto on Government Employees and Employment

During Musharaf-cum-MMA era in KP, uncertain and unjust criteria government employment on adhoc, contract and non-transferable basis was introduced in KP. It caused disappointment and stagnancy among government employees which was affecting their efficiency adversely. In its electoral manifesto, the ANP promised to restore the government employments on permanent and transferable basis as per previous practice. It also promised that the educated youth would be employed through internships, placement bureaus, advisory organizations and self-employment by providing them financial support (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons, 2007).

ANP's Practical Steps for Employment

The ANP's government took practical steps for reforms in employment. It did legislation to address different issues related to the employees and their employment. It passed the NWFP Employees Regulation of Services Act, 2009, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Government Servants Benevolent Fund (Amendment) Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Establishment of

Information Technology Board Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Appointment, Deputation, Posting, and Transfer of Teachers, Lecturers, Instructors, and Doctors) Regulatory Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Appointment of Certain Lecturer Act, 2011, the Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Speaker and Deputy Speaker (Allowances, Salaries, and Privileges) (Amendment) Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Sacked Employees (Appointment) Act, 2012, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa disabled persons (Employment and Rehabilitation) (Amendment) Act, 2012, and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Payment of Wages Act, 2013 (Gazette of KP 2008-2013). All these Acts brought visible reforms in employment sector.

ANP's Electoral Manifest on Judicial And Civil Services

During its election campaign, the ANP promised that it would struggle for the establishment of a peaceful, progressive, and liberal society based upon democracy under the rule of law. Protection of public's rights, their identities, and freedom of languages and culture would be unrestricted. Full provincial autonomy, protection of the citizen, and maintenance of law and order would be ensured. Judicial reforms were also discussed in the manifesto. In this regard, ANP promised to introduce reforms in judicial and civil services (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007).

ANP's Practical Steps for Reforms in Judicial and Administrative Services

ANP believed in practical and permanent reforms judicial and administrative services. In this regard, it passed different Acts including the North-West Frontier Province Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 2009, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Civil Servant Amendment Act, 2009, the North-West Frontier Province Public Service Commission (Amendment) Act, 2010, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Establishment of District Development Advisory Committees (Amendment) Act, 2010, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Laws (Amendment) Act, 2011, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Judicial Academy Act, 2012, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Extra-Assistant Commissioners-Cum-Illaqa Qazi (Regularization of Services) Act, 2012, and the Provincial Services

Academy (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) Act, 2013 (Gazette of KP 2008-2013).

ANP's Manifesto on Agriculture

About 70 % of KP's population depends on agriculture. Its 25% GDP is based on agriculture and its 47% of laborers are involved in this economic sector. Hence, it is the back-bone of KP's economy. ANP emphasized on developments in agricultural sector. It promised special measures for the betterment of agriculture in KP. It also promised special subsidies for the farmers. Tobacco is one of the most important crops in KP. As a whole, about 71.9 % of the total production of tobacco in Pakistan is grown in KP. For getting profit from tobacco, the ANP declared that special industries would be established in KP (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Electons 2007).

ANP's Practical Steps for Reforms in Agriculture

According to the Census Report of 2017, the KP's population is about 35.53 million. Its large portion is rural which is holding a huge strain on limited natural land resources (Census 2017). Keeping in view the importance of agriculture, the ANP's government in KP made generous allocation of funds for this sector. An amount of PKRS.715 million and PKRS.796.663 million were allocated for the Annual Development Projects (ADP) in agriculture sector for the fiscal years of 2008-2009 and 2009-2010 respectively. During 2009-2010, about 43 schemes were initiated by the agriculture department. Its main objectives were to increase production of crops by introducing high quality of hybrid seeds, use of fertilizers, and a well-equipped irrigation system. The ANP's government also paid due attention to the growth and development of livestock sector. Similarly, a huge amount was spent on forestry and wildlife (Turning 2010). It also passed the North-West Frontier Province Land Laws (Second Amendment) Act, 2009 on January 21, 2009, and was enforced on January 29, 2009, after getting approval from the Governor. It

brought a visible change in agricultural sector of KP (Gazette of KP 2008-2013).

Conclusion

After analysing the ANP's pre-election electoral manifesto (its theory) and its post-election practical steps in that direction (its practice), it may be concluded that the ANP's government in KP during 2008-2013 contributed and delivered well even when the province was a severe wave of terrorism. Its governmental predecessor, the MMA, had failed to deliver its electoral promises during its ruling tenure from 2002 to 2008. KP had become a terrorist zone during MMA's rule. MMA's failure triggered a huge outcry and elicited a sense of dissatisfaction among the common masses. ANP felt the gravity of the situation and it gave a representation and voice to sufferings of the people in KP. It openly condemned the terrorists and criticized MMA's inability to tackle the issue and their irresponsible attitude towards this grave issue. Being a political party with strong ideology of democracy, socialism, federalism, Pakhtun nationalism, and secularism, soon, the ANP became voice of the general public of KP. In the general elections of 2008, they voted for ANP and made it as a dominant parliamentary party with in the provincial assembly of KP. But, it could not get a simple majority in the assembly; hence, it formed a coalition government with the PPP. ANP's electoral manifesto was a standard to gauge its performance while it was in office in KP during 2008-2013. Though, it could not fulfil all of its electoral promises but it did well in education, health, social, industrial, governance, services, and agricultural sectors etc. Establishment of seven universities in different cities of KP, maximum provincial autonomy through the 18th Constitutional Amendment, to 1973-Constitution of Pakistan, renaming of the NWFP as KP were the major achievements of the ANP's government in KP. It also passed and enforced many Acts, Bills, and Policies through legislation within the assembly to generate revenues, enhance the performance of different sectors, and improve the standards of its governance.

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