

AWAMI NATIONAL PARTY'S GOVERNMENT IN KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA (2008-2013): HURDLES, STRENGTHS, AND WEAKNESSES

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan is a federation having a center and four units (provinces). One of its four units is Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). Having a heterogeneous and pluralistic society, Pakistan has developed a multi-political party system. Therefore, different political parties contest general elections at provincial and national level with their own manifestoes. Since inception, right-wing politics has been dominated in the political structure of Pakistan. With the passage of time, some of the left-wing political parties have also strengthened their footsteps in the country. Currently, one of the major left-wing political parties is Awami National Party (ANP) with socialist ideology. It originated in KP and its socialist ideology has been floated in some parts of Balochistan as well as some other parts of the country in chunks. The basic aim of ANP is to raise the voice for lower strata of the society. From 1986 till 2018, it contested different general elections and secured multiple seats at provincial and national level. Though, in the general elections of 2008, it got a high number of seats by winning 48 seats out of total 124 seats in provincial assembly of KP. However, lacking simple majority, it was unable to form a government in KP independently. Resultantly, it formed coalition government with the Pakistan Peoples Party Parliamentarian (PPPP) in KP. During the period of its five year of government (2008-2013), it had made various legislations for the well-being of the people of KP. However, it faced different obstacles in the way of its progress due to its socialist and secular ideology. This research explores that to what extent ANP was successful in implementing its policies and what were the hurdles that hindered its way in implementing its policies during its ruling tenure in KP?

Keywords: Government, Rightists, Leftists, Party Politics, General Elections, Manifesto.

INTRODUCTION:

Former North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and present KP (Marwat S. K., 2016) is one of the four provinces of Pakistan located in the north-western region of Pakistan having an area of 1,01,741 km² after the merger of former Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) within it (Notification of Merger of FATA into KP, 2019). Majority of its population are Pakhtuns who have deep love for their rich culture and language. Currently, prominent political parties of KP are Pakistan Tehreek e Insaaf (PTI), ANP, Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz Group (PML-N) etc. Among them, the current ANP has a Pakhtun nationalist orientation.

Party politics in the province of KP started in 1907 with the establishment of a provincial branch of the Indian National Congress (INC) followed by a provincial branch of the All India Muslim League (AIML) in 1912. In 1929, the Khudai Khidmatgari (KK) was founded by Abdul Ghaffar Khan (1890-1988). It was an organization of social reformation that soon emerged as a popular political party. Later on, it joined hands with the INC and got majority in the 1937 elections in KP. From 1937 till 1947, in its political alliance with the KK, the INC was in a position to form its ministry thrice with Dr. Khan Sahib (1883-1958), elder brother of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, as its Chief Minister. After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, different governments run the administration of KP till 1970. In 1970, the first

general elections were held in Pakistan and the National Awami Party (NAP) under its Tripartite Alliance with the PPP and JUI formed government in KP and Balochistan in 1972. Later on, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto got differences with the NAP and banned it in 1975. In 1986, a new political party named Awami National Party (ANP) came into being under Abdul Wali Khan (Marwat S. U., 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 (Akhtar, 2011). From 1986 till 2018, it contested different elections and secured multiple seats at the provincial and national levels. Specifically taking into account the elections of 2008, the ANP got majority of seats in KP but was unable to form its government independently there. Its electoral manifesto for the general elections of 2008 was comprised of four major parts. The first part was a preamble, the second part was related to Pakistan's internal affairs, the third part was related to external affairs, and the last one was related to the FATA reforms. The preamble of its manifesto incorporated to follow the ideology of Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Shah S. W., 1999). Secondly, it focused over the internal affairs including social issues, administrative problems, and policies to counter the ongoing terrorism. It also demanded to rename the then N.W.F.P 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 neighboring countries of Pakistan. It stressed upon 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 FATA into KP due to economic, social, and political problems faced by people of those areas. It proposed to annex FATA with KP to give them equal representation in politics and other domains of life (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Elections, 2007). General elections of 2008 to the provincial and national assemblies were held on February 18, 2008. In those elections; the ANP got 48 seats out of total 124 seats of the provincial assembly of KP. Although, the ANP became successful in securing the highest number of seats but it was unable to form its government independently due to lack of its simple majority within the assembly. As a result, on April 1, 2008, it made a coalition government with the PPP under Amir Haider Khan Hoti as its Chief Minister (National and Provincial Assembly Elections, 18 February 2008, 2008). It completed its tenure of five years successfully from 2008 till 2013. The policies and plans implemented by the ANP in KP during its five-year rule were all grounded in its manifesto for the 2008 general elections, on the basis of which it had managed to get a clear public support. As a ruling party, ANP contributed a lot to the welfare of KP but, unfortunately, it faced many obstacles while implementing its manifesto practically. The government of Muttahidda Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) in KP in the recent past (2002-2007) followed by a severe wave of terrorism had left serious implications for the government of ANP during 2008-2013.

ANP's Electoral Manifesto for the General Elections of 2008

ANP declared its well-defined manifesto for the general elections of 2008. Its basic aim was to inform the general public about ANP's intended governmental policies if it comes into power by winning the elections. It was also to motivate its workers, supporters, and its candidates for the forthcoming elections. Its manifesto for the general elections of 2008 had four parts. The first part was a preamble. The second part was related to the internal affairs of Pakistan like political, administrative, social, and economic issues, etc. The third part was related to foreign affairs and the fourth part was related to the affairs of the FATA. The preamble of the manifesto was in alignment with the ideology and teachings of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who spent his entire life for the well-being of his people (Pakhtuns) and struggled for socio-economic justice and freedom of Pakistani society from the clutches of usurpers. His life aimed to release his masses from the circle of poverty and ignorance. Keeping in view all these points, the ANP like its predecessors, the NAP and the NDP, wanted to work for the progress of common men. So, it decided to promote democracy and freedom through the protection of human rights, development of education, eradication of poverty, and the abolishment of extremism. It also followed the policy of non-violence. In its manifesto, it was clearly mentioned that peace is the only solution of all human problems. It also declared that after coming into power, the ANP's government would treat all the federating units of Pakistan equally and maximum provincial autonomy would be granted to them. Internally, ANP stressed upon the formation of an evil-free, peaceful and progressive society. It supported the rule of law, democracy, and freedom of the common man from any sort of repressive

clutches. For this purpose, the ANP believed in economic progress and prosperity by bringing reforms in all institutions and sectors of the economy. Externally, the ANP was aware of Pakistan's geostrategic importance in the context of its location, its nuclear capability, and the interest of foreign powers in Pakistan regarding their regional and global politics. Keeping in view all these realities, the ANP stressed peaceful and friendly relations with all countries of the world in general and its neighboring countries in particular. It also insisted on following the charter of the United Nations Organization (UNO).

It supported the idea of a multi-polar world, using the tools of diplomacy for the resolutions of global and bilateral issues among the countries of the world. It promised to pay special attention to Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan and India. I declared that its government would establish its relations with the world on the basis of national interests and no external force would be allowed to interfere in Pakistan's internal or external policies. It categorically said that it would characterize its relations with the United States of America (USA) based on mutual dignity and self-respect. Furthermore, it also promised that Pakistan would play a leading role in international organizations and would encourage the tools of diplomacy for the solution of international problems rather than the use of force. In the last part of its manifesto for the general elections of 2008, the ANP had highlighted the issues of FATA like poverty, social evils, extremism, and the absence of any judicial system there. For the eradication of these problems, the ANP proposed political changes and developmental reforms in FATA. It proposed that FATA must be merged in KP at the earliest possible. Frontier Crime Regulations (FCR) should be abolished and all human rights should be ensured there. The seats reserved for tribal areas within different legislature (s) or representative bodies must be increased and the Political Parties Act of Pakistan must be extended to FATA. It also supported fully empowered local bodies governments at a grass-root level in the country. It demanded developmental projects for FATA at par with other provinces and, in some cases, much more for FATA as it had been neglected by the previous governments of Pakistan for so many decades which resulted in poor infrastructure and poverty there (ANP's Manifesto for 2008 Elections, 2007).

ANP's Reign of Government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Elections for KP's provincial assembly were held on February 18, 2008 along with the elections for national assembly. ANP emerged as a leading party in the 2008 election at provincial level. It won 48 seats out of total 124 seats. The total number of registered voters in KP were 1,05,00,430 out of whom 35,59,276 voters casted their votes. Total turnout was 33.46%. With the exclusion of rejected votes, the turnout was 32.4%. Out of total 124 seats of provincial assembly in KP, there were 99 general seats, 22 reserved seats for women, and 3 seats were reserved for minorities. After ANP, the PPPP took the second position with 30 seats, and on the third position, there was MMA with 10 seats. Although, ANP got the highest number of seats in the provincial assembly of KP, but, it could not win the simple majority to form the government in KP. Therefore, it formed a coalition government in KP. Amir Haider Khan Hoti was elected as Chief Minister of KP. Karamat Ullah Chagharmati of PPPP and Khusdil Khan of ANP were elected as Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the KP's provincial assembly respectively. The fourteen-member cabinet was appointed with an equal number of ministers from PPPP and ANP (Dawn, 2008). Bashir Ahmad Bilour was appointed as Senior Minister and Parliamentary Leader of the ANP in the assembly. In addition, he was also given the portfolio of Minister for Local Government and Rural. Arbab Ayub Jan was appointed as Minister of Agriculture, Mian Iftikhar Hussain was Minister of Information and Public Relations, and Wajid Ali Khan was appointed as Minister of Forest and Wildlife. The Ministry of Science and Technology was given to Ayub Khan Asharhi, and the Ministry of Zakat and Usher was in the hands of Zarshaid Khan. The Ministry of Law and Parliamentary Affairs was assigned to Barrister Arshad Abdullah and the Ministry of Education was allotted to Sardar Hussain Babak. Mian Nisar Gul was elected as Minister of Jails, Syed Aqil Shah was appointed as Minister of Sports, Culture, and Tourism, and Ministry of *Auqaf* and *Haj* was given to Nemroz Khan. Sitara Ayaz, a female member of ANP, got the Ministry of Social Welfare (Dawn, 2008).

ANP could not deliver its promises in all fields but in education, provincial autonomy, and social sector development it delivered its best. The seven universities in different cities of KP, maximum provincial autonomy through the 18th constitutional amendment, renaming of NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were the major achievements of the ANP government. It also passed many bills and policies which were mainly implemented to generate revenue for basic expenditures of the government.

For instance, the government increased annually fines and taxes on motor vehicles. The government also increased general sale tax to generate revenue. Though, it provided employment opportunities, but those were not much satisfactory. The government made contract-based employees as permanent and also resumed suspended government servants. ANP's another major contribution was its acts on child protection laws and punishments for child abusers and pedophiles were made. It made different institutes for child welfare in every district. The government also made child protection committees. It was improving juvenile jails along with humanistic parameters. Juvenile criminals were provided with basic education. Their mental health and social recruitment were also taken into account. As terrorism was at its peak in KP during ANP's reign, so in this regard, the government established rescue institutes. These rescue institutes were created to provide quick first-aid in emergencies. The government of ANP also created special institutions to train judiciary staff. In those institutes, every servant of the judiciary was trained to ensure speedy justice. Ombudsmen were appointed for the elimination of corruption, suppression of illegal activities, and supremacy of law and justice.

Hurdles in the Implementation of ANP's Manifesto during its Ruling Tenure

After winning the general elections in 2008, ANP tried to implement policies according to its manifesto. It was succeeded in fields like education, health, women empowerment, and some developmental projects but failed to deliver properly. ANP faced many hurdles in implementing its manifesto but among all of them was its inability to counter the ongoing terrorism was the major one which became a bane for ANP.

Terrorism: The Main Hurdle in the Way of ANP

The main agenda of ANP was to eliminate terrorism by non-violent means and bring peace to the province. Unfortunately, it was failed in bringing peace because the masses were in fear of terrorist attacks and did not support the government in its efforts. Pakistan was mostly suffered by making an alliance with the US-led war on terror. During 1980s, Pakistan made a nexus with the US against the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in Afghan Jihad which causes an antagonism of Russia for Pakistan. Afghan crisis during 1980s also brought millions of Afghan refugees to Pakistan. As a result, Pakistan faced great disturbances in its peace, harmony, and social structure which caused extremism and sectarianism. Terrorism in Pakistan is an outcome of the post 9/11 coalition of Pakistan with the US in Afghanistan which caused a variety of social problems in Pakistan generally and in KP and former FATA particularly. The social, economic, and political life of the people was badly affected by terrorism. Initially, Pakistan's government did not take action in FATA to counter terrorist activities but it allowed US-drone attacks and its Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) targeted-operations (Yousafi & Islam, 2018).

As a result, thousands of innocent people were killed which caused a feelings of hatred for the then ANP's provincial government among Pakhtuns. Later on, Pakistan started military operations against terrorists and, in retaliation, the terrorists made ANP's provincial government as their soft target in KP. Generally, the ANP was known to be a secular party; therefore, terrorists were also against it on ideological grounds. Hence, whenever, ANP tried to organize any gathering it was attacked by the terrorists. It happened not only in FATA and KP but also in Balochistan and Sindh. About 700 ANP activists were killed in terrorist attacks during 2008-2013. ANP was on the hit list of terrorist organizations which created a gap among leadership, workers, and supporters. ANP also failed in implementing its policies regarding FATA. Like other parts of the KP, ANP also worked for the political and social development in FATA. For the elimination of terrorism from FATA, ANP's Central Executive Committee passed a resolution to merge FATA with KP, which was not accepted by the religio-political parties and the then central government. ANP's efforts to counter terrorism and extremism were denied by the people as well as political rivals. Whenever ANP tried to introduce progressive policy it faced severe criticism by civil and military elites as well as religious parties in KP. As a result, ANP failed to implement its manifesto completely during its ruling tenure (2008-2013) in KP (Hussain, 2013).

Rise of Political Islam in the Province: Another Obstacle in the Way of ANP

KP is a hub of religio-political parties. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Pakistan and US made a nexus to counter Russia in Afghanistan. To get support of Pakistani masses and Muslim

Ummah across the globe, General Zia-ul-Haq, then President of Pakistan, raised a slogan that “Islam was in danger” in Afghanistan due to the Russian attack. He also raised the slogan of Islamization in Pakistan. With support of the US, Pakistan trained Mujahedeen to counter Russian forces in Afghanistan in the name of Jihad (Holy War). The war caused destruction in Afghanistan and the people of Afghanistan migrated towards their neighboring countries. Refugees came to Pakistan which disturbed the social structure of Pakistan in general and KP in specific. Meanwhile, an Islamic Revolution took place in Iran which was acceptable neither to Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) nor USA, hence, both of them made another nexus in the region against Iran. They also funded Pakistan to counter the effects of Iranian Shia’at Revolution on Pakistan. Training of Mujahedeen, the process of Islamization, and the feeling of hatred against the Shia’at community caused sectarianism which in return created space for *Wahabi* Islam in Pakistan (Shah, Waris, & Basit, 2016).

Tehreek.e.Nifaz.e.Shariat.e.Muhammdi (TNSM) was the result of *Wahabi* Islam which caused social unrest in Malakand and Swat (Abid, Naveed, & Khan, 2010). ANP with agenda of democratic socialism, federalism, Pakhtun nationalism, and secularism was not acceptable to any religious body in KP. Terrorist organizations like Tehreek-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan (TTP), Al-Qaida, and other religio-political factors caused difficulties in the way of ANP. Its agenda to counter militants and establish peace in the province could not fulfill not only due to terrorist organizations but there were also political factors behind the whole phenomenon. The religious parties in the province used Islam as a tool for their political interests. Taliban government in Afghanistan was recognized by Pakistan in 1996 despite the fact that the Taliban government at Kabul was mainly composed of Mujahedeen. These Mujahedeen were tilted towards *Wahabism*. After the incident of 9/11, Pakistan denied the Taliban government and joined hands with the US which was not acceptable to Pakistanis in general and Pakistani Pakhtuns in particular. Consequently, in the general election of 2002, majority of the masses of NWFP and Balochistan chose MMA (an alliance of religio-political parties) as their representatives. The presence of religio-political parties in power in KP witnessed implementation of the ideologies of Taliban like destruction of music halls, female schools, video shops, and ban on co-education etc. Neither the then central government of Pakistan nor the MMA’s provincial government in KP took any serious actions against the emerging militancy in the province. It drastically radicalized the KP. In the 2008 general elections, MMA was badly failed, but, its previous policies in KP left serious threats for the newly coming government of ANP. Whenever ANP passed any progressive bill and tried to implement liberal policies in the province it had to face threats. These threats were caused by so-called *mullahs* or other religious fundamentalists.

18th Amendment and the Demand for the Creation of Hazara Province

“One major unresolved area of conflict in Pakistan is the problem of ethnic and regional sub-nationalism in the smaller provinces. Although Pakistan is now a more cohesive state than it was before the separation of East Pakistan, critical problems remain unresolved and tend to complicate the process of nation-building” (Ahmar, 2013).

Pakistan is the land of multi-ethnic, multi-culture, and multi-lingual people. Despite its heterogeneous nature, the administrative provincial boundaries of the country are maintained. It is a federation having a center and four provinces i.e. Punjab, Sindh, KPO, and Balochistan. All four provinces have different areas and populations. Baluchistan is the largest area but having only 5% of the total population of Pakistan while Punjab is the largest by population containing 55% of the total population of Pakistan (Abid, Naveed, & Khan, 2010). Sindh is divided into rural and urban areas. Rural areas are dominated by native Sindhis while urban areas are constituted by Urdu-speakers commonly known as *Mohajirs* (migrants from India to Pakistan at the time of the partition of the subcontinent in 1947). KP is dominated by Pakhtuns but the other ethnic and linguistic communities are also there. The second largest community of KP is Hindko-speaking living in its Hazara Division which consists of KP’s eight districts including Abbottabad, Haripur, Mansehra, Battagram, Upper Kohistan, Lower Kohistan, Kolai Pallas Kohistan and Torghar (Zulfiqar, 2012).

On April 10, 2010, the 18th Amendment in 1973-Constitution of Pakistan was passed and the name of the province was changed from NWFP to KP. The people of Hazara Division identifying themselves as a separate community of KP known as ‘*Hazarawal*’ on ethnic, linguistic, and cultural etc., basis. Hence, they started protest against the renaming of former NWFP as KP. Soon, their protest became violent and, to maintain law and order situation, police fired the demonstrations in Abbottabad

on April 12, 2010 resulting in casualties. It sparked a movement among the people of Hazara for a separate province of Hazara with the name of ‘*Subay-i-Hazara*’ (Ahmar, 2013). Hazara has a unique unity in diversity. It is a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-cultural region. For example, ethnically, the people of Hazara include Pakhtuns like Tareens, Mashwanis, and Jadoons and non-Pakhtuns like Sardars and Abbasis etc. Similarly, different languages are spoken there. For example, Hindko is a dominant language in the districts of Mansehra, Abbottabad, and Haripur while the people of Kohistan have their own language called *Kohistani*. Pashto is the dominant language of district Battagram and Torghah. Despite such diversity on ethnic and linguistic lines, the people of Hazara still consider themselves as ‘*Hazarawal*’ collectively. The leaders of the movement ‘*Subay-i-Hazara*’ claim that Hazara is rich in minerals and natural resources. The department of tourism can be developed for revenue collection. Furthermore, Khanpur Dam can be built to generate employment and royalty for the province (Zulfiqar, 2012).

The protests against central and provincial governments in the Hazara Division of KP created hurdles in the way of ANP in the implementation of its policies. On one hand, ANP faced terrorism in Pakhtun dominated areas and, on the other hand, protests in Hazara against the government. ANP government failed to settle this issue because ANP, despite being a provincial autonomist political party, never supported the creation of ‘*Subay-i-Hazara*’, but, it supported the creation of Saraikistan in Punjab. Hence, it showed a contradiction in its theory and practice which further decreased its popularity among non-Pakhtuns of KP generally and Hazara Division particularly.

Strengths of ANP’s Government

Political parties are the most significant feature of the modern democracies. Political parties present effective public opinion. ANP as a political party not only presents public opinion but also works for the betterment of masses. All the political parties have strengths as well as weaknesses on the basis of which they win or lose their creditability among common people. Following are the strengths of ANP during its five years of government in KP (2008-2013).

ANP as a Strong Advocate of Provincial Autonomy

ANP is considered as the left-wing secular party (Dawn, 2010) not only in Pakistan but also abroad. It is the descendent of Khudai Khidmatgari and also known to be Pakhtun nationalist party. It has been passed through different stages of evolution. Throughout its politics in Pakistan, it always denied the centralization of powers and demand for provincial autonomy. In the era of 2008-2013, it was in coalition with PPPP at the center as well as in KP and Sindh. Being in government during this period, it continued its struggle for provincial autonomy. Its struggle became fruitful when the PPPP-led government at the center passed the 18th amendment on April 10, 2010 in the 1973-Constitution of Pakistan. The 18th Amendment was considered as a milestone in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan which restored the 1973 constitution’s original intention of decentralization of powers (Mirza, 2018).

The 18th amendment had affected the system of government and the economic affairs if the province were regulated. It abolished concurrent legislative list from the 1973-Constitution and introduced the provincial legislative list within it, which meant the transfer of huge economic authority to the provinces. It is also of much significance as it restored the two most important institutions of the Federation of Pakistan i.e. the Council of Common Interests (CCI) and the National Economic Council (NEC). These institutions were re-established to strengthen the provincial authority over their respective economic affairs. Eight members of the CCI included the Prime Minister, Chief Ministers of all the four provinces along with three nominees by the federal government. The main function of the CCI was to resolve the issues between provinces and central government on power-sharing and the function of the NEC to advise the central and provincial governments to formulate policies regarding financial, commercial, social, and economic affairs. The council is required to meet at least once every six months. Hence, the 18th Amendment has attempted to reinvigorate these institutions to deal with all the matters related to federating units. The renaming the NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was also addressed in the same 18th amendment. Through the 18th constitutional amendment, the ANP got maximum provincial autonomy and fulfilled its promise to rename the province (Mirza, 2018).

ANP's Coalition with the PPPP (A Central Political Party)

Political systems, especially democracies, are run through political parties and the strong and national level political parties are considered as bridges between the center and different federating units of any federation. They are considered as a strong source to create harmony and unity among masses. After getting the majority of provincial seats in KP in general elections of 2008, ANP formed a coalition government with the PPPP which had emerged as a leading political party at the center in terms of getting high seats. It proved as strength of ANP to have support of the federal government at the center. Being governmental partner of PPPP at the center, ANP did not face any serious halts from the federal government while implementing its policies in KP. It was in a position to implement its policies regarding social issues, economic sector development, education, health, and in the judicial sector with the help of its coalition partner at the center (PPPP).

Education as a Top Priority of ANP's Government

Education is an essential tool that molds the ethical and cultural mode of society. Education also provides manpower, strengthens national unity, and uplifts public awareness. It's crystal clear that education is key to nation-building and development. It is a permanent character of human history and the evolution of thoughts. It was analyzed that in past it was only in the hands of privileged class due to which development in the society was slow. But, now, it is a basic human right and everyone has access to it. The chaos in modern societies was due to a lack of education. The educated public is one of the significant principles of democracy as democracy and illiteracy can't move together. Illiterate masses are not only a threat to democracy but also toxic to other segments of the society. The real meaning of education is to empower an individual and prepare him to deal with diversity, complexity, and change. Hence it is proved that in a society like Pakistan education is the only answer to socio-economic woes. ANP as the ruling party in KP implemented its policy in the education sector to educate the common masses. It created seven different universities in different cities of KP to provide higher education for the general public. The government of ANP enforced the law to provide free education for up to sixteen years. These legislations became the strength of the ANP government. In the education sector, it delivers more than what it had promised in its manifesto.

Social Sector Development as Strength of ANP

The ANP's Chief Minister, Amir Haider Khan Hoti, addressed the KP's provincial assembly on April 8, 2010 and promised to deliver the best in the social sector. The population of KP is mostly rural and social issues and evils are prevailing within the society. For a better social uplift, ANP made legislations in the health sector, especially in terrorism-proven zones of KP like Malakand. It also worked for the eradication of poverty and social evils, provision of clean drinking water, and food security. ANP also enforced laws regarding child protection, women protection, and juvenile. Development in the social setup became the strength of ANP because insufficient access to social services like education, health, and clean drinking water, etc. is one of the most pressing issues facing rural communities of Pakistan. In order to enhance the technical manpower, ANP created different institutes for the training of students. It also paid special attention to the promotion of science and information technology. ANP with its coalition partner PPPP tried to do its best in the social sector but was unable due to the hurdles created by terrorism.

Weaknesses of the ANP's Government

The political parties are key drivers of the political machinery in a state and have a strong role in the development of democracy. In a country like Pakistan where there is a multi-party system, it is difficult for political parties to maintain a stronghold. Some of the major political parties in Pakistan like PPPP, PML-N, and ANP have majority voters in their respective home provinces due to their strengths. While having strengths, these parties also have weaknesses that reduce their popularity among the masses. Following are the weaknesses of ANP during its ruling tenure in KP (2008-2013).

ANP's Failure in Countering the Terrorism

KP is one of the challenging areas of Pakistan to govern. The Afghan war and, especially, after the US-led war on terror against the Taliban created difficulties for political drivers to deliver their best in this region. In every general election, people of KP changed their representatives for getting rid of their problems generally and the ongoing militancy in particular. Although, ANP strongly criticized the

militants and tried to deal them with iron hands but it failed to stop their activities. Having a secular ideology, it was targeted by the militants during 2008-2013. Eradication of terrorism was discussed several times in the provincial legislative debates but not even a single legislation was made to combat terrorism. During the ruling tenure of ANP, operation *Rah-i-Rast* was launched in Swat against terrorists led by Maulana Sufi Muhammad and son-in-law, Mulla Fazl Ullah but it could eradicate the curse of terrorism for once and all. Rather, many party workers and activists of ANP were targeted by terrorists due to its stance on terrorism and secular-cum-socialist ideology. Suicide attacks on party leadership and its gatherings became a routine matter. As a result, its leadership avoided frequent mass gatherings which detached them from their supporters and a gap was created between them.

Increase in Unemployment

Unemployment is one of the major issues all around the world. Pakistan, being a developing country, faced severe issues of unemployment, especially, in rural areas of KP. The graph of unemployment increased day by day during ANP's government in KP. ANP had assumed powers during a period when KP's socio-economic structure was severely suffering from terrorism. Though, it tried to fulfill its promise by establishing technical and other institutes but failed to deliver fully.

Dynastic Politics

The political system of a country is run by political parties as they are one of the most important pillars of the political system. In the absence of political parties, the problems and differences of the nations are decided through force while in the presence of political parties the problems and differences are solved according to the will of the masses. Democracies all around the world take political parties as a means of transfer of power. Political parties work as a bridge between federating units and centers. Undemocratic and corrupt political parties lead the nation towards destruction while political parties which are democratic and having strong political ideology lead the country towards prosperity, harmony, and development. Pakistan has a multi-party system and different regional parties participate in national as well as provincial elections. Since independence, the colonial legacy is practiced in Pakistan's political system, which destroyed the whole political structure of Pakistani politics systemically.

For the prosperity, development, and political stability of the country; democratic culture in political parties played a vital role. Like other political parties, there is a lack of democratic culture within ANP. Most of the main political parties of Pakistan have dynastic politics whether they are leftist or rightist. In ANP too, the candidates to different key posts of the party are chosen through intraparty elections but according to the sweet will of the leadership. Nepotism is one of the main reasons for the undemocratic political culture in the parties. Like PPPP and PML-N etc., the top-brass leadership of ANP also shifted from father to son. It emerged through their traditional families. A few families for their monopoly over politics have developed undemocratic values in the political parties of Pakistan and the ANP is suffering from the same phenomenon (Shah S. A., 2015).

ANP Failed to Resolve Intra-Province Conflicts

The issue of unfair distribution of resources among different regions prevailed in Pakistan. In the province of KP, this issue is between Pakhtun dominated areas and the non-Pakhtun dominant areas of Hazara and Dera Ismail Khan (DIK) Divisions. With the implementation of the 18th amendment, the name of NWFP was changed to KP. Majority of the Pakhtun population of KP welcomed it. But, non-Pakhtuns started to protest it. The people of the Hazara Division started demonstrations against it. They demanded '*Subay-i-Hazara*' while the ANP's strongly opposed it. One on hand, the ANP was supporting creation of '*Saraikeistan*' (a proposal to separate the *Saraike*-speaking areas of southern Punjab in Pakistan) while it opposed the demand of '*Subay-i-Hazara*'. It exposed its contradictory position and put a question mark on its stance for the rights and betterment of marginalized ethno-linguistic and cultural communities in Pakistan. At the same time, within the province of KP, it could not establish a uniformity and harmony within the Pakhtun and non-Pakhtun population. As a result, it could not emerge as a popular political party within non-Pakhtun dominant areas of KP and could win only one provincial seat in Hazara Division.

CONCLUSION

Leftist political parties always faced greater challenges to get acknowledgment and representation due to their secular ideology at par with the rightist religio-political parties in Pakistan. ANP, being a secular and a socialist party, also faced many hardships in this regard. It struggled hard to come into power. Its hardships never went away even when it gained government in KP. After analyzing ANP's reign of government, it is viewed whether it has been able to fulfill and implement what it promised in its electoral manifesto prior to general elections of 2008. The analysis of its governmental tenure (2008-2013) shows that the ANP could not deliver its promises in different fields due to various hurdles but in education, provincial autonomy, and social sector development it delivered its best. The strengths and weaknesses of the ANP came in front while it was in power. Due to its strengths, ANP was able to contest the next elections of 2013 while its weaknesses proved it an incompetent Pakhtun nationalist party in the same elections. The weaknesses of ANP were due to incompetent leadership who had come through nepotism. The founders of the ANP had established it as a social welfare party but their descendants made it a dynastic traditional political party. The democratic culture is missing in structure of the Party. Although, ANP made a lot of mistakes during its government in KP but leftist politics may be one of the possible ways out for Pakistan. Having a multi ethno-linguistic and cultural society, in Pakistan, most of the rightist political parties are busy in political scoring by creating division within the society and criminalizing the differences among masses. They are usually fanning a hate politics. But, mostly, the leftist political parties provide a common ground to all segments of the society regardless of their differences. They call for unity on minimum agenda, which they define as equal access to the state resources and justice for all. Hence, being a leftist political party, the ANP may unite the masses of Pakistan on ideological basis in terms of 'haves' and 'haves not' which is subject to emergence of a charismatic leadership within it a national level.

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