

CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION

Awami National Party is as old as the struggle of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan against British rule in the subcontinent. However, the creation of ANP could be traced back to the year 1956 when Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan laid the foundation of the leftist National Awami Party. However, the party was led by the son of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was known as Wali Khan. The main difference between the father and son was that while former recognized himself as a social activist not as a politician.¹ Contrary to this, Wali Khan was an important politician in Pakistan. Wali Khan was able to lead ANP after Bacha Khan was exiled to Afghanistan. He along with his wife Naseem Khan was able to dominate the party. He also renamed the national Awami party the Awami national party. A political party that once enjoyed popular support in East Pakistan and West Pakistan was limited to a Pashtun Nationalist Party under Wali Khan. The main weakness of this party was family politics. The stepson of Ali Khan known as Asfandyaarwali did not have cordial relations with Naseem Ali Khan. This was the reason that party was facing the problem of resignations and dismissals which eventually led to the complete reformation of the party. However, it is important to note that our national party is one of the most important national and leftist parties of Pakistan.² Despite its historical roots, the current existence of the party occurred in the year of 1986 under the leadership of Wali Khan. After it, Asfandyaarwali the grandson of Bacha Khan became the President of this party. The secretary-general of this party is Mian Iftikhar Hussain. This party is progressive and nonviolent. The modus operandi of this party is based on the movement of the Khudai Khidmatgar struggle of 1930 under the leadership of Bacha Khan.³ This political party advocates for liberal and tolerant policies and practices in

¹"Refugee Review Tribunal Research Response." February 7, 2006.

²Akbar Zaidi, "Special Report: After the assassination 2008-2013," DAWN, December 10, 2017. accessed October 17, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1374113>.

³"Awami National Party," pakvoter, accessed October 15, 2021, <https://pakvoter.org/awami-national-party-anp/>.

the politics of Pakistan. Not only this Awami national party is one of the leading parties in Pakistan which advocate the promotion of human rights in Pakistan on a priority basis. This party is also a strong advocate of devolution of power and provincial autonomy in Pakistan. Since the main role model for the Awami national party is Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan it also supports the establishment of the cordial and friendly relationship of Pakistan with its neighbour countries, particularly Afghanistan and India. Bacha Khan was a person who spend his entire life struggling for the accomplishment of freedom and justice for the people of the subcontinent, particularly an ethnic group is known as Pashtuns. He was a voice for all the people who are facing operation injustice and exploitation. He and the follower of the bacha Khan struggled for the freedom movement of South Asia against the Colonial rule of Britain. He also wanted his Pashto people to be got free from the shackles of arrogance. He defined his movement as a struggle against poverty and ill practices in the name of customs and other norms. His philosophy was based on the idea that all the nations of the world should give in the chance to live in peace and enjoy freedom.⁴

Furthermore, this is one of the main reasons that the Awami national party is also a strong believer in nonviolence and peaceful measures. It is completely against extremism and hatred in all their manifestations. It is also one of the main proponents of the resolution of conflict through dialogue. This party considers equal access to opportunities for all the citizens of Pakistan without discrimination as men's objective. It is also supporter of the rights of all the provinces of Pakistan particularly the smaller provinces. Not only this, but the party also struggles for the social-political and economic rights of all the federating units of Pakistan.⁵

This party has also made pluralism and human dignity two of the main components of its political awareness campaign. The most dynamic feature of this party is that it wants to work with all other political functions which are like-minded and it promotes differences of opinion. Awami national party has always been the voice for the marginalized. The main purpose of this party is to eliminate the social differences among the population of Pakistan and promote egalitarianism in the society of this country. It is also important to mention here

⁴"Refugee Review Tribunal Research Response." February 7, 2006.

⁵"Awami National Party's," accessed October 17, 2021, cpdi-pakistan, <http://www.cpdipakistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/ANPs-Manifesto-2013-copy.pdf>.

that this party was backed by the Soviet Union during the time of the cold war. This party was formulated after the amalgamation of some left-wing political parties in Pakistan which could survive only for 2 years. The first President of this party was Wali Khan from the province of KP. The secretary-general of this province was from Sindh who was a socialist leader known as RasulBakshPalejo. This party soon disintegrated and leaders from other provinces left the party. This resulted in the formation of this party as the Pashto dominant party of Pakistan. Most importantly, the Awami national party has participated in the struggle for the establishment of Democratic rules in Pakistan and state against the military rulers like a rock. Firstly this party was the main member of the movement for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan during the strong rule of Zia-Ul-Haq in Pakistan. The political leadership of this party and its workers gave a lot of sacrifices for their stand against the military dictatorship.⁶ In the 21st century, this party was turned against war due to its lack of support for the Taliban. In 2002 few people could see through the brutal face of the Taliban. This resulted in the lack of support for our national party in the election of 2002 which was conducted under the Regime of military Dictator Pervez Musharraf. However, this party joined other opposition parties of Pakistan and started all party's democratic movement to restore democracy in Pakistan. It also participated in the protest against the military government of Parvez Musharraf.⁷ It also became a victim of the Taliban attacks which targeted its leadership and its workers for their liberal and progressive opinion. The importance of this party could be gauged from the fact that despite The Attacks of talbot this party was advocating for peace and resolution of conflict through dialogue even with the violent actors like the Taliban. It was the untiring efforts of the leadership and worker of this party and the ideological foundation provided by bacha Khan and wali Khan that this party was able to become a majority party in the problems of KP and snatched 15 seats in the national assembly of Pakistan.⁸

⁶"Awami National Party's, " accessed October 17, 2021, cpdi-pakistan, <http://www.cpdipakistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/ANPs-Manifesto-2013-copy.pdf>.

⁷"ANP 2008 Election," dawn.com, July 18, 2018. accessed October 15, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1403794>.

⁸AkbarZaidi, "Special Report: After the assassination 2008-2013." *DAWN*. December 10, 2017. accessed October 17, 2021, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1374113>.

Statement of the Research Problem

The ANP is the main moderate Pashtun party in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and is the latest reincarnation of the National Awami Party (NAP). It made majority government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly in 2008. The study is identifying the role of ANP in the development of the Pakhtun society and the developmental works particularly in Mardan. The Awami National Party was the first government which has done a lot of developmental works in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Research Objectives

- To critically analyze the governance of ANP in KP during 2008-2013
- To examine economic progress of ANP in KP during 2008-2013
- To explore the developmental policies of ANP in KP during 2008-2013

Research Questions

- How was the Governance of ANP in KP during 2008-2013?
- What were the economical progress of KP during the tenure of ANP from 2008-2013?
- What were the developmental policies of ANP in social services sector during 2008-2013?

Theoretical Framework

This research is based on rational choice theory. This theory implies that government must adopt the policies that are in greater benefit of the society. Government must not choose the policies that have greater cost as compared to the benefits that it provide in return.

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa assembly, different political parties are in continuous competition. In order to attract public more and secure more seats, political parties try to adopt strategies keeping in view their promises to people. In this way they must depend on coherent and rational decisions and choices for which they have to try alternative options that ensure more benefits than any damage or loss.

Significance of Study

This study is important for students of politics and history of Pakistan. It throws light on the historical background of ANP and its role in nationalism in Pakistan. It has explored various dimensions of governance in KP during the tenure of ANP from 2008-2013. It has analyzed various reforms in KP during Awami National Party rule and look for the pitfalls that they encountered.

Review of Literature

Shalmani (2018)unveiled that ANP has criticized on both national and international arena:“We were disliked at the international level when we opposed the Cold War. The ANP also said that what was happening in Afghanistan during the late 1970s and much of the 1980s was a war between the United States and Soviet Union, and it must not be misconstrued as jihad.”In response to the accusation that ANP had spot for both India and Afghanistan, Khan said: “Our leadership was killed and targeted by militants. Is this not enough to prove our patriotism toward our country?”⁹

Ali (2013) stated that ANP provincial government give priority to the education sector on need basis had established 510 (boys and girls) primary schools only in a period of four years. However, 625 primary schools have been up-graded to middle level while 635 middle schools were up-graded to secondary level and a total of 325 schools were up-graded to higher secondary level with ratio of 30:70 (boys and girls). During the period of five years, the provincial government constructed 3,100 additional classrooms in primary, middle and high schools while 2,540 facilities of group latrine, water supply and electrification in middle and high schools were provided. Similarly, 100 Mosque schools were also converted into regular primary schools while 147 schools were reconstructed.¹⁰

⁹Shahid Shalmani, "Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's organic political force: ANP's rise, fall and continuing struggle," February 25, 2018. accessed October 16, 2021, <https://www.arabnews.pk/node/1253966/pakistan>.

¹⁰Amna Iqbal and Manzoor Ali, "Democratic achievement: Hoti becomes longest-serving CM in K-P's history," February 20, 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/509700/democratic-achievement-hoti-becomes-longest-serving-cm-in-k-ps-history-peshawar-city>.

Khattak (2011) stated that after the acquirement of 18 amendments the ANP government gave foremost attention to overcome the energy crises and ensure the low cost provision of Power to the people of the province. In this connection the ANP leadership started working over the identification of the feasible location for the small hydel projects. Baizai Irrigation scheme, and Malakand 1 Malakand 11 and Malakand 111 projects was started for that purposes. Around 20 hydropower plans throughout the province was launched. KurrumTangi Dam project was started for Lower Pakhtunkhwa districts. Similarly the Baizai Irrigation scheme, will irrigate 25,000 acres land of the three main districts of Malakand, Mardan and Swabi will irrigate 25,000 acres land. Likewise Malakand Tunnel Project for better communication between Malakand and Mardan Division. KP Province is naturally very rich in oil and gas and other natural recourses, to utilize the recourse for the public interest Awami National Party government established his own government of Pakhtunkhwa Oil and Gas Company at provincial level. Youth and Young talent is the asset of the nation. ANP government gave foremost attention to facilitate the youth in the shape of introducing the technology to meet the challenges. ANP government launched Nawe Sahar (Laptop) scheme to the top twenty position holder of Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education Peshawar, Mardan, Bannu, Kohat, DI Khan, Malakand and Abbottabad.

The ANP government from 2008 to 2013 gave a sound attention for the provision of higher education to the youth of the province at their door locality and has ensured the establishment of university at district level. Awami National Party has established 12 universities and campuses in its five year tenure and established the following higher education institutions. Similarly, the ANP government had established 47 new Degree Colleges in the province of Pakhtunkhwa in his tenure from 2008-2013.¹¹

Shah (2015) stated that Awami National Party in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government was focused in seven thematic areas relating during their entire five year government at province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Youth Employment was including, provincial level employment opportunities, employment of youth in different mega development projects, and youth employment in rural value chains. Also, it included youth's overseas employment and

¹¹Sohail Khattak, "Development in Pakhtun areas : ANP gives govt 30 days to initiate projects," The Express Tribune. April 10, 2011. accessed October 16, 2021, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/146958/development-in-pakhtun-areas-anp-gives-govt-30-days-to-initiate-projects>.

self-employment. Last but not the least, it has included the enterprise development opportunities and ensuring protection of unemployed youth in a society. It was the manifesto of ANP to rename the province, a 109 years to correct a historical wrong and what a journey it has been.¹²

Paasch and Dayo (2018) described that the key elements of the Awami National Party government from 2008 to 2013 is providing assistant to Agriculture sector, strengthen the Communication and providing infrastructure facilities to the public infrastructure, providing facilities to the minorities and strengthen Auqaf department ensuring Law and justice and providing facilities to the bar associations, supporting journalist and media through Information & Public Relations department, supporting ST & IT for the technology improvement and introducing information technologies in the youth, strengthen Relief Rehabilitation & Settlement department PDMA, improvement in Taxation and betterment of financial institutions, ensuring food and safety, strengthening Industries and job opportunities up grading irrigation channel and supporting revenue of the province.¹³

Mahmood (2014) stated that the 18 Constitutional Amendment is the mother of all development schemes carried out by Awami National Party since 2008 to 2013. Government in East Pakistan and quite a few unsuccessful, albeit violent, ones in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁴

As per the views of Hussain, the national party during the 5 years of its term in the Government of KP tried to make policies in line with its manifesto. It not only provided ground for progressive and liberal development of KP, but it played a leading role in counting the extremism and terrorism in the province. It effectively counters the narrative and discourses based on extremism and terrorism promoted by the Taliban in the province. Despite the deteriorating situation of law and order in the province, this party was able to

¹²Sabir Shah, "NAP was banned twice by Yahya and Bhutto," The News. May 3, 2015. accessed October 17, 2021, <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/38435-nap-was-banned-twice-by-yahya-and-bhutto>. .

¹³Rolf Paasch and Abdullah Dayo, *Decade of democracy in Pakistan (2008 - 2018)*. Germany: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung , 2018.

¹⁴Amna Mahmood, "Regional Political Parties: Challenge to Political Stability of Pakistan." *Pakistan Vision* 15, no. 2 (2014).

play a dominant role in the social and economic development of the people of the Pashtun belt. This party tried to give equal opportunities to the people of tribal areas amidst the repeated attacks of the Taliban against the population of the region. The ideas of Hussain are also supported by the views of Mohammad Qureshi. He says that when this party came into power in the province of KP in 2008, it was the Heartbeat of terrorism and extremism. Being a secular party it was very hard for this party to survive. Still, this party was able to defeat all the forces of hatred and retrogressive forces like the Taliban and uphold the banner of freedom Liberty, and egalitarianism in the society of KP. It also fought against terrorism more effectively and bravely. In the first phase of the government led by the TTP, it initiated the efforts which were based on peace talks with TNSM and TTP. This phase of peace talks started soon after the ANP was given to the government of KP. This phase of peace-making through peaceful means lasted till the first month of 2009. In the second phase of its governance, the government of ANP in the province came up with the Nizam-e-Adal Regulation (NAR). This instrument was introduced so that demands of TTP to enforce the Sharia Law in the region of Malakand could be catered to. This instrument which was known as NAR was also signed by the President of Pakistan Asif Zardari as well. The third phase of ANP governance started when it was realized that peace is not being achieved in the Swat or Malakand Region. It was because TTP was adamant to expand to adjacent areas as well after the promulgation of NAR.¹⁵

According to Kamran (2008), Bacha Khan KhyalRozgar scheme is Pakistan's first skills and employment provision platform towards the self reliance and provision of job opportunity at provincial level., Bacha Khan KhyalRozgar scheme connects youth with training, skills and employment opportunities, using a flexible and adaptive approach to accommodate the

¹⁵Khadim Hussain, "Political Cost the ANP Paid in Its Fight against Extremists." *Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies*(2013).

rapidly changing demands of the employment opportunity and strong economy.¹⁶ Contrary to this, Ali (2014) stated that the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award significantly increased the resources available to the provinces. This amplify in allocate built a system towards development and ensures the imbursement for the schemes.¹⁷

The research proposal will analyze the Awami National Party government in KP from 2008 to 2013 and will throw light on the developmental works carried by policy makers for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Research Methodology

Method

The present research has employed qualitative research method and data has gathered from bot secondary and primary sources. Researcher has consulted different policy maker's official interviews, journalist's interviews, and the opinions of analysts to collect primary information. On the other hand, secondary data has gathered from different sources including journal articles, newspapers, magazine, relevant organization's reports, and books. To make research more credible, researcher has also analyzed speeches and statements of politicians from KP assembly.

Approach

This study is based on analytical and descriptive approaches. Descriptive studies mostly help to identify and understand or to answer the question what is it but on the other hand the analytical studies help to explore the reasons and answer the Why factor such as why it is and how it came to be. Descriptive method helps to shed light on the importance of the issue and usually employed for current issues to let audience understand the topic and problem more efficiently by analyzing the situation in more accurate and in-depth way. So the descriptive approach resulted in answering the 'What' research questions.

¹⁶TahirKamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*. Edited by Mohammed Asif. Lahore, Punjab: South Asia Partnership-Pakistan, 2008.

¹⁷Dr. Ashraf Ali, "Percepons versus Reality Interpreting the change." *FATA Research Centre (FRC)* , Islamabad, 2014, 1-49.

Analysis can be considered as parallel to the investigation of the components of the whole as well as their association in making up the whole because it is all about breakdown of the problem in smaller components to understand it more effectively. It helps the researcher to understand, analyze and then compare each component separately to get more credible results. The process also goes smoothly and systematically by this approach. Therefore, the result is always more accurate, credible, rational, and trustworthy and the analytical approach will help this study to generate accurate findings from the gathered information and available literature on the topic of research.

Organization of Study

The first chapter is “Introduction” which introduces the topic, discusses the statement of the problem, significance of the study and literature review. It also describes the objectives of the study, the research questions, the theory applied to study and methodology of the study.

The second chapter is “Emergence of ANP in KP” which describes the concepts of the study, the evolution of ANP and throws light on its role in politics of Pakistan in its early stage of development.

The third chapter is “Governance of ANP in KP during 2008-2013” which analyzes the governance during ANP rule and throws light on ANP role in combating terrorism.

The fourth chapter is “Economic progress of ANP in KP during 2008-2013 ” which enumerates the economic development in KP by focusing on 18th constitutional amendment and 7th NFC Award.

The fifth chapter is “Political and economic development in KP(2008-13)” which explores various policies of ANP that resulted in development in KP.

At last “Conclusion and Recommendations” which concludes the results of the Study and offers recommendations to policymakers for further improvements.

CHAPTER-2

EMERGENCE OF ANP IN KP

Origin of ANP

National Awami Party is comprised of nationalist thinkers and politicians from different ethnicities of Pakistan. It is comprised of Pashtun, Baloch, Sindhi, and Bengali. It was founded by socialist politicians of Pakistan including the founding of the Pakistan Muslim League Mian Iftikhar-and-din. In addition to this, Syed Ghulam Murtaza was a Sindhi scholar and politician, ideological and national leader of Pashtuns Bacha Khan, pro left leader of Bengal Maulana Bhashani, another Pashtun nationalist Abdul Samad Achakzai and a Baloch nationalist Ghaus Bakhsh Bazenjo were some of the stalwarts of the party who joined it. Not only this, but one of the most popular Urdu poets of Urdu, Habib Jalib also joined the ranks of this party.¹⁸

From the participation of these politicians, it is evident that this party is based on socialist principles and defines itself as a socialist and democratic party. This party is struggling for the democratic reforms in the country which should give greater autonomy to minority provinces of the country. It does not mean that this party excludes the Punjabi majority province, but it had also Punjabi and muhajir activists working under the banner of this party, particularly those individuals who were the members of the Communist Party of Pakistan which was banned in 1951.¹⁹

Formation of NAP

¹⁸Hameed, Dr. Syeda Saiyidain. *Facts are Facts: The untold story of India's partition*. 2004.

¹⁹“ANP Constitution.” Constitution Awami National Party (English Version). <https://anp.org.pk/constitutions/>.

The National Awami Party was first created in 1957 under the leadership of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani in Bengal. Another leader of the National Awami Party of Pakistan was then Prime Minister of Pakistan Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy. In the matter of foreign policy, the leftist faction of the party led by Bhashani Abdul Hamid demanded an independent foreign policy for Pakistan in which it should avoid joining any block. It did not support the alignment with any superpower. He also demanded maximum autonomy for the region of East Pakistan.²⁰ However, this idea of independent foreign policy was not supported by Hussain Shaheed. This led to an ideological rift among the members of the party. Eventually, the situation worsened and Bhashni had to resign from the leadership of NAP as its president. It is also important to mention here that the secretary of NAP was Mahmudulhaq who was from West Pakistan. The main event which led to the creation of this party was the conference in the Rupmahal Cinema Hall of Dhaka which was sponsored by the leftist faction. This conference was sponsored conference of the democratic workers. It is also important to mention here that other leaders of the NAP were Haji Mohammad Danish, Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed Jadu Mia, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Wali Khan, Aatur Rehman, Abdul Haq, and others. The important thing is that people from both West and East Pakistan flanked the ranks of this party. Thus, the main objectives set by this party were to struggle for the achievement of the full autonomy of the Western and Eastern wings of Pakistan, fight for the introduction of the parliamentary democracy, and recognition of human rights in Pakistan.²¹ In the same year of its formation, NAP organized a conference of peasants at Phulchari Char. This conference led to the formation of the peasant organ of the NAP known as Kirshak Samiti. It was a peasant association that was required to work under the NAP.

²⁰Paracha, Nadeem F. "The first left," DAWN.COM Logo, 2014.

²¹Hameed, Dr. Syeda Saiyidain. *Facts are Facts: The untold story of India's partition*. 2004.

However, the party faced a lot of backlashes when President Ayub Khan seized the power in 1958. It is because he immediately ordered the arrest of Maulana Bhashani who was on the hunger strike. Maulana Bhashani went on hunger strike to get relief for the people who were affected by the floods. Later on, Bhashani directed the party to observe a day for the universal franchise in 1964. Not only this, but NAP also supported Fatima Jinnah during the election of 1965 against President Ayub as a candidate for the united opposition. The election campaign of the party was also launched in the favour of Miss Fatima Jinnah. However, soon after the election, the unity of NAP was broken down. It resulted in the split of NAP into different factions. ²²The exact event which resulted in the disunity of NAP was its council session in 1967 at Rangpur. As a result, two groups of NAP came to the surface. One group was pro-Chinese NAP which was led by Maulana Bhashani. Another group was the of Pro-Moscow NAP which was led by the Wali Khan. Another group of NAP also emerged in East Pakistan under the president ship of Professor Muzaffar.

Division of NAP leaders

In mid-1960s it has been observed that the NAP leaders were divided. The party was divided into two factions after the party council session at Rangpur. After this session on November 30, 1967, the two divided groups labelled themselves as pro-Moscow and pro-Chinese group. The president of pro-Chinese and pro-Moscow group was Maulana Bhashani and Khan Abdul Wali Khan respectively and they were started to be known as NAP Bhashani and NAP Wali. Moreover, the East Pakistan unit president of NAP Wali was Professor Muzaffar Ahmad and later he also got famed as Muzaffar's NAP.²³ Furthermore, in the same year, Bhashani called

²²Paracha, Nadeem F. "The first left". DAWN.COM Logo, 2014.

²³"National Awami Party," National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh, 2021.

for the council of NAP and the conference of the peasants association. At the same time, a mass movement was also started National Awami Party throughout East Pakistan in 1968. It also revealed the 10 points charter. This party also observed the demand day in November to demand 10 points. Another important day that was observed by NAP was 6 December under the title of repression resistance day. After a public meeting, Bhashani announced the encirclement of the government house and called for hartal the next day. However, the killing of one of the activists of the NAP through the firing of the Dhaka police led to the extension of Hartal for more days. This hartal was also extended to the entire province and declared to be observed from 8th to 10th December.²⁴

In addition to this, NAP also announce the plan for the national people's government in Pakistan in 1972. The main object of this government to be established was to promote socialism in Pakistan. For this purpose, an alliance of seven parties under the leadership of Bhashani was formulated to contest in the general elections of 1973. It was unfortunate that NAP did not win a single seat despite contesting on some 169 seats. Still, Bhashni again announced the hunger strike against the general rise in the prices of essential commodities and shortage of grains in the market od Pakistan. Not only this but Bhashani was also supported by the other seven parties which formulated the alliance with NAP to demand the control of the price of the basic commodities and particularly control of the price of the food grains.²⁵ Thus, the government put Bhashani under house arrest in 1973 in his house in Santosh. Meanwhile, an alliance based on the 3 parties was also formulated in 1973 with NAP. This alliance also had a member in the shape of the communist party of Pakistan. "Maulana Bhashani formed an opposition alliance consisting of various parties such as NAP

²⁴Hameed, Dr. Syeda Saiyidain. *Facts are Facts: The untold story of India's partition*. 2004.

²⁵"National Awami Party," *National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, 2021.

(Bhasani), Jatiya League (WaliAhad), Jatiya League (Ataur Rahman), JatiyaGana-Mukti Union (Haji Danesh), KrishakSramikSamajbadi Dal (Khan Saifur Rahman), Communist Party (Nasim Ali), Communist Party (Leninist)”.

Not only this, but National Awami Party also showed despise for the India-Bangladesh Friendship Treaty signed in the year of 1974. However, the formation of the ad-hoc committee of the National Awami Party was formed in 1974 which further led to the rift in the Awami National Party.²⁶ There was a young leftist leader of the party who formed the United peoples Party under the leadership of KaziJafar Ahmad and Rasheed Khan Memon. This party was formed in the year of 1974. This disunity of the party hurt Bhashani most as he resigned from the party in the same year. When the anti-Ershad movement was occurring, there were some 13 factions of the party which was easily recognizable with different names in the political arena of Pakistan, Even, though the party continues to exist in the form of different factions and sub-factions. The most important part of the politics of NAP was that it was radically opposed to the formation of the One Unit. One United could be defined as the state back initiative which led to the amalgamation of all the territories of West Pakistan into one unit. The main objective of this unit was to neutralize the majority of Bengali ethnicity in East Punjab. If the general election of Pakistan which was promised under the 1956 constitution of Pakistan to be scheduled in 1958 occurred on time, NAP was in the most favourable position to get more seats in the general election of Pakistan. It is also important to mention here that the other two important political parties of that time were the centrist republican party and the center-right Muslim league. Both of these parties were facing the problem of infighting and had little unity. Contrary to this, religious parties of Pakistan like;

²⁶Paracha, Nadeem F. “The first left,” DAWN.COM Logo, 2014.

Jamiat-i-Islami also did not enjoy significant electoral support at that time.²⁷ Hence, it made NAP the most organized and most Populist Party in Pakistan at that time in the country. However, this opportunity was never put forward in front of the NAP as Ayub Khan declared Martial Law in Pakistan and acquired the government of Pakistan through a coup in 1958. Not only this, but he also announced the banishment of all the political parties in Pakistan. This led to the arrest of most of the leaders of NAP and they were put behind the bar under the first military rule of Pakistan.²⁸ They were not released from jail until the ban on political parties was lifted by Ayub Khan in 1962 and a new constitution of Pakistan was announced in the same year. After the release, NAP continued to struggle against the one unit and demanded greater Provincial autonomy. They also demanded the removal of one unit in West Pakistan. They also started agitation for their demand for the removal of one unit. Not only this but it was also demanded by the NAP that a direct election mechanism should be adopted for the election in Pakistan, they also demanded an independent and non-aligned foreign policy during the time of the cold war and did not want any alliance with either United States or the Soviet Union. Despite this, the intensification of the cold war led Pakistan to join the camp of the United States. The rift between the Soviet Union and China which were two important pillars of the communist block also led to the hostility between them. This led to a rift in all the communist parties of the world around the globe. However, pro-soviet and pro-China factions of NAP also emerged but they remained intact for the most of time. Still, the NAP faced disunity when it was realized that Ayub Khan wanted to tilt towards China a bit.²⁹ As a

²⁷“National Awami Party,” *National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, 2021.

²⁸Hameed, Dr. Syeda Saiyidain. *Facts are Facts: The untold story of India's partition*. 2004.

²⁹“Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa .” Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa . <https://www.pakp.gov.pk/about-assembly/an-overview/>.

result, Bhashani wanted to support Ayub in this matter as he was a pro-China figurehead. So, on the face of it, there was a unity projection of the NAP but there was infighting in NAP beneath the surface over the issue of supporting the Ayub Khan. It was also evident from the fact that when Ayub Khan contested the election against Fatima Jinnah, he was indirectly supported by the Bashni faction of the NAP. However, the Wali Khan faction out rightly supported the Fatima Jinnah in the presidential election of 1965. However, Ayub Khan became the president of Pakistan. When he went to war against India, the ceasefire was announced. At this time, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto who was initially the main architect of the Pakistan-China relations went against his own master Ayub Khan. He alleged Ayub Khan of losing the war over the negotiating table.³⁰Bhutto was soon sacked by the Ayub Khan. However, he was very passionate, and his political tactics became popular in leftist student groups around the globe. Initially, he tried to secure a position for himself in the NAP. When he realized that it was already packed with important leftist and nationalist leaders, he announced his semi-socialist party. He formulated the Pakistan people's party in the year of 1967. Contrary to this, NAP was increasingly witnessing the disunity in its ranks. The main issue of NAP was its failure to build consensus among its leaders about how to achieve a socialist revolution in Pakistan. As the faction led by Wali Khan thought that the country should move on the path of democracy, and it should be followed by the achievement of the main objective of the party of provincial autonomy and socialism. However, Bhashani despised democracy as a tool to be used by the bourgeois class for its interests. He supported the alliance with the peasants of the country and start revolutionary land reforms throughout

³⁰“Urdu Point.” Provincial Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly General Election 2008. 2008. <https://www.urdupoint.com/politics/general-election-2008/constituencies/khyber-pakhtunkhawah.html>.

the country.³¹ This led to the formation of pro-China, NAP-Bhashani, and Pro-Soviet NAP-Wali.

Return of NAP under the name of Awami National Party (ANP)

The largest student party in Pakistan was also the student wing of NAP. It was known as the National Students Federation NSF. It also faced a split. It is because the majority of the students of this party were in the favour of pro-China Maoist line. At the same time, they started associating themselves with the politics of the new emerging socialist party in the shape of the Pakistan People's party. These students were not in the favour of NAPBhashani. However, two new student groups "Pakhtun Students Federation and Baloch Students Organisation" were formed in 1968 and both came under the influence of NAP-Wali. AS a result, the NAP faction under Wali Khan came to be known as the biggest faction of the NAP. It is because NAP Wali was joined by the Baloch, Pashtun, and Sindhi leaders of NAP.³² The NAP under Wali khan also joined the anti-Ayub movement started by Pakistan People's Party in 1968. It is also important to mention here that a mazdoor faction of NAP was broken away from it and MazdoorKissan Party was formulated by this faction. The main objective of the MazdoorKissan Party was to support the socialist revolution and uprising in the rural areas of Pakistan. At last, NAP under Wali Khan also participated in the first-ever election based on the adult franchise of Pakistan. This election was conducted in 1970 and NAP was able to win the largest number of seats in Balochistan and showed impressive performance in KP as well. It was able to formulate a coalition government in both

³¹Paracha, Nadeem F. "The first left," DAWN.COM Logo, 2014.

³²"Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa ." Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa . <https://www.pakp.gov.pk/about-assembly/an-overview/>.

Balochistan and KP. However, Bhutto led Pakistan People's Party and won most of the seats in Punjab and Sindh.³³ Thus, the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan made PPP the ruling party of Pakistan. However, Bhutto accused the NAP-led Balochistan government of backing the allegedly soviet backed Baloch separatists. As a result, he dismissed the government of Balochistan and imposed governor rule in Balochistan. Three years later, the president of KP of the Peoples Party was assassinated in 1975 in a bomb blast in Peshawar university. His name was HayatSherpao. As a result, the Bhutto regime accused NAP of this bomb blast and banned the party through a court order. It ended the largest gathering of the Sindhi, Baloch, and Sindhi nationalists and communists in Pakistan. After Bhutto, efforts were made to revive NAP under the name of the National Democratic Party, but it also failed under the Zia regime in 1982 as he did not allow any political party. The year 1986 saw the return of NAP under the name of Awami National Party under the leadership of Wali Khan. However, within the year of its revival, Awami National Party witnessed the disintegration of its Sindhi and Baloch leadership. It limited the party to the Pashtun Nationalist Party, and it continues to survive today under the leadership of the son of Wali Khan, AsfandyarWali.³⁴

Manifesto of Awami National Party (ANP)

The main aim of the manifesto of ANP is to sensitize people about the main objectives and aims of the party so that people could know about the standing and future course work of the party and vote in its favour or against it accordingly. It is not based on the detailed strategies to be employed by the party to achieve its objective and aims if it can form the government. However, it just outlines the overall principles of the party which would influence the

³³'National Awami Party.' National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh, 2021.

³⁴Hameed, Dr. Syeda Saiyidain. *Facts are Facts: The untold story of India's partition*. 2004.

governance policies of the party if elected to form the government. It has been announced to serve all the people of Pakistan, particularly the Pashtun population of the KP province.³⁵ The Manifesto of the party is separated into the following parts

The Preamble

In the preamble of the manifesto of the party, it is declared that the main inspiration of the party would come from the teachings of Bacha Khan or Abdul Ghaffar Khan. This leader spent his entire life in the struggle for freedom and justice for his people. He and his party known as KhudaiKhidmadgar sacrificed a lot in their struggle against the rule of colonizers, imperialism, and every form of oppression against the poor people. It is also important to mention here that bacha khan thought that politics is one of the main public services for people and he liked to be identified as a social worker. The main aim of Bacha khan was the liberation of the poor masses of South Asia and particularly the Pashtuns from the chains of ignorance and poverty. He thought that if people are liberated from the potential of poverty and ignorance only then they can realize their full potential.³⁶

In line with the same spirit, the predecessor parties of ANP, NAP, and NDP, also looked at politics as means of public service. The main focus of this public service was the poor and disadvantaged people of Pakistan. This is the reason that ANP is dedicated to democracy, freedom, poverty, protection of human rights, combating extremism in all its forms, and making arrangements for the creation of equal opportunities for all citizens.³⁷ It believes in

³⁵*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties' Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues.* Pakistan Institute of Lagislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

³⁶*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008.* Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.

³⁷“ANP Constitution.” Constitution Awami National Party (English Version).
<https://anp.org.pk/constitutions/>.

peaceful and nonviolent methods for the resolution of problems. “It is committed to securing for all the federating units of Pakistan their full political, social and economic rights as equal partners in the federation and their fair share in national progress and prosperity.” Hence, the party will be willing to work with all the like-minded people and forces of Pakistan and at the same time will be ready to build a partnership with all the countries of the world which stand for peace.

Internal Affairs

As the internal affairs of Pakistan are concerned, the preamble of the party gives political, legal, and administrative guidelines for it. The main political aim of this party is the establishment of a peaceful, progressive and prosperous society that should be based on liberal principles. For instance, the main political objective as outlined by the manifesto of the party is democracy and the establishment of rule of law. At the same time, it also wants to ensure the protection of the rights and identities of the people. Not only this, it wants the freedom for the development of national languages and cultures of all the provinces of Pakistan. It also wants the renaming of NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. It is because of the aspirations and resolution of the KP assembly.³⁸

Political, Legal, and Administrative

Important political and legal objectives of the manifesto of ANP are as under:

1. It does not allow discrimination against any individual based on race, colour, creed, or gender. It wants equal rights for all the citizens of Pakistan in the domains of political,

³⁸*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008. Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.*

economic, and social lives. It wants the end of any law which is considered discriminatory against any individual or group of people. Most importantly, it wants fool proof security and protection for the religious and ethnic minorities.

2. It wants to uphold the principle of freedom of speech and press.
3. It also wants full autonomy for the provinces. For this, it gives the domains of defence, foreign affairs, currency, communication, and other subjects to the centre if agreed by all the federating units of the country.
4. It wants to ensure the security and freedom of every citizen by upholding the principle of rule of law in high regard.
5. It also wants the reduction of the defence budget so that the economic and social welfare of the country could not be impacted. In addition to this, it allows army personnel to offer their services whether they are doctors or engineers to the people of Pakistan on a non-profit basis.
6. It upholds the principle of non-interference by armed forces and bureaucracy in the domain of politics and wants to ensure it through necessary legislation and administrative measures.
7. It also wants the federal legislature based on two houses. However, it is in favour of the strengthening of the powers of the senate the upper house of Pakistan.
8. It wants administrative and judicial reforms to be in line with the principle of a democratic society without compromising the rights of citizens of security, speedy justice, and efficient service delivery.
9. The appointment of the federal civil servants in any province will be done through the consent of the provincial governments. Not only this but provincial governments will also be given control over the officials working in their province. It also wants to ensure that all provinces should be given their equal share in the appointments at the

federal level. It also wants the separation of power between the executive and judicial branches of the government. It also wants to ensure the financial autonomy of the judiciary. Most importantly, it is against the parallel or quasi-judicial systems running in Pakistan and wants to abolish them or integrate them into the main judicial system of Pakistan.³⁹

10. It wants to ensure the privacy of all the citizens of Pakistan in domestic matters and communication. It is against wire-tapping that any effort to enter the private premises of any individual without legal authority is prohibited under the manifesto of ANP.

Socio-Economic

As for as socio-economic motives and objectives of the party are concerned, it has set the main objective of the state is to improve the life of people. Political Rights and freedoms should also be accompanied by the development of social and economic spheres of the people. For this purpose, the eradication of poverty, diseases, and illiteracy should be ensured by the government. Hence, the following will be the criteria for the pursuance of socio-economic policies by ANP as per its Manifesto:

The social justice has to be ensured with the elimination of illiteracy, disease, and poverty. Considering it, the ANP will go on with its socio-economic policies with following as guiding principles:⁴⁰

1. ANP will make sure that the decision of the Council of Common Interests with regards to hydel profits will be implemented in letter and spirit.

³⁹*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties' Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues.* Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

⁴⁰*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008.* Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.

2. If new gas and oil reserves are discovered in KP, new royalties will be negotiated so that the province can witness the development of the resources.
3. The province of KP will seek compensation from the federation in return for the abolishment of the octroi taxes.
4. The Afghan refugees and other ravages of the Afghan war have destroyed the natural resources of KP. Therefore, ANP will strive for the new reserves in the province.
5. As for as development is concerned, ANP will emphasize the development of the market and take a market approach instead of public sector development. At the same time, low-income people in the province would be brought under the domain of social safety nets.
6. ANP will ensure the protection of foreign investment in the province.
7. ANP also proposes the Reconstruction Opportunity ZONE concept so that the maximum benefits should remain in the province.

Furthermore, the manifesto of ANP also deals with agricultural development in the country. It has given special focus to agriculture as agriculture accounts for 25 percent of the GDP of KP. Not only this, 47 percent of the labour force of the province is recruited in the field of agriculture. At the same time, the development of agriculture should also be given priority in all other provinces of Pakistan.⁴¹

1. The contribution of the livestock is 12 percent of the GDP of the province. This sector will be prioritized as it is the main contributor to the eradication of poverty and achievement of growth in the province.
2. Poultry farming will also be encouraged for consumption in the urban centres. This will be enhanced as an additional source of income for the farmers of the province.

⁴¹*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties' Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues.* Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

3. 2.1 million hectares of land will be utilized for the development of the livestock sector in KP. However, efforts will also be made in other provinces to realize the full potential of this sector in the growth of the economy.⁴²
4. The agriculture of the KP will be diversified so that high cash crops could be produced in the province. For instance, incentives will be provided to the farmers for growing the olive oils for commercial purposes.
5. The development of forests in KP will also be given priority
6. Development of tobacco and maize products will be ensured as KP is the main contributor to these products. It would also be encouraged that the province should collect the excise duties on the tobacco.

In addition to this, ANP will also provide new employment opportunities in the province. Is lack of employment is one of the main reasons for the growth of radicalization in the province. It can lead youth towards drugs and extremists if they remain unemployed. Therefore, ANP will announce the employment targets for each year and accomplish projects on a priority basis.⁴³

1. It also wants to reform the education system of Pakistan so that people should be imparted the knowledge of skills through vocational training at the early stage.
2. A special focus should be on the unemployment of those people who are educated. Even the self-employed people will also be given support by the government-formed ANP.⁴⁴

⁴²“ANP Constitution.” *Constitution Awami National Party (English Version)*.
<https://anp.org.pk/constitutions/>.

⁴³*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008*. Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.

⁴⁴*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties’ Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues*. Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

3. ANP ensures that the 6 percent of GDP should be allocated for education.
4. ANP will also abolish the dual system of education which perpetuate the class and feudal interests. A single system of education based on international standards will be formulated.
5. The medium of instruction till the elementary level will be the mother tongue of children as per the manifesto of ANP

Women's rights as per the manifesto of ANP

ANP has given special priority to the empowerment of women. It has been recognized the subordination of women is due to their low social, political, and economic status. It has also been identified that the majority of women in Pakistan are facing the problems of discrimination and violence. Most importantly, it has identified the structures which impeded the development of women and discourage them from participating in the decision-making process. This is the reason that they continue to be the disadvantaged group in the country.

⁴⁵Therefore, ANP will try to reduce the gap between the commitments made by Pakistan at the international level and their implementation at the national level. So, the party will make sure the constitutional rights are given to women and they should also witness their empowerment by the following means:

1. Firstly, the party will make sure that women's participation in the decision-making process should be increased.
2. It wants the abolishment of the laws and policies which can lead to discrimination against women and are an impediment to ensuring equal rights for women.

⁴⁵*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008. Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.*

3. It wants legislation on the issues of domestic violence, honour killings, sexual harassment against women, and trafficking of women.⁴⁶
4. It will ensure that Pakistan will comply with international conventions ratified by it which can address the issue of violence against women. It will also make sure that Pakistan will ratify the “Optional Protocol of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other relevant instruments relating to trafficking of women and children and violence against women.”
5. At the same time, 33 percent of women's quota as per the international standards will be ensured in the political and decision-making positions. It will also provide technical and financial support for the women which is necessary for increasing their participation in national life.
6. It will also ensure the direct election for the women in all the elected positions including the reserved seats.
7. It will make sure that no law and policy should be formulated which discriminates against women.
8. It will remove the requirement of a male guardian for the women when they apply for the CNIC card in Pakistan.
9. The educational sector and media will be leveraged to increase the awareness of gender equality and its importance for national development.
10. It will also work for the creation of equal opportunities for women at all levels of society.

⁴⁶*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties' Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues.* Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

External Affairs

As for as the external affairs of Pakistan are concerned, the manifesto of ANP has rightly identified the geostrategic importance of the country and tried to leverage its geographical location. It has given special importance to all the bordering countries of Pakistan as they also play their role in international affairs. For instance, the proximity of Pakistan to Afghanistan has made it vulnerable to the great powers as they exploit the location for global interests. With Pakistan being the only nuclear-weapon state in the Muslim world, Pakistan should need to deal with dangers to it accordingly. It should also keep in mind the commercial and economic progress as well while guaranteeing the overall security of the country. Therefore, the main foreign policy framework for the ANP led government will be as under:

1. It wants the establishment of friendly and peaceful relations with all the countries of the world, particularly the neighbors of Pakistan.
2. It wants to ensure the compliance of Pakistan with the Charter of the United Nations. It also wants to participate in the development and peacemaking activities. It should also take an active role in the working of other international organizations as well of whose Pakistan is part. Most importantly, it should participate in the efforts for the establishment of a more equitable international order. For this purpose, it should participate in the efforts for the arms reduction and abolishment of nuclear weapons in universal and non-discriminatory terms.⁴⁷
3. At the same time, it should also promote the concept of the multi-polar world which should reject the dominance of the world by single or two major powers.

⁴⁷*Awami National Party Manifesto 2008*. Awami National Party Official Website, 2021.

4. It should leverage the diplomacy of the country to build the trade links and pursue the economic interests of the country through diversifying its market and improving the prospects for foreign direct investment.
5. ANP will give special importance to the relations of Pakistan with Afghanistan. It is because people from both countries see a lot of commonalities as for as their culture, faith, language, and history are concerned. Therefore, well-directed efforts should be done to increase cooperation in all the domains including economics, politics, commerce, education, and culture. At last, relations between Pakistan and Afghans should be based on the principle of sovereignty and non-interference in the matters with each other.
6. Not only this, but ANP also wants the establishment of friendly and peaceful relationships with India as well with a high priority. The bilateral relations should be based on open dialogue and the resolution of all the issues between Pakistan and India should be done through peaceful means including Kashmir.
7. At the same time, there should be the establishment of close relations with China as well. The relations with China should be developed in the light of the principle of the equality of sovereignty and no overt or covert interference in the internal affairs of each other. So, Pakistan's policies vis-à-vis China should be based on the national interest of Pakistan.
8. The relations with the United States should be friendly because it can help Pakistan in achieving many things. However, the establishment of these relationships should be based on the principles of dignity and self-respect. In the same manner, relations with the European Union should also be further developed.⁴⁸

⁴⁸*Election 2008 Manifestoes of Political Parties: Parties' Positions Remain Vague on Key Issues.* Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, 2007.

9. Most importantly, it is necessary for Pakistan to play the leading role in the organizations of Islamic Cooperation, SAARC, and ECO.
10. The expatriates of Pakistan should not be left alone and their problems should be resolved on a priority basis. Particularly the Pashtun people who are working in Gulf Countries

Provincial Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly General Election 2008

Along with the national general elections of Pakistan on February 18th, 2008, the provincial elections of NWFP (KP) assembly was held in which Awami National Party was leading while Pakistan People Party won forty-eight seats from total of 124. The turnover remained 33.46% as the registered voters were 10500430 in total and the votes that were polled counted as 3559276. The total seats were 124 in which general seats of the assembly were ninety nine and the three seats were reserved for minority. In addition to these seats, 22 were reserved for women. As mentioned earlier that ANP was leading in these election while the PPP secured the second position according to the winning seats. Lastly, the third position was secured by PML (Q) because it was only successful in securing six seats in total.⁴⁹

Provincial Assembly 2008 to 2013

During the time of the elections of 2008, Awami National Party and Pakistan People Party became the two of the leading parties in the province of KP. It defeated the most important conservative party of KP known as the Mutahidda Majles Amal. Overall, ANP was able to get 38 seats in the provincial assembly of KP. Contrary to this, PPP bagged 20 seats in the

⁴⁹"Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa ." *Provincial Assembly of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa* .
<https://www.pakp.gov.pk/about-assembly/an-overview/>.

provincial assembly of the province. The MMA came in the third number by winning the 14 seats in the provincial assembly of KP. Hence, other parties were PML-N and other parties which were not able to snatch more than 10 seats.⁵⁰

⁵⁰“Urdu Point.” *Provincial Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Assembly General Election 2008*. 2008. <https://www.urdupoint.com/politics/general-election-2008/constituencies/khyber-pakhtunkhawah.html>.

CHAPTER-3

Governance of ANP in KP during 2008-2013

Governance was given special priority under the rule of ANP and a round table was also called for it in KP in 2011. The main aim of this conference was the introduction of local government reforms which were introduced during the Devolution Plan of 2002. It also viewed the effectiveness of the governance in the districts of KP after 2008. Not only this but the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies was also given special priority because of the rising rate of crime in the province. It was the time when effectiveness in the prosecution of the cases related to terrorism and armed insurgency was needed.⁵¹ Particularly, the terrorism and armed insurgency were unleashed in the division of Malakand in the year 2008-2010. It not only worsened the law and order situation in the division but also contributed to problems in other social and economic matters. It was a time when there were military operations in the areas of conflict zones. This also resulted in the lesser role of civil administration in managing the affairs of conflict-ridden areas. One of the main reasons behind this was the lack of preparedness for the police. The police were not prepared for the changing dynamics which resulted in the wake of the operations related to counter-insurgency.⁵² These operations were not even under the mandate of the police previously. Therefore, it was realized that the good governance along with the dispensation of speedy justice could have eliminated the underlying conditions which were the main reason for the conflict and rise of the extremist and militancy in the province. No doubt, redressal of the problems through good governance

⁵¹Aziz, Khalid. *Round-table on effectiveness of governance in the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa after 2008*. Peshawar: KP Agricultural University, Peshawar, 2011.

⁵²Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of*. Peshawar: deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

with the help of district administration along with effective and responsible policing could have discouraged the radicalization of the society. It is because local government is very important for enhancing the capacity of the police. It can lead to police who are well equipped and can participate in the counter-insurgency and extremism effectively. Strong local government is an effective mechanism for making the government more effective, transparent, and responsive to the grievances of the people.⁵³

Furthermore, ANP also made efforts for improving the delivery of basic services to people as well. They made it the primary responsibility and objective of the government. They made sure that resources should be made available at the local level subject to the financial discipline. They allocated resources on a rational basis. At last, they made sure that the public buildings do not remain underutilized. They should not be used for the personal benefits of the influential people who use them as sitting places for their guests and for other personal benefits.

ANP and the rise of militancy in Swat

Swat is a district of the Malakand division of the KP. As per the census of 1998, the population of Swat was 1.2 million. The governance of the Swat was a provincial matter. As per Article 247, Swat came into the domain of the PATA region. These regions were those which were to be governed by the provincial administration. This mechanism of governance was the main reason that the provincial government was restricted to implement its authority over the region. In short, the writ of the state in these areas was weak because of no effective system of governance at the local level. The provincial assembly of KP also faced challenges

⁵³Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

“KP Financial Statements 2008-09.” Islamabad, 2010.

in doing the legislation with regard to this region. Since the year of 1990, the local forces were repeatedly challenging the authority of the provincial government in Swat. The establishment of the Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariate-Mohammadi (TNSM) by a religious leader named Sufi Muhammad in 1992 further complicated the situation in the province. He demanded that the Islamic justice system should be introduced. Not only this, he openly challenged and revolted against whatever official authority was present in the area. However, the organization of Sufi Muhammad was banned and he was jailed after he participated in the insurgency against the US intervention in Afghanistan.⁵⁴ This did not stop there, he was succeeded by the Mullah Fazlullah who was also known as the Mullah Radio. For a brief period in 2007, this organization which later came to be known as the Pakistani Taliban was able to expel the official government and took control of the large parts of the district. At the same time, the provincial government of KP facilitated the release of the Sufi Muhammad on the promise that he would renounce the violence.⁵⁵ At the same time, other leaders of the organization also signed the agreement in which they recognized the sovereignty of the KP over the region of Swat. It was also during the time ANP that a controversial deal with the Taliban was signed in which the government of KP agreed to the implementation of the Sharia law in the division of Malakand. It shows the resolve of ANP led KP government about the peaceful measures for the resolution of the conflict.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it was from the Taliban side that the deal was violated. Taliban thought that the wishes of the KP government for peace in the province is weakness. The followers of Mullah Fazlullah not only resorted to violence but forcefully took over the adjacent district of Buner as well. So, as late as 2009 it

⁵⁴Abbasi, Nadia Mushtaq. "Impact of terrorism on Pakistan."

⁵⁵Quraish, Muhammad, and Fakhr -ul-Islam. "Peace-making Efforts in KP: An." *Pluto Journals* (Pluto Journals) 15, no. 3 (2018): 197-208.

⁵⁶*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

was realized that the Taliban were not serious about the implementation of the Sharia Law in the Malakand Division but they wanted the strategic dominance of the region. It was a blessing in disguise for the government of KP as the popularity of the Taliban in the region deteriorated and lost popular support. This was used as the opportunity by the government to re-establish the writ of the state over this region. This writ of the state in Swat was established with the help of military operations by military forces of Pakistan in Buner and Swat. As a result, more than 6 lakh people of this region became internally displaced.⁵⁷The control of the region was reestablished by the army in the same year and people were able to return to their homes in late 2009. At last, it was through this scenario of bad governance and lack of writ of the state in the region that the Taliban was able to increase its influence in the region since the year of 2002.⁵⁸

The transfer of power to the local government after military operations was witnessed from 2008 onwards. The main development which contributed to the transfer of power to the incumbent government was the amendment to the constitution of Pakistan of 1973. The 18th and 19th amendments to the constitution of Pakistan were unanimously adopted by the parliament of Pakistan. It not only ensured the strong foundation of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan but a long-time demand for provincial autonomy was also accomplished. At the same time, a new bill under the name of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa local government bill was submitted to the provincial assembly of the province. The main purpose of this bill was the reforms of Institutions of the province at the local level. This will end with the revival of the

⁵⁷Ahmed, Naeem. *Pakistan's Counter-terrorism strategy and its Implications for domestic, regional and international security*. Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2014.

⁵⁸Quraish, Muhammad, and Fakhr -ul-Islam. "Peace-making Efforts in KP: An." *Pluto Journals* (Pluto Journals) 15, no. 3 (2018): 197-208.

double structure of the Urban and District Council. It also outlines the basic features of the local government system which needed to be implemented in this province in the future.⁵⁹

It was not only the calamity of terrorism that hit the province badly. In the year 2006 a sequel of disasters hit different parts of Pakistan and KP was not the exception. When the national disaster management authority was created under the ordinance of disaster management ordinance, a provincial disaster management authority of KP province was also created.⁶⁰ This disaster management authority not only announce the preparedness for dealing with the disaster at the National level but it helped in the mitigation of disasters in the district and at several levels as well. This department contributed to the placement of necessary structures and infrastructure to deal with the disasters in the province more effectively.⁶¹ Most importantly this disaster management department at the provincial level head all key components of disaster mitigation and disaster preparedness response and recovery. In addition to this, another department with the name provincial reconstruction rehabilitation and settlement authority in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was also created. It was an important effort by the provincial government for the construction and rehabilitation of the Malakand division after the military operations and the rise of insurgency in the region. This department played an important role in the reconstruction of the damaged infrastructure in the region.⁶²

⁵⁹“KP Financial Statements 2008-09.” Islamabad, 2010.

⁶⁰Grare, Frédéric. *Rethinking Western Strategies Toward Pakistan an action agenda for the united states and europe*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, 2007.

⁶¹Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of Peshawar*: deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

⁶²Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

War on Terror and Pakistan

It is a matter of fact that national security and geostrategic dynamics in the region forced Pakistan into joining the Global War on Terror. The most vulnerable province in the wake of joining the War on Terror was KP. At that time, the international community was in the favour of fighting against terrorists and Pakistan did not want to remain aloof from the situation as it could lead it to isolation. In the initial days at least, Pakistan supported and facilitated the war of the US in Afghanistan.⁶³

However, with the passing of time, this decision of Pakistan backfired. It was soon realized that the real War for Pakistan was not in Afghanistan, but it has spread to its borders particularly federally administrative territories. It was because many terrorists who played Afghanistan were able to find safe position in the North-western province of Pakistan. Not only this but under the disguise of migration many terrorists also came to Pakistan and spread chaos in its society.⁶⁴ Pakistan became one of the most victimized countries in the wake of US led Global War on terror. When the United States started bombing Afghanistan many raw elements also crossed into the tribal areas of Pakistan and they found many ideological supporters here and started militant activities against the civilians and arms forces of Pakistan. On top of it, the International community was never happy with Pakistan. It was judging the efforts of Pakistan in the US leading the Global War on terror from negative or irrelevant lenses. It was not able to realize the power potential and capacity of Pakistan keeping in view the meagre resources to fight Counter-Terrorism operations in Afghanistan

⁶³Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

⁶⁴HUSSAIN, SAFDAR HUSSAIN. *Pakistan's achievements in War on Terror but at what cost: A special review of the current decade*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS).

let alone in its territories. Soon after Global War on terror, the burden on the Government of KP was doubled and it had to cope with different issues of governance in the province.⁶⁵ From the period 2001 to 2006 it was not only the Islamic militants which were wedding a war against the Government of Pakistan but the militants of Baloch Nationalist were also catching the momentum at the same time.⁶⁶ They were quite active against the Institutions of Pakistan and were openly perpetrating suicide attacks against Government and civilians at the same time. The rise of militancy which first started in Afghanistan and was able to spread in the tribal areas of Pakistan had now engulfed entire Pakistan within a few years. The improvement of governance during this period was the main requirement of time. Swat was almost taken away by militants known as Taliban and they also try to invest in adjustment areas of so what district such as Buner under the leadership of MullaFazalUllah. By the time here 2008 was closing this militancy was being fought in the heart of the province of KP known as Peshawar. The main problem with the rise of death they were isolated groups in different districts of KP like Mardan and others. They were not being directed by a single leader, but they just mushroomed in different areas of the provinces. This made the situation for security agencies worse. This type of urban insurgency was not the task of traditional military forces the first time.⁶⁷ Such types of resurgent were very difficult to be identified or traced. The main region where the rate of the state was not only weakened but vanished under the rule of the Taliban regime was the region of swat. Initially, the people of swat were

⁶⁵Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of Peshawar*: deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

⁶⁶Mirza, Adeel Mukhtar. "Pakistan Has Contributed Significantly to the Fight Against Terrorism." 2021. <https://thediomat.com/2021/01/pakistan-has-contributed-significantly-to-the-fight-against-terrorism/>.

⁶⁷White, Joshua T., and Shuja Ali Malik. *Governance Reforms in Pakistan's Tribal Areas: The Long Road to Nowhere?* United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

hopeful about the Taliban. However, they soon realize that the Taliban were bad people and they were not serious about the religion of Islam but they only try to subjugate people for their political objectives. This was the reason that the popular support of the people of the region turned against the Taliban and it gave room to the security forces of Pakistan to re-establish the writ of state back in the region. As soon as April 2009, the security forces of Pakistan launched a full-fledged operation against the Taliban.⁶⁸

In retrospect, it is important to note here that more than 40 Taliban groups joined hands together in 2007 and accepted the leadership of Bait Ullah Masood under the umbrella organization of Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan. They promised to fight against foreigners in Pakistan as well as fight against the security forces of Pakistan to liberate Afghanistan and Pakistan from the clutches of foreign forces. Talibanization of Pakistan particularly in the region of tribal areas and KP first began with this event. The main thing about the formation of it was that they had close links with Al-Qaida and this made them very beautiful to the local tribesman and politicians of the area. At the same time, they proved to be very cruel against the security forces of Pakistan as well. The gravity of the situation was realized soon after the Taliban beheaded some of the officers of the Pakistan army in the region of Swat and released a video.⁶⁹

It is also important to mention here that it was against those Taliban groups who did not join hands with Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan against the security forces of Pakistan. They were also the focus of attack by TTP. In addition to this, the crisis of Lal Masjid in 2007 led to further deterioration of the security situation in the country. This event did not only result in the worsening security situation in Islamabad but it sent ripples of insecurity to other corners of Pakistan as well. Particularly, the members of the Taliban launched Raven full attacks in

⁶⁸Rogers, Paul. *Global Security after the War on Terror*. London: Oxford Research Group, 2009.

⁶⁹*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Report forum publications.

tribal areas, KP, and different corners of Pakistan. Every Counter-Terrorism event proves to be a Domino effect for another catastrophic incident in Pakistan. The incidents of terrorism and militancy not only target the security forces of Pakistan but they played he work with the life of the normal person as well. The most dreadful event perpetrated by the terrorist in Pakistan was the depressed attack onthe APS School of Peshawar. It was the time that terrorist atrocities and brutalities in Pakistan reached their climax.⁷⁰

In this event, hundreds of innocent children were butchered by the cruel terrorist. Indore who died some children enter the school first time and it was their last time as well. It resulted in renewed results from the military and political corners of Pakistan to fight against the menace of terrorism and extremism more effectively. Military operations were started in FATA to eliminate the footholds of terrorists from the region. Not only this, but Rangers also laid a crackdown in Karachi to trace the sleeper sales of terrorist organizations and maintain the law and order situation of the city which descended into violation of law and order situation. The situation in Balochistan was also improved but a low level of three continued in the region.⁷¹ Even after this, it is important to know here that Pakistan is successfully reduced the test event in the country but when should also note here that militant organizations or not completely neutralized so that they become unable to launch brutal attacks on the civilians of Pakistan. No doubt, terrorism is spread by the extremist mentality which is still prevalent in Pakistan. It was not only the war against the terrorist but against their ideologies and narratives. Even if terrorists a defeated badly and successfully, there is a realization in Pakistan that it has to travel a long way before defeating the narratives and ideologies of

⁷⁰Siddique, Qandeel. *PAKISTAN'S FUTURE POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN A LOOK AT STRATEGIC DEPTH, MILITANT MOVEMENTS AND THE ROLE OF INDIA AND THE US*. Copenhagen: DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, 2011.

⁷¹Tellis, Ashley J. *Pakistan and theWar on Terror Conflicted Goals,Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008.

those terrorist organizations which are instrumental in fanning the extremism in the society of Pakistan. So, Pakistan has paid a huge cost for playing a leading role in the US-led Global War on terror.⁷²

At last, one should know that Pakistan used Kinetic measures in counter-terrorism operations since the beginning of the war on terror. The political and soft measures were neglected due to the gravity of the situation in which the survival of the state was put at stake by some terrorist groups.⁷³ However, the civilian government under ANP soon realized that there are some underlying reasons for violent and nonviolent behaviour in society. Extremism is not a material phenomenon but it is a subjective one that is generated if there is a conducive environment for it.⁷⁴ This type of environment can only be eliminated through non-Kinetic measures. But when should not say that Kinetic measures taken by the security forces of Pakistan were futile. They were successful in breaking the backbone of important terrorist organizations in Pakistan. However, they were not sustainable for a longer period of time. This was the reason that as per the study of the PIPS report, Pakistan needed a Holistic approach to developing counter-violence which should cover multiple fronts. This strategy should not focus only on hard measures but it should also take into account the development of ideological and tell actual and religious responses to the extremist along with the introduction of comprehensive rehabilitation and reintegration measures for those terrorists and extremists who willingly renounce violent means to achieve political objectives. This policy absorption was beyond the capacity of military force. This led to the transfer of

⁷²Quraish, Muhammad, and Fakhr -ul-Islam. "Peace-making Efforts in KP: An." *Pluto Journals* (Pluto Journals) 15, no. 3 (2018): 197-208.

⁷³Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

⁷⁴"The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999 – 2021." <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan>.

administration of so what region and other erstwhile terrorist hit region to civilian government. As a result, the government of the Awami National Party prove to be successful in improving the Governance of conflict-ridden regions and it tried to eliminate the conditions conducive to the rise of extremism and terrorism in KP.⁷⁵

The Government of KP under the Awami National Party fessed a lot of challenges in the wake of military operations. However civilian government laid by NP Institute shoulder to shoulder with their soldiers in giving the military response to the rise of terrorism and extremism. Initially, the use of force was the main component of Counter militancy and terrorism.⁷⁶ It was exercised in the wake-up growing violence from the terrorist sites in the wake of 2006 and 2007 years. The military operations were started in the region after 7 years of tolerance and negotiations with terrorist organizations and their leadership. A small-scale military operation was launched only in 2000.⁷⁷ It was after 7 years that a full pledge military operation was launched in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and tribal districts of this province in 2007. Contrary to this low-level military operations in the form of search and trace was launched also in Balochistan since the year of 2005. These operations for based on Intelligence and were launched in those Areas where terrorist activity was already perpetrated. In these operations, FC played a leading role in maintaining law in order but it was also supported and supplementary as well. The help of the Pakistan army was also asked wherever it was required in some operations. The Rangers were given amendments to lead the operation and Karachi to improve the law and order situation of the economic capital of the country which

⁷⁵Report on Afghanistan Post 2012. Riport forum publications.

⁷⁶Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of*. Peshawar: deutsche Gesellschaft fur internationale Zusammenarbeit (GiZ) Gmbh, 2011.

⁷⁷Rogers, Paul. *Global Security after the Waron Terror*. London: Oxford Research Group, 2009.

started in 2013.⁷⁸ The problems of Punjab were also given focus and the Counter-Terrorism department with the help of police and Rangers launched a variety of operations against anti-militant elements in the province. All these provinces are mentioned because a Holistic approach was needed to counter terrorism and eliminate the sleeper cells of terrorist organizations in the wake of operations in tribal areas and the KP launch by the Army of Pakistan. Hence, Awami national party coordinated with the leadership of other provinces and contributed to building consensus over Counter-Terrorism operations all across Pakistan to improve the law and order situation of not only KP but other provinces as well.⁷⁹ Hence, it made sure that terrorists under the disguise of internally displaced people do not come back to the provinces of KP no matter what and they should be eliminated through intelligence best operations in their sanctuaries. Following is the list of military operations conducted by the armed forces of Pakistan to improve the law and order situation of not only KP but the entire Pakistan.

List of military operations to counter-terrorism

2003 Operation

The first military operation was launched against a Wazir subtribe of north Waziristan date was found to be helping militance of Al-Qaeda. This was the tribe attacked a camp where forces of the United States were camped. Pakistan military forces intervened and took action against this tribe which lasted for only 3 days in the form of routine military exercises. However, by the end of the year, there was an intensity in the military operations when other

⁷⁸Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

⁷⁹Grare, Frédéric. *Rethinking Western Strategies Toward Pakistan an action agenda for the united states and europe*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, 2007.

tribes known as Zarrikhel and Karrikel provided safe heavens to the militants of Al-Qaeda and Taliban. When they were asked to hand over this militance to the Army they refused it. Therefore, in the year of 2010 and the month of October, there was the Killing of 22 militants of Al-Qaeda and 7 members of a tribesman in a military operation. Their properties were also destroyed in the wake of this operation. This operation made the elders of tribals realize that the situation was not as easy as they were considering. After some time the militants were handed over to the Army of Pakistan by tribal elders after some negotiations.⁸⁰

2004 and 2005

Another important operation by the military forces of Pakistan in the region of South Rajasthan was launched in the year of 2004 during March. This operation was a full-scale military operation launched by the military forces of Pakistan in the region of Wana in South Waziristan.⁸¹ As per the official record, this operation prove to be a success story, and 63 militants from Chechnya and yuzu Pakistan were also killed in this operation. Moreover, nearly 100 tribesmen and 73 foreigners were also arrested during this operation. Unfortunately, more than 46 military and paramilitary troops embraced Martial dump in this operation. 26 own personnel of Pakistani forces were also injured in this operation at the hands of militants of al-Qaida and its local allies.⁸²

⁸⁰Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of*. Peshawar: deutsche Gesellschaft fur internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

⁸¹Abbasi, Nadia Mushtaq. "Impact of terrorism on Pakistan."

⁸²Mirza, Adeel Mukhtar. "Pakistan Has Contributed Significantly to the Fight Against Terrorism." 2021. <https://thediomat.com/2021/01/pakistan-has-contributed-significantly-to-the-fight-against-terrorism/>.

Shikai Operation

Shikai operation was also launched in 2014 in the region of Shikai Vana and other regions dominated by The Tribe of Wazir. This operation also spread to the tribe of Mysore by the end of July in the areas of Karwan and spin Karzai. Overall Mysore tribe was found to be very cooperative and insured with the authorities against the militants coming from foreign lands. However, in the year of 2005, Pakistani troops launched an operation in North Waziristan where they found militants hiding in safe heavens. They also fought against the people who are not cooperating with the government and killed more than 20 foreign militants in the area and arrested over 100 militance from tribal areas.⁸³

2008

The year 2008 was very important in the counter-terrorism operations of Pakistan. This year full village operation was launched in South Waziristan inhibited by the tribesman from the Mysore tribe. The clashes between the armed forces and Mysore populated areas of South Waziristan were very fierce. At the same time, the operation Sher Dil with the name lionheart was also launched in the Bajaur agency. The main purpose of this operation was to prevent the fall of Khar which was headquartered in Bajor into the hands of the Taliban. This operation eventually reclaimed the region from Taliban and Al-Qaida terrorists. This region continues to remain a war zone for the next 2 years. However, in the year of 2010 military forces of Pakistan announced that the tribal agency was cleaned of terrorists and the rule of government and state has been reestablished in the region.⁸⁴

⁸³White, Joshua T., and Shuja Ali Malik. *Governance Reforms in Pakistan's Tribal Areas: The Long Road to Nowhere?* United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

⁸⁴Ahmed, Naeem. *Pakistan's Counter-terrorism strategy and its Implications for domestic, regional and international security*. Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2014.

2009

After the region of FATA, the region became heartburn by insurgency and terrorism during the year 2009. As a result, with the help of the civilian government operation, Rah e Rast was launched in Swat to clean it from the terrorists. This operation continued for 4 months and it resulted in success when militants from swat were eliminated and areas captured by the Taliban were taken back into the jurisdiction of the provincial government and its sovereignty was established in the region. Pakistan armed forces were also able to arrest the second-tier leadership of the Tahreek eTaliban Pakistan chapter SWAT. The chief of the Taliban organization Sufi Mohammed and its main spokesperson Muslim Khan were also arrested in this operation.⁸⁵ However, this operation resulted in a lot of Collateral Damage in the form of an internally displaced person. A great portion of the population of the Malakand division was forced to migrate to other regions of the country and they could only return home after 4 months of the bitter time of Survival outside their home. By the time of August, militants were uprooted and cleared by security forces in the region. This operation is considered the most important and most successful operation in the Counter-Terrorism history of Pakistan.⁸⁶

Another operation with the name Bia Darghalam was also started in the Bara sub-division of the erstwhile Khyber Agency. This operation was launched to counter the increasing activities of militancy in the area. The main purpose of this operation was to stop local militants from attacking the NATO forces and their supply lines.

⁸⁵Mirza, Adeel Mukhtar. "Pakistan Has Contributed Significantly to the Fight Against Terrorism." 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/pakistan-has-contributed-significantly-to-the-fight-against-terrorism/>.

⁸⁶*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

Not only this but it was also witnessed that the law and order situation also deteriorated in the region because infighting broke between the rival groups. This operation was also launched to improve the law and order situation in the area as well. Most importantly, Operation Rah-e-Nijat whose literal meaning is the path of deliverance was launched in September 2009. This operation was launched in the stronghold of TTP in South Waziristan. This operation was conducted with the help of more than 28,000 troops from the Pakistani Army. Before the start of this operation, all the three entry points in the region from Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, and Zhob were blocked by the security forces so that militants do not get a chance to run away from the region.⁸⁷ This operation was launched in the Mehsud-dominated region. It was believed by the security forces that there were more than 10 thousand militants including more than 1500 hundred fighters from foreign countries present in the area. By the year 2010, it was announced by the military forces of Pakistan that they have been able to clear more than 90 percent of the area from the shackles of militants. After some time, when Army Chief of Pakistan General AshfaqParvezKiani visited the area of South Waziristan, he declared that 100 percent of the area of South Waziristan was cleared off from the militants.⁸⁸ Hence, more campaigns to deal with the militants were launched as well in the areas of Orakzai, Kurram, Peshawar, and Mansehra to follow the militant activities and know about their whereabouts.⁸⁹ In addition to this, in the year 2011, further intensified its military operations in the region of FATA and KP. As many as 144 operations as part of military operations were launched with a major emphasis on Mohmand, Orakzai, and Kurram tribal districts of the FATA region.

⁸⁷White, Joshua T., and Shuja Ali Malik. *Governance Reforms in Pakistan's Tribal Areas: The Long Road to Nowhere?* United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

⁸⁸Siddique, Qandeel. *PAKISTAN'S FUTURE POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN A LOOK AT STRATEGIC DEPTH, MILITANT MOVEMENTS AND THE ROLE OF INDIA AND THE US*. Copenhagen: DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, 2011.

⁸⁹*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

More than 111 military operations were only launched into these areas of FATA. As a result, more than 1016 militants were killed in this operation, and the death of 30 civilians was also recorded as collateral damage from these operations. In the next two years of ANP rule in KP, military operations on a small scale continued in some regions with prime focus on Waziristan, Orakzai, and Kurram tribal agencies of the FATA. The military of Pakistan made a lot of progress in these operations. Particularly, the snow-covered Jogi Mountain was also cleared by the militants. This mountain was of utmost importance as it was used by the militants as a supply route through the mountain of north Waziristan. At last, the year 2013 also witnessed some military operations sporadically. These operations were conducted in the Khyber and Orakzai.⁹⁰ These operations were also conducted in Balochistan as well as major operations in FATA by military forces made the militants run away to other parts of Pakistan. Hence, a major operation in heart of Pakistan Karachi was also launched under the leadership of Rangers to clear the city away from militants and their supporters.⁹¹

There is no denying the reality there usage of political and soft approaches in the overall discourse of Counter-Terrorism plays an important role. These measures are necessary to be taken so that appeal to the ideology of militants could be reduced in population. This strategy does not believe in the elimination of militants but makes them think twice before they opt for the usage of violence. This strategy can also help the militants to renounce their violence and join back to the mainstream society after quitting the violence. There are two important functional parts of this strategy. The first one is based on the reconciliation of militants by political settlement and through dialogue. Through this strategy, militants are offered legal ways of acquiring power and they are sensitized about peaceful methods to participate in

⁹⁰“The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999 – 2021.” <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan>.

⁹¹Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

decision-making processes. This strategy has been successful throughout the world. Through this mechanism, militant organizations have been brought into the political mainstream after they have shown readiness to renounce violence to achieve their political objectives. The second important part of this approach is given in the form of the proper process of joining the mainstream society by the militant elements. For this purpose, the first element of this process is distinguishment followed by De-radicalization measures. After the D2 strategy R2 strategy is to be followed in the form of reintegration of militance and rehabilitation of militants. These mechanisms have proved to be successful in the reintegration of militants into society as responsible citizens. This mechanism is of utmost importance because the ideology and narratives of militant organizations could easily be eliminated through this strategy. Following were the legal and administrative measures taken by the government of KP to improve the security and strength of Counter-Terrorism forces in the region.⁹²

Political Support for Swat Operation

It is very important to know that harnessing political will is of utmost importance before dealing with security-related challenges. The Federal collision government laid by Pakistan peoples party fest this challenge in the wake of rising tide of terrorism in the province of KP.⁹³ They had not only to on the war against terrorism in Pakistan but at the same time, they have together public support for the operation by military forces of Pakistan as well.⁹⁴ The militants in the region of FATA and KP were enjoying image popular support in the wake-up

⁹²Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of Peshawar*: deutsche Gesellschaft fur internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

⁹³Rogers, Paul. *Global Security after the Waron Terror*. London: Oxford Research Group, 2009.

⁹⁴Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

global war on terror. However, a national-level consensus with the active participation of ANP against terrorism and militants was achieved in 2009 during the military operation of Swat. By the year 2009 when the military of Pakistan started their offensive strikes in the region of Swat, they enjoyed the Full support of the parliament of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan and the provincial government of KP launched a campaign based on information dissemination and increasing the Awareness of people to bring a Paradigm shift in the public opinion in the favor of the government of Pakistan and against militancy. Particularly, the media watchdog of Pakistan PEMRA released more than 50 notifications in which it prohibited media outlets from giving coverage to band terrorist organizations and those people who were having links to Taliban and other terrorist groups. At the same time, the media wing of the Pakistan military ISPR also launched a radio service in Swat 2 months before the start of operation.⁹⁵ At last, the Information Minister of Pakistan Qamar Zaman Kaira while addressing the audience of 10 National Defence universities said that the democratic government is working hard to build a conceptual alternative in the form of the narrative building to reach the audience by creating political and societal ownership of the operations related to counter extremism and counterterrorism. He outlines some of the steps taken by the government to counter the extremist and terrorist activities through daily media briefings, the establishment of communication centers, and live PTV transmission for the displaced people.⁹⁶ In addition to this, The Lodge TV replaced the games of internally displaced people so that they were sensitized about the situation of terrorism in the region. An official website in relation to this operation was also launched. The campaigns of public service messages were also introduced on nearly 50 TV channels 30 radio stations and more

⁹⁵HUSSAIN, SAFDAR HUSSAIN. *Pakistan's achievements in War on Terror but at what cost: A special review of the current decade*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS).

⁹⁶*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

than 200 regional and national Publications. At last engagement with University students trade unions intellectuals and Bar Council was also increased so that awareness about the counter terrorism efforts should be enhanced. Hence, all these measures contributed immensely to gathering the support of society for the greater National cause.⁹⁷

DE radicalization Programs Started by KP

The de-radicalization portfolio of the Counter-Terrorism mechanism of KP is not developed to a comprehensive level. Still with the presence of meager resources KP can develop radicalization and reintegration programs and centers. These de-radicalization and reintegration centers are being operated under the military in the province of KP. The center of rehabilitation in KP was started with the name of swat initiative so that detainees from Swat operation could easily be rehabilitated through three components. One was projected Sabayon. In this initiative the main focus was given to juveniles so that young children could be kept away from terrorist activities. The second one was known as project Mishaal. Under this project, the main focus was given to adult people. The last one projected sparely.⁹⁸ This initiative was taken so that family members of detained persons could get some relief. It is also important to note here that the rehabilitation mechanism was based on four modules. The first module was based on educational services so that formal education could be provided to the population with a prime focus on the juvenile. It was also made sure under this module that the education of children should be made sustainable for a longer period through different means. The second module was based on psychological intervention. Under this

⁹⁷Grare, Frédéric. *Rethinking Western Strategies Toward Pakistan an action agenda for the united states and europe*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, 2007.

⁹⁸White, Joshua T., and Shuja Ali Malik. *Governance Reforms in Pakistan's Tribal Areas: The Long Road to Nowhere?* United States Institute of Peace, 2012.

module, detainees were given counseling and therapy so that they can develop their Independence understanding of things and could easily use their logical thinking. The third module was based on the societal module which focused on resolving social issues and increasing participation in family matters. The Lost module which was based on the vocational training was of utmost importance. Under this model, people were given the training of repairing houses and appliances along with equipping Dayton with the skills so that they can afford a decent living in the society. Hands by the year 2011 it was witnessed that more than 400 Detainees were trained and strengthened through this module and they were reintegrated into the society successfully.⁹⁹

It is needless to admit here that the scope and effectiveness of these rehabilitation centers in Pakistan were limited. However, they continued to be an effective tool in transforming militants into law-abiding citizens of the country. As per the media reports, it was witnessed that another batch of more than a hundred militants was deradicalized by the which was led by the army of Pakistan under the name Sabawoon project. During to integration of these militants into the society, a ceremony was also held at Shah Kalas Levies Centre of Khyber district. Not only this but the certificates were also distributed by the Chief Minister of KP to deradicalized individuals. As per the details available to media outlets, this was the seventh batch of the deradicalized militants.¹⁰⁰ Under this program, militants were imparted with the knowledge of basic teachings of Islam, provided with basic schooling facilities, given psychological treatment, and most importantly they were also given the physiatrists treatment as well.¹⁰¹ At last, they were trained in doing different trades so that

⁹⁹Ahmed, Naeem. *Pakistan's Counter-terrorism strategy and its Implications for domestic, regional and international security*. Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2014.

¹⁰⁰Abbasi, Nadia Mushtaq. "Impact of terrorism on Pakistan."

¹⁰¹*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

they can easily earn and be peaceful citizens of the country. Hence, this mechanism was a step in the right direction which not only contributed to the elimination of terrorists, but it helped in uprooting the menace of terrorism from the society of KP and Pakistan.

Improving the security situation in KP

The security situation in KP improved after security forces conducted large and small-scale military operations against militant groups in tribal areas. The military operations in tribal areas could be categorized into two phases. When that operation was conducted before 2009. Others were conducted in 2009 after May. Before 2009 the military operations were on a small scale and they were usually followed by the peace agreements which did not last for long as militants always violated the terms of the agreement. However, when the law and order situation in the region of Swat and the area of Buner deteriorated, the military forces of Pakistan were forced to launch a major operation in the region of Swat. Later on, they took that operation to South Waziristan in October 2009.¹⁰² It was because the security situation in South Waziristan became a hotbed when militants took control of Saratoga Fort in South Waziristan. They also killed 7 personnel of the Pakistan army. As a result, the military was forced to launch a full-fledged operation against the hideouts of Bait-Ullah in Waziristan with the code name of Zarzuela (earthquake). The army was able to clear the area and begin to withdraw from the area soon after clearing it from terrorists and achieving victory against them. After that Army launched a military operation in Khyber agency with the code name of Sirat-e-Mustakim (right path). This region emerged as the main hotbed for sectarian conflict

¹⁰²Tellis, Ashley J. *Pakistan and the War on Terror: Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008.

and violence in Pakistan. On top of it, this region witnessed the rise in the militancy of the Taliban as well.¹⁰³

However, the military of Pakistan was not able to dislodge militance from this region, it could only broker a peace agreement between two rival groups which even could not last for a year. On top of it late by Hakimullah Mehsud also increased his influence in the agency. When Haji Namdar was killed in US Drone Strike, other groups were given free hand in the Khyber agency. At the same time, military forces also entered the region of Bajaur and launched military operations against the militants who were led by Fakir Mohammed and Ziaur Rahman. Both of these individuals were having close links with Al-Qaeda. These security forces of Pakistan were able to eliminate the sum of the militants from the region but complete eradication of militancy from the region was not achieved. This was due to a private and secret deal between Fakir Muhammad and military forces in which the former promised to not attract the military and civilians in the return for Amnesty by the security forces. Having done with this region, Army now moved to Mohmand agency to conduct additional security operations.¹⁰⁴

The rise of violence in the Mohmand agency was witnessed when a mosque in Lakaro was taken over by the militants. The military of Pakistan made a variety of peace deals with the elders of the region in which they vowed to not let militants safe havens in the region. They were made to promise that they would not provide support to local militants as well as foreign fighters. This peace deal collapsed after security forces found that militants who run from Bajaur in the wake of the military operation were provided sanctuaries in Mohmand.

¹⁰³Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of Peshawar*: deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

¹⁰⁴Ahmed, Naeem. *Pakistan's Counter-terrorism strategy and its Implications for domestic, regional and international security*. Paris: Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2014.

Hence, it led to another military operation in these areas and the area was cleared from the militants by the march of 2009. At last, Swat was the most important region where military operations were successfully launched. It was the district of the Malakand division. A beautiful tourist point that was considered the Switzerland of Pakistan became the hub of militancy when politically motivated Sufi Mohammad and Mullah Fazlullah launched militancy in the region.¹⁰⁵ They perpetrated violence in the name of implementing the Shariah. For dealing with the Swat Taliban, the military operation under the name Rah-e Haw was launched by the armed forces of Pakistan from 2007 to 2009. Hence, after the successful conduct of all these operations in FATA and PATA and other tribal regions of Pakistan, it was realized that the security situation of overall Pakistan was improved considerably and a decline in terrorist activities and suicide attacks was also witnessed.¹⁰⁶

To conclude, the record of counter-terrorism in Pakistan during the years 2008 to 2013 was phenomenal. Pakistan is among one of the leading countries which can write a successful story in their war against terrorism. As per the research of the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, the first efforts in the counterterrorism operations of Pakistan were directed against the tribe of Wazir which was a sub-clan of Dara Akakhel from the region of North Waziristan.¹⁰⁷ They were the first militants who openly refused to accept the writ of state of Pakistan and started challenging it through violent activities. They were held accountable along with the fighters from Al-Qaeda as early as 2003. This was followed by the operation

¹⁰⁵Siddique, Qandeel. *PAKISTAN'S FUTURE POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN A LOOK AT STRATEGIC DEPTH, MILITANT MOVEMENTS AND THE ROLE OF INDIA AND THE US*. Copenhagen: DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, 2011.

¹⁰⁶*Report on Afghanistan Post 2012*. Riport forum publications.

¹⁰⁷Tellis, Ashley J. *Pakistan and the War on Terror Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008.

in Wana. After this, different successful operations were launched in the region of Swat. After this, South Waziristan and North Waziristan were also cleared from the presence of the militants. Not only this, but other agencies of FATA like; Mohmand and Kurram agencies were also cleared off from the presence of militants as well. Contrary to this, it is important to mention here that Pakistan opted to join US-led Global War on Terror in the wake 9/11 attacks under very confusing circumstances. Initially, Pakistan only agreed to provide logistical and intelligence-sharing ports to the coalition forces. However, the situation soon got out of control for Pakistan and it was forced to do much more than its initial commitments. The main reason behind Pakistan joining the coalition forces and becoming the most allied non-NATO ally of America is the greater interests of the global community. It could not afford to live in isolation. The entire international community had joined hands to defeat the menace of global terrorism. However, the impacts which resulted in the wake of the Global War on Terror affected Pakistan more than any other country. It not only resulted in the death of armed personnel but more than 70 thousand innocent lives were lost. The loss to the economy according to some estimates was calculated at more than 150 billion dollars. The social fabric of society was destroyed as society was divided in the wake of military operations. More than 30 lakh people of FATA and PATA were internally displaced. On top of it, America and its allies were too adamant to recognize the sacrifices of Pakistan in Global War on Terror and kept on repeating the mantra of doing more for Pakistan. Despite this, Pakistan played a leading role in facilitating the Afghan Peace Process. It took a lot of measures to deradicalize its society. It also introduced the reforms at the madras's level. To increase the provincial jurisdiction and strengthen the writ of the state over FATA, Federally Administered Tribal Areas were integrated with KPT.¹⁰⁸ To the mainstream in the least developed areas of the region, education measures and poverty eradication measures were

¹⁰⁸"The U.S. War in Afghanistan 1999 – 2021." <https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-war-afghanistan>.

also introduced in the region. Hence, this is testimony to the fact that the role played by Pakistan in GWOT was most important, and the international community has recognized its sacrifices in fighting global terrorism.¹⁰⁹

The efforts made for building peace in KP by Awami National Party

Awami National Party was able to win over the government of KP from MMA. However, they were given the responsibility of government by the people of the province under unprecedented circumstances. It was a time when the province was witnessing the tide of terrorism and militancy. Although ANP as per its manifesto is a secular Pashtun nationalist party, it took both peaceful and forceful measures to achieve peace in the province. Firstly, it started negotiations with TTP in the hope of a peaceful end to conflict and militancy in the region. However, when it was realized that peaceful measures were considered a source of weakness for the government by the Taliban, it did not shy away from forceful measures to build peace in the region. This was in line with the political strategy of Bacha Khan during the time of the British Raj. Hence, the government of ANP could be summarized into the following phases amid the environment of terror in the province.¹¹⁰

In the first phase of the government led by the TTP, it initiated the efforts which were based on peace talks with TNSM and TTP. This phase of peace talks started soon after the ANP

¹⁰⁹Aziz, Khalid, and Helge Luras. *Swat: Main Causes of the Rise of Militancy*. Policy Brief, Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2010.

¹¹⁰Mirza, Adeel Mukhtar. "Pakistan Has Contributed Significantly to the Fight Against Terrorism." 2021. <https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/pakistan-has-contributed-significantly-to-the-fight-against-terrorism/>.

was given to the government of KP. This phase of peace-making through peaceful means lasted till the first month of 2009.¹¹¹

In the second phase of its governance, the government of ANP in the province came up with the Nizam-e-Adal Regulation (NAR). This instrument was introduced so that demands of TTP to enforce the Sharia Law in the region of Malakand could be catered to. This instrument which was known as NAR was also signed by the President of Pakistan Asif Zardari as well.

The third phase of ANP governance started when it was realized that peace is not being achieved in the Swat or Malakand Region. It was because TTP was adamant to expand to adjacent areas as well after the promulgation of NAR.

In the fourth phase of their governance, the ANP government was forced to demand military support to deal with the militants.¹¹²

At last, in the fifth phase of their decision-making, ANP patronized the local peace committees (LPCs) and encourage them to fight against insurgents at the grassroots level. This was leveraged with the help of the local population. Unfortunately, the ANP government also faced the brunt of this insurgency as their workers and leaders were increasingly targeted by TTP. As per the records of ANP, it was known that 700 workers of ANP were killed. However, the government of ANP kept on struggling to rehabilitate internally displaced persons. It also worked on rebuilding the damage and infrastructure. It also reconstructed the institution which was damaged in the wake of terrorism. Hence, the last phase of provincial government counter-insurgency (COIN) was put into place in 2012. However, ANP was in

¹¹¹Tellis, Ashley J. *Pakistan and the War on Terror Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2008.

exit mode as the general elections of 2012 were approaching and that strategy was never implemented.¹¹³

¹¹³Barth, Dr. Detlef. *The Governance Landscape of Peshawar*: deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) GmbH, 2011.

CHAPTER-4

Political and Economic Development in KP(2008-to 2013)

The provincial finances of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have made significant improvements and the reason behind it is mainly an increase in the revenue transfers in the form of arrears payments by the federal government. These arrear payments account for the profit from the hydroelectric plants and also through the NFC award which is compensation for the war on terrorism. This contribution has not only increased the federal revenue from seven to eight percent of provincial GDP to 11.3 percent in 2010-2011. Resultantly, a fiscal surplus was registered by the government of KP of 0.7 percent of provincial GDP in 2010-2011. This also accounted for 3.5 percent of provincial GDP over the five years from 2006-7 to 2010-2011.¹¹⁴ The expansion of fiscal space was mainly because of the revenue collections, savings from spending efficiency, and lastly the federal transfers that forced the provincial government to increase the development and present spending. In the case of structural rigidities and pension expenditures, the mix is considered more favourable. According to the KP government, significant resources have been consumed due to an increase in the pensions paid in the last two fiscal years.¹¹⁵ This has led to inadequate spending on maintenance and operation with adverse consequences for the maintenance of the assets. Therefore, to financially assist the development of the province an additional fiscal space is required. It is also recorded that the government expenditures of the KP government, which are financed through provincial revenues account for less than 2.1 percent and such expenditures are liable for changes in the federal tax policy and its collections. Furthermore, a provincial fiscal policy further exasperates such situations by giving little or no importance to the equity, incidence, or

¹¹⁴Siddique, Salman. "Budget in brief 2009." Finance Division, Islamabad, 2009.

¹¹⁵"KP Financial Statements 2008-09." Islamabad, 2010.

efficiency of taxes. KP is ruled by the tribal's and the government therefore it is known as the fragmented civil administration, the presence of different administrations and different rules that govern the place exists makes the tax structure complicated, and it becomes a hurdle in the expansion and development of economic activities. No effective measures are taken to increase the rate of tax collection and buoyant components of tax are mostly exempted.¹¹⁶ The development outcomes are further deteriorated because of the inefficiency of the expenditure management that are not able to foster linkages of inputs to outputs. The efficiency of budget making is further impacted by the artificial bifurcation of the present and development expenditures that effects the compartmentalization of budget formulation. There is considerably more focus on the inputs rather than the outputs and the wage expenditures also favour the existing labour force. The fiscal reform program of KP in 2001-02 was based on four pillars that included strengthening ex-ante and ex-post Public Financial Management (PFM) reforms, fiscal decentralization, enhancing resources and lastly instituting an out-put based accountability mechanism. The strategy emphasized the reforms based on the public finance that included; reprioritizing expenditures and improving the expenditure management, enhancing revenues, strengthening the bonds of fiscal decentralization, and lastly improving budget preparation.¹¹⁷ The help and support of the DFID in the last few years and an increased role of the government that is showing strong ownership of the process have led to an acceleration of the reforms. The most renowned initiatives by the P government include 'The Integrated Public Financial Management Reforms Strategy', Medium Term Budget Framework (MTBF), and District Output Based Budgeting (OBB).

¹¹⁶*KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2010-2017*. Planning and Development Department.

¹¹⁷"Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Population Welfare Budget and Expenditure Analysis (2008 - 09 to 2012 – 13)." Islamabad, 2013.

Revenue mobilization and enhancement of expenditure management are some of the steps that would be included in the next stage of reforms.

Development Budget

The largest share in the Provincial development budget is for civil works and this share continues to show a declining trend during the analysis of the four out of the five years. According to a report, the civil work share dropped from 94 percent to 69 percent from the year 2008-9 to 2011-12 but it settled in FY 2012-2013 at 72 percent. Whereas the share of Operating Expenses in the development budget saw a rise during the fiscal years of 2008-12 and also in the fiscal years of 2012-13 standing at 28 percent. With regards to the functional classification, 74 percent of the development budgetary accounts from the General Hospital and followed by the medical education that includes Professional, Technical, Universities contributing around 20 percent.¹¹⁸ The provincial health development budget is also showing a rise since the FY 2008-09. The allocations have also increased by 91 percent in FY 2012-13.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the highest increase was recorded in FY 2010-11 to a 52 percent share but the following year the allocation declined by 2 percent in FY 2011-12. To see the underlying reasons behind this drop, a detailed analysis was done of the provincial ADP that suggested that in the early years of FY 2008-09, new development schemes were introduced and undertaken, and thus more budget was allocated to them rather than completing the previous or the existing schemes. However, this also could not stay long, and soon the priority dropped in 2012-13 as the allocation share for new schemes declined. The decrease in the allocation

¹¹⁸*Reclaiming Prosperity in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa A Medium Term Strategy for Inclusive Growth.* International Growth Centre, 2015.

¹¹⁹*KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2010-2017.* Planning and Development Department.

was fifteen percent in FY 2012-13 from 23 percent in FY 2010-11. During the FY 2012-13, it was recorded that 89 schemes were ongoing and new in the province, where Peshawar had the largest number of schemes going on with ongoing schemes 14 and new schemes four. Followed by the Mardan which accounted for 7 ongoing schemes and it was also recorded that most schemes were self-financed and foreign aid programs remained at a very low or minimal level.¹²⁰

Health Budget

- ✓ The 7th National Finance Commission has been signed in Dec 2009.
- ✓ Divisible pool would increase 47.5% to 56%. Due to this increase 14.62% allocated for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- ✓ This increase has effected the significant increase in allocation for the health sector.
- ✓ The total provincial health budget (recurrent and development) has increased from Rs.8.4 billion in 2009/10 to Rs. 12.5 billion in 2010/11 i.e. an overall increase of 48%.
- ✓ The recurrent budget has increased from Rs.4 billion in 2009/10 to Rs.5.9 billion in 2010/11 (an increase of 47%) and the development budget has increased from Rs. 4.3billion to Rs. 6.6 billion in 2010/11 (an increase of 53%).

Medium Term Budgetary Framework (MTBF) / Output –based

The Health Department is emphasizing the development of the Medium Term Budgetary Framework (MTBF) undertaken by the Province as part of the public finance reform since 2009-10. A budget has been estimated for approximately three years and the department is involved in developing a set of outcomes that would focus on the related outputs. It is also

¹²⁰“KP Financial Statements 2008-09.” Islamabad, 2010.

said that the MTBF estimates are organized in such a manner that the separate books or publications provide information concerning the three-year budget estimates regarding the ongoing or the development projects. It will certainly take a while for the system to fully switch to MTBF budgeting as at present the department operates under the annual budgeting system. Furthermore, the finance department issues an annual budget call circular (BCC) which acts as a helping hand for the basis of preparation of budget estimates every year. Moreover, the OBB reforms have also continued in some selected districts such as DI Khan, and Buner areas of the province where the budgets are prepared on MTBF or OBB mode¹²¹

18th Constitutional Amendment

The eighteenth amendment emphasized the restoration of the parliament's character by laying grounds for the amendment of the constitution and also resolving various other emerging issues. These issues included the appointment of the judges, strengthening of the certain key constitutional offices, and renaming of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). The amendment was categorized into five compartments for the sake of convenience, strengthening of the key institutions, federation-provinces relations, appointment of the judges, and restoration of the parliamentary form of the government miscellaneous.¹²²

Strengthening Key Institutions

The Auditor General of Pakistan and the Election Commission of Pakistan are the two most renowned and important institutions of Pakistan and the eighteenth amendment has greatly

¹²¹"Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Population Welfare Budget and Expenditure Analysis (2008 - 09 to 2012 – 13)." Islamabad, 2013.

¹²²"18th Amendment: Implications for Provincial Autonomy and Governance." *Centre for Public Policy and Governance*. <http://cppg.fccollege.edu.pk/18th-amendment-implications-for-provincial-autonomy-and-governance/>.

strengthened these two institutions. In the previous times, the term of the auditor-general was decided by the Parliament through an act whereas now the general auditor has term has been fixed to four years under the article 168 and other terms and conditions of his service are to be decided by the Parliament. Moreover, under article 168 (6) the President must appoint the most senior officer for the post of the auditor-general as the Auditor-General of Pakistan.¹²³

The eighteenth constitutional amendment is considered a milestone in Pakistan's history ever since its adoption in 2010 as it is considered an epitome of democracy, federalism, provincial autonomy, and civilian supremacy. It is also a fact 1956, 1972 and 1973 constitutions laid grounds for a federal structure where mostly the powers resided with the central government, and with the adoption of the eighteenth amendment, the provincial autonomy has gained power and established a balance in the center-province relationship. This amendment has not only brought a positive impact on the perception of the society about democracy but also affected the state structure. The eighteenth amendment is more famously known as the democratic consolidation in Pakistan and also has paved the way for a normative and perceptual development of political elites as well as the general public who have accepted the democratic process as a normal part of life.¹²⁴

The 18th Amendment and Pakistan's Political Transitions

America's interest in Pakistan is quite visible because of the major reasons. The very first is Pakistan being a nuclear state and the other which attracts America is Pakistan's offensives against the militants residing on its north-west border with Afghanistan. Moreover, the most important factor is the political structure of the state that shapes the actions of Pakistan's

¹²³"18th amendment ensured provincial rights: ANP." *International The News*. 20 April 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/951788-18th-amendment-ensured-provincial-rights-anp>.

¹²⁴"ANP leader warns govt against changing 18th Amendment." *International The News*. 26 Feb 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/936826-anp-leader-warns-govt-against-changing-18th-amendment>.

leaders and the stability of the state as it is threatened with the various crises of economic, security, and internal political legitimacy. Together these crises can destabilize the entire region and impact the nuclear-powered state. Furthermore, it challenges Pakistan's government to choose deals that would facilitate U.S national security.¹²⁵

Furthermore, a new political consensus has been institutionalized with the help of the eighteenth amendment passage by the parliament of Pakistan on the state's legal and political framework. The eighteenth amendment in the constitution gives a wider and greater autonomy to the parliament, prime minister, judiciary, and provincial governments. Before this amendment, there were always tensions and rifts between the federal and the provincial balance of powers that led to the tensions between the central and the provincial governments. Moreover, there were issues in the distribution of authority in the provinces and revenues. Several leading political parties demanded and struggled long for the increased autonomy in the provinces and the eighteenth amendment gave them that step through which they could resolve some of their issues by strengthening the role of the Council on Common Interests, a joint federal-provincial forum with the help of devolution of authority.¹²⁶

During the time of the Government of ANP national party in KP, the budget allocation for the population welfare also increased. Later, a detailed analysis also took place in order to compare the budgets prepared under the MTBF/OBB mode and the actual budget allocation. It was recorded that in the current budget allocation the forecast was 44 percent in 2012-13 and 37 percent in 2014-14.

¹²⁵Cookman, Colin. "The 18th Amendment and Pakistan's Political Transitions." 19 April 2010. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-18th-amendment-and-pakistans-political-transitions/>.

¹²⁶Hussain, Zahid. "Debating 18th Amendment." 6 Feb 2009. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1462145>.

As the development budget is concerned, there was a growth of 150% seen in the budgetary allocation in the domain of health at the provincial level. As per the provincial National financial commission award, the budgetary allocation was also transferred to district levels. A new local government act was also passed by the provincial assembly during the Regime of ANP.¹²⁷

The budget allocation by the provincial government also included some projects and schemes like the construction of basic health units and regional Health Care Centers along with the construction of the Civil dispensaries. It was also made part of the budget that talks headquarters offices should also be reconstructed to meet the demand of the population. It was also seen in the trend of budgetary allocation that the salary budgeting head witnessed exponential growth while the budget related to non-salary was reduced. At last, it is important to mention here that the budgetary allocation for the subsidies and grants was increased substantially to more than the percentage of 800.¹²⁸

18th Amendment and political Transition

18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan plays an important role in its political history. This amendment was unanimously passed by the parliament of Pakistan which shows the political consensus on the devolution of power from the Federation to the provincial level was institutionalized. This amendment gives greater autonomy to the provinces of Pakistan which were mentioned in the Lahore Resolution of 1940. This amendment was passed to resolve the ever persisting conflict and the rift between the federal and provincial

¹²⁷Rana, Muhammad Ahsan. "Decentralization Experience in Pakistan: The 18th Constitutional Amendment." *Asian Journal of Management Cases* 17, no. 1 (2020): 61-84.

¹²⁸Zaman, Dr.Asad. *Implimentation of 18th Constitutional Amendment*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of development Economics.

governments. It was passed so that balance of power between central and provincial governments could be achieved. Before the 18th amendment, many political parties of Pakistan were demanding greater autonomy for provinces. This amendment gave them a framework to resolve the outstanding issues between the Federation of Pakistan and the provincial governments of the country. One of the most important platforms for the resolution of the conflict was the strengthening of the role of the Council of common interest.¹²⁹ It is defined as a joint platform for Federal and provincial governments to resolve the conflict through the help of devolution of authority. Some of the main components of the 18th amendment are given below:

18th amendment resulted in the abolishment of the concurrent list of power in the constitution through which both Federal and provincial governments were eligible to make legislation. However in the wake of any dispute between any province and the Federation of Pakistan the legislation of letter would prevail. Under this amendment, the Federal government was given immense power to legislate in more than 40 areas because they were devolved to the jurisdiction of the provincial government. Some of the areas in which provincial government could legislate were educational curriculum marriage contracts fire on position and environmental pollution. So each provincial government was responsible for drafting the laws on relevant issues.¹³⁰ Along with the passing of the 18th amendment to the constitution another important development was changed to the Future National finance commission agreement. Under this Commission the distribution of national revenues among the central government and its federating units cannot be reduced beyond that was given in the previous

¹²⁹“18th amendment ensured provincial rights: ANP.” *International The News*. 20 April 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/951788-18th-amendment-ensured-provincial-rights-anp>.

¹³⁰“18th amendment ensured provincial rights: ANP.” *International The News*. 20 April 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/951788-18th-amendment-ensured-provincial-rights-anp>

agreement. It means Central Government cannot reduce the share of problems no matter what. This mechanism was also enshrined in article 160 of the constitution of Pakistan.

Furthermore, the name of Northwest Frontier Province was changed to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa through the passing of the 18th amendment. Before this amendment, the name Changing of this province was a long-held demand of its population. It also resulted in many clashes previously which often turned violent. It was also the main demand of ANP from the Federal government. It was because all other dominant ethnic groups were drying their names of provinces from their ethnicity. KP was the only province whose name was not in line with the name of their ethnicity.¹³¹

Two Important political parties of Pakistan which are Pakistan Muslim League N and Pakistan Muslim League Q did not want the change of this name. On top of it Hazara division also resist the first for changing the name of the province. When the name of the province eventually changed the people of the Hazara division demanded a separate province for themselves. 18th amendment is a potential incentive for political parties at the local level to support the creation of more provinces in the country. However, the efforts to strengthen provincialism in the country are always countered by the military establishment in Pakistan. The debate over the 18th amendment persist in the political corridors of Pakistan and create a divide between the supporter of a strong center and those in the favour of a federal system. The defeat of Rolling back of 18th amendment always persists and sometimes is exaggerated by the political parties of Pakistan to win over the support in their respective provinces.¹³²

¹³¹“18th Amendment: Implications for Provincial Autonomy and Governance.” *Centre for Public Policy and Governance*. <http://cppg.fccollege.edu.pk/18th-amendment-implications-for-provincial-autonomy-and-governance/>.

¹³²“ANP leader warns govt against changing 18th Amendment.” *International The News*. 26 Feb 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/936826-anp-leader-warns-govt-against-changing-18th-amendment>.

However, there is increasing understanding among the establishment of Pakistan that this amendment has caused the weakening of the state of Pakistan and the current financial term oil in Pakistan is because of this amendment. Contrary to this 18th amendment is the source of Greater autonomy for the provinces to take strong legislative and financial measures. Also, there are some problems with coordination between the province and center. In reality, this 18th amendment has been able to resolve the fraction between Central Government and provinces once and for all.¹³³ It has helped to resolve the problem of the distribution of resources among provinces. However, it is very unfortunate that those political parties that are championing the rights of devolution of power or not able to devolve power to the grassroots level. The provincial governments are found to be reluctant in conducting the local bodies' elections. Even if elections are conducted the true power to the local representative or not devolved by putting some financial constraints on them. Contrary to this the skeptics of the 18th amendment are of the view that this amendment has not late to the strong federal system of Pakistan but it has laid to the confederal structure which has weekend the authority of the Central Government.¹³⁴ This view is useless because the Central government still has greater autonomy and power to make legislation in important domains like finance and security. It should be considered as a source of strength for the Federal government instead of a remedy for its weakness. As per the demands of the Awami National Party, the presidential system or unitary system in Pakistan is of no use and cannot solve the political and financial problems of the country. History is witness to the fake that strong men in Pakistan or not able

¹³³Cookman, Colin. "The 18th Amendment and Pakistan's Political Transitions." 19 April 2010. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-18th-amendment-and-pakistans-political-transitions/>.

¹³⁴Hussain, Zahid. "Debating 18th Amendment." 6 Feb 2009. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1462145>.

to achieve long-term political and financial stability in the country. It is evident from the fact that repeated military regions in Pakistan have not been able to tonight country as one Nation in the state they have created more divisions in the country. Therefore federalism in Pakistan needs time because it provides a greater dynamism to the system. The provincial governments are more sensitized to the real problems of local communities and they can effectively provide Public Service Delivery as per the requirements and demands of the people.¹³⁵

It is also important to mention here that the 18th amendment has achieved remarkable feet through the restructuring of the national finance commission award. Under this award, the share of financial resources for the provinces was increased to 57%. This amendment also gave them control of mineral resources in their respective provinces. It ended the allegations that the Central Government was involved in the exploitation of mineral resources of similar provinces.¹³⁶

Contrary to this, some people are involved in the skepticism of the 18th amendment and they claim the transfer of a large part of physical resources to provinces has Limited the space in the matters of finance for the Federal government. The Federal government is responsible for defense expenditure and debt servicing. These two or biggest domains were huge chunks of the financial resources of the Federal government or utilized. In reality, even after spending on Defence and servicing of debt Federal government is left with enough financial resources. It is true that the financial position and economic condition of Pakistan are Geo Paradise but blaming the 18th amendment for these would be like doing injustice to the constitution of

¹³⁵Rana, Muhammad Ahsan. "Decentralization Experience in Pakistan: The 18th Constitutional Amendment." *Asian Journal of Management Cases* 17, no. 1 (2020): 61-84.

¹³⁶Zaman, Dr.Asad. *Implimentation of 18th Constitutional Amendment*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of development Economics.

Pakistan. No doubt economic development is a very important pillar of national security but one should also realize that the continuation of the process of democracy is equal to economic development. It is because political instability in a country can lead to economic stagnation no matter how strong a country's economy is. 18th amendment is like new constitutional software for Pakistan. 18th amendment of Pakistan resulted in the amendments of 34 articles related to the autonomy of provinces. It was not shot of a new contract between Federal and provincial governments in which new rules for the legislative administrative and fiscal reforms were introduced.¹³⁷

It is also important to mention here that the 18th amendment also introduced the unique concept of institutionalized power. Under this mechanism, it was ensured that the main authority to select the number of ministers, ensure that the Council of common interest and national economic Council release their annual reports, and reviewing of the candidates for the appointment as judges should be done by the Parliament, not by the president or prime minister. In addition to this Election Commission could not exist in the absence of Parliament and other problems like the selection of a caretaker government and other new Commission such as the National Commission on the status of women and the national commission for human rights must also be formulated through the due process of the parliament of Pakistan.

18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan had not only empowered the provinces but it has given them a voice as per the constitution.¹³⁸ At last, one of the most important articles 140 A, has instructed the provincial governments to the establishment of local governments

¹³⁷“18th amendment ensured provincial rights: ANP.” *International The News*. 20 April 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/951788-18th-amendment-ensured-provincial-rights-anp>.

¹³⁸“18th Amendment: Implications for Provincial Autonomy and Governance.” *Centre for Public Policy and Governance*. <http://cppg.fccollege.edu.pk/18th-amendment-implications-for-provincial-autonomy-and-governance/>.

in their respective provinces and to ensure fundamental rights such as the right to education Right to Information, and the right to a fair trial.¹³⁹

The consolidation on the basis of democracy is very important for institutionalizing democracy in any country. It is based on subsystemic institutionalization through the introduction of constitutional and structural reforms which are in line with democracy. There is also another Reform based on sociological institutionalization under which norms are built and perceptions are created at the individual level so that individual skin consider democracy a normal and natural process. This is what was being achieved through the passing of the 18th amendment. This amendment has resulted in the consolidation of democracy in Pakistan in a realistic manner. It is evident from the fact that since the passing of the 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan, witnessed electoral democracy and three consecutive general elections.

It is also important to mention here that the coalition government led by Pakistan People's Party introduced three tools to ensure greater autonomy for the provinces. Firstly, the political consensus was developed over the introduction of the 7th National Financial Commission Award. It resulted not only in the increase of the share of provinces from the financial resources but also introduced a multi-sectoral formula for the distribution of the resources. It also introduced an increase in premiums for the provinces. To explain, the inverse population density was one of the criteria for the provinces to get the premiums. For instance, KP was given a premium of 1 percent for the losses in the conflict during the counterterrorism and counterinsurgency operations. Another greater premium was given to

¹³⁹"ANP leader warns govt against changing 18th Amendment." *International The News*. 26 Feb 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/936826-anp-leader-warns-govt-against-changing-18th-amendment>.

Balochistan in the form of Aghaz-e-Hukooe Balochistan.¹⁴⁰ At last, two important parliamentary committees were formed in the wake of the 18th Amendment to the constitution of Pakistan. The first one was the Parliamentary committee on national Security and another was the parliamentary committee for the reforms related to the constitution. Hence, both of these committees were formulated in the light of the Charter of Democracy. However, Pakistan has not been able to achieve the level of liberal or advanced democracy. It requires the transformation to the next level. To achieve this level of democracy, provincial governments are required to build their capacities to become more efficient. Not only this, the problem of lack of political will and practices related to corruption at the central and provincial levels are needed to be resolved. Apart from this, the central government should not be reluctant in giving their due share to the federating units of Pakistan. The efforts should be made to resolve the issue of bad governance which is leading to poor law and order situation in the country. For instance, when ANP got the government of KP province, it was facing a lot of problems related to miss governance in the country.¹⁴¹ This bad governance was one of the main reasons that insurgency and militancy took root in this province. Another important reason which is the main bottleneck in the transition of Pakistan from electoral democracy to liberal democracy is the negative role of extra-political actors in the politics of Pakistan. If local governments' elections are conducted effectively Pakistan can easily achieve this transition from electoral democracy to liberal democracy. It is because accountability, effectiveness, and responsiveness of governance institutions can increase if

¹⁴⁰Cookman, Colin. "The 18th Amendment and Pakistan's Political Transitions." 19 April 2010. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-18th-amendment-and-pakistans-political-transitions/>.

¹⁴¹Hussain, Zahid. "Debating 18th Amendment." 6 Feb 2009. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1462145>.

grassroots politics is strengthened in the country.¹⁴² Not only this, local politics will become an effective platform for training the new slot of politicians in Pakistan which would be more relevant to the problems of the population at the local level. However, the conduct of local government elections is a matter of the provincial government. On top of it, these elections could not be conducted unless the election commission of Pakistan does a comprehensive delimitation of the constituencies in line with the rules and laws.¹⁴³ At the same time, delimitation of constituencies cannot occur until the center releases the complete data of the census of 2017. The federal government is reluctant to release the complete official data because most of the political parties have challenged the results of the census of 2018 and are not ready to accept them. They are demanding a one percent audit of the census of 2017. As a result, local governments are the most important institutions for developing democracy as a norm in the political systems. It can help in imparting democratic values to the population at the local level. If local governments are not installed, the sociological institutionalization of democracy could not be achieved.¹⁴⁴ Therefore center should make necessary arrangements through which the election commission of Pakistan can conduct elections at the local level. At last, ANP is a strong supporter of the strengthening of the local government because it is very essential for the democratic consolidation in the country. It makes individuals develop interests and stake in the electoral process. It is the main logic behind the devolution of power for which the 18th amendment was passed in the first place. As a result, democracy in

¹⁴²Rana, Muhammad Ahsan. "Decentralization Experience in Pakistan: The 18th Constitutional Amendment." *Asian Journal of Management Cases* 17, no. 1 (2020): 61-84.

¹⁴³Zaman, Dr.Asad. *Implimentation of 18th Constitutional Amendment*. Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of development Economics.

¹⁴⁴"18th amendment ensured provincial rights: ANP." *International The News*. 20 April 2022. <https://www.thenews.com.pk/print/951788-18th-amendment-ensured-provincial-rights-anp>.

Pakistan and the province of KP can flourish. However, democracy in the past two years has faced the problem of stagnation in the wake lack of provincial governments to conduct local bodies elections. This process of stagnation is known as democratic erosion in the terminology of political science. At last, the process of democratic erosion from Pakistan and the province of KP could be stopped with the active role being played by ANP and other democratic parties of Pakistan. Not only this, it is very necessary for the political parties of Pakistan to rebuild the confidence of people in the democratic institutions of Pakistan. Both normative and structural institutions should be developed and made relevant in the eyes of people. It would not only help in the strengthening of the 18th amendment but provincial autonomy and democracy as well. Pakistan has a great potential to transform its electoral democracy into a more advanced liberal democracy with the strong will and determination of all the political actors. Hence, there is a need for active participation of all political actors involved in the democratic process and they should also not compromise on any democratic principles, instead, they should continue to make efforts the strengthen the democratic norms and values to achieve the consolidation of democracy in Pakistan in a true manner.¹⁴⁵

National Finance Commission NFC

To conclude, the history of distribution of revenue between the Center and Provinces in the subcontinent dates back to the Government of India Act 1935. Pakistan came into existence on 14th August 1947. After the creation of the country, the first award for the distribution of revenue was announced in 1952 popularly known as the Raismen award. It distributed the revenue between the center and provinces of the federation of Pakistan. The third constitution

¹⁴⁵Cookman, Colin. "The 18th Amendment and Pakistan's Political Transitions." 19 April 2010. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/the-18th-amendment-and-pakistans-political-transitions/>.

of Pakistan was passed in 1973 and was effected on 14th August 1974. Article 160 (1) of the constitution of the country provides for the establishment of the National Finance Commission (NFC). Article 160 (2) of the Constitution of Pakistan provides the statement as it must be the duty of the national finance commission to make recommendation to the president as to:

1. The net distribution between provinces and the federal will proceed the taxes that have been mentioned in constitutions clause 3
2. The formulation of grants-in-aid for provincial government by the federal
3. The exercise of borrowing powers by both federal and provincial governments must be conversed the Pakistan's constitution
4. And any finance related matter must be referred by president to the commission

After the 1973 constitution enforcement 7 NFC awards has been announced in which the first was announced in 1975 while the 7th and last one was announced and signed on 30th December 2009 while the recommendations get legal cover with enforcement from July 1st 2010.¹⁴⁶The legal cover with effect was given through the president's order no 5 of 2010. It was distribution of revenues and grant in aid order, 2010.

Article 160 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan authorizes the President of Pakistan to approve the distribution of revenues between the federation and the provinces through an Order (the NFC Award), on the recommendation of the National Finance

¹⁴⁶Aziz, Khalid. "Important Features of 7th NFC Award and 18th Amendment." *The Pakistan Development Review* (Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad) 49, no. 4 (2010): 537-542.

Commission (NFC). The 7th NFC award was signed in 2009 and it was done by the President's order no.5 of 2010.¹⁴⁷

Clause 3(B) of Article 160 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan provides as follows:

“Federal Finance Minister and Provincial Finance Ministers shall monitor the implementation of the Award biannually and lay their report before both Houses of Majalis-e-Shoora (Parliament) and the Provincial Assemblies”.

Since the provinces were assigned the duty of providing basic services to the people such as education, water supply, health, and sanitation the Federal government recognized the need of more extensive share of provinces in the divisible pool taxes.¹⁴⁸

1. **Divisible Pool Taxes:** It was proposed to increase the size of divisible pool taxes that will be in greater interest of national solidarity and harmony among provinces. In order to achieve this objective, federal government is responsible to make efforts to generate and increase tax revenue as well as tit will be increased with reduction on collection charges from five to one percent.
2. **Sales Tax on Services: National Finance Commission also** NFC acknowledged that according to the constitution's provisions it is a provincial matter to collect the sale

¹⁴⁷“Centre slashed KP's share in budget: ANP.” 13 June 2021.
<https://www.dawn.com/news/1629011>.

¹⁴⁸Hashmi, Rehana Saeed, and Aroosa Fatima. “National Finance Commission Awards: A Challenge to CenterProvince Relations in Pakistan.” *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 33, no. 2 (2020).

tax on different services and therefore it must be collected by respective province if desire.

3. **War on Terror:** There is no denying fact that NWFP fought as front line state against terrorism in war on terror and their efforts were acknowledged by the all four provinces as well as the federal government of Pakistan. In response to their efforts, the federal government accepted its commitment of bearing the expenses caused by war on terror. It was the reason that additional 1% of total divisional pool taxes was awarded to NWFP and a gesture of support was shown by all the provinces and the federal government. This additional share given as resource of War on Terror during award time is equivalent to 1.83% of the provincial pool and it is acknowledged by all.¹⁴⁹
4. **Vertical Distribution: there will be an increase in provincial share of the Divisible Pool Taxes to 56% from 47.5% to 56% in first year of award and 57.7% increase will be achieved in the rest of the years of NFC award.**
5. **Horizontal Distribution:** The discussions were made on the horizontal distributions of the divisible pool taxes in which the chief ministers of all four provinces participated actively and the discussion was held for accommodation and friendliness or harmony among the provinces.¹⁵⁰

It was demanded by all provinces except Punjab that the divisible pool taxes must be distributed considering the multiple indicators and in this discussion this long standing demand of the three provinces which are Balochistan, Sindh, and NWFP has been accepted

¹⁴⁹Javed, Sajid Amin, and Vaqar Ahmed. "NFC Award: Devising formula for horizontal distribution."

¹⁵⁰"NATIONAL FINANCE COMMISSION - NFC." <https://finance.gos.pk/ResourceDistribution/NFC>.

by all. However, the Punjab government has also not denied this demand and NFC showed its gratitude to the Punjab government for showing such maturity and Grace in accepting the demand of rest of three provinces.

The new formula that has been made after the discussion contain following characteristics:

1. Both the federation and three provinces NWFP, Punjab, and Sindh accepted the fact that Balochistan needs special support and therefore it must be provided by Rs. 83 billion to Balochistan. It is 9.09% when considered with the provincial pool. It was decided that this share will be given to the province in first year of the award. However, in case of any shortage in the decided amount will be arranged and met by the federal government resources. Furthermore, this decision for Balochistan will be protected in remaining years of the Award.¹⁵¹
2. The additional transfer of six billion rupees will be given to Sindh by federal government that is equals to 0.66% of the total provincial pool.¹⁵²
3. Moreover, several indicators and The multiple indicators and their weighs agreed are as follows:
 - a. Firstly, the percentage of population agreed upon is 82.0%
 - b. 10.3% is considered for the poverty or backwardness
 - c. 5.0% is agreed for the revenue generation/collection
 - d. 2.7% for Inverse Population Density (IPD)

iv. After the acceptance of providing special need to the Baluchistan and the aforementioned indicators, the final share percentage of the provinces decide is mentioned in table below:

¹⁵¹"NFC award." 2020. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1556975>.

¹⁵²*Report of the National Finance Commission 2009*. Government of Pakistan National Finance Commission Secretariat, 2009.

Province	Share (% age)
Punjab	51.74
Sindh	24.55
NWFP	14.62
Balochistan	9.09

The provinces as well as federation showed urge and effective participation for joint an agreement on vertical and horizontal distribution of resources for the 7th NFC Award.

The concern has been raised by Awami National party on delay of 10th NFC award to be in effect and therefore they demanded the federal government to release their province due financial share as early as possible. The provincial general secretary of ANP, Hussain Babak alleged federal government of exploiting and cutting down the KP's share in federal budget. He also demanded to stop doing unjust acts within provinces and let everyone has its due financial share. He argued that delay in execution of NFC award and issuance of every province share is violation of constitution. It was highlighted by him that KP will suffer a lot and it will be in worst situation if the delay will pursue by the federal government and the fund are not released on earliest basis. It has been highlighted that federal government is opting the delaying tactics because the clearance of dues have not mentioned even in the budget by the federation.¹⁵³ He continued and criticized PTI (Pakistan Tehrik-i-Insaf) lawmakers who are not highlighting the problem as well as not raising their voices against the unjust behaviour in KP. He openly said that MNAs will no longer face the voters if they will

¹⁵³TAHIR, DR PERVEZ, and DR NADIA TAHIR. "Implications of the 18th Constitutional Amendment for National Planning and Economic Coordination."

not speak up for the rights of their province.¹⁵⁴ He said it seemed as if the launching of public welfare schemes was not the government's priority as no plan had been announced for the welfare of the poor. The ANP leader said his party was fully determined to raise its voice against the injustices at all available forums. He urged Pakhtuns to join hands for realizing their due rights.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴Aziz, Khalid. "Important Features of 7th NFC Award and 18th Amendment." *The Pakistan Development Review* (Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad) 49, no. 4 (2010): 537-542.

¹⁵⁵*Report of the National Finance Commission 2009*. Government of Pakistan National Finance Commission Secretariat, 2009.

CHAPTER-5

Developmental Policies of ANP in Social Services Sector(2008-13)

The country was in grip of a tough time when power was captured by the Awami National Party (ANP). Following the 2008 elections, ANP was successful in making government in KP. Apart from militancy in the country, the ANP leadership was itself facing security threats from militants but it stood strong and completed its five years tenure. The government of ANP with its coalition partner Pakistan People's Party (PPP) was far better than the governments in Sindh and Balochistan.¹⁵⁶

Since its inception, it was for the first time ANP came to power in KP in 2008. Throughout its tenure, it has taken various developmental steps for improving the infrastructure, health sector, education sector, and law and order situation in KP. It has successfully renamed the province of NWFP Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) but it is also to be noted that apart from the developmental steps taken by ANP, there were people who complains about deteriorated law and order and corruption.¹⁵⁷

Adequate steps have been taken by ANP for communication improvement and infrastructure development. Under the developmental plans, ANP has established various educational institutions in Mardan, Swabi, Chitral, Karak and Malakand. The introduction of the Naway Sahar Laptop Scheme had attracted the masses when its tenure was going to complete.

Mardan, the Hoti's hometown along with the adjoining districts remained the main focus of ANP for developmental policies. Moreover, it also took tremendous steps for making 20

¹⁵⁶Ali, Dr. Ashraf. *INTERPRETING 'THE CHANGE' Perceptions versus Reality A Research Study on Performance of the KP Government October 2013 – April 2014*. Islamabad: FATA Research Center (FRC), 2014.

¹⁵⁷—. "Launching of Bacha Khan Rozgar Scheme on February 9." *Business Recorder*. 9 feb 2009. <https://fp.brecorder.com/2011/02/201102081152965/>.

small dams in KP. The profit that it received from hydropower has been invested in developmental projects in KP.

As far as a security issue is concerned, the law and order in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas were destructed but were under control in other regions of the province particularly Malakand during the ANP tenure.¹⁵⁸

Developmental Policies in the field of Education:

ANP has initiated tremendous reforms in the education sector. The Ministry of Elementary and Secondary Education 2008 took some great initiatives for the well-being of the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Work started on the curriculum reforms at the very beginning of his ministerial responsibilities. The basic aim of the reforms was to make it up to date, the inclusion of regional languages and a language authority was also established for the five regional languages and their curriculum. Under the leadership of Mr. Babak, a new service structure was made for the teachers of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Management and Teaching cadres were also made into separate categories. From 2008-to 13, the Ministry of Education established libraries in high and higher secondary schools across the province. The provision of sports facilities to the educational institutions was another milestone that which Ministry of Education achieved during this tenure. The conceptual based training efforts have made for the teachers and seventy percent of budget was allocated for the female education.¹⁵⁹ Considering the increased dropout ratio, “Rokhana Pakhtunkhwa” scheme was introduced that is scholarship scheme and it is initiated by collaborating with the private

¹⁵⁸Ali, Manzoor. “Analysis: Recounting ANP’s eventful tenure.” *The Express Tribune*. 20 March 2013. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/523941/analysis-recounting-anps-eventful-tenure>.

¹⁵⁹Zuberi, M.A. “ANP-led KP government recounts big achievements in education sector.” *Business Recorder*. 2012. <https://fp.brecorder.com/2012/12/201212261272744/>.

schools. Under the mentioned scheme, students of higher grades were enrolled in Private schools in those areas where the Govt schools weren't available. The Ministry of education also established University campuses and Professional institutes in a record number that wasn't seen in the history of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Under the leadership of Sardar Hussain Babak, schools were reconstructed in the military hit areas.¹⁶⁰

Institutional Structure of Education

Under the ANP government, tremendous educational reforms took place in KP. 18th constitutional amendment focused on education apart from its other significant consequences. Article 25-A has been inserted in the constitution which opted for free compulsory education for the children age range of 5 to 16 years. Free and compulsory education has to be provided by the state which is the fundamental right of citizens under the law. It was a step carried out to achieve MDGs. It increased the education budget that further improved the educational structure in KP.¹⁶¹

Impact of 18TH Amendment on Education Sector in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

The 18th Amendment is a landmark in the history of constitutional development in Pakistan as 98 articles and two schedules have been affected by it that have wide-ranging implications. Under this amendment, the focus was on people's satisfaction with adequate service

¹⁶⁰Ali, Zulfiqar. "District profile: Party aspirations vs voters' aspirations in Mardan." *DAWN*. 17 July 2018. <https://www.dawn.com/news/1420580/district-profile-party-aspirations-vs-voters-aspirations-in-mardan>.

¹⁶¹Mustafa, Ghulam. *Education Policy Analysis Report of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*.

delivery.¹⁶² The responsibilities of the departments were increased that were in weak positions. This gave rise to various challenges. In this way, the province was made obligatory to perform its functions within the limited fiscal source and not to receive additional resources in the short term. Thus the induction of new responsibilities resulted in a financial burden that in turn affected fiscal development.¹⁶³

Frameworks for Education Sector

As the 18th amendment provided for provincial autonomy and shifted authority to the provinces in service delivery, in this way provinces were able to decide the policies including educational policies. Although the provinces were involved in the education policies process before policies were framed by the federal government but now during ANP tenure, Provinces were made authorized to frame educational policies for themselves. This resulted in the independence of KP in the education sector.

Earlier there were restrictions on the education sector. Although it was a provincial subject policies were framed by the federal government. The federal was dominant in curriculum and standards-setting and training but after the eighteenth amendment, the provincial government in practice took charge of the educational sector and began to formulate policies aafor reforms in education.

¹⁶²KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY 2010-2017. Planning and Development Department.

¹⁶³Khan, Shakeel, Muhammad Hashim Khan, and Dur-e- Nayab Gul. "Comparative Analysis of Education Policy Reforms of Khyber Pakhtunkhuwa (KP) Pakistan since 2008-18." *Review of Education, Administration and Law (REAL)* 3, no. 2 (2020): 165-174.

18th Amendment regarding free and compulsory education

The most important achievement of ANP during its tenure was that children of age 5-16 years were entitled to get free and compulsory education up to the secondary level. Article 25 A was inserted for providing free and compulsory education and under article 37 (b) illiteracy was removed and secondary education was made free and compulsory within the minimum possible period.

After the 18th amendment, the functions of Policy & Planning, Curriculum, Syllabus, and Standard of Education were assigned to Provincial Education Department. This resulted in the department facing challenges including the development of curriculum, implementation of Article 25A, grounds for new legislation regarding educational needs, and Textbook Board of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁶⁴

Education Development Priorities and Plans During ANP Tenure

During ANP's tenure, various developments took place in the KP education sector. The following steps were taken in this regard.

Improvement of Access to Education: Education was made available to all. In this way, 525 primary schools are established of which 50% are for girls. 1700 classrooms were constructed in the existing schools. Schools were upgraded to higher levels. For instance, 220 schools to the middle level from the primary level, and 313 schools were given the status of high schools from the middle level.¹⁶⁵ More than 75 Secondary schools were reconstructed.

¹⁶⁴Babak, Sardar Hussain. "Provincial Assembly of KP." <https://www.pakp.gov.pk/member/pk-22-2018/>.

¹⁶⁵*Education Sector Reforms in Pakistan Implementation of Article 25-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Islamabad: FEDERAL OMBUDSMAN'S SECRETARIAT.

Stipends were also given to girls students in public schools from 6th to 10th for continuing their studies. Apart from this, students from katchi to 12 classes were also given free Textbooks in public schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

1. Providing Quality Education:

In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 5000 School Teachers were trained at the primary level while 1335 School Teachers were trained at the middle level. The training was in the subjects of Mathematics, English, and Science at the Primary level and mathematics at the middle level. Additionally, training was imparted to the Lead Master Trainers (LMTs) and Master Trainers (MTs) who were then made responsible for imparting training to the teachers in the field. Seminars and workshops were also arranged for imparting knowledge and training on important issues and topics. This was on the subjects including Education on population and Environment, Classroom Assessments, grounds for training the teachers and measurement of its effectiveness, awareness of HIV-AIDS, Teachers Day importance and dialogues, focus on early Childhood Education and Seminars arrangements on Great Teachers. Apart from this training was also imparted to selected teachers of Madras's and Human Rights belonging to organizations i.e. GTZ, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNFPA, UNDP, WAPDA NORAD, and different Governmental and Non Governmental Organizations. Grounds were also made for officers and experts of the Directorate of Curriculum and Teachers' Education for participation in local and abroad building programs and training. Special emphasis was given to the construction of boundary walls in 800 schools for improving the learning environment. The heads of Schools were also imparted training to improve the quality of education in a better environment.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶Mustafa, Ghulam. *Education Policy Analysis Report of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa*.

3) Promotion of local languages

The government of ANP also opted for the promotion of local languages in the education sector. In this way, Pashto was made a medium of instruction at the primary level and a compulsory subject at the Middle and Secondary level in government schools of the Province.

Important Education Reforms:

The seriousness of the provincial government in the promotion of education and increasing literacy could also be witnessed from the 100 percent utilization of funds allocated under the annual development program (ADP of the province, which was never achieved compared to the five years of last MMA led provincial government. Since coming into power the present provincial government is utilizing all allocated development budget for the sector and in the year 2007-08 all allocated Rs 3525.800 million were utilized followed by the utilization of the total allocated amounts of Rs 4769.848million (2008-09), Rs 6917.958million (2009-10), Rs 7115.190 million (2010-11) and Rs 10,000.190 million (2011-12) while a hefty amount of Rs 17,115.000 million will be utilized in the current financial year.¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, the provincial government had also signed a memorandum of understanding (MoUs) with different donors, which had agreed to provide a huge amount of Rs 44,538.201 million under the 'Education sector plan'. Under the arrangement Department of International Development (DFID) will provide an amount of 203 Pounds for five years, European Union (EU) Euro 33 million (three years), USAID \$60 million (three years), Norwegian NOK 75

¹⁶⁷*Education Sector Reforms in Pakistan Implementation of Article 25-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Islamabad: FEDERAL OMBUDSMAN'S SECRETARIAT.

million Norwegian (Floods) NOK in Pak rupees Rs 450 million, GIZ Euro 15.500 million, UNICEF \$14 million and Aus Aid 14 million.¹⁶⁸

The document said that the provincial government established 510 primary schools of both boys and girls on the need basis in period of 4 years while the target for the current financial year is the establishment of 100 years. Seven of these schemes are non-development schemes. Similarly, 625 primary schools were upgraded by the provincial government to the middle level. In addition, the number of middle schools that were upgraded to the secondary schools were 635. Moreover, the provincial government considered about three hundred and twenty five (325) schools to be upgraded to higher secondary schools In this regard, the ratio of boys and girls was 30:70 respectively. There are also several efforts that have been made by the government in provincial education system. Most importantly, 3100 classrooms were constructed additionally in all schools collectively to meet the demands of the students and 2540 facilities of group latrine, water supply, and electrification was ensured. The Mosque schools were taken under consideration and 100 of them were transformed to regular primary schools and the number of completely reconstructed schools in this regard was 147.¹⁶⁹

The provincial government also constructed 10 offices for Executive District Officers (EDOs), 250 primary and middle schools were provided furniture, 100 schools were provided computers, furniture, and equipment for strengthening the computer labs in public sector schools while 7 model schools were also established. The provincial government also established two cadet colleges with one each in Swat and LakkiMarwat. During the period

¹⁶⁸Babak, Sardar Hussain. "Provincial Assembly of KP." <https://www.pakp.gov.pk/member/pk-22-2018/>.

¹⁶⁹Khan, Shakeel, Muhammad Hashim Khan, and Dur-e- Nayab Gul. "Comparative Analysis of Education Policy Reforms of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Pakistan since 2008-18." *Review of Education, Administration and Law (REAL)* 3, no. 2 (2020): 165-174.

the provincial government also established 245 IT Labs and 5 science rooms and created 20 posts of DPEs in RITEs. The provincial government under the annual development program also constructed 45 playgrounds and sports facilities in 100 more schools were provided.¹⁷⁰

The department of Elementary and Secondary Education, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa under special initiatives launched the 54 million StooriDa Pakhtunkhwa Programme for the brilliant students of classes X and XII benefiting 356 students in different parts of the province. Similarly, another initiative (Rokhana Pakhtunkhwa" was launched under a public-private partnership in 500 schools at the cost of Rs 500 million. A conditional grant scheme of Rs 173 million has been launched for 108 schools in the districts Buner and D I Khan.

For the promotion of girls' education in the backward districts like Torghar and Kohistan, the provincial government has also initiated a scholarship scheme of Rs 388.375 million for 1250 girls' students. Rs 1500/pm for 250 girls students per class (from Class 1 to 5th) for five years. Scholarship to 1750 girls students at Rs 2000/pm for 250 (Torghar) and 100 (Kohistan) for girls students per class (from class 6th to 10th) for five years.¹⁷¹

During the period the department has also held elections for Parents Teachers Councils (PTCs) revised the PTC guide, enhanced the financial powers of PTC from Rs 0.250 million to Rs 1 million, provision missing facilities in schools through PTCs, and third-party validation through IM Sciences.

¹⁷⁰*Education Sector Reforms in Pakistan Implementation of Article 25-A of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. Islamabad: FEDERAL OMBUDSMAN'S SECRETARIAT.

¹⁷¹—. "Launching of Bacha Khan Rozgar Scheme on February 9." *Business Recorder*. 9 feb 2009. <https://fp.brecorder.com/2011/02/201102081152965/>.

Bacha Khan Rozgar Scheme

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Minister for Sports, Syed Aqil Shah has said that Bacha Khan KhpalRozgar Scheme (BKKRS) would be launched on Wednesday, February 9, 2011, to promote employment generation in the province. Addressing the oath-taking ceremony of Anjuman-e-Tajiran, Deans Trade Centre Peshawar, here on Monday, he assured the business community that he would recommend giving at least rupees 20,000 to Rs 0.5 million to them to enable them to start new businesses in the province.

He said that traders are the backbone of a country; their strength financially would strengthen the society and thus the whole country would become prosperous. He further said that the provincial government, through the thorough support of traders, successfully faced militancy and flood situations. Aqil congratulated all members of the cabinet on their success in the elections, held under the supervision of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He expressed hope that the new cabinet would leave no stone unturned in solving the problems confronted by the traders of Peshawar.

Earlier, the minister administered the oath to the newly elected cabinet of the chamber comprising Chairman Haji FazleMaula, President ShamsurRehim, Senior Vice President, Haji Mast Ali Afridi, Vice President Shaukat Khan, General Secretary Kaleemullah, Deputy General Secretary, Haji Qaiser Khan, Joint Secretary Haji Abdul Rehman, Deputy Joint Secretary, Suleman Shah, Finance Secretary Muqaddasullah and Press Secretary, M. Aziz Khan.

Chief Minister Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Ameer Haider Khan Hoti formally launched the 'Bacha Khan KhapalRozgar Scheme' worth rupees one billion, in a simple but impressive gathering at the Chief Minister's House on Wednesday. Under the scheme, interest-free loans on easy conditions would be offered to low-income, unemployed and skilled men and women.

On the occasion, an MoU was also signed between the Provincial Industries department and the Bank of Khyber. Addressing the ceremony, Chief Minister KP said: "Inauguration of this scheme associated with Bacha Khan Baba is an honor for me. This scheme will help cement the economy of the province and will provide employment opportunities to the poor."¹⁷²

The Chief Minister said that under the scheme loans would be offered purely on a need and merit basis. "It would be free from political influence as it is associated with the name of a personality, whose services were beyond politics," he assured. Hoti said that besides Bacha Khan KhapalRozgar Scheme, the provincial government had also planned the Benazir Hepatitis Programme, training programs for the youth, and provision of scholarships to students for higher education in foreign countries.

He said the present situation of the province demands efforts based on good governance for the eradication of poverty and unemployment. "The provincial government is taking practical steps to reduce poverty, provision of education, health, and justice to the people," he added. The Chief Minister said that the volume of schemes would be increased with the support of BoK. He said that certain things needed to be above politics and there was no room for politics in service to humanity.

The Chief Minister lauded Provincial Finance Minister Mohammed Humayun Khan, Provincial Minister for Industries Ahmad Hussain Shah, Secretary Finance Sahibzada Saeed, and the BoK for their efforts in making the scheme a success and assured positive role of the government. The CM also announced an extension in services of MD BoK.

Hoti further said that the overseas Pakistanis had lauded the government's brave stance and steps against terrorism during his current visit to London. "I told them that it was all due to political and people ownership," he added. He said that peace and stability in Pakistan are

¹⁷²Anwar, Muhammad. "Reviving the ANP." *The Express Tribune*. 27 April 2016.
<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1093120/reviving-the-anp>.

linked with stability in Afghanistan and international forces must play their role in this regard.¹⁷³

Earlier, Provincial Secretary Industries and Executive Vice President BoK Imran Samad formally signed the MoU. Provincial Minister Ahmad Hussain also addressed the gathering. Executive Vice President BoK and MD Bilal Mustafa threw detailed light on the objectives of the scheme, procedures, volume of loans, and recovery time frame.

They said, under the scheme, interest-free loans up to Rs 100,000 on easy conditions would be offered to low-income, unemployed and skilled men and women who are permanent residents of KP. The forms for obtaining a loan would be available from 15th February in all branches of BoK and also on the bank's website. This Act may be called as the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Employees (Regularization of Services) Act, 2009. It is an act to provide for the regularization of the services of certain employees appointed on an ad-hoc or contract basis.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³—. "Launching of Bacha Khan Rozgar Scheme on February 9." *Business Recorder*. 9 feb 2009. <https://fp.brecorder.com/2011/02/201102081152965/>.

¹⁷⁴Anwar, Muhammad. "Reviving the ANP." *The Express Tribune*. 27 April 2016. <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1093120/reviving-the-anp>.

CHAPTER-6

ConclusionAnd Recommendations

Pakistan is a federal, democratic state having parliamentary form of government and multi party system. In 2008 elections, Awami National party being a Pashtun nationalist political party was successful in making government in Khyber Pakhtunkhwah. Throughout its tenure since 2008-2013, ANP influences politics in KP in all aspects. It had played an important role in governance in KP by initiating various policies. It had run the government in KP keeping in view its constitution and 2008 election manifesto.

As far as the governance is KP is concerned, it remained unstable due to rising insurgency in KP particularly FATA. In Swat region, law and order situation was deteriorated and the focus of local government was on infrastructure rather than service delivery. Before 2008, *Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariate-Mohammadi*(TNSM) was banned due to its direct confrontation with US against war on terror. However, in 2008 the government of KP signed peace agreement with TNSM that resulted in provincial government recognition over Swat. TNSM agreed for ending violence in Swat but such steps proved controversial and then military took control of Swat region.

Terrorist activities were on its peak following Pakistan partnership with US in War on Terror. It had spread to the whole region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwah and the capital of KP Peshawar, Shabkadar, Mardan and Charsada was heavily affected during ANP government. Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) was formed in 2007 by Taliban groups of FATA and other regions of KP under the leadership of BaitullahMehsud for liberating Afghanistan from foreign forces. It had adversely affected the security situation of KP by taking violent steps against the locals. Various military operations have been taken during ANP government in KP which had left no stone unturned in saving the area from militants. The success of ANP lies in its coalition with PPP and support to army in military operations in FATA and other parts of KP. There were rehabilitation centers in KP covering three Projects; Project Sabaoon, which focuses on juveniles; Project Mishal that concentrates on adult detainees; and Project Sparlay for family members of detained persons. It was successful in reintegrating the individuals into the society. Such steps were not cost free and resulted in thousands of fatalities. Although humanitarian aid has been provided and US has sent billion of dollars but the military operations particularly in Swat had deteriorated the economy as there were no

developmental programs and infrastructure has been destructed. Taliban movements and military operations lead to security implications not only at domestic level in KP but also at regional and international levels by affecting neighboring states and Pakistan prestige in international arena.

It was in Awami National Party tenure that the Provincial Disaster Management Authority (PDMA) has been constituted for tackling the issues of disasters more effectively. Provincial Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Settlement Authority (PaRRSA) was also constituted by ANP in response to Malakand crises. The purpose was to focus on infrastructure development.

Apart from the hazardous situation of militancy, the ANP has taken all steps in promoting peace in KP. It had peace talks with TNSM and TTP. It has accepted the TTP demand for enforcement of *Sharia* in Malakand region and initiated *Nizam-e-Adal Regulation* (NAR) as a remedy for combating terrorism. Moreover, the ANP has encouraged the locals to fight against the militants at grass root level by establishing local peace committees. The leadership and workers of ANP were badly affected by such steps.

The KP provincial budgets show reforms in all sectors during 2008-2013 ANP tenure. ANP plays a significant role in 18th constitutional amendment which has resulted in the overall economic development of KP. It is a landmark in the history of Pakistan for restoring parliamentary form of government, strengthening federation–provinces relations and ensuring provincial autonomy. Under 18th amendment, a large portion of fiscal resources has been shifted to Provinces which has resulted in the overall economic development of provinces. KP economic development is due to the struggles of ANP in passing 18th amendment and its role in removing concurrent list from powers and devolving to provinces thereby minimizing provincial dependence on center. 18th constitutional amendment can be termed as “New Constitutional Software of Pakistan” because it has changed approximately 34 articles of 1973 constitution.

Another important contribution of Awami National Party is the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award under 18th amendment. Provincial resources have been increased to 57% under NFC that led to economic development in KP. Under the 7th NFC award, resources were not distributed on population basis. Instead it has focused on poverty, under-development and inverse population in density in provinces. Except Punjab, all the three provinces benefited from this formula.

Moreover, it is Awami National Party that has renamed Northwest Frontier Province or NWFP as Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa or KP by giving it the same status as other provinces like Sindh, Balochistan, and Punjab that have taken their names from their dominant ethnic groups. Thus, Pakhtuns get their identity by the name Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

The increase in revenue transfers from the federal government has considerably upgraded the overall KP's provincial economy. It was due to the arrears payments from hydro-electric profits and the 7th NFC award which has maximize provincial share in federal revenue. In this way, KP shows fiscal surplus during the ANP tenure.

ANP has faced tough time throughout its tenure due to corruption allegations and attacks on its leadership but still has successful in initiating various developmental policies in KP. Various steps have been taken for infrastructure development and communication improvement. In this scenario, various educational institutions have been established in KP region. It is to be noted that Mardan remained the centre of these developmental works. Similarly, the provincial government also worked on small dams by the profit it received from hydro power. Except FATA region, it has been successful in tackling the security issues.

The main focus on ANP developmental policies was on education sector. The Ministry of Elementary and Secondary Education has taken tremendous steps in 2008 in order to facilitate the people of KP. The reforms include establishment of libraries, facilitation of sports, training of teachers and budget for female education and scholarship programs. There was an increase in education budget in KP due to 18th constitutional amendment which paved way for establishing various universities and Schools across KP. Apart from this, the ANP took various steps in order to strengthen infrastructure. The main focus was on Mardan which is the second largest city after Peshawar. Moreover, Bacha Khan Rozgar scheme of ANP improved financial condition of low income and unemployed people of KP.

Despite these developmental policies of ANP, it failed in making government in KP due to the popularity of PTI across KP and criticism on ANP special focus on developmental programs in Mardan and Charsada. In this way it is proved that the developmental work was not the landmark for winning elections in the whole Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region.

Recommendations

There is no denying the reality that ANP has witnessed a blow since the election of 2013 in which it was dethroned from the seat of power by Pakistan Tehreek -e- Insaaf. This party won over the election in KP during the most difficult time of Global War on Terror. It could have performed much better in governance of the province but rise of terrorism has impeded its efforts for the progress. Still, the way it dealt with terrorism and security problems; it demands applause from every corner of country. However, ANP can make a comeback by winning the majority seats in KP assembly by adapting following recommendations:

Firstly, ANP needs to update its old and outdated ideology based on socialism in line with the changing socio-political conditions. It needs to strike a right balance between its populist aspirations and conducive environment for business class to flourish in the province. It needs to make effective implementation of the manifesto of the party. It needs to invest more in the development of human resources in the province. It should not only talk about the poor just for a talk, but it should introduce new policies and mechanism to uplift the poor population out of poverty even when it is not in the government. It is possible for ANP to do this though the political clout it enjoys historically in the power corridors of Islamabad and Peshawar. It should leverage its allies in central governments to introduce new schemes in the provinces of KP and Baluchistan which can provide effective social safety nets to the minority provinces.

Secondly, ANP should conduct intra-party election for the top leadership posts of the party. This would help the party in resolving the intra-party conflict in the party. It would result in the meritocracy of party and attract new and energetic members to party. It would also not give the impression for ANP of being the dynastic party of KP. Thus, this will end the monopoly of single family over the party and help it to achieve past glory when this party

was represented by the members from all the provinces of Pakistan including East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

Thirdly, this party should start a new drive for boosting the membership of this party. It should participate more in local level and give tickets of the party to most efficient and effective individuals. This is possible when this party gets the young and energetic leadership.

At last, ANP needs to participate in local government institutions more actively. It needs to recruit strong local level leadership. It should enhance the campaigns for interaction with population more frequently. It should also include more clauses into its manifesto which should categorically draw a map for the implementation of human rights in Pakistan in line with the principles of Islam. It should also generate new and local sources for the funds collection to contest elections. Hence, ANP needs to build new narratives and mechanism to make a comeback in the politics of Pakistan.

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