



Al-Azhār

Volume 6, Issue 2 (July-December, 2020)

ISSN (Print): 2519-6707



Issue: <http://al-azhaar.org/issueone2020.html>

URL: <http://al-azhaar.org/issuetwo2019.html>

Article DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46896/arj.6i02.44>

Title Empiricising “Islamic” Militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: A Historical Perspective

Author (s): Gulzar Ali, Waqar Ahmad and Dr. Syed Naeem Badshah

Received on: 29 January, 2020

Accepted on: 26 November, 2020

Published on: 26 December, 2020

Citation: Gulzar Ali, Waqar Ahmad and Dr. Syed Naeem Badshah, “Construction: Empiricising “Islamic” Militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: A Historical Perspective,” Al-Azhār: 6 no, 2 (2020): 13-25

Publisher: The University of Agriculture Peshawar



[Click here for more](#)

Empiricising “Islamic” Militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: A Historical Perspective

*Gulzar Ali

**Waqar Ahmad

***Dr.S.Naeem Badshah

Abstract

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a North Western province of Pakistan was the center for initiation of Jihad Movement by Syed Ahmad Brailvi after his migration from India in 1826. His movement is known as the Mujahidin or Jihad Movement in the history of freedom struggle in India. Since then, various actors utilized the region for achieving their objectives by instrumentalizing religion. In post-Partition period the state of Pakistan used Mujahidin in the liberation struggle of Kashmir. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 changed the socio-political and geo-strategic situation of the region. The Afghan war along with General Zia’s Islamization policy in Pakistan revamped the Mujahidin’s activities in the region. Pakhtun tribal and settled areas were used as training centers or launching pad for Afghan Jihadist organizations. After Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan the anarchist fighting in Afghanistan led to emergence of a new militant force called Taliban, who got control of Kabul in 1996 and established her government in Afghanistan. Taliban government was friendly towards Pakistan and conclusion of the Afghan war in this way diverted different Jihadi mind-sets to Kashmir to open another front for those who wanted to continue Jihad. The post 9/11 American invasion of Afghanistan and Pakistan’s role as the front-line ally with NATO forces changed old friends into enemies. Pakistan’s support of the US-led invaders against the Taliban government gave birth to the militant activities in Pakhtun areas of Pakistan. Use of stringent policy against the militant groups in the region by Pakistan’s security forces coupled with military action against some religious institutions gave birth to the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) which remain active against the Pakistani Institutions by terming them un-Islamic. These militant activities and the state action against them badly affected social and economic life of the people in the region. The Present Paper is an attempt to asses those factors and causes which led to the rise of militancy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and ex-FATA.

* PhD student, Major in World History, Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, Northwest University Xi’an, China.

** Graduate Research Trainee, School of Religious Studies, McGill University Montreal Canada.

***Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of California Loss Angles ,USA.

Introduction

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a province of Pakistan was initially called Northwest Frontier Province and was renamed in 2010. The geo-strategic and geopolitical importance cannot be underestimated throughout its history. It was a gateway for the invaders who conquered India. For the British it was a line of defense in case of Russian attack. During the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, this region was used as a launching pad by the USA, Pakistan and their allies to fight the Russians in Afghanistan. They propagated this war as Jihad (Holy War). Mujahidin from all over the world were called, trained in this region and sent to Afghanistan. The withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan did not end militancy in this region rather it created opportunities for those who consider war as a business. War economy was thus created and the militants in Afghanistan hailing from Pakistan were diverted to Kashmir quite to a lesser extent. The American invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 changed the scenario all-together. Taliban government in Afghanistan, a friendly government to Pakistan, was converted into enemy through Pakistan's becoming front-line ally with US-led NATO forces in her invasion of Afghanistan. Pakistan not only provided logistic support but also become a subservient state in this war. Taliban government's ambassador in Pakistan was arrested by the state and handed over to the US: an unprecedented act in diplomatic history of the world. The warring groups against NATO forces in Afghanistan thus considered Pakistan their enemy as much as they considered US or NATO in Afghanistan. Although generalization of this statement would be a fallacy but Pakistan's security policy of creating militant groups to deal with the war coupled with the Mujahidin's anger and converted the Tribal and settled areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa into a living hell for the inhabiting Pakhtuns. Bomb blasts become a routine of daily life which killed thousands of the local people. There were twelve thousand terrorist attacks between 2009 and 2016 which killed 16526 people only in Peshawar, the capital city of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹ The Present Study try to analyze the historical background of militancy in this region.

JIHADISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN PAKISTAN

Jihad literary mean “Struggle” and Mujahid means “struggler” or “person doing jihad”. Mujahidin is the plural form of Mujahid. According to the fundamentalist beliefs Jihad is an important pillar of Islam and Mujahidin are the people who fight for the glory and dignity of Islam against the infidels.² The term Mujahidin is badly misused in the present age: “some call the Mujahidin international warriors, while for others they are terrorists”. These contrasting perspectives are related to Islam by power and press and Islam is discussed as a fueling force for international terrorism in the World today. It is equated with violence and militancy which are fatal and

dangerous. Islam is peace-loving religion. It believes in universal brotherhood, irrespective of any cost, color and status or nationality”. It believes;

“If anyone murders an (innocent) person, it will be as he murdered the whole humanity. And if anyone saves a person, it will be as he has saved the whole humanity”.³

Islam clearly instructs its follower to conduct jihad when the liberty to live freely forsaken and it is far beyond person’s revenge and gains, and only the ruler can order it after the due consultation with the Ulema. At the same time, Islam acknowledges the co-existence of other faith. The holy Quran openly says;

“there is no compulsion in religion”.

It does not compel people to change their religion.

“To you your religion and to me mine”.⁴

Fundamentalism which basically means the strict maintenance of traditional scriptural beliefs⁵ is associated with the concept of jihad, which is totally unfair. This term is not about the primitive and backward people, imposing their barbaric culture over modern, civilized people. It is a modern product which rests not on ideology of ethics, but on capture of power, territory, people and resources. Jihadism argues the necessity of jihad is to recover the occupied Muslim lands or to fight the Muslim regimes viewed as traitorous and to demand or return to strict-Islam. Taliban or Mujahidin are its characters and political forces are its implanting agencies.

GENERAL ZIA ISLAMIZATION POLICY

The fashion and concept in jihadism in Pakistan has a long history. Taliban or the Holy fighters also have a long but interesting history. They have always played an important role in the history of both Afghanistan and Pakistan. It cannot be simply concluded that which state might be turned responsible for the creation and rise of Taliban. Before Afghan Jihad, the nature of jihad was different, e.g. the Pakistani State in context of mobilizing the population against India. But the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan imparted a new dimension to the Idea of jihad in Pakistan. General Zia started a policy of Islamization of the state and even made amendments in the constitution which strengthened the increasing influence of the religious fanatics in Pakistani society.⁶ Soldiers were told they were soldiers of Islam⁷ and all Islamic groups (Ulema and Pirs etc) became greatly politicalized in his rule. Due to his extra ordinary tendency towards” Islam and jihad” the United States found an alliance in the shape of General Zia, who called the Afghanistan’s anti-Soviet fighters “mujahedeen” the holy warriors and their war called “jihad” the Holy War.⁸

Besides a common religion, Islam, only foreign invaders have united the Afghans. It was the “Afghan Jihad” against the Soviet invasion, which put the term “Mujahid” in the world vocabulary. On 27 December 1979, the Soviet forces started crossing River Oxus (Darya-e-Amu) with the intention of attacking Afghanistan, with

some 85,000 troops.⁹ The Russian governments justified that Afghanistan insurgency was dangerous for them. After Soviet invasion, when the Holy war was declared, Muslims from all over the World were encouraged by the United States and its allies to flock to Pakistan to join the Afghan Mujahedeen against the Soviet Union.¹⁰ In 1982, a Palestinian, Dr. Abdullah Azam and a group of spiritual leaders established an organization by name of “Muktaba Alkhidmat” in Peshawar, Pakistan. Osama Bin Laden an U.S educated and Supported rich Saudi born Militant was his deputy, who was financing them. The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Pakistan’s Inter service Intelligence (ISI) were encouraging and supporting them along. This organization provided Financial, logistical and other support to Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA) of Pakistan became a base for “Islamic Jihad” organizations of both Pakistan and Afghanistan.¹¹

The ISI and CIA agents recruited and trained the tribal youth arranged, supplies and planed attacks against the Soviet. They were also accompanied by Arab-warriors.¹² A pro-Taliban lobby came into being in Pakistan which was run by the retired Army officers like General Hamid Gul and Aslam Beg along with the religious scholars and political leaders of Pakistan like Mulana Fazlurrehman and Sami ul haq.¹³ The combine guerrilla Mujahedeen forces caused serious casualties to the Soviet forces, and made the war very costly for the Soviet Union. Thus the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Afghanistan.

JIHAD IN KASHMIR

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the militant organization (commonly known as Jihadists Organization) has no engagements in Afghanistan, the military establishment in Pakistan (with the help of Saudi Donors) divert their attention towards the Indian occupied Kashmir to support freedom fighters. Initially “*Harkatul Ansar*” the merger of the two groups Harkat-ul-Jihad-i- Islami and Harkat-ul Mujahidin were involve in Kashmir which were ideologically associated with Jamiat ulema-i- Islam and Jamat-i-Islami also launch his Militant Organization “Hizbul Mujahidin” exclusively for Kashmir against the Indian forces. Later some small groups which were previously come to scenario. Soon these groups become to large armies.¹⁴ The Jihadies in Kashmir belongs to all social classes and also belongs to the cities. They suffered more but it did not reduce the flow and the number increased from time to time. When a person would died while fighting in Kashmir; militant group would celebrate his martyrdom in his hometown and arranged sermons to justify their cause and recruit more persons for their cause. Their target groups are mostly the high schools boys whose aged are between 15 to 20 years. The members of these groups openly visiting the schools and delivered speeches in morning assembly and in classrooms with the permission of the school administration. They were also

supported by some teacher's in schools.¹⁵ Before sending a person to the war front, they were psychologically prepared that you are going for the sacred cause.¹⁶

The activities of these organization continued for a long time but when the militant attack on Indian parliament in December 2001, Pakistan government take action against the organization due to changing global circumstances and pressure need to normalize relation with India because both the army were facing each other on the border and possibility of war was always there.¹⁷ In 2003 President Musharraf offered a seize fire in the line of control which is an international boundary between Indian and Pakistani administered Kashmir. Then in 2004 the Indian Prim Minter Atal Bihari Wachpai visited Islamabad to attend the SAARC summit and on the forth January 2004 both the leaders signed a declaration in which they agreed to re-start the peace process on Kashmir. Pakistan also agreed that they will not use the territory under their control against India. In the mean while the American attack in Afghanistan open another front for these organization. The Kashmir front was closed for them, and their services were utilized in another shape in FATA and Afghanistan. They join hands with Afghan Taliban to give though time to NATO forces.¹⁸

ATTITUDE TOWARDS FATA BY THE GOVERNMENT

FATA has been the under developed area since the British rule in the area. With the independence of Pakistan it become part of it and Pakistan continue the administration of this area with the same system of FCR (Frontier Crime Regulation). Health, education and communication facilities are still very low compare to the other part of the country. The socio-economic opportunities were also poor but during the Afghan war the arm trade and smuggling provided opportunities to some specific groups for the time being but with the withdrawal of soviet this business also affected.¹⁹ The people of FATA are governed though FCR different and humiliating from the rest of the country. They are deprived from the legal and administrative system and the existing system severely damage the merit, excellence and professionalism. There are no channel for the inhabitant of FATA through which they redress their grievance.²⁰ Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the Tribal economy was based mainly on farming and local arm trading, but when war started in Afghanistan in a short time the economy was transferred to a large scale export industry of drugs and weapons. The Pakistani government deliberately abandoned control over the trade of weapons in FATA because of the strategic reasons, which resulted the increase of wealth in the region and most of the people involved in that type of business which are legal in FATA but illegal outside FATA. People from all social classes started these businesses as because the area of FATA is officially protected by the state for these businesses.²¹

TALIBAN'S GOVERNMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

On 15 February 1989 the story of Soviet Union intervention came to an end giving a start to mystery of the Mujahedeen or Holy Fighters.²² Many districts and cities then fell to the mujahedeen. In 1992 President Najibullah was over thrown but the mujahidin divided in groups and started fighting with each other for power in Kabul. The civil war was continued for many years. During these wars a local village mullah was emerged and organized a group of local religious students in Afghanistan. The new mullah became popular as “Mullah Muhammad Umar” and his movement was named “Taliban Movement”. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirate are the only three countries to recognize their government. The rise of Taliban is primarily the product of the unpopularity of the afghan interim government under president Rabbani, who had turned against Pakistan. The Pakistan therefore not only welcomed the rise of Taliban but also assisted them in their process of consolidation.²³ Besides the full support of Pakistani Forces and ISI the movement was joined by the world-famous Organization “Al-Qaida”. They jointly defeated the rival forces which were also allied and known as “Northern Alliance”. The Taliban government in Afghanistan was consider the model in the religious circle.²⁴ Leaving the question aside that how they ruled the Country, right or in bad way? We should just conclude that the Mujahedeen or Taliban network which took shape in Afghanistan, promoted a violent Jihad, which attracted many followers in Pakistan towards the end of 1990’s.²⁵

SUFI MUHAMMAD’S TNSM MOVEMENT

The story of TNSM and Maulana Sufi Muhammad are intermingled. Maulana Sufi Muhammad is a very simple and orthodox Muslim. He was born near about 1936 in Lal Qilla area of Maidan, District Dir Lower.²⁶ His forefathers had migrated from Tajikistan to Dir.²⁷ He got his religious education in at Saidu Sharif from “Jamia Haqania”(a religious school)and in 1970 started his own religious school at Maidan, District Dir and hundreds of students from Swat, Buner, Dir, and far flung areas of Malakand agency attend this school. Sufi Muhammad is a believer in the welfare and dynamic aspect of Islam. He does not confine religion to meet faith prayers and personal character of man but according to him every Muslim is duly bound to play his role for the spreading and practical implementation of its everlasting rules and regulations. This desire brought him into the fold of the preacher of Islam (properly known as “Tablighi Jumat”). Later on Maulana Sufi Muhammad felt that the establishment of an Islamic State suggests a positive and practical way. So he joined Jamat-i- Islami and later on elected as Ameer of JI in District Dir. Sufi Muhammad played significant role in Afghan war. He not only took part in war but also trained a large number of youngsters morally, religiously, spiritually along with in using arms. The TNSM was come into being in June, 1989 when Mulana Sufi Muhammad starts it from his native town.

Though Maulana Sufi Muhammad was an active member of Jamat-e-Islami till 1989 but till March, 1994 He was unheard of. In fact he had formed the TNSM in reaction after parting ways with Jamat-e-Islami.²⁸ In 1990, The Peshawar High Court declared The Fata Regulation, unconstitutional. In January, 1994, The Supreme Court of Pakistan also dismissed the appeal of Provincial Govt. and upheld the judgment of High Court. This verdict resulted severe vacuum in the Malakand Division which the government want to fill with Regular Law.²⁹ Thousands of cases, both civil and criminal got filed up, leading to a wide spread uncertainty among the people of the area. Maulana Sufi Muhammad availed the opportunity and Triggered again his Movement of "Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi Movement" (TNSM or Movement for the Enforcement of the Islamic Legal System) in Swat and neighboring areas of Malakand, Dir as well as in the Bajour tribal region on the Afghan border.³⁰ He persuaded the people for joining the TNSM by saying that the enforcement of Shariah Law was the key to their problems and for the first time since 1989, mustered up the popular support. The people finally found a solution for their sufferings in Sufi Muhammads attractive slogan; “Shariat Ya Shahadat (Islamic Law or Martyrdom) and no firangi (British) law”.

In May 1994, Sufi Muhammad’s followers occupied government buildings and schools as a means of pressurizing the government to accept their demands and thousands of his supporters blocked the main Peshawar-Mingora highway in Malakand Pass mostly for a week including all the alternative roads leading to Malakand Division. The protesters even killed a member of the provincial assembly and scores of people in adjoining districts.³¹ On 16 May, a tussle was happened between the protesters and security forces in Ambela, Buner in which twenty five persons were injured and eleven were killed including some school and college going Students who boycotted the classes and joined the campaign. After this incident the Provincial Government assured the TNSM activist that Shariah will be announced very soon but after another month delay the TNSM activists took a very unsightly step and hundreds of armed activist of TNSM in Matta, started hostages of government officials and refuse to release until the enforcement of Shariah Law. On 2nd Nov, 1994, they also hostages the Judges appointed for convenience of the people in Saidu Sharif. They were in so extreme that even killed a provincial leader after hosting Badiuz zaman Khan on 3rd, Nov, 1994.³² In 1994 the PPP’s government introduced the “Nizam-i-Adl Regulation” (Islamic Judicial System) in Malakand Division to calm down the people and to control the movement. But this decision was not fulfill the expectations of the TNSM’s leaders. So they continued their expected more from movements. Sufi Muhammad stopped trusting on Islamic Political Parties that want to solve the issue through the Parliament. In a speech he said that there is no concept of democracy and voting in Islam and declared the political Parties un-Islamic.³³

9/11 AND THE U-TURN OF PAKISTAN

It was 11th of September, 2001, when the United States of America suffered one of the most devastating terrorist attacks on World Trade Center causing the complete destruction of the center and thousands of innocent lives. As the Pearl Harbor of 21st Century took place at that day.³⁴ After the incident of 9/11, America linked these attacks with Osama Bin Laden’s network “Al-Qaida” and declared Afghanistan its launching pad. On 7th of October, 2001, with U.S.-NATO intervention, the Taliban were ousted from power and a new Afghan government was formed. Many of the former mujahedeen gradually were incorporated into the new Afghan National Army and Afghan National Police. For Pakistan the event of 9/11, resulted multiple challenges. The country emerged a front line state by becoming an important ally of the U.S-led War on Terror. Pakistan’s president Pervez Musharraf decided to actively support the U.S War on terror, and de-linking Islamabad’s support for the Taliban regime.³⁵

TALIBAN’S SUPPORT BY THE LOCAL PEOPLE OF PAKISTAN

Reaction against U.S attacks

It was the Afghan war which encouraged the students in Pakistani Madrassas and also left a profound impact on the foreign affairs of Pakistan as well. The Madrassah Students were not only the supporters of Afghan Taliban but it had its supporters in all over Pakistan because most of the militant headquarters are in Punjab. After the U.S attack on Afghanistan in October, 2001, the people of every Area and village of every district in Pakistan participated every day in the protest demonstrations against the U.S attack and the Pro American Policy of President Pervez Musharraf.³⁶ On the other hand, around 2000 armed TNSM activist from Malakand Agency blocked the silk route as a protest against the U.S attack on Afghanistan. The TNSM leader Sufi Muhammad mobilized some 10,000 warriors from Malakand for the support of Taliban in Afghanistan. He personally led them but his fighters were untrained and ignorant in the ways of modern warfare and most of them were killed or arrested by the Northern Alliance forces of Afghanistan. He along with some other TNSM leaders and 29 companions fled from Afghanistan, back to Pakistan. He was captured and was sent to Jail under the Frontier Crimes Regulation (FCR) for illegally entering Afghanistan and retiring with heavy weapons including rockets launchers.³⁷

TEHREEK TALIBAN PAKISTAN (TTP)

After the US attacks on Afghanistan most of the Taliban took shelter in the Areas near by the Durand Line in both sides (the mark border between Pakistan and Afghanistan). During the year 2003-04 the Taliban started reorganizing to make

guerrilla attacks on US and NATO forces. They used to make heroic attacks on the NATO forces which occupied on some territories and then moved back to the safe Shelters in Pakistan side. It was a common perception that the ex- head of Taliban Mulla Muhammad Umar was operating from Baluchistan.³⁸ Since that Pakistan was the key Ally of US in the war on terror, so on the behalf of US authorities G. Pervez Musharraf the former President and Chief Executive of Pakistan cut off the Islamabad’s supported connection with Taliban and decided to take a Military action against the fundamentalists who were made safe heavens in the border areas of Khyber Pukhtunkhwah (KP) and Federally Administered Tribal Area (FATA). In this regard most of the local war lords and fundamentalist tribal chiefs either arrested or killed. In the reaction the remaining local warlords and the supporting tribal chiefs assembled and made a joint front known as “Tahreek-i- Taliban Pakistan”(TTP). Baitullah Mehsud was appointed as chief leader who was joined by the other local warlords such as Mullah Fazlullah of Swat.³⁹

OPERATION IN TRIBAL AREAS

The U.S military actions in Afghanistan were started in late 2001. The operation of Tora Bora was much closed to the Pakistani border. During these operations mostly Arab and other foreigner fighters of Al- Qaeda crossed the Pakistani border and enter to Waziristan Agency of Pakistan federally administrated area (FATA). After September, 11 2001, the Pakistani Government had been installed a brigade of Army in its own shawls area to secure the border against the northern Alliance of Afghanistan. The Pakistan sensed some danger of the foreigners in its tribal Areas. So an offensive operation was started in tribal areas in 2004. This Federally Administrated Tribal Area (FATA) of Pakistan stretched from Bajawar to Waziristan with the Area of 27,220 sqk.⁴⁰ After two years fight between the Pakistan army and the Tribal militants a peace agreement was reached in September, 2006, in Miran shah, agreeing on a cease-fire.

ATTACK ON MADDRASSAH IN BAJAWAR

The peace agreement between the government and tribal militants proved to a hope for the peace in Tribal areas of Pakistan. But there was missile attack happened on October, 29-30, 2006, on a religious Madrassah in Bajawar Agency. In which 83 people Killed including very young age innocent students.⁴¹ These students were belonging to different areas throughout in the Tribal Agencies. Throughout Pakistan the people condemn this action and protested against the government. But the government is of the opinion that all the deceased persons were militant. The following day, the Taliban clerics urged mass suicide of Pakistani forces, one of which took place latter on at Punjab Regiment Training Center of Dargai, Malakand

District, and killing 42 soldiers and wounded some twenty. This suicide attack was followed by many in major cities of Pakistan.⁴²

LAL-MASJD OPERATION

Lal Masjid (Red Mosque) is situated in Sector, G-6 of Islamabad the capital of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Mosque is very near to the Headquarter building of ISI (Inter Service Intelligence) of Pakistan.⁴³ This mosque was performing as a Madrassa (religious institute) run by two brothers Maulana Abdul Aziz and Maulana Abdurrashid ghazi. In 2004 Maulana Abdurrashid declared the Pakistan Army Officials as non-Muslim and said that they were not deserving Islamic customs for their funeral. His this like arguments were continued about the governments. On 22, January 2004, the students of Lal-Masjid and Jamia- Hifsa (a religious University for women) raid a children library as a protest against the demolishing of two Mosques in Islamabad City.⁴⁴ Later on the the students of both institution were demanding to bane with accordance to sharia on Masaj Centers and CDs and DVDs shops.⁴⁵ On July 3rd, 2004, some armed students fired on Police and Ranger officials from inside the Mosque. So the crises got a new momentum. After the failure of negotiation between the government and the Lal-Masjid administration, the government would have to use the force to solve the issue. Abdul Aziz tried to escape but was caught, and with this 1100 students surrendered and left the complex. While Abdurrashid Ghazi remained in the complex, demanding an unconditional amnesty along with some 300 students. He was killed in a SSG action on 10th July, 2007. The remaining students were declared terrorist as some of them were claimed to be as foreigners. The “operation Silence” came to end finishing the mystery of Lal-Masjid and opening a new chapter in terrorism. The threats given by Abdul Aziz were not a joke, but it was later on followed. This operation resulted a sort of sympatric explosions in all over the country but especially in the North West areas.⁴⁶

Conclusion

After Lal Masque operation in Islamabad the instability increase in many parts of the country. A local Mullah with the name of Maulana Fazal Ullah started sermon on FM radio in Swat with frequency around forty kilometer. Later on, he propagate violent activities and challenge the state writ in Swat and formed an organization with the name of Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP). TTP formed a type of self-government in Swat. They started to resolve the local dispute and punish who they think guilty. Those who challenge their authority were killed and slaughter in public places and threaten the people that if any one pick the dead body from public place he will face the same and they even did it.⁴⁷ In this way TTP terrorize the people of the area.⁴⁸ Interestingly the state authorities let them for a long time and they did not come for

the rescues of the people despite of the fact that 15000 military were stationed in Swat while the number of militant were only 3500. A local tribal and religious leader with the name of *Pir Samiullah* challenge the TTP in Swat and propagate among the people that, their activities are not according to the principle of Islam. He ask the government to help him against the TTP and they promised to help but when the TTP attack the *hujra* of Pir Samilluh with 3000 to 3500 arm personal no help come the government and military stationed in Swat despite of so many requests by him.⁴⁹ Pir Samillulah fought for three days along with 40 followers against the Taliban. He was killed along with 21 followers on December 13/14, 2008.⁵⁰ The rest of his followers were arrested and the Taliban claimed that, we recovered the Indian currency from Pir house but according to the one hostage of Pir, “when pir Samiullah was killed the military helicopter came and arrested nineteen persons and also drop some boxes which was later on showed as the Indian currency.”⁵¹ On one hand the Taliban claimed that the Pir is pro Pakistani government and on the other hand they said that he was an Indian agents which and conflicting statements.

After that a series of military operation started. 3.5 million People has been displace only in Swat operation against the 3500 militant. The militant move to other areas and subsequently the operations were also launch in South Waziristan, Kurram, Orakzai and in the last in North Waziristan. Tens of thousands of Pushtun’s were killed in these operation and term it as a collateral damaged. The government ignored us when these militants terrorized and murdered the residents. Pakistan’s military operations against the militants brought further misery: civilian killings, displacements, enforced disappearances, humiliation and the destruction of our livelihoods and way of life. No journalists were allowed into the tribal areas while the military operations were going on. Pashtuns who fled the region in hopes of rebuilding their lives in Pakistani cities were greeted with suspicious and hostility. When a model and a small businessmen Naqibeeb Ullah Mehsud was killed by a serving police officer, Rao Anwar in Karachi in January 2018, 20 of Pushtun’s young men start marching to Islamabad a protested for the arrest of SSP Rao Anwar and for the rights of Pushtuns under the leadership of Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen, a boy of only 24 year old and graguate of Gomal University Dera Ismail Khan.⁵² Manzoor Ahmad Pashteen was joined by thousands of young Pashtuns mostly graduate of the leading universities of Pakistan. Eleven days Peaceful sit-in was organized in front of Islamabad Press Club and they formed Pashtun Tahfooz Movement (Movement for the rights and protection of Pushtuns). PTM (Pashtun Tahfooz Movement) demands are according to their leader Manzoor Pashtun are,

“Ours is a peaceful movement that seeks security and political rights for Pashtuns. Apart from justice for Mr. Mehsud, we demand investigations into the killings of thousands of other Pashtuns by security forces and militants. We seek an end to enforced disappearances. As loyal, taxpaying citizens, we demand that Pakistani security forces act as our protectors and stop the harassment of Pashtuns at

checkpoints and during raids. We demand that Islamabad cleanse Waziristan of land mines and other unexploded ordinances.”⁵³

Pashtun are now have a common platform from where they are struggling for their rights. They openly criticizing the policies of the government and military in Pushtun region. Most of the Puhtun’s are of the opinion that this militancy was created by the state and non-state actor for their own gains and Pushtun’s are the ultimate sufferer.

References

- ¹ Ahmad, W. & Ali, Y. (2018). Islamism in Social Services in Pakistan: An Assessment of Relief Work to the Bomb Blast Victims in Peshawar Pakistan. *Journal of Islamic Civilization and Culture*, 01(02).
 - ² Interviews with Maulana Muhammad Tahir, Khateeb Jamia Masjid Qutab Garh, at his Betahk (Drawing room) in Qutab Garh District Mardan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan 10 , Feb, 2013.(6:15pm-7:00).
 - ³ *Al-Quran*, Sorah Al-Baqra, Al-ayah.179.
 - ⁴ Muhammad Afzal Shah Bakwee, *The Pukhtuns*, (Rawalpindi: Pap Board Printers (Pvt. Ltd), 2006), 464.
 - ⁵ Julia Shannell, *The Little Oxford Dictionary*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 221.
 - ⁶ Sohail Abbas, *Probing The Jihad Midset*, (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2007), 16-17.
 - ⁷ Kathy Ganunn, *I is for Infidels: from holy war to holy terror*, (New York: Public Affair,2005)137.
 - ⁸ *Ibid*, 139.
 - ⁹ Edgar O Balance, *Afghan Wars*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)89.
 - ¹⁰ Nasreen Ghufuran, “*Puhtun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan*” asian survey, vol. 49, no. 6(November/December ,2009), pp. 1092, stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2009.49.6.1092>.
 - ¹¹ Perviz Musharraf, *In the line of fire: A Memoir*, (Rawalpindi: Services Book Club, 2007), 218.
 - ¹² M.Amir Rana and Rohan Gunaratana, *Al-Qaida Fights Back Inside Pakistani Tribal Area*, (Islamabad: PIPS, 2007), 22-23.
 - ¹³ Maryam Abou Zahab and Oliver Roy, *Islamist Networks: The Afghan Pakistan Connections*, (London: Hurst and Co-Publishers, 2004), 55.
 - ¹⁴ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism*. (Delhi: pentagon press, 2005), 202
 - ¹⁵ Author personal observation while studying in high school during 1998.
 - ¹⁶ *Ibid*, 202-203.
 - ¹⁷ Raiz Muhammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to modernity* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 214-215.
 - ¹⁸ *Ibid*, 215.
 - ¹⁹ Nasreen Ghufuran, “*puhtun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan*” Asian Survey, Vol. 49, No. 6 (November/December, 2009), pp. 1106 stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2009.49.6.1092>.
 - ²⁰ Unaiza Naiz, *Wars Insurgences, and Terrorist and attacks A Psychosocial Perspective from the Muslim World*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 171.
 - ²¹ Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith, A History of Religious Mobilization in the Pakhtun Tribal Areas c.1890-1950*, (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2011), 195.
-

- ²² M. Yousaf and Mark Adkins, *The Bear Trap*, (Lahore: Jang: Publishers, 1992), 214.
- ²³ Monis Ahmar, 78.
- ²⁴ Sana Haroon, *Frontier of Faith, A History of Religious Mobilization in the Pakhtun Tribal Areas c.1890-1950*, (Karachi: Oxford University press, 2011), 196.
- ²⁵ Maryam Abou Zahab and Oliver Roy, 73.
- ²⁶ Fakhru Islam, *Mutabadel Adalati Nizam Awr Swat Operation*, (Peshawar: Institute of Regional Studies, 2011), 42-44.
- ²⁷ Robina Rehmat, *Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM)*, (MA Thesis of Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar session 1994-96), 26.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Fakhru Islam, 42.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 42-44.
- ³¹ Bunairee, S. (06, Febraury 2008). Swat from Tourism to Terrorism. <http://ramanspashtunbeltdatabase.blogspot.com/2008/02/swat-from-tourism-to-terrorism.html>
- ³² Robina Rehmat, 51-55.
- ³³ The daily, *The News*, Islamabad: 27th November, 2008, 1.
- ³⁴ Tariq Aziz Khan, *9/11 Kia Haqqat Kia Fasana*, (Karachi: Trust Publications, n.d), 18.
- ³⁵ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*. (Delhi: pentagon press, 2005), 217-9.
- ³⁶ BBC-News, *BBC Urdu Bullitian*, (FM Radio, Peshawar Pakistan 12/10/2001/8:00PM).
- ³⁷ M.Amir Rana and Rohan Gunaratana, 89-90.
- ³⁸ Subodh Varma, *The rise & rise of Pakistan's Taliban*, ([The Times of India](http://m.timesofindia.com/PDATOI/articleshow/msid-4251685,curpg-1.cmsMar_11_2009_01.55am) http://m.timesofindia.com/PDATOI/articleshow/msid-4251685,curpg-1.cmsMar_11_2009_01.55am)
- ³⁹ Nasreen Ghufuran, “*puhstun Ethnonationalism and the Taliban Insurgency in the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan*” asian survey, vol. 49, no. 6(November/December ,2009), pp. 1092, stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2009.49.6.1092>
- ⁴⁰ Raiz Muhammad Khan, *Afghanistan and Pakistan conflict, Extremism, and Resistance to modernity* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 225.
- ⁴¹ *The Daily Express*, Peshawar: October, 30, 2006, 1.
- ⁴² Brian Cloughley, *War, Coups and Terror*, (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2009), 190.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 196.
- ⁴⁴ Dr. Noorul Haq, (Fact File) *Lal Masjid Crisis*, (Islamabad: Islamabad policy research Institute, September, 2007, Vol-IX, Number-9), 99.
- ⁴⁵ Wilson John, *The General and jihad*, (New Delhi: Pentagon press, 2007), 194.
- ⁴⁶ Azra, *Swat Operation*, (MA Thesis of Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar session 2007-09), 47-48.
- ⁴⁷ <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/world/asia/25swat.html>
- ⁴⁸ Interview with a Local resident of Swat, dated March 1, 2019.
- ⁴⁹ Sanullah. (2020). Effectiveness of civilians’ survival strategies: insights from the Taliban’s insurgency (2007–09) in Swat Valley, Pakistan. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 32(3), 275-296.
- ⁵⁰ Prominent Anti-Taliban Figure assassinated in Swat. *Dawn* (14 December 2008) <https://www.dawn.com/news/937492>
- ⁵¹ Interview with one of the follower of Pir. The interviewer ask not to show show his identity.
- ⁵² Pakistan’s powerful military is trying to crush a nonviolent movement for civil rights. *The NewYork Times* (11 February 2019). <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/11/opinion/pashtun-protests-pakistan.html>
- ⁵³ ‘Time Is Up’: Pakistan’s Army Targets Protest Movement, Stifling Dissent. *The NewYork Times* (28 May, 2019). <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/11/opinion/pashtun-protests-pakistan.html>