

Dir: From Merger to *Lashkars* (1969-2009)



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research, and that it has not been submitted to any other university for any other degree.

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APPROVAL OF THESIS FOR SUBMISSION

I hereby recommend the dissertation completed under my supervision by **Javed Iqbal** entitled **Dir: From Merger to *Lashkars* (1969-2009)** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY.**

Dr. Razia Sultana
Supervisor

To *Khudai Khidmatgars*

And

Non-violence

Abbreviations

ANP	Awami National Party
DC	Deputy Commissioner
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FCR	Frontier Crimes Regulations
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami
JUI	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam
JUI (F)	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Fazlur Rahman Group)
JUP	Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Pakistan
NAP (W)	National Awami Party (Wali Khan Group)
NAP	National Awami Party
PATA	Provincially Administered Tribal Areas
TNSM	Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz Group)
PML (Q)	Pakistan Muslim League (Quaid-i-Azam Group)
PPI	Pakistan Press International
PPP	People's Party of Pakistan
PPC	Pakistan Penal Code

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Introduction

Statement of the problem

The Malakand Division is an area of hard and tough geography but has soft and polite people with religious zeal, illiteracy and low exposure to the outer world and new ideas. The Huns, Kushanas, Parthians, Turks, Mughals and the British have tried time and again for the subjugation of the inhabitants of this area, but the people of the area had failed their attempts with a price and were partially subjugated.

Majority of the inhabitants of the Malakand Division are Yousafzais (Pakhtuns) and of the same religion, Islam. They are religious people and always betrayed by the *Mullahs* in the name of Islam. Generally, the people are peace loving, but never lived in peace. The people suffered too much from the political manipulation of the politician since partition, but they still believe in the electoral politics.

Prior to 1969, the Malakand and adjacent areas were comprised of princely states i.e., Swat, Dir, Chitral and Bajaur and then these states merged into Pakistan. Since then people took active part in the national politics. As has been mentioned earlier that the people are religious minded so they never turned their ears deaf to religious slogans but were always deceived.

Malakand Division is situated in the North West of Pakistan. This is a green area of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but blood shed has stained it since the British Raj. There is some controversy about the word Malakand. Some consider it to be "*MullaKandau*" which means a curved place named after a particular *Maulvi* known Sar Tur Faqir. The main figure in the 1897 uprising. While others term it as "*MullaKandau*" which means curved like the spinal column of the human body or may be *Mullah*, as the people are self-sufficient in *Mullahs* and most of the cases were exported to different parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Khushal Khan Khattak the great

Pakhtu poet has also used the word 'Malakand' in his poetry considering it a difficult locality. Lying almost in a zig-zag position because of this trajectory of the locality, the people are living since British period in different administrative systems i.e. FCR(Frontier Crimes Regulations) till 1975, since 1994 PATA (Provincially Administered Tribal Areas) regulation and at last the hybrid system of Nizam-i-Adal in 1999. They are still in the political and administrative wilderness sometimes a sandwich between the Islamists and state machinery.

At the time of creation of Pakistan, there were three principal states, Swat governed by the Wali, Dir by the Nawab of Dir and Chitral by Mehtar-i-Chitral. These principalities conducted their matters independently till 1960. After 1960, the Political Agent of Malakand dealt with the matters of the states semi-independently.

According to local traditions, the word Dir has four meanings that is "But Khana" (Idol House), May Khana (Wine house), Gham Khana, (Grievous House), and Jail Khana(Jail). It was called But Khana either because of the presence of many idols in the Buddhist monastery in Dir or because of the un-Islamic laws customs and tradition followed by the inhabitants of Dir. The area of "Dir Proper" as surrounded on all sides by rocky mountains, which seem like a naturally built jail due to which it was called Jail Khana. The word Gham Khana suits Dir most accurately because of factional fighting in Dir resulting in chaos and mayhem. Although drinkers were rare in Dir, yet a few specific persons used wine in large quantities so, it was called May Khana.

Dir is surrounded on the north by the crest of the Lawari range and watershed of Aranawai stream, which separates it from Chitral. On the south of it is the Malakand Agency, on the east of it is Trepaman, Takura, crest and Bajaur, on the north east by the Gilgit agency and Kashmir and on the north west by the Durand line with Afghanistan.

Its total area is 528 km. According to census of 1998, the population of Dir was 13, 69,000. The valley was also called Panjkora valley, because the Panjkora River is the main river in Dir. The physically strong and stout Malazai and Akozai tribes of Yusafzai tribe populate the valley of Dir. *Malazais* are divided into four major group viz., Sultan Khel, Painsa Khel, Nasirudin Khel and Wosa Khel.

The upper portion of the Panjkora valley down to its confluence with Dir was called the Panjkora Kohistan or *Kohistani Malazai*, and the upper portion of this Kohistan is called *Bashkar* and the lower Sheringal. The valley of Dir is also known as *Kashkar*.

In the Imperial Gazetteer of India Dir is defined as, the main Panjkora valley which is not as wide as that of Swat and contains much less alluvial soil, but it has been joined by numerous rich lateral valleys, the greater part of the population lives in these areas. Kohistan contains valuable deodar forests, the upper valleys have a pleasant climate, and the lower ones are hot in summer and cold in autumn. The Khan of Dir is the overlord of the country, claiming and when in a position to do so, exacting allegiance from the petty chieftains of the clans, and collect revenue from cultivators.

The country, wherever agriculture is possible, is cultivated and bears rich crops. Dir is mainly held by Yusafzai Pakhtuns its old non-Pakhtun inhabitants the '*Bashkars*' being confined to the valley of *Bashkar*. Both *Bashkar* and *Kashkar* have also considerable *Gujar* population. The language of Dir Pakhtuns is the pure Yusafzai Pakhtu.

The early history of Dir is shrouded in darkness, but from the writings of foreign historians of later times, it appears that this area had witnessed many revolutions and seen the rise and fall of many civilizations. It is difficult to say that when, how and who laid the foundation of Dir state however, the earliest known history of the area dates from 1640 A.D.

Akhun Ilyasis known as the founder of the ruling family of Dir state. In the course of time, he came to be popularly known as *Akhun Sahib*¹. After the death of *Akhun Sahib*, his son *mullah* Ismail succeeded him. Like his father, he also paid much attention to the welfare of his people. When *mullah* Ismail died, his son Ghulam Khan succeeded him. He thought of founding a state, therefore he changed his religious status, for that of a Khan and so had laid the foundation of a state.

After Ghulam Khan, Khan Zafar Khan completely turned from a religious head to a ruler. Khan Qasim Khan was the successor of Khan Zafar who extended the boundaries of his state. On the death of Khan Qasim Khan, Ghazan Khan became the ruler of Dir state. He also extended the boundaries of Dir state. After his death, his son Rahmat Ullah Khan assumed the power and fortified the boundaries of state. When he died, his eldest son Muhammad Sharif arrived in Dir from Mardan and captured the throne.

In 1890, Umra Khan attacked Dir and defeated Muhammad Sharif Khan. Afterwards he tried many times to capture the land but in vain. In the same year, when the British, launched campaign against Umra Khan, Muhammad Sharif Khan helped them and when Umra Khan was defeated, the British recognized Muhammad Sharif Khan as the ruler of Dir . He died on December 8, 1904. Aurangzeb Khan became his successor. He ruled Dir from 1904 to 1923. The next Nawab was his son Shah Jehan.

In 1960, the government of Pakistan deposed him and the *Wali Ahad* (heir apparent) Muhammad Shah Khisro Khan was appointed as the national (the government of Pakistan recognized his claim) Nawab of Dir. He ruled Dir as a protégé of the government of Pakistan till 1969, when Dir state was completely freed from hundreds of years of oppressive rule of the Nawabs and became a part of Malakand division in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Therefore, from 1969

¹Akhun, means *Mullah* in Persian.

till 1996 it was one district under the government of Pakistan later on it was divided into upper and lower districts respectively.

Dir the oldest state merged into the government of Pakistan in 1969. The Nawab era was the most repressive era of the state, in which the people were suppressed in comparison to the Swat state which progressed under the Walis. The Yousafzai state on the frontier region was cut off from the rest of world till 1969. The only country familiar to the people was Afghanistan; the Afghani currency was in vogue till its merger into Pakistan.

The Nawabs had enjoyed special relation with the Amir of Afghanistan, but in strategic affairs, they helped the British, especially during the Umra Khan encroachment and in the uprising of 1897. The Nawab also applied the fascist policy i.e. that every person was considered as the free of cost soldier of the state.

The most interesting events were Dir's relation with Swat state, it remained turbulent and chequered till 1922, but later on relation between the two states remained strained. Besides, *Swati* and *Deroji*, the two terms show that Dirvis are backward and Swaties are educated and urbanized...*Malazai*, the Dir majority tribe has its own code of life. *Malazai* are the sub-tribe of Yousafzai they ruled Dir for about 300 years. Still they are dominant in the politics of Dir.

The study attempted to discover the fact that why the people were non-violent during the Nawab era, how they become violent during the religious movement of TNSM (Tehrek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Mohammadi) and later on in Talibanization. Islam or Pakhtunwali; which one is the dominant code of life among the *Malazai's* of Dir. The code Pakhtunwali has been retained in the wave of Talibanization as the people of Dir switch back to *Lashkars*, *Jirgas* and tribalism. The conflict was resolved by the values of Pakhtunwali.

The Afghan factor is the most crucial and interesting as Kabul is more familiar amongst Pakhtuns of Dir rather than Islamabad they perceived that whenever they trusted Islamabad they were deceived, but Kabul is also not reliable for them, especially in 2001 when Sufi Mohammad's *lashkar* was humiliated in Afghanistan. Later on in the era of Taliban, the people had suffered a lot first at the hands of militants and later by military.

The merger of Dir state into Pakistan was a normal event it was resisted neither by Nawab nor by the people. Although it brought political freedom, the people were allowed to vote on the bases of universal franchise, and as usual, the female were kept away from the electoral process. Educational institutions were opened in the various parts of Dir.

The life standard of the Dirvis was improved as the people rushed to Karachi and gulf countries for employment. In addition to it, after the merger Dirvis lost some of their values, as the society was Islamized to a great level. The timber mafia exploited the forests of Dir. The personal assets and antiques of Nawabs were plundered by the Pakistani state officials and his *Kardars* (servant). Then Jamaat-i-Islami has come to Dir, the cold war boast the role of rightest in general in Pakistan and in the Pakhtun belt in particular.

The JI has won all the general elections except 2008 due to boycott of elections. The Islamism of JI was cashed by TNSM in 1989, and in 1994, the movement was turned into a violent movement in which many people lost their lives. The second episode of TNSM was Talibanization of society that was ended by Pak-Army in operation Rah-i-Rast in 2009-10. The army is the new player in the administration of Dir. The police, judiciary and district Administration are now at the mercy of Army.

Hypothesis

The present study discovers that people of Dir were secular during Nawab era and after the merger into Pakistan, religiosity came to Dir in violent way. If the cultural institutions of Pakhtuns i.e. *Hujra, Jirga* and folklore were not revived, the extremism will be flourish in Dir in future. The only antidote is education and cultural activities.

Review of Literature

It is a fact that Pakhtuns have no taste for history; the aliens have recorded their history. It is the psyche of Pakhtuns that they love the conquerors history. However, to complete the study primary sources are consulted in which most are fieldworks and indigenous books.

The '*Twareekh-i-Hafiz, Rehmat Khani*' by Pir Muzzam Shah, a brief accounts of the Pakhtuns genealogy and demography, but has low ebb about the Yousufzai of the north. Another valuable work is "*Yousafzai Aqwamki Sargash*" by Khan Roshan Khan, the basic theme is from where the Yousafzai are originated their clans, sub tribes and relations with other tribes has been discussed briefly. "*Pukhtana da Tareekh Pa Rana Ki*" by Bahadur Shah Zafar Kaka Khel, the respected author had traced the very origin of Pakhtuns but without any conclusion and as a matter of fact all Pakhtuns tribe and history are scanned in a very systematic way. The locally printed book "*Riasat-i-Dir Tareekhki Ainaymai*" by Munshi Habib Ur Rahman, a contemporary of the last Nawab, the first hand information's are here, but it is a narrative and subjective work. "*Dir wa Bajaur*" by Ashraf Durrani the genesis of the two states, their relation has been discussed slightly.

Besides these, the English books were produced from colonial perspective, it represents a typical mindset of the colonialist, but these are authentic research works. "Report on Tribes of

Dir Swat and Bajawar” by Cap. A. H. McMohan, it provides the minute details of the above localities. The English writers had also showed their hatred for the locals.

Another primary source is “*Dastan-i-Dir*” by Riaz ul Hasan a rare and important book in which the very author had criticized the Nawab policies.

The military account “The story of Malakand field force” by Churchill, it has been produced in the background of the 1897 uprising, he confess that this Pakhtun revolt has been subdued due to Pakhtuns internal shortcomings, basically it is an eye-watched war history including geographical touch.

Peshawar University thesis “Life and Achievements of Umra Khan” by Abdul HaleemDirvi, it is a subjective history of Umra Khan Mastkhel, by a local, but it is good for understanding the then scenario from local point of view. *Gumnam Reyasat*(2005) is a good chronological as well descriptive approach toward the history of Dir. it is not written for the academic purposes but still it facilitate the lay man thirst for history of Dir

In comparison to Swat, Dir is still in background from research point of view. For present study, the Pakistan history books as well as local books are also consulted. For historical background, *PataKhazana* (Pakhtu) *Rag Veda*, The Pathansetc. are valuable sources. A reliable work has been produced by Dr. Sultan-i-Room on Swat, but the neighbor Dir is still in shadow, due to Nawab’s legacy because till 1970, there was no formal education in Dir.The Chitral Campaign by H.C. Thomson, the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial series, Pathans of the Latter Day by J.W. Spain, these books have some references on Dir but much emphasis has been made on the era of Ghazi Umra Khan.

The recently published book of Dr. Sultan-i- Rome, Swat State from Geneses to Merger, was the most thorough and concise book particularly on the history of Swat. It was useful source

for the author in many ways, for example in finding the sources and the book in itself was a contribution to the history of Dir. Apart from it the research papers of Dr. Sultan-i-Rome, Charles Lindholm and Fadrick Barth gave me an appropriate beginning for research. The recent work of Farhat Taj "Taliban and anti-Taliban" is a tribute to the people who formed *Lashkars* against Taliban.

The study showed how the people had reacted against Nawab and then Talibanization. Dir's love for *Pakhtu* and *Jihad* has been thoroughly analyzed. The role of females in Talibanization is discussed little in the study; because the movement's initial theme was, "*pardah*" i.e. Female schools and institutions were point blank target of militants. The female schools were threatened to force girls to either wear *Burqa* or be ready for the destruction of schools. Now in Dir from class 5th till college level *Burqa* is compulsory and as the author witnessed even in the university of Malakand there is *Burqa* culture on the campus.

The most interesting point of the study is that people had paid tribute to police for the first time in history and the institution of *Lashkars* is revived. I tried to produce an analytical history of Dir being the local, according to Churchill "if you want history to treat you fairly you should write it yourself."

Scope and Significance

The present study is a contribution to the history of Dir in an academic way. The events were analyzed thoroughly and in a critical way. The study may be a good addition in the efforts against Talibanization and a substantial work to highlight the role of *Lashkars* and *Jirgas* against Talibanization. In measures against Talibanization, the major focus has been made on the organization of *Lashkars*, to deal with the menace. The role of *Lashkars* and *Jirgas* were manipulated by security forces and were left at the mercy of militants. The relation between the

state and the citizen become weak in this process. The people switch over to their values, because state has abandoned the very first responsibility to secure its citizens.

The state homework has failed, which seemed, to make the people alien about their origin. In addition, the soft role of Islamism has been replaced by the hard one which questioned the military strategy. In future settlements in Afghanistan after the US proposed exit in 2014, Dir being a bordering region on Pak-Afghan border it will be used either for Taliban export or timber mafia. If, the situation remained calm and democratic process was continued in Afghanistan, Dir will be the first one to be effected from such developments.

Key Questions

The present study is focusing on the following questions.

- What were the causes of its merger, whether it was a people demand or government interests were involved?
- What were the socio-political impacts of merger?
- How Afghanistan had reacted its merger? What was the role of different political parties after its merger?
- Why Sufi Mohammad and Fazlullah selected Swat instead of Dir despite being a son of this soil?
- What are the reliable institutions either *Lashkars* and *Jirga* or Army and courts?
- What is the role of *Jirga* and *Lashker* and the prospects of peace in Malakand in the light of these two institutions?

Methodology

The present study is inductive because it deals with the contemporary history. Primary and secondary sources, including oral history and interviews are the tools of my research for which a

lot of fieldwork is conducted. For social and political developments although materials are scarce, but it is scanned properly, being a son of the soil and participated in peace struggles against militancy, the sacrifices of local people are acknowledged. The author approach is analytical and based on scientific method.

Organization

This research is comprised of four chapters, with a brief background of genesis of Dir state and Nawab's era until 1969. Second chapter is about its annexation and the reaction of Afghanistan and Dirvis, and the motives of Pakistan. Third chapter covered the political and social developments; with a special reference to the Islamization of Dir and its consequences. It is a comparative study of pre-and post-merger Dir and the uprisings of TNSM and Talibanization.

Chapter fourth is all about *Lashkars* and *Jirgas* or the people's response to militancy. The last chapter is followed by conclusion, appendices and Bibliography.

Chapter 1

Dir in historical perspective

Dir is the place where Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism flourished. It is the author's personal observation that people still respects the fire, even in the weddings they present fire and water to the bride in order to balance the happiness and sorrow. The old people respect fire and often pay tribute and gratitude to fire, if someone throws ashes behind someone else it is consider as a curse. If someone tries to hit someone else with a firing wood or raise it for someone, it is also considers, as a bad gesture. Similarly, hearth has a great respect in the Pakhtuns of Dir. While observing the subculture and its inspiration from other major cultures the author came across that cow is considered the most innocent of all animals and the people are still using its dung for making a mud wall or a mud floor. Even if dungdirts someone cloths or hands, he/she without cleaning offers prayers in the same condition.

Historical record suggests that; "Dir state is at least 300 years old. It was already in existence when the Mughal regime was at its zenith; yet it never fell under Mughal suzerainty".¹ Dir remained under the control of Nawabs of Pinda Khel Tribe for almost three centuries. Nawab Shah Jehan (1924-1960) said that Dir was a kind of walnut for me I kept in secretion. Nawab had expressed the very idea of *Azad* Dir state, but it had never been materialize in his lifetime. Nawab Shah Jehan was arrested in 1960 by the government of Pakistan and he died in 1966, so the people who interacted with Nawab of Dir remember that Nawab was courageous and a brave Pakhtun. It was a common view and still it is talk of the town. Interestingly, the Nawabs had ruled Dir on the pattern of Mughals even their names reflect the Mughals dynasty

¹Arnold J. Toynbee, *Between Oxus and Jumna* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 144.

such as Shajehan Nawab, Aurangzeb, and the last Shahkhisro. Nawab was the son of the soil had backing of a powerful tribe and Malaks of the Painsa khel and Sultan Khel tribe. “It is believed that the oldest name of Dir was Masaga. Masaga was spread from Dir to Buner and Swat and up to river Indus”.²

Dir has several names because it was on the remote corner of civilizations and monarchs, “In the era of Mughals, Dir, Bajaur and Gilgit were collectively called Yaghistan and sometimes Biloristan”.³ The word Dir has many meanings that is “*But Khana*” (Idol House), *May Khana* (Wine house), *Gham Khana*, (Grievous House), and *Jail Khana* (Jail). It was called *But Khana* either because of the presence of many idols in the Buddhist monastery in Dir or because of the un-Islamic customs and traditions followed by the inhabitants of Dir.

The area of “Dir Proper” as surrounded on all sides by rocky mountains, which seem like a naturally built jail due to which, it was called *Jail Khana*. The word *Gham Khana* suits Dir most accurately because of factional fighting in Dir. Although drinkers were rare in Dir, yet a few specific persons used wine in large quantities so it was called *May Khana*. In Sanskrit language “*dirgh*” stands for a high or elevated place, while keeping in view the location of Dir, this interpretation makes a sense.

Dir has chequered history with neighboring states of Swat, Chitral and Bajaur, but with British and the Amir of Afghanistan the Nawab maintained cordial relations. Till the Adenzai pact 1922 Dir and Swat were at perpetual warfare with each other, every war against Swat state was called the “*Swat Ghaza*”. Until the date, there is a social distance between the Dir and Swat people. It was because of the behaviors of the two Yousafzai rulers, one of Swat was a

²Sulaiman Shahid, *Gumnam Reyasat* (Peshawar: Danish Publishing Agency, 2005), 26.

³Ibid., 28.

benevolent despot and the other of Dir was a tyrant ruler. “The policy of Swat state is liberal: it spends all that it can on hospitals, roads and school, in that order of priority. The policy of Dir state is conservative A hospital has been recently been built at the capital, but the road which is Dir state’s main artery is maintained by the government of Pakistan. In Dir state, the buses that ply on the British –built and Pakistani- service roads are a state monopoly”.⁴

Dirvis are very much conscious while engaging with the people of Swat, relatively *Dirvis* are very much engaged in matrimonial relations with the people of Bajaur; there is a proverb about Swati spouse, *Swati wakache da jaidadna da khlaskri*. Translation: to get engage with a Swati (female) will make you landless and miserable. In addition, looking at the leisureliness of the Nawab of Dir there is also a dictum in Swat that, *kanawabighwaray nu Dir ta larsha*. Translation: If you want to be a Nawab then go to Dir.

Geography and history

Dir district is 5,280 square kilometers in area and part of the Malakand division of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), lying along the Afghanistan border between Chitral and Peshawar. Almost all of it lies in the valley of the Panjkora, which raises high in the Hindu Kush at Lat. 35.45 and joins the Swat River near Chakdarra, where the district is usually entered’ at Lat. 34.40. Apart from the tehsils of Adenzai round Chakdarra and Munda in the south-west, Dir is rugged and mountainous with peaks rising to 16,000 feet in the north-east and to 10,000 ft. along the watersheds with Swat to the east and Afghanistan to the west. The only motor road to Chitral reaches 10,234 ft. at the Lowarai pass.⁵

⁴Arnold J. Toynbee, *Between Oxus and Jumna* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 144-45.

⁵Simon Gillett, “The State of Dir”, www.khyber.org

Dir, the oldest state, was merged into Pakistan in 1969. The Nawab era rule was the most interesting era of the state, in which the people were suppressed and depressed in comparison to the Swat state which had progressed under the Walis. The Yousafzai state (Dir) on the frontier region was cut off from the rest of the world until 1969. The only country familiar to the people was Afghanistan; the Afghani currency was in vogue until its merger into Pakistan.

Geo-strategic importance

From Karachi to Chitral the 2500 km highway crosses through Dir⁶ and enters into district Chitral. From Dir Afghanistan can be approached from three places i.e., 1. Shahi pass (Barawalbanda) 2. *Maskini* (the birthplace of ex- Kunar governor, Zarin Malik) and third the road from Munda via Bajaur leads to Afghanistan. The Lowarai tunnel project is almost completed which will connect Pakistan with China, Afghanistan and the Central Asian republics. Dir also shares its border with Bajaur agency from which Dir has borrowed *Wahabbism* and it serves as a hideout for the outlaws of Dir. Still after the defeat in Swat, the Taliban had made their safe havens in Dir especially in proximity of Pak-Afghan border.

For decades, Dir had served as a market for the Chitralis but after the Soviet invasion, Dir was highly weaponized and radicalized. The Chitralis had shifted their marketing to Peshawar. Interestingly while interviewing the shopkeepers of Dir bazar, they explored that Chitralis were the most polite people and due to our mishandling and misbehavior, we lost our centuries old customers.

Chakdarra is called the gateway to Dir and the natural boundary of Dir where one can feel that he is in the Malazais area. Kumrat is a beautiful and scenic part of Dir-Kohistan. There

⁶Though, there are two districts i.e. Dir Upper and Dir Lower, but it will be used as Dir in the whole document.

is a myth about it that here are plane cannot fly because of elevated mountains and forests. According to locals, Pak-army is trying to capture or to make it hideout or some weaponry installation in Kumrat. However, it is a matter of fact that the military is nowadays stationed at *khwagayuba*, an entrance to Dir Kohistan.

Demography and resources

The people of Dir are generally known as Malazais, the term Malazais is alien for the people of Dir but most popular amongst the settled districts and the tribal agencies. Several names were used for Dir, such as Panjkora, Biloristan and Kafiristan. The respective areas of different tribes are.

1. Painsa khel: The most powerful tribe since Nawab era, they are still playing a leading role in the politics of Dir. Their respective area is Dir upper, Nihagdarra, Ksheri, Karudarra, Bibyawer, Jughabanj, Darora and Attanr darra. According to rough estimate, they are about two lacs.

2. Sultan khel: Sultan khel darra (district Dir lower) Tormang darra, Wari, their number is one lac mostly resides on the borders of Dir lower and upper.

3. Nasruddin khel: They reside mostly in district Dir lower and in the peripheries of Dir upper. Their respective areas are Hayaseri, Shehzadgai, Rabat, Baroon, Minjaye, Kala dag (Maidan) they are about 80- thousands.

4. Wosa khel: They mostly reside in Dir lower, their respective areas are talash, Timeregarah, and in the peripheries of Dir lower. They are in number about 70 thousand in totals.

Apart from these main tribes in Dir, there is another major tribe i.e. Tarkanri. The Tarkanri tribe is the tribe of Ghazi Umra Khan. Interestingly, he was also successor of a saint; named Mast Baba who was a very pious man. The people consider him as a saint because of his piety and soon he became the arbitrator of the Pakhtun disputes. Other than that in Dir, there are Utman Khel, Swati, Roghani, Shinwari, Dalzak, Gujars, Wardakand Kattani. These other tribes are not Malazais and had migrated from Bajaur, Afghanistan, Swat and Malakand. They are about one lac.

Like Swat Kohistan, Dir has also had a Dir Kohistan. The Kohistanis are famous for their deodar timber and forests and the potatoes. "Dir Kohistan has a population of 112,695 with a male female ratio of 51:49 (Government of Pakistan 1998). The three main ethnic groups are the Kohistanis (40 per cent), the Pathans (50 per cent), and the Gujars (10 percent). The total area of Dir Kohistan is 12,000 sq.km."⁷

Dir Kohistan is famously known, as "Kohistani" among the local people. They are more violent than Pashtuns, but had borrowed the code of Pakhtunwali from Pakhtuns as they are very hospitable but have no respect and mercy for females as the author has personally witnessed in his visit. The males were wondering with Kalashnikovs and females were busy in the potato fields with covered faces.

Resources

In comparison to Swat, Dir is not that much resourceful. However, it has few very important resources; the first is human resources, more than 37% work in gulf countries. They are laborers

⁷Shahid, *GumnamReyast*, 77.

because education was introduced in Dir in the 1970s. Pakhtuns diaspora in the Saudi Arabia and in the gulf countries is best explained by the tappa,

Soke pa raza da mulkana zee

Yaa deer ghareeb she yadayar la ghamazeena.

Translation:

No one leaves his country by his sweet will.

It is either due to poverty or heartbreak in love.⁸

According to source three to five crore remittances come to Dir on daily basis.⁹ Most of these remittances go into charities i.e. madrassas and mosques. The other important industry is the knife industry, the oldest industry in Dir. The people attached to this profession from generation to generation. While wondering in Dir bazaars the author had discovered that this industry had got a boost during Afghan war. The Dir diggers were famous among the guerrilla fighters. In the comparatively small bazars of Dir, there were more than 50 knives shops; a shopkeeper named shehzad age 27 told the author that even females are expert in making the handle of knives.

However, now due to urbanization the knives industry is at the verge of decline. The knives industry is famous, because in Dir the Nawab had established this industry, and the modern weaponry was out of access during Nawab's era. However, during the Afghan war Kalashnikov was introduced and the knives industry now declining.

⁸Dr. Hanif Khalil, *Pashtoon Culture in Pashto Tappa* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical & Cultural Research, 2005), 149.

⁹Niak, Mohammad. *Hundi* Businessman. Personal interview, on 10 July 2011.

The other important product of Dir is Dir caps (*Dir Topi*). Because of the Deobandi and *Wahabbi* influence that industry had got its boost. A town namely Khall is famous for *Topies*, almost in every house female are expert in making *Topies*. Especially, the young girls are more inclined toward this art of *Topi* making because they are considered more acceptable for marriage when they know the art of *Topi* making. Now that *Topi* making art has also been replaced by the Deobandi madrassas, because a memorizer of the holy Quran (*Hafiza*) has more worth than a girl who owes the quality of *Topi* making. Nevertheless, still Dirvis *Topies* are famous throughout Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, because these are purely hand made.

The dry fruits of Dir especially the walnut are the cash crop in Dir. Walnut trees are in abundance because of walnut trees, Dir furniture industry is also booming. Dir is also rich in the mineral resources. In Dir, Garnet, Quartz and Tourmaline are found in abundance.¹⁰

Tourism has not yet flourished in Dir, because of the lack of communication system although Dir has scenic locations like, Kumrat, Usheri Darra, Barawal band, the Lowarai top, and Laram Sar. Timber of Dir is worth mentioning. It is used for the making of bridges and precious furniture; especially the trees of Deodar are in abundance in the valley of Kumrat and Usheri darra. A renowned poet from Dir, Abaseen Yousafzai is of the view that Nawab had donated timber to the Islamia college of Peshawar.¹¹

Education

Dir is lagging behind in education. The illiterate districts in PATA are Dir lower and upper, because until 1970 the Nawab of Dir had not allowed education. Only religious education was allowed for the purpose of normal and nominal religious rituals. In 1920s Baacha Khan along

¹⁰*Pakhtunkhwakamuqadama*(Urdu), (Peshawar: National Democratic Consultation Project, 2008), 82.

¹¹Hussain Shah, ANP District President of Dir Lower, Personal interview, 12 May 2011.

with Fazl-e-Mahmood Makhfi visited Dir. In his autobiography he says that “we established a school at Khaloona (present days Khall) and students were enrolled there. The enrollment rose to four hundred, but after a week we were summoned by the Nawab; prior to it our school was grounded, he said that if the schools were allowed then the British will help out the Mian Gul of Swat in retaliation, and the state of Dir will be no more.”¹²

According to the data obtained from the education office in the district, there are 793 government primary schools — 204 for girls and 589 for boys — 82 middle and 39 high schools. Among the middle and high schools, 21 middle and 6 high schools are for girls.¹³

The district with 800,000 population has only two-degree colleges, one each for girls and boys. There are seven higher secondary schools, with only two for girls. Recently the present government had turned the Sheringal campus of Malakand university into a full fledged university, Shaheed Benazir Bhutto University Sheringal Dir upper (SBBU).

Education in Dir lower is comparatively good but not that much advance like the neighboring district of Swat. In Lower Dir there are, “827 boys primary schools, 405 girls primary schools, 62 girls middle schools, 490 boys middle schools, 14 girls high schools ... 52 boys high school, 12 boys higher secondary schools ... Three girls secondary school, 120 private schools. Two boys’ colleges (Gulabad, Timeregarah), two girls colleges (Chakdara, Timergara)”.¹⁴ The first university in Dir region is University of Malakand at Chakdara, which was established in 2001. This university is at the junction of Dir, Swat and Batkhela.

¹²Abdul Ghaffar, *Zama Zhwand Aw Jad-o-Jihad* (Pukhtu), (Kabul: Kabul Government Press, 1983), 109.

¹³Pakistan Census Report of 1998, “Dir Upper”.

¹⁴Pakistan Census Report of 1998, “Dir Lower”.

Administration

Dir has become part of Pakistan after its annexation in 1969. It was given the status of district and then it came under the PATA regulation in 1975. The state of Swat was merged with Pakistan in 1969, and was kept under the control of Political Agent Malakand. In 1975, the federal government introduced the PATA Regulation. The PATA regulation was replaced by Nizam-i-Adal in 1994, under the pressure of TNSM. In 1996, Dir was bifurcated into upper and lower districts. The headquarters of the lower district is Timeregarah and of the Upper Dir is *Khas(Proper)* Dir. As a whole, Dir is administratively subdivided into six tehsils which contain a total of 65 Union Councils.

Political activities

The Upper Dir is a strong hold of Jamaat-i-Islami while in Lower Dir there are representations of the three major parties i.e., ANP, JI and PPP. Although JUI (f), PML (N) and PPP Sherpao also have their representation but they are not in the position to win a constituency. Currently, Dir has two senators in the national upper chamber of Pakistan, senator Zahid Khan (ANP) and senator Maulana Gul Nasib Khan (JUI f). Two provincial ministries belong to Dir, Nawabzada Mahmood Zeb Khan and Haji Hidayatullah from PPP and ANP respectively.

All the militant organizations operating in Kashmir and Afghanistan have their offices in Dir operating under the patronage of either JI or JUI (f), or independently. They are recruiting from Dir, raising funds and sending the recruits to training centers, still 14 youngsters from Dir are busy in Afghanistan against the allied forces.¹⁵

¹⁵Bakht-i- Rehman , Dir Area commander of Al-Badar Mujahideen, Personal Interview, 5 September 2011.

The genesis of Dir state

Dir state developed from a small village named Bibyawer 15 km from Dir southward.¹⁶ Interestingly, this town is the hub of Paindakhel family. The Nawab writ was not that much effective in the areas where at present time the Taliban are powerful whereas the tribal *Lashkars* has been raised from the areas that were loyal to Nawab in the bygone days. The Paindakhel and Sultankhel families remained loyal to Nawab because they were the main beneficiaries of grants, lands and privileges.

The evolution of Dir state is not like that of the Swat. In Swat the ruler was imported i.e. Abdul Jabbar Shah from Sitana, but in Dir the case was different. The Nawabs were son of the soil; however, religion was the exploiting force as it happens even today. They had got a very strong *dalla* (support group) from the influential tribes of Dir. As the Nawabs were supported by the masses so they never thought on the line of the Walis of Swat. The Nawabs ruled over Dir with an iron fist.

According to historical record, “Ancient history of Dir reveals the interplay of the Aryan tribes who have been recognized in numerous graves found in Timeregarah and other places. Later on, the Acheamenian and Greek rulers extended their authority to this part of the world. It is through this territory i.e., “Massaga” (Greek name for Dir and surroundings) that Alexander the great passed with great difficulty. In the battle of Masaga, generally identified with the famous ruins near Ziarat, in between Chakdara and Timeregarah, Alexander faced the greatest heroin queen of that time who gave him the toughest fight. Subsequently the entire area was won over by Buddhism”.¹⁷ The monumental remains of these people are spread over this land and can

¹⁶The native village of the author.

¹⁷Aurangzeb Khan, *Dir Museum Chakdara* (Islamabad: Barqsons, 1979), 1-2.

be seen in the surviving stupas and monasteries. A lot of valuable material has been excavated in various places, which throws light upon the ancient history of this part of the country. Toward the 15th century A.D., the Yusufzai established themselves in this region and developed tribal system of socio-political life.

Rise and fall of the Nawab dynasty

"A great civilization is not conquered from without until it has destroyed itself from within."

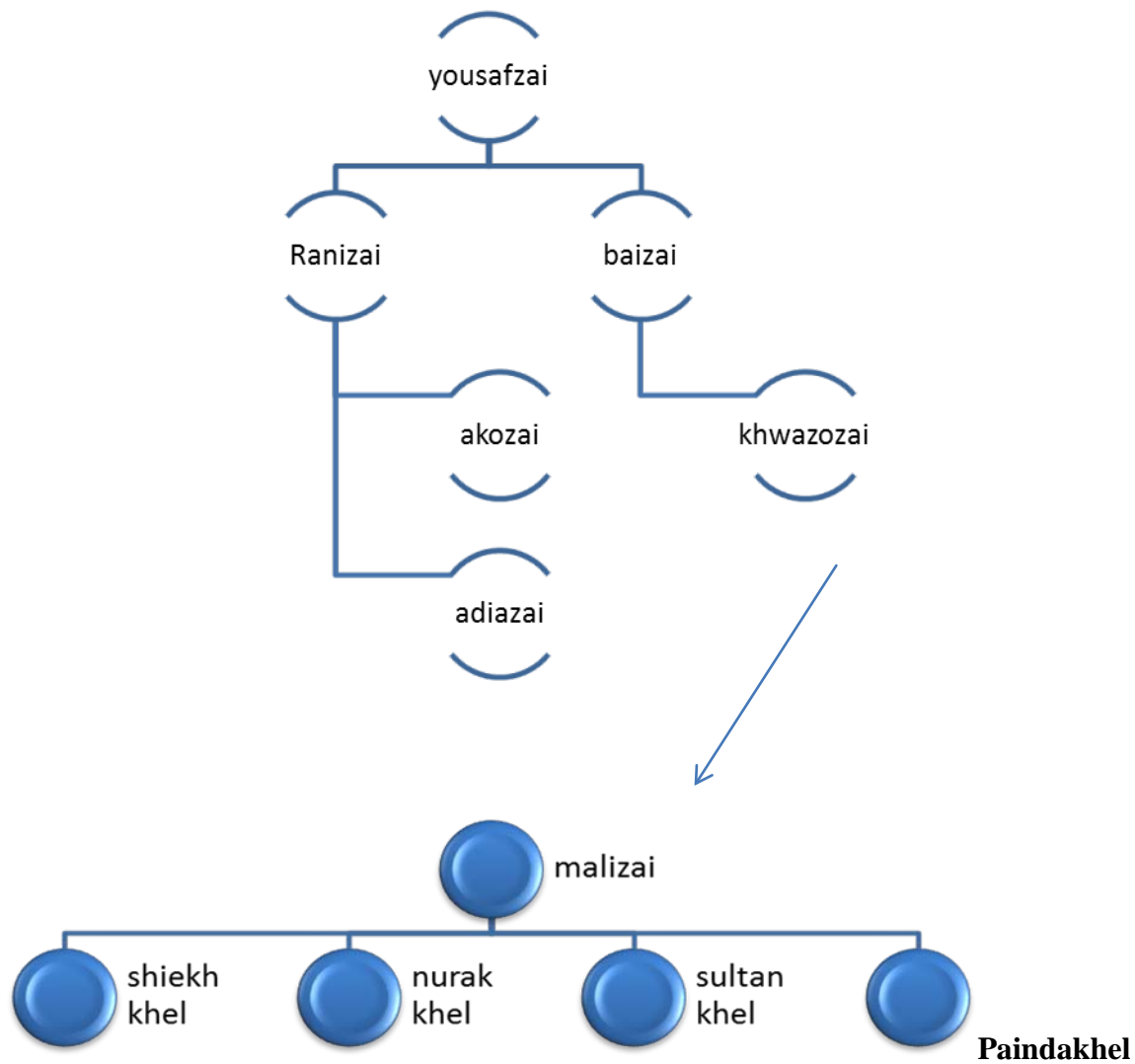
(Will Durant)

Historically, "Dir state has always been unique in that there along among Pathans the tribes acknowledge one of themselves not only as a Khan or Malik, but also as their hereditary ruler with power over their persons, indeed as a prince. The ruler himself is a Pinda khel, the Pinda Khel being one of the four sections of the Malazais Yousafzais, all subjects together with certain other clans. There has been a chief in Dir for nine generations, the first of the line, Ismail Khan, having been contemporary with, but younger than, Khushal Khan Khattak, whom he met".¹⁸

The Yousafzai state of Dir is the oldest state in the North West Frontier of India. The state has been ruled by Malazais branch of the Yousafzai family. The founder of the Nawab family Glulam Qasim Khan rose from a small village and had ruled from Chakdarra to Lowarai pass. The Nawab family had ruled Dir for more than three centuries and their style of government was autocratic but they had strong support from their mighty tribe and legitimacy in the garb of religion. Still in Dir religion and the support of tribe is playing a vital role in the

¹⁸Olaf Cairo, *The Pathan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), 385.

electoral politics of the area. Genealogy of the Nawab of the Yousafzai is traced back to a saint named Akhun Ilyas a Malazai Pinda khel from the Pinda khel tribe. The major language of Dir state is Pashto, but in Nawab era, the court language was Persian. It was because the elite education in that era was mere the learning of Persian language so, until the last Nawab of Dir all were well versed in the Persian language. The genealogy of the Malazais tribe is following.¹⁹



¹⁹Captain. A. H Macmohan, *Reports on the Tribes of Dir Swat and Bajaur* (Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank, 1981), 130.

Nawab belongs to the strongest tribe of Painsa Khel, the warriors and the religious family of Dir.

Chronology of the Nawabs family

The year 1626 marked the establishment of the Nawab dynasty in Dir. Akhun Ilyas was born in the Painsa khel area of Nehag darra, so Nehag darra is the birth place of Nawab dynasty. Due to his piety *sirai*, (a land for the purpose of cultivation offered by the local Pakhtuns to mullah or Pirs) has been awarded to him. Later the piety of Akhun Ilyas passed by his successors and became the rulers of Dir. Mullah Ismail(1676-1752) was the son of Akhun Ilyas and was given the *serai* at Bibyawer . Khan Ghulam Khan (1752-1804) inherited the serai from his father and grandfather, and became famous as the Khan of Bibyawer, from this very area the Khani begins. Khan Ghulam Khan was followed by his son Khan Zafar Khan (1804-1814). He shifted from Bibyawer to Dir, built a small but a strong militia and subdued the local population of Gujars and Kohistanis.

Khan Zafar Khan left four sons and out of these four sons the younger one Khan Qasim had ruled over Dir. Khan Qasim Khan (1814-1822) was killed by his sons and was buried at Dir. Still the graveyard is famous for his name as “*KhanShahed* graveyard”. Khan Ghazan Khan (1822-1868), after a hard struggle with his brothers, became the undisputed ruler of Dir. He was an anti-British ruler. He also dispatched a small contingent under the command of his son Khan Rahmat ullah Khan to help out the mujahedeen at Ambela.”²⁰ Ghazan Khan ruled Dir for almost 46 years. He was the most courageous and foresighted Khan of Dir. Ghazan Khan left 10 male Children and female Children also, so the dictum came into vogue, (*dameerathMalizaipenza lass zaman v*). Translation: even a heirless Malazais has fifteen sons.

²⁰Shahid, *GumnamReyasat*,119.

After the death of Khan Ghazan Khan, court intrigues started in which Khan Rahmat ullah Khan, (1870-1884) defeated all his brothers and became the Khan of Dir. Interestingly, Khan Rahmat Khan also left 10 sons in which the eldest one Khan Muhammad Sharif Khan (1884-1890) was destined to become the Nawab of Dir. His era is known for the perpetual wars with the Khan of Jandul i.e., Ghazi Umra Khan.

The interesting period of Ghazi Umra Khan begins in the 1880s. Being the most ambitious man in the history of Yusufzai, he attacked the Dir throne consecutively. First attack was under taken in 1882 followed by second and third attacks in 1883 and 1884 respectively, but he failed. He made almost six attempts in the span of eight years and finally Dir falls into his suzerainty in 1890.²¹ Khan Mohammad Shrif Khan was dislodged by Umara Khan and to Mardan and he spent about five years in exile. One can compare the attacks of Ghazi Umra Khan against Malazai tribe to that of Sher Shah Suri who captured the Mughal throne in the Indian subcontinent, though for a short period.

Umra Khan ruled Dir for five years focused his energies on military and also made some follies as he attacked Asmar a border area of Afghanistan and also challenged the authority of British Empire and at last had paid the price. Umara Khan raised a strong military of the Tarkanri tribe and developed cordial relations with Afghanistan in his early period as he ascended the Jandul throne.²² However, he soon became the eyesore of the mighty British Empire and the famous Chitral expedition (1895-96) was launched to uproot myth and might of Ghazi Umara Khan. (*charta London charta Chitral, benagayzoarkarayangrezan Chitarl ta zaeena*).

²¹ Dir throne means the proper Dir ruled by the Malazai tribe.

²² Habib-ur-Rahman, *Reyast-i-Dir Tareekh Kay Ayenay Mai* (Dir: A. One Press, n.d.) 15.

Translation: London and Chitral is pole apart but the aggression of Englishmen and cowardice of locals paved the way for Chitral conquest.

The tussle between Muhammad Sharif Khan and Ghazi Umra Khan gave an opportunity to the British rulers to interfere in the affairs of Dir. The Malakand Agency was formed in 1895, followed by the Chitral expedition in 1896. The nine-year rule of Muhammad Sharif Khan was nightmare for the inhabitants of Dir due to wide range of chaos and uncertainty. Ghazi Umra Khan exploited the situation in his own interests and occupied Dir. However, his act also alarmed the mighty British Empire.

Ghazi Umra Khan ruled Dir for five years, and then British compelled him to live his remaining life while in exile in Afghanistan. Then came the second term of Khan Muhammad Sharif Khan (1895 - December 1904) in his era the title of Nawab was conferred to him by the British because of his services in the uprooting of the Ghazi Umra Khan. After the death of Sharif Khan his son Aurangzeb Khan (1904-1924) came into power, he is still famous as Khan Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan alias *Chara*(dump) Nawab in Dir because he has problem biologically that he could not speak smoothly.

Last but not the least the era of Shah Jehan Nawab (1924-1960) the notorious One' who kept Dir in darkness for almost 36 years. Under the pressure from the government of Pakistan, he abdicated in favor of his son Nawab Shah Khisro Khan (1960-1969). At last, Dir was merged into Pakistan along with Swat and Chitral and the Nawab's era ended. The era of Shah Jehan is remembered for violence against his opponents and peace and swift justice for the local masses, because in the whole Nawabi era there was no concept of jail, justice was provided to the people

according to the defined codes of Pakhtunwali.²³ The rulers of Dir exercised all the powers i.e. judicial, military, and legislative and even issues decrees. The spoken words of the rulers were laws of the state. The enforcement agencies were Maliks and Khans. The Nawabs kept an irregular militia for the enforcement of law and order.

The rulers of Dir built their political policy on twin pillars: loyalty to British rule, and a firm adherence to Pakhtunwali, the traditional code of the Pakhtuns, which includes honor, revenge, hospitality, and giving protection to all who ask (even sworn enemies). Unlike the rulers of neighboring Swat who followed a policy of social and economic development, the Nawabs of Dir make every effort to maintain Dir as a patrimonial state. They neither adopted nor developed any kind of prescribed legal code to regularize their rule, instead governing by arbitrary declarations. They built few roads. The main road connecting Dir to Chitral was the only noteworthy exception, which the British asserted that they build it.

Archaeological sites in Dir

Dir is rich in archeological sites but these sites have not been explored yet. Ouch, a populace town in Dir lower, which is an ancient historic village of Dir District, situated about ten kilometers from Chakdara towards Timeregarah. A unique feature of the town is the existence of Noor Mahal mosque here. “This is actually a sort of mini museum Located in the well-known mosque of the town. About two hundred years back Maulana Muhammad Nasim Siddiqui (RA) brought many remnants and about five hundred rare manuscripts of books with him from Delhi

²³Zahir Shah Khan, Central Deputy General Secretary ANP Ouch Dir lower , Personal interview, 25 June 2011.

on camels. The relics are the consecrated hair of the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) and items belonging to Hazrat Ali (RA), Hazrat Imam Hussain".²⁴

Another important site is Timergara, the head quarter of Dir Lower. Timergara literally means, "Fortified place of Taimar or Temur" and is a populated village of unknown origin. A large-scale excavation was undertaken in the year 1964-5 under the leadership of prof. A.H. Dani. As a result a number of graves were excavated. "Balambat is the name of the area west of the river Panjkora, which separates it from the village Timeregarah, standing on the opposite bank. Due to all its old association with Buddhist, the name may have been derived from two words "Balam: or (Parma) but (*bat* correctly meaning Buddha) meaning "the great Buddha". After the excavations in the 1964-65 under the supervision of A.H. Dani one hundred and twenty eight specimens of minor antiquities were also discovered."²⁵

Andan Dheri, "the round mound "a name by which the local people remember the site, lies at four miles north of Chakdara. The site was surveyed in 1966 and excavation was conducted under the direction of A.H. Dani. As many as 534 pieces of stone sculpture was recovered. "According to the evidence of coins the period I. may be dated from the time of the great kushanas i.e., end of the first century A.D. or beginning of the 2nd century A.D. and period II is dated to 3rd century A.D. while period III is dated to the end of 3rd and beginning of the 4th century A.D."²⁶

Chatpat is small village lying at the distance of about a mile and a half from Chakdarra. The department of Archaeology in March 1968 excavated it. Pottery has been discovered

²⁴Chakddarra. Available at www.khyber.org

²⁵A.H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. 3 (Islamabad: n.p., 1968), 60-61.

²⁶A.H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. 4 (Islamabad: n.p., 1968), 34-36.

belongs to Scythe Parthian and the early Kushanas period, it is clear that the foundation of the Chatpat Buddhist site was laid in the late 1st century A.D .at the earliest.”²⁷

Damkot is a ridge opposite the modern form of Chakdarra, built by the British in 1896. The redge is topped by a signal tower, commonly known as Churchill point. “The great mass of pottery found in the excavations comprised largely of shreds, though a number of complete pot were also recovered from some occupational strata.”²⁸ From the very early times no attention has been paid to these archeological sites even the locals have looted it and land mafia grab the plain area of these monument.

According to British Historian, H.A. Dean “former Khan of Dir almost ruined an old Deva temple at Gumbat, in the Talash valley, the stone being carried off to Dir. Portions of it, however, in excellent preservation, still remain. Ruins and inscriptions exist on the ranges from the Binshi Pass to the south-west, and near Nawagai are remains of a large city. Unfortunately these are inaccessible for examination.”²⁹ Gumbatuna (meaning ‘the ancient domes’) is the name of the picturesque large glen to the south east of Ziarat in the Talash valley. “The evidence of stupas suggests that the Gumbatuna citadel complex was built in about the seventh century A.D. It continued to exist till about the tenth and eleventh century A.D. as suggested by the Hindu Shahi coins and the Sarad inscriptions.”³⁰

Apart from it, the Jabagai Stupa site is situated at a distance of about four miles from Chakdara on the Chakdara-Badwan road that run along the right bank of the river Swat. The

²⁷Ibid., 6-7.

²⁸Ibid., 8-9.

²⁹ H. A. Deane, “ Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra”,*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* [October 1896]:637 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25207806>

³⁰A. Rahman, *The Last Two Dynasties Of The Shahi*(Islamabad: 1979), 279-80.

*A local of Ouch, District Dir, employed at Chakdara museum.

other important sites are, Machowa, a small village 13 miles from Chakdara on Dir road. Amlokdara i.e. the valley of the amloka fruit” up on the hilltop is the ruins of Hindu Shahi period. Shmasi Khan a village about a mile away from Ziarat toward Timeregarah, the robbers have taken away the sculptures but the walls of the stupas are still standing. The important sites are, Rmora, Kamal Khan China, Bash Qila, Bambolai and Asbanr.

While visiting and interviewing the library assistant Salim ul Haq* told me that the people of Dir rarely visit here because they thought and often whispers that what was the need to keep these goddess is of other religions. They believe that it is an aspiration of the west to turn the people of Dir into infidels. He further told me that lower staff of Dir museum even did not offer prayer in the premises of the museum, some of the working staff says that their salary is haram but they have no alternative way for livelihood, so they are under compulsion.

During the author visit, looking at the visitors’ book in which most of the remarks were written by the foreigners, and seemed like the locals were not much interested in writing remarks. The author discovered there that after Talibanization the foreigners had stopped visiting here. Apart from that, the staff was co-operative but not much interested in the museum affairs.

Chapter 2

The Merger

Dir state was merged into Pakistan on 28 July 1969. The long rule of Malazai, sub clan Painsda khel ended. People welcomed the very initiatives of the government of Pakistan. But ironically, while comparing it with Swat, the people of Dir felt jubilant at the disposition of the Nawab Shah Jehan in October 1960, when the said Nawab was deposed from the throne and was sent to Rawalpindi along with his son Shehab Uddin Khan. After some time they were sent to Lahore (Gulberg) where they were kept under house arrest. The Nawab died in July 1966.

His heir apparent Nawab Shah Khisro became Nawab of Dir. The affairs were run combined by him and a state appointee called *Wazir-e-azam* by the local people but actually, he was a CSP appointed by the government of Pakistan. Therefore, in 1960, virtually Dir became part and parcel of the Pakistani state; however the formal annexation was made in 1969.

The merger of Dir state to Pakistan had two phases, first when Nawab Shah Jehan was arrested through a military action, before the ground was made and at the eve of Nawab arrest no resistance was showed by the people of Dir. The arrangement were already been made with Nawab's heir apparent Shah Khisro Khan by the government of Pakistan. The second phase was ended in 1969, when Nawab Shah Khisro was forced out and Dir was made part of Malakand Agency.

The deposition of Nawab Shah Jehan was the major development in the history of Dir; his 36-year rule was something suffocating for the people of Dir. At last, they got the freedom in the true sense.” Well, the personality of the reigning Nawab of Dir is an asset that cannot be ignored his rule is personal with a vengeance. Nothing escapes his suspicious eye, and he does

not need to raise his voice when he gives an order. Even though he speaks under his breath, he can count on being obeyed. His aim is power, and he aims at it straight and steadily. The reality of power is, for him, the substance; the appearance of modernity would be, in his eye, a shadowy vanity of vanities.”¹

Nawab Shah Jehan was the most notorious Nawab in Dir. The word Nawab is still specified for Shah Jehan, although after him, Shah Khisro ruled over Dir for 9 years and was the accepted Nawab from the government of Pakistan but the era of Shah Jehan was remarkable for autocracy, tyranny and narrow worldview. His palace occupy forty canal of land, once the whole Dir was in darkness and the palace was lightened and now the whole Dir is lightened and the palace is in the darkness.²

He also built rest houses, prey grounds and kept the German and American cars while the masses were much poor and miserable that an Englishman remarked. “The Chitralis are a merry, lively people, with exceedingly pleasant, frank, open faces. Their houses are rather Dirty, but they are not in themselves like the Dir people, who are so Dirty that a native officer, a Pathan and the Pathans are not a very cleanly people – writing to one of his officers in India, said: “these people are the dirtiest I have ever seen. They are more like beasts than men.”³

Nawab was an evil genius he exploited the very nature of Pakhtunwali, he also played the cards of Pakhtunwali, he restricted his spouses not to go out, he had eight wives and six at one time, and had kept concubines also, but in the masses he showed himself as the champion of Pakhtunwali and tribalism. All over Dir, forts were built for the military purposes, war was made

¹Arnold J. Toynbee, *Between Oxus and Jumna*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 146.

²Sahibzada Fazlullah, Professor at G.D.C. Dir Upper, Personal interview, 7 May 2010.

³H. C. Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign (a Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat. And Bajaur)*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1981), 270.

the national sport of the Dirvis by the Nawab of Dir. Interestingly, he articulated everything in a Michaelian way; the forts were built in the non-Painda khel and Sultan khel areas.

It was because these two tribes were the staunch allies of Nawab and had a say in the affairs of the state. The chiefs of these tribes were made Maliks of the different localities in Dir. The Khans were appointed the commanders, subedars of the Nawab militias. It is owing to the fact that a Khan is one who had a land and derives their powers from the it and generated revenue for the state exchequer.

The Maliks depended upon man power and they provided man power to the Nawab as well to the state in the time of crises. Nawab hired these Maliks in running the affairs of the state in all spheres of life because they were trust worthy and the most reliable persons to the Nawabs.

Moreover, Nawab cleverly used these Maliks in order to restore law and order situation in the state and perpetuated his rule as well as pursued his interests.

In addition to this, Nawab kept balance between his Maliks and Khans. In case of any tussle arose between Maliks it was settled by the Nawab and that too was for his own interest in both cases he enjoyed full powers in all the spheres of state. He was too much diplomatic that he never let the Maliks to be get united against him.

To perpetuate his rule he made matrimonial alliance with the Khans of Kharr, Chitral and Mardan. Along with this, he used theologians for his own interests as well. However, in the time of crises these alliances did not work. The Nawab was left alone and Dir state had got the freedom.⁴ The traditional bravery and ego of Pakhtunwali were the main tools in the hand of

⁴A pamphlet dropped from the helicopter by Pak Army before arresting the Nawab Shah Jehan in October 1960. See Appendix I.

Nawab and he materialized it for his long rule. “The tribes of Dir had a well-earned reputation for bravery in the field and differed from the general run of Pathans in one important respect, which is that they have always acknowledged one among themselves as Khan or malik or lord over them all. It was a factor that simplified and indeed made possible the arrangements for road protection consequent on the decision to maintain a garrison in Chitral. It was in these two states that Umra Khan established a supremacy extending up to the southern boundary of Chitral.”⁵

Nawab divided the state into his sons, the shrewdest was Shehab Uddin Khan alias Jandul Khan, he did not want annexation with Pakistan, because he wanted to become the full fledged ruler of Dir state. Even at the eve of the Pak Army, deployments at Dir he told his father Nawab Shah Jehan to blow up the Chakdara bridge but his father declined his suggestion.⁶

Meanwhile, he tried to get support from the allied and client tribes but failed because the resentment was already there against the family rule. According to Allah Baksh Yousfi, Shehab Uddin Khan made a secret deal with Afghanistan, which became the cause of its merger with Pakistan.⁷ However, Nawab Shah Jehan was not in the favor to integrate with Afghanistan, he wanted Azad Dir.

⁵Major- General J.G. Elliott, *The Frontier 1839-1947 (the Story of the North-West Frontier of India)*, (London: Trinity Press,1968),149.

⁶Suliman Shahid, *Gumnam Reyast* (Peshawar: Danish Publishing Agency, 2005),146.

⁷Allah Bakhsh Yousfi, *Yousafzai Pathan*, 466.

Causes of its merger

Internal causes

Nawab of Dir nominated his son Muhammad Shah Khisro Khan as his heir apparent in 1936 when he was merely 12 years old. Shah Khisro Khan was the first educated man in the history of Nawab's family. He got education from Bishop School in Shimla as usual he was commissioned in the Indian army. However, later on realizing that Nawab Shah Khisro would change the norms and value of Dir state, he tried to call off his commitment but it was too late because Nawab Shah Khisro was more acceptable to Pakistan than Shehab Uddin Khan.

Tehrik- i -Wahdat- i-Tarkrani

The movement was started in 1952 but got popularity in 1959. The Tarkrani areas are Barawal, Maidan and Jandul, the aim of this movement was to shatter the power of Malazai dynasty but it was failed because the Nawab was far more superior militarily and economically than the unorganized tribesmen⁸.

Tarkrani was the tribe of Ghazi Umra Khan in Barawal and Maidan area, Mohammad Shah Khan was the ruler of the Tarkanri area, he wanted to suppress them for *beggars* (force work for state) and in 1959, a revolt broke out in which many tribes men were shot dead by the Nawab forces. After 1948, there were differences between Nawab Shah Jehan and his son Muhammad Shehab Uddin Khan but it was resolved by the Khan of Khar and Bajaur by a *Jirga*. In October 1936, a *darbar* in Dir was held in which Mohammad Shah Khisro Khan was nominated as heir apparent of Nawab, the ceremony was attended by the then governor of NWFP

⁸ Sulaiman Shahid, *Gumnam Reyasat*, vol 2 (Peshawar: Danish Publishing Agency, 2007), 115.

along with the British officers.⁹ It annoyed the elder son of Nawab, named Mohammad Nawaz Khan.

There was a tussle for the throne between Alamzeb Khan¹⁰ and Shah Jehan the former was supported by the Akhunzada family of Khall and Rabat while the later was supported by the Painda khel and Sahibzada family of Dir upper, the later got the throne because of strong family connection with Akhunzada family and of religious factor as well.

Few individuals also played an important role to root out the tyrant Nawab government one individual are worth to be mentioned here. He was *Maulana* Masood ul Hassan Shaheed alias *NarKhanR Mullh* was born in a village *NarKhanR* near Darora District Dir in the religious family of Mian Masood. He got his early education in Dir and then went to India and got admission in Deoband Madrassa. After completion of his education, he came back to Dir and started preaching in his area.

Maulana belonged to the Painda khel family sub branch Kadi Khel. Nawab Shah Jehan appointed him as the *Imam* of Dir but soon differences were developed between them, and he left Dir. *Maulana* started his activities at Takht-Bhai he was about to launch an anti Nawab movement but he was killed by the contract killers for which the Nawab paid Rs. 10000.

In 1952 *Maulana* was killed and the his whole Kadi Khel tribe was bound to pay 1000 head money for the murder, as it was against the established law of the state as the normal head money for a murder was 500.¹¹ In 2005, the then governor of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Syed

⁹Ibid., 114.

¹⁰Alamzeb Khan was the elder brother of Shah Jehan, he was the Khan of Jandul and due to mutual rivalry and jealousy the later removed him with the help of Akhundzadgan of Khaal and Ganuri Miangan of Dir. He lived till his death in Mardan. Shahid, *Gumnam Reyast*. 46.

¹¹Ibid., 138.

Iftikhar Hussain Shah awarded a Gold Medal to the son of *Maulana* Mahmud ul Hassan named Mukhtiar Ali for the acknowledgment of his father services and struggle against Nawab.¹²

Apart from it, many people overtly or covertly played their role in bringing modernity, democracy and enlightenment to Dir i.e., Khall Akhuzadgan, Mast khel family of Jandul and the individuals who in one or in other way tried their best to get rid from the Nawab.¹³

The external factors

The Pakhtunistan myth

In the history of Pakistan the early three decades were engulfed by the Pakhtunistan issue. The idea of Azad Pakhtunistan from *Khudai Khidmatgars* was used by the establishment repeatedly as a trump card against the nationalist leaders. This internal issue was highly externalized and became a threat for the Pakistan foreign policy.

Looking at the geography of Dir and the Nawab attitude it was merged into Pakistan. Prior to it during Durand line agreement Dir became the part of British India. “Amir Abul Rehman’s own autobiography states that the boundary line was agreed upon from Chitral and Baroghil Pass up to Peshawar, and thence up to Koh-i- Malik Siyah (the tri junction of Persia, Afghanistan and Balochistan) in this way that: “WaKhan Kafiristan, Asmar, Mohmand of Lalpura and one portion of Waziristan (Birmal) came under my rule, and I renounced my claims from the railway station of New Chaman, Chaghi, the rest of Waziri, Biland Khel, Kurrum, Afridi, Bajaur, Swat, Buner, Dir, Chilas and Chitral.”¹⁴

¹²Ibid., 158.

¹³Ibid., 136.

¹⁴ Dr. Rifath Hussain, “*Pakistan’s Relation with Afghanistan: Continuity and Change*” http://www.issi.org.pk/jornal/2002_files/no_4/articale/3a.html

After the Durand line agreement, Dir was lost by Afghanistan. The British Indian government paid subsidies annually to the Nawab of Dir for the protection of Malakand Chitral road “The Khan of Dir, through whose territory the road runs for seventy-three miles, also received a subsidy from Government, 60,000 rupees, in consideration of which he provides 400 irregulars for its service.”¹⁵

After the partition, Pakistan had also continued its support through the political agent of Malakand Agency. So, looking at the state affairs of Dir, as it was an independent and without taxation, electoral politics, and have relation with Afghanistan it was merged.

The Russo-phobia

As a hereditary state of the British India, Pakistan adopted the policies of the capitalist block; the same policy of the containment of the USSR was persuaded by Pakistan. “In 1849, with the formal establishment of British rule in the plains of Malakand, a new player entered the game. Now, however, the struggles for supremacy among the local Khans of the area became one small play in a larger contest-the "great game" between the British and Russians. The British were concerned with events in Dir, Swat, and Bajaur for two reasons-to ensure trade and commerce in the Empire and to protect India's northwest frontier from Russia.”¹⁶

Pakistan had adopted the policy of peaceful annexation of the princely states; Dir, Swat and Chitral were the last ones, which become the formal districts of the country. State writ was necessary because the communist propoganda was in full swing and the authorities feared that they can lost a strategic out post any time.

¹⁵Winston Churchill, *The Story Of The Malakand Fieldforce*, available at, www.pdfbooks.co.za, 16.

¹⁶H. A. Deane, “ Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, [October 1896]:637 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25207806>

Afghan factor

Dir shares a long border with Afghanistan; the Nawab of Dir was more inclined toward Afghanistan than Pakistan as after the partition until 1960, the Afghani currency was in vogue in Dir. The Pakistani currency was called *kaldaray*, even the musicians from Dir visited Kabul and sang the folklore for radio in Kabul i.e. Said Awleya and Anwar said. The singer revealed that they were facilitated by the Nawab's brother Shehab Uddin Khan.¹⁷ The Afghan claim was rejected by Pakistan time and again at different forums.

According to epic court rulings, "As the Supreme Court of Pakistan noted in a 1969 judgment, "it is true the tribal territories were never a part of British India as such. The Crown had acquired jurisdiction therein by grants, usages, sufferance, and other lawful means ... although they were territories outside the dominions of the crown." Hence, the British Parliament passed in 1890 a foreign jurisdiction act to exercise and enjoy this jurisdiction "in the same and as ample a manner" as if the territory had been obtained by cession or conquest."¹⁸

Afghanistan moved in the UN against Pakistan was something disgusting; in the 1960s, border skirmishes at Bajaur between the two countries, deteriorated the situation. Looking at the Afghan attitude and the propaganda from radio Kabul, it became integral part of the Pak foreign policy to secure its bordering areas with Afghanistan. "The Afghan government protested against the merger of the three states of Swat, Dir, and Chitral. A spokesman stated that the merger would have no validity unless the consent of the Pukhtun people was sought. Responding to this statement, a spokesman of the Pakistan foreign office said that the measure was entirely within

¹⁷Anwar Said, Folk Singer at Dir, Personal interview, 16 December 2010.

¹⁸Dilip Mukerjee, "Afghanistan under Daud - Relations with Neighboring States", *Asian Survey*, vol. 15, no.4 [April 1975]: 301-312 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40106322>

the domestic jurisdiction of Pakistan and step had been taken in compliance with the persistent demand of the people of these states, ‘voiced for long through public meetings, press statements, telegrams and petitions to the government’.¹⁹ The Afghanistan rejected the Pakistani blame on the ground that ‘Afghanistan further argued that Pakistan was not a successor state to Britain but an entirely new state carved out of British India. Whatever, treaty rights existed were therefore extinguished.’²⁰

The expansionist policy of Pakistan

The government of Pakistan adopted annexation policy, in which, Dir, Swat, Chitral, Kharan, Bahawalpur and Khatlan were annexed in the very early years. The Nawab of Dir was in favor of status quo rather he was not a benevolent ruler, but still people remember him as the honest and brave Nawab of Dir. He was a staunch and orthodox Pakhtun. The Nawab of Dir had made a state within a state with an army and good relations with Afghanistan and has a flag instead of the national flag. “The states of Dir, Swat, and Chitral had small "armies" of their own, of which Swat was the only one of significance.”²¹

The following flag of Dir state shows, verses from holy Quran as his adherence to Islam, the eagle as the sign of power and the hand and moon star either for peace or for power. The hand on the flag is mystery but according to Dr. Fazl-i-Rahim Marwat that Nawab inclination toward Shiaism cannot be ruled out. The Persian invisible writing as the symbol of state official language.

¹⁹ Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969): From Genesis to Merger* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 287.

²⁰ Dr. Fazal Rahim Marwat, “Pak-Afghan Discord over Durand Line” *Frontier Post* (Peshawar) July 2006.

²¹ James W. Spain, “Pakistan's North West Frontier”, *Middle East Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1 [Winter 1954]:29
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4322563>



Flag of Dir State.²²

The official flag of Dir state, with a *kalma*, verse from the holy Quran, and *bismillah*, and invisible sentence in the Persian language.

Whether Dir was a sovereign state or not; internally till 1897 Dir was a sovereign state but during the adventure of Ghazi Umra Khan (1890-95), Dir lost its internal sovereignty. The installation of Sharif Khan in 1897 as the Khan of Dir by the Raj, after the title of Nawab was conferred upon him in 1903. “Reward was not long in coming. Formal titles were conferred on the loyal rulers: the ‘Mehtar ‘of Chitral, the ‘Nawab ‘of Dir and the’ Nawab ‘of Nawagai in 1903 at the darbar of Delhi.”²³ Now, from that onward Nawab became a protégé of the British India, he ruled over Dir and had exploited the loyalty of his own tribe and the backwardness of Dirvis. Until 1960, he was unaware of the developing that happened in sub-continent in the eve of partition. The policy of the British was to keep a check on Wali Swat and the neighboring Chitral state, the Nawab of Dir was the best available option.

²²Simon Gillett, “The State of Dir” , available at www.khyber.org

²³Akbar S. Ahmad, *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans* (London: Rutledge, 1976), 119.

Nawab was fully aware about the utility of the religion in the day-to-day life of the Malazais. He built a *Shahi* mosque in 1930s in the premises of his palace, this mosque was beautifully constructed by the Nawab. Marbles were imported from India; this mosque is considered the most beautiful mosque to date in Dir. He also promoted the Sahibzada or *Sawada* family of Dir in the religious affairs of Dir, because this tribe was a migrated one and had no ancestral lands in Dir. Therefore, until 1960 no one rose against him in the name of religion.

The myth about Dirvis that at Chakdara bridge they were sprayed because of dirt and louses, in fact the spray was done on the wool of cattle's at Chakdara Bridge in order to kill the insects. The exports were banned in Dir by Nawab and imports encouraged. Because the contract of wool and eggs was granted to the people who were near and dear to Nawab or belongs to his families. The contract of the eggs for the political agent of Malakand was with a man from Bibyawer named Mian Rahim Shah.²⁴ It shows that Dir was self-sufficient in the livestock and poultry.

He had banned foreign goods, and on the commodities of daily usage, he imposed high duties, *Ushar* (religious tax on the gross produce) was the regular income source of the state. The state's other source of income was the annual subsidy, granted by the British India.

In the state of Dir only Persian language was patronized, because those who were well versed in Persian language could become part of the state machinery in contrary to Swat state the official language of Nawab's court was Persian. The religious education was restricted to *Khulasa* and *Munya* (religious books, included in *Dars-i-Nizami* syllabus of madrassas) and it was enough to become a mullah of the mosque.

²⁴ Mohammad Alam, Ex-President of Pakhtun Students Federation at Kabul University; a resident of Dir, Personal interview, 11 April 2010.

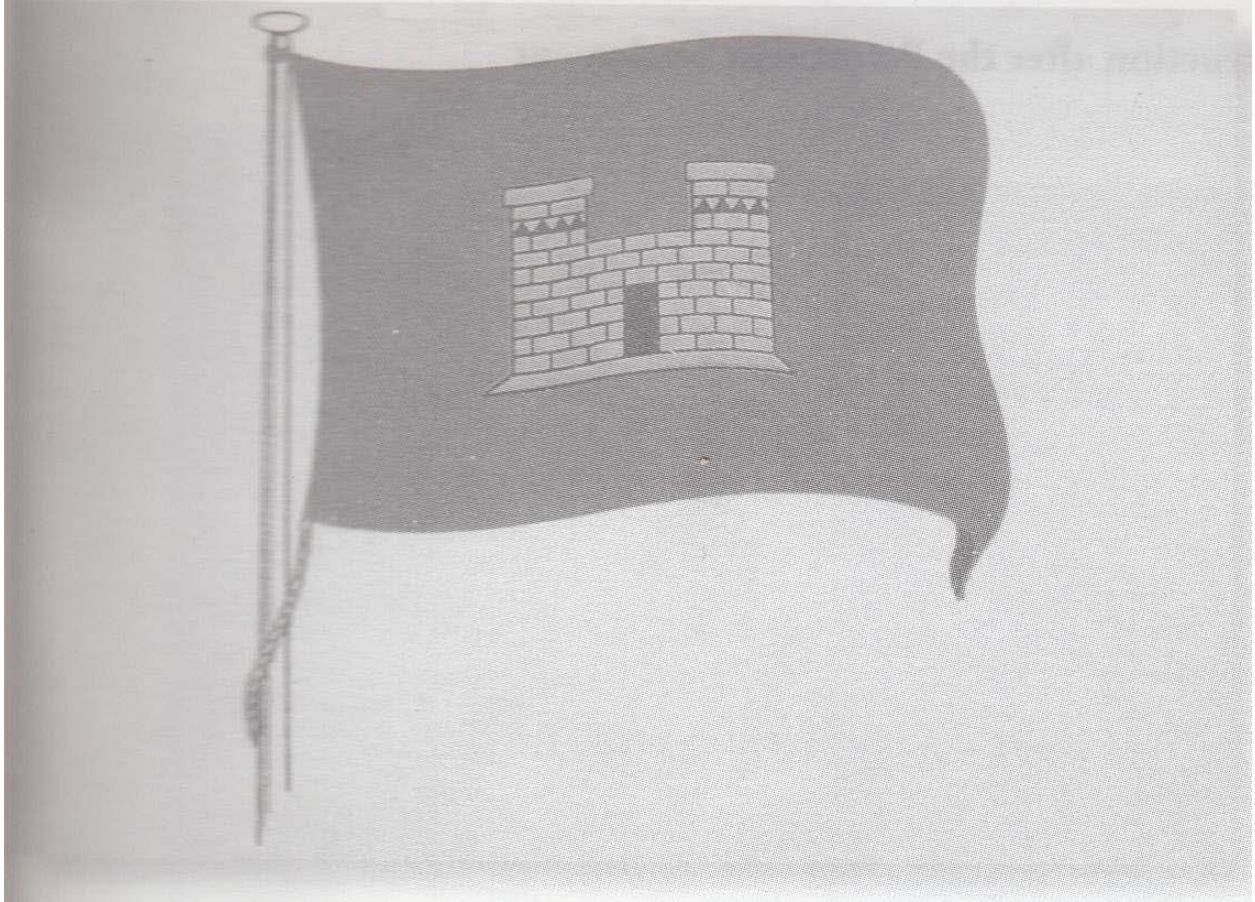
In the year 1933, A.D. the *ulema* from Bajaur issued a *Fitwa* (religious verdict) against Nawab of Dir on the ground that he was a close ally of the Raj, and in response the revolt broke out in the State. Nawab tackled the situation artistically, as he hired the local Ulema who announced from the mosques that British are *Ahlikitab*, (people of the book) and the Nawab did it in the larger interests of the Dirvis.²⁵

The princely states of India were internally sovereigns in their affairs but the case of Jandul and Dir was different during the era of Ghazi Umara Khan. He challenged the two neighboring states i.e. India and Afghanistan. And at the end he lost his throne at the hands of mighty British India. "...while his standard, a white triangular banner with a blood red hand was feared by all of them." He had also established a reputation for sanctity, and had led several religious raids or "jihad" against the idolaters of Kafiristan."²⁶

While comparing the flag of Dir with Swat, the flag of Swat was plain with a building. Apparently, on the flag, the Nawab showed his sympathy for religion and inscribed the verses, but covertly he was the most corrupt ruler of the state.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign*, 275.



Flag of Swat State. Courtesy: George Getley, *Swat: Switzerland of the East* (n.p.[1963])²⁷

The formal merger of Dir state

The former merger of Dir state was made along with Swat and Chitral in July 1969, Dir became one of district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Before merging to Pakistan everything was paralyzed, the Dirvis were kept in social and political coma.

“ When the decision was made that state was going to be merged, [Miangul] Aurangzeb and the Nawab of Dir were called to Rawalpindi, and the message of merger was announced to

²⁷Rome, *Swat State*, 17.

them... it was on Friday morning [25 July], and the state was merged the following Monday, on the 28th of July 1969.²⁸

The Nawab title was no more, though he seized all his powers by sweet will of the state of Pakistan. “These developments set the stage for action, but Yaha Khan, the chief martial law administrator and president of Pakistan, it is said, was not in favor of the merger due to the political unrest in East Pakistan, and the proximity of the states (Chitral, Dir and Swat) to the Soviet Union. He also felt the merger would be an unwelcome addition to the administrative burden and above all the Wali’s and Swat State’s reputation for development and peace made the merger unnecessary. It is generally believed that it was General Pirzada who included the announcement of the merger in Yaha Khan’s speech, which had not been in the original draft. This speech was delivered on 28th of July 1969.²⁹

Formally, Dir was announced as a district with some features of the settled districts as it was exempted from taxes, political activities were allowed. The ban on import and export was lifted. Nawab was the lord of more than half estates of Dir, now once the cohesive power was abandoned after his downfall the people grabbed the land of the Nawabs. “The merger was announced on 28 July 1969, but the Gazette notification ‘Dir, Chitral and Swat (Administration) Regulation, 1969,’ was issued on 15 August 1969. Clause 3 of the regulation titled ‘*Rules shall cease to exercise administrative functions, etc.*’ stated that:

Notwithstanding any law, regulation, custom, usage orders or instructions in force immediately before the commencement of this regulation, as from such commencement—

²⁸Ibid., 286.

²⁹Ibid.

- (a) The ruler of any specified territories [i.e. the former states of Dir, Chitral and Swat] shall cease to exercise any powers or perform any functions with respect to any matter falling within the legislative competence of the provincial legislature and relating to the administration of such territories;

“The powers and functions referred to clause (a) which immediately before the commencement of this regulation were being exercised and performed by any of the rulers of the specified territories shall, subject to the general supervision and Direction of Provincial Government , be exercised and performed by such officer, person or authority as the Provincial Government may appoint or empower in this behalf.”³⁰

After the former merger Nawab Shah Khisro Khan wanted to erupt a revolt but he was failed, “In 1969, resentment against Pakistan and Kushrow Khan erupted into violence; almost all government offices, schools, and hospitals were destroyed in an upsurge of religious fervor. From being the staunchest ally of the British, Dir had become the center of rebellion against Pakistan. Swat, in contrast, had evolved from being the most troublesome region to being the most tractable and the most "advanced.” The Badshah peacefully abdicated in favor of his eldest son, who was entitled the Wali. The Wali increasingly rationalized and modernized the state, while strengthening ties with Pakistan. In fact, Pakistan's President Ayub married two of his daughters into the Swati royal family. In comparison with Dir, internal and external relations in Swat were remarkably amicable. All of this was not to last. Soon after the rebellion in Dir, the princely states were completely merged into Pakistan and the rulers were deposed.³¹

³⁰Ibid., 299.

³¹Charles Lindholm, “Leadership Categories and Social Processes in Islam: The Cases of Dir and Swat”, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, Vol. 42, No. 1 [Spring, 1986]:10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3630377>

Interestingly, ruling over Dir for almost three centuries the Nawab's family never performed the Haj. Even they never visited the British India frequently only in 1930s Nawab Shah Jehan visited India, there were various factors that confined the Nawabs to Dir, it's the language problem as they were not enough educated, second they feared an internal *coup de ta* as they assumed it can happen in their absence.

Nawab had played a pivotal role in inflaming the inter and intra tribes rivalries, he used the powerful Pinda khel and Sultan khel tribes against the *Tarkranitribes* of Jandul. In sense Dir was not a State in the pattern of Swat it was a tribal confederacy in which each tribe, clan and sub clan had its own areas of jurisdiction. "They pay no rent for their land, but they have to render homage to their Khan upon his accession, and if he goes to war one member of each household must go with him."³²

The legacies of the Nawab

Till the date here is no print media in Dir, only radio station is operating in Dir, F.M *Rokhan*, established by the Pak army after operation *rah-i-rast* in Swat.

The people who were stakeholder during Nawabs era, they still have role in the affairs of Dir i.e. (a) Sultan khel and Pinda Khel (b) Tarkrani tribe of Jandul (c) Tribal chiefs, Maliks and Khans (d) Mian, mullah and Sahibzada family.

Rivalries between Swat and Dir people, which became a blessing in disguise for the people of Dir as the Taliban were rejected in Dir as Swati Taliban. The Khans and the Maliks are

³²Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign*, 278.

appreciating Nawab's dynasty, but also criticize him for some of his policies. As Dir peace has been disturbed by the Taliban, so the people romanticize the Nawab era.³³

The people of Dir were kept poor, and still they are poor in comparison to the Swat state. As mentioned above, Swat is richer and far more populous than Dir." Swat is soft; Dir is hard," says a local proverb."³⁴

After the departure of Nawab, political freedom, education, modern institutions, services introduced and infrastructure in built Dir, but Dirvis has lost some of their values which will be addressed in the next chapters.

³³Hussain Shah lala, District President ANP Dir Lower, Personal interview, 25 May 2011.

³⁴Lindholm, "Leadership Categories", 3.

Chapter 3

The Islamization of Dir

Dir has already known for the Deobandi Islam, and the proportion of non-Muslims was very low in comparison to the Swat valley. The Baralivi sect of Islam can be found in some towns lower Dir, namely, Asbanr, Khanpurand Chakdarra. A family that belongs to the Shia sect has also been found in the union council Dir of upper namely Ganuri; this town is famous for *Saddats*. Apart from it, one finds Sikhs *Hakims* running clinics in both lower and upper Dir but they are less than ten in number and most of them are from Buner district.

After the departure of Nawab, the social order of the society was completely disturbed. While the government had paid no attention to the administration so; the *Riwaj* was replaced by the PPC (Pakistan Penal Code) which was something new for the people of Dir. In this scenario, the religious parties exploited the situation.

Dir is the only district in Pakistan where there is no cinema, while in Swat state cinemas have been established there in 1965.”MianguJehanzib, unlike his father, had a great passion for western norms, values, and pastimes and he allowed cinemas in the states, as ‘he was desirous to make Swat a Paris.’ So, by 1965 there were two cinema houses: Swatcinema and Tariq cinema.”¹

The local *Ulema* and the members of Jamaat-i-Islami (hereafter JI) in Dir resisted the internet and cable services. Since the holding of first electoral politics, the females in Dir are barred from castings their votes. However, in 2002 election in the locality of Nehag darra area of

¹Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State (1915-1969): From Genesis to Merger* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 252.

upper Dir, the JI members allowed their females to vote for the sake of Quran and *Sharia*. Ironically, prior to it all parties agreed upon not allowing the female to cast votes.²

Purdhawas not observed commonly in Dir: society was almost open, the female had enjoyed freedom of visiting the shrine and celebrating the festivals, although they were not allowed the due share in the parent's property as it was against the so-called norms and values of Pakhtunwali. "There is very little "*purdha*" or concealment of the women, who go about with uncovered faces, and mingle freely with the men, laughing and chatting with them quite concernedly. They wear very few ornaments ; but in one of the houses in Miankali, the chief village in Jandul, I found some strings of beads, a very prettily shaped pair of scissors ,and some painted sticks which they set for putting surma or antimony on to the eyes".³ Now a days Ouch is famous for jewelry. Almost all the wedding parties come here for buying jewelry and gold. The people of Bajaur and Swat are our permanent customers," said Mahmood lala" the owner of Mahmood jewelry Shop.

After the debacle of Nawab, Dir has lost its unique status in many ways. It exposed to the world, especially the religious politics. Sectarianism came to haunt Dir, and the social order of Dir was disturbed for the first time. During the Nawab era there was a pluralistic society with egalitarian values.

Dir was famous for saints. In every village there are saints i.e. *Maizob Baba* (Chakdara), *Bodababa* (Ouch), *Akhun baba* (AsbabnR), *Palam Baba* (Usheri Dara), *BanR Baba* (Khall), *Akhun Baba* (Lajbok), *Waruki Baba* and *Loi Baba* (Bibyawer), *Loi Baba* (Mian Kalay) *Bukhari Ziarat*

².Malak Jehanzeb Khan, Provincial Vice President PML(N) in Tormang Darra at Dir upper, Personal interview,

³J.G. Elliott, *The Frontier 1839-1947: The Story Of The North-West Frontier Of India* (London: Trinity Press, 1968),262.

(Talash), *Mian Baba*(Timergarah),*Khunau Baba* (Odigram) and the notorious one Sandakai Baba. Therefore, ultimately Sandakai *Mullah* left Swat in 1920 to went and settle in Kohan, Dir, where he embraced a natural death in 1978⁴ (Nehag darra) in Dir. There is an abundance of religious saints, but after the deposition of Nawabs and the entry of Pakistani state education, the people's interest in the religious saints decreased and the importance of the shrines was also declined.

Prior to annexation with Pakistan, Dir society was secular in many ways, because before partition there was a good proportion of Hindu population. There was frequent interaction between Hindus and Muslims.' Dir itself is a large, tumbledown fort, in which the Khan live. It is perched upon the side of a hill at a height of 5,650 feet, and close by, on a neighboring hill, is a straggling, small village called Arriankot, (now Rehankot⁵) which contained about 500 houses, and was chiefly inhabited by Hindu traders.⁶ Immediately after the independence, they left for India, and the *Molvies* announced from the pulpit of mosques that the properties of the Hindu *Banrya* were *Halal*.⁷

The legal system of Nawab was purely secular. Every crime was to be compensated either by money or by Sawara. It was because of the fact that Khan Umra Khan was an adventurous man; he wanted to generate more and more money for his exchequer, while the previous Nawabs and Shah Jehan Khan had no such desires. The local tappa says, *chargay churgure di pa war ka, Khan Umra Khan Dah Chargu Ushar Tolaveena*. Translation: take notice of your chickens, Umra Khan will collect one tenth of them.

⁴Khurshid Khan, "Sandakai *Mullah*: Career and Role in the Formation Of Swat State, Pakistan" <http://www.valleySwat.net>

⁵This name was changed by the Jamat-i-Islami Dir upper.

⁶H. C. Thomson, *The Chitral Campaign (a Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat. And Bajaur)*, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1981), 222.

⁷Sherin Jana *Abai*, a 90 years old woman resident of Dir upper, Personal interview, 9 September 2010.

Nowadays in *Jirga*, the *diyat*(blood money) is called *naika*, or *naiku*, and the head money is varying from place to place. Somewhere it is eight lac and at some places, the amount ranges from four lac to 20lac.⁸ For the killing of female, the head money is rupees two lac but it also vary from place to place but the bitter truth is that the female head money is everywhere less in comparison to a male.

Crime	Ghazi Umra Khan period (1880-1895)	Nawab Shah Jehan period (1924-1960)
1.Murder	500/ Afghani currency	500
2. Broken head	20	10
3. Hand fracture	120	60
4.Eye injury,(if it becomes blind)	500	250
5.Finger fracture	80	40
6.Cutting of ear/ tongue	500	250
7.Tooth	100	50

⁸Ali Haider, age 56, a local of Sheringal Dir upper, Personal interview, 26 July 2011.

The legal system of Nawab was purely secular and was swift and that is the reason that the people still remembers it fondly. Moreover, the people still pay homage to Nawab.

The society was also secular in the era of Nawabs. The female enjoyed freedom of wondering here and there. The *burqa* culture was embraced very late. But as a matter of fact the female folk were the most deprived strata of the society.

The administration and state affairs of Nawabs were although primordial, but it was a social contract between people and the Nawab. In which the people were satisfied to some extent. However, when in 1960s and later on in 1969 the whole structure was wrapped by the government of Pakistan. It created an administrative vacuum that was filled by the Islamists, and Dir became the hub of Jamaat-i- Islami and TNSM (Tahrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat Mohammadi). Later on, the Talibans came and imposed immense atrocities on the people.

There were flaws in the administrative system of Nawab but it was acceptable to the people. It was in accordance to the tribal mentality and norms and values.

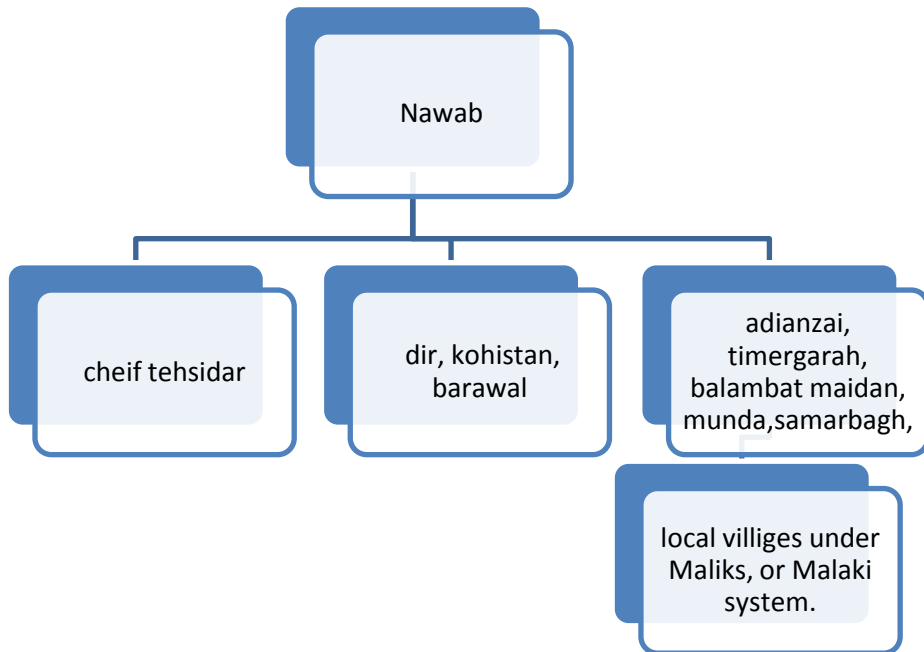
The idea of Dir nationalism i.e., it was a type of tribal nationalism injected by Nawab of Dir through his Malaks and Khans. The traditional *Mullah* had played an important role for the supremacy and legitimacy of the Nawab's dynasty. After the merger, the Malazais supremacy ended and chauvinists' Khans and *Mullahs* switched over their loyalty to the very ideology of Pakistan. Religion became their compulsion and they penetrated into the society through the door of religion.

The policy of strategic depth, converted the Pakhtun belt into a major recruiting ground for the non-state actors like the Taliban. The increasing influence of radical Islamism in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in part parallels the events occurring in Afghanistan—the Soviet invasion,

followed by the influx of millions of Afghan refugees into camps, and the Pakistani government's support of the *Jihad* and mujahedeen groups. Since the 1960s, the border areas had seen a huge increase in the number of madrassas, many reportedly funded by Saudi Arabia.

Lacking alternatives, many refugee children, as well as poor Pakistanis, attended these madrassas.⁹Let us have a look of the administration of Nawab and then the entry of religion in affairs of Malazais, which resulted in the rise of extremism.

The administration of Nawab a quick view

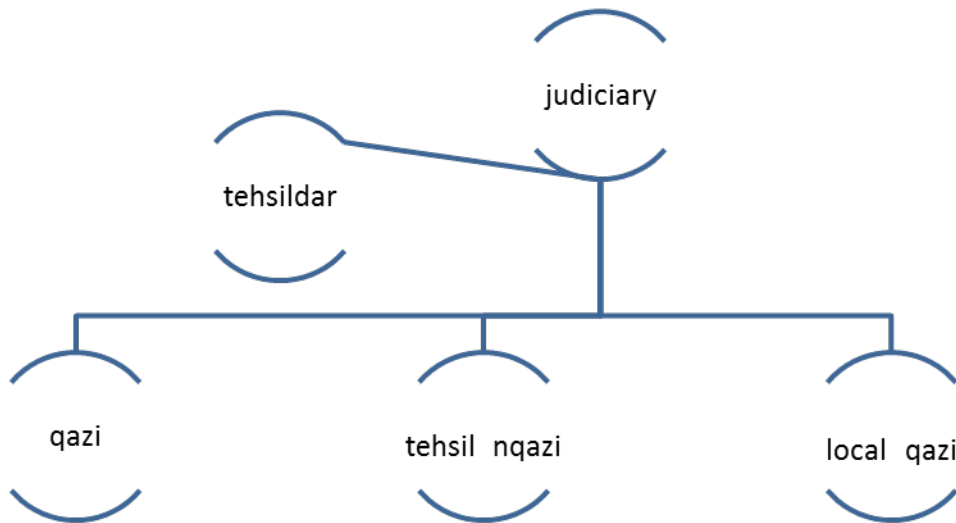


⁹Robert Kemp, "Religious Extremism and Militancy in the Pashtun Areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan", *Journal of International Affairs* available at

The whole state was divided by the Nawab into nine tehsils; each tehsil was headed by a Tehsildar with judiciary a tehsil *Qazi* and in administration a subedars and bulk of jumaldars. Each tehsil was given the task to generate the revenue for the exchequer and keep an eagle eye on the miscreants.

The administration of the state was a four tier administrative structure in which Nawab place himself as all in all. However, he had involved the local Maliks and Khans in the administration of the state in order to keep the tribes under indirect control.

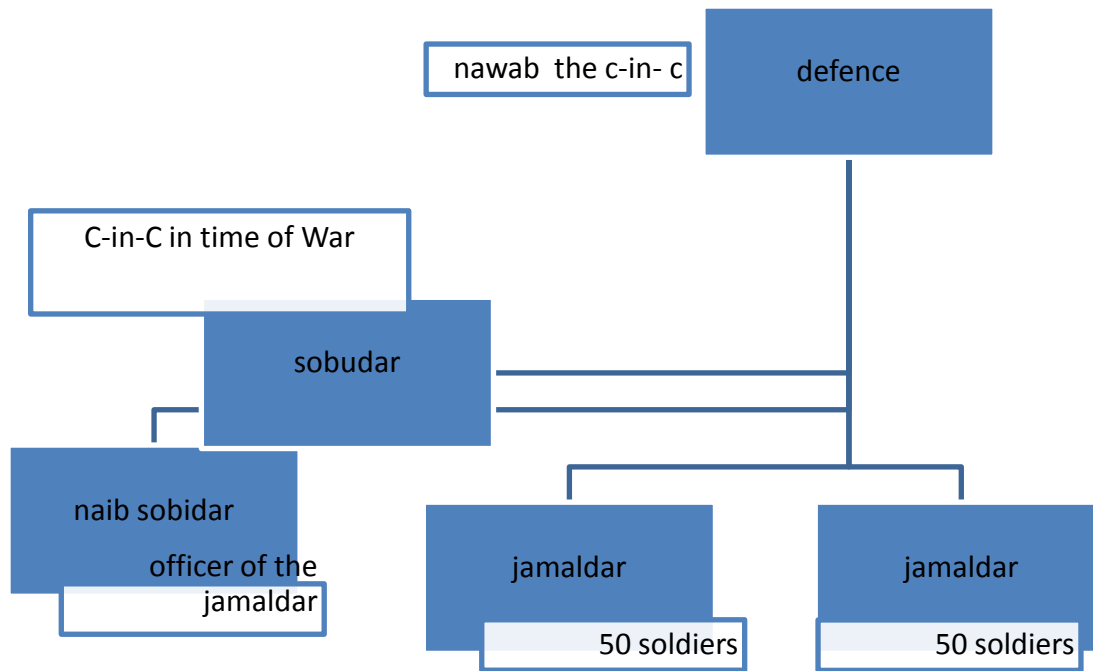
The judicial system of Nawab



The judicial case first registered to the local *Qazi* and then referred to Nawab, the Nawab issued simple words that the parties were asked whether to decide it according to *Riwaj* or in accordance of *Sharia*. Persian words of Nawab, (*ma'mla sail darkhwastbaroyee Shariat yabaroyee*

Riwaj-i-watanfaislakardabashat).¹⁰ Translation: the appellate has the choice to opt for *Shariat* or laws of the land.

The Nawab’s military system was simple and straight.



In Dir in every village, there were Jamaldars and subedars although very rare but they are still respected by the people. They are now the landed junta in Dir and have political powers. For example, the present MNA NajmudinKhan’s father remained a Tehsildar during Nawab’s era. The father of ex-MNA of PPP Ahmad Hassan Khan was the treasure Secretary of Nawab. The father of ex-district Nazim of Dir upper Tariq ullah remained the Imam of Shahi Mosque in Nawab’s era. NawabzadaMehmudZebKhan is the second cousin of NawabShahKhisro; he is now the technical education minister in the government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

¹⁰SulaimanShahid, *GumnamReyasat*, vol 2 (Peshawar: Danish Publishing Agency, 2007), 39.



11

The militias were paid annually in cash or in kind, its total strength was 13000, mostly 36 Afghanis for each sepoyee. Moreover, the officers were paid in terms of kind. In addition the Jumaldar's job was to collect the revenue through the Nawab militia and to collect *Begarian* (force labours without pay) for the renovations of forts and reconstruction. The weapons were locally produced near the palace of Nawab in Dir proper and an Ordinance factory was set up in 1933.

In the factory, various weapons were manufactured in which the famous were single barrel Gun (*yaw Bandy*) and the Breach loaded gun. The trademark was "made in Dir" In the ordinance factory, local guns were produced in abundance i.e. 303, three knot three, was called (*Ghwageen*).

¹¹This cannon was locally produced in the Nawab factory. Still it can be seen in the entrance of the palace in Dir.

The Islamization of Dir

The Islamization of Dir began since the Kashmir *Jihad* of 1948 but later it grew up rapidly due to Jamaat-i-Islami's inroads in local population. Why the religious parties are so rooted in Dir when a local Zahir Shah Khan was asked? he gave me the first hand information that after the departure of Nawab, Dir was declared as part of Malakand Agency and the then DC was Saif Ali Shah whose brother was the JI Amir of district Swabi. Only the JI literature was allowed and a propaganda campaign was launched for the said party's projection through state machinery. He said that people were peaceful and satisfied in the era of Nawab. But when Dir was declared as a part of Malakand agency power was exercised by the political agent commonly called prime minister in that area. Everything was open for sale, the forest mafia exploited the veiled forests of Dir, the antiques of Nawab were accessed and the historical record was destroyed.¹²

After the downfall of Nawab, the electoral politics was introduced in Dir, in which the JI candidates Sahibzada Safi Ullah and Dr. Yaqub Khan won the three first general elections consecutively. Dir remained until 2002 the electoral paradise for JI; till today, there is no party to give tough time to JI. In the 2002 election Qazi Hussain Ahmad the then Amir of JI won from two constituencies, one from Dir and the other from Nowshera but he kept the later one and the former was vacated for another JI candidate.

In Dir the *dalla* (backing from tribal or support party) and the Islam goes simultaneously, and luckily, Jammadrives support from both. The Painsa Khel tribe is with Jamaat-i-Islami and the Sahibzada family for its religious posture is hand in glove with the Painsa Khel tribe.

¹²Zahir Shah Khan Lala, Central Additional Secretary of ANP, Ouch Dir, (Personal interview). Twice ANP candidate for national assembly, he belongs to Ouch Dir lower well educated and had through study of the area and politics. He is the chairman of grand *Jirga* of Dir.

The PATA regulation and its impacts

From 1969 till 1975 Dir was in complete administrative chaos. In 1972, a revolt broke out for the royalty of forests, which was suppressed by Pak Army. The state of Dir was merged with Pakistan in 1969, and was kept under the control of Political Agent Malakand. In 1975, the federal government introduced the PATA (Provincially Administered Tribal Areas) Regulation.

As mentioned earlier, in 1975, PATA was introduced, which included the districts of Swat, Dir, Chitral, Buner, Shangla and Malakand protected area. Vide regulation I of the 1975 dated 26-7-1975, for the trial of criminal case PATA Criminal (Special Provision) regulations (which may also be called PATA Criminal Regulation), was enforced in PATA area and for the trial of Civil cases, PATA civil Regulations was enforced vide Regulation (Civil and Criminal) were enforced by the government under Article 247 of the constitution.¹³

These regulations vested judicial and executive powers in Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners, which was a direct negation of 'Judiciary shall be separated from the executive' clause. Supreme Court ruling in 1995, declared the regulations null and void. But the damage had been done. The people were nostalgic about the swift justice in the Nawab led Dir – although it was based more on tribal customs than the Islamic principles – and they found a new voice in the form of Sufi Muhammad. The *Jirgas* and the nominees of the DC were empowered and a sort of tribal feudalism was enforced. However, as a matter of fact, it was a blessing in disguise as the people were relieved from the tyrant Maliks and Khans of the Nawab.

¹³.Salar Mohammad Ayub, *The Manual of Jirga and Other Important Laws 1961-1980*, (Lahore: Irfan Law Book House, 1980), 1-33.

Due to the misuse of powers by the *Jirga* members and by the local bureaucracy the resentment started. The Talibanization of Malakand in the recent past is due to the brutal role of *Mullah Fazlu-ullah*, which is just another colour of malaise in Dir.

The Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) Regulation needs to be seen in its proper perspective. It is, moreover, of immense importance to look at the issues against the backdrop of the ever-changing social structure of the areas under consideration. Malakand division, in the north-west of Pakistan, consists of districts Malakand, Swat, Lower Dir, Upper Dir, Buner and Chitral. Swat, Dir and Chitral were princely states until the 1960s. However, after the promulgation of PATA, cases were registered with DC and the selected nominees of the government were given the right to decide the case through a *Jirga*.

According to Dr. Khadim Hussain, in the new system, adopted under PATA regulations, the *Jirga* members would be selected from the existing landed gentry. Any appeal against the *Jirga's* decision would be made to the deputy commissioner and Home Secretary of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

It was not the vacuum created by the Supreme Court decision on the PATA Regulation but the collusion of the administration with Maulana Sufi Mohammad that wreaked havoc in Malakand division. The political administration of the time gave a free hand to Maulana Sufi to help him regain the power he had lost through the Supreme Court decision. However, when the administration came to realize what was happening, it moved to curb Maulana Sufi's power and, in the process, hundreds of innocent lives were lost in Malakand division and Bajaur Agency.¹⁴

¹⁴Khadim Hussain, "Truth about the PATA Regulation", available at www.valleySwat.net/articles/pata_regulation.html

Kashmir Jihad

Almost in every family in Dir there are martyrs of the Kashmir's *Jihad*. Every graveyard is full of Kashmir *Jihad* martyrs. The year 1948 in which for the first time in Dir processions were allowed and for the cause of Kashmir funds were raised and about 3100 mujahedeen were sent to Kashmir. The government of Pakistan provided the weapons.

According to Wali Khan,¹⁵ the government made an announcement that, land would be for Pakistan and war booty would be for the fighters. On the other hand, the Nawab of Dir wanted to show his efficiency so, the heir apparent Shah Khisro Khan was made in charge of the Kashmir *Jihad*. Different tribes were given different tasks before they left for Kashmir, e.g. Wosa Khel was to carry corpse and wounded. Nasruddin khel were kept as reserve force, and sultan khel were sent to the front line. The Painda Khels were remained in Dir for lobbying and fund raising. Every tribe tried its best to bring honor to its respective tribe and in that very race many lost their lives. In general, The Pakhtuns are a "proud race" and constitute "one of the world's largest tribal societies, where each clan guards its own territory and honor."¹⁶

Painda Khel, the Nawab's tribe was remained in Dir in order to make fresh reinforcements and to look after the affairs of state.¹⁷ Dir became the home of martyrs while wondering in Dir; every graveyard is full of Kashmiri mujahedeen graves. According to folklore,¹⁸ *miandurawri khwianduloikari, da Dir Nawab ye pa Kashmir tamamveena*. Translation:

¹⁵Wali Khan, *Baacha Khan aw khudai Khidmatgari* (Pakhtu) vol 1 (Peshawar: privately printed, 1993), 48.

¹⁶Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition & Memory in the North West Frontier*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 25.

¹⁷Habiburrahmandirvi, *Reysat Dir Tarekh K Ayenay Mai* (Dir: A-One Press, 2000), 123.

¹⁸Maqbool Hassan, Lecturer in the Gender Studies Center, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad., Personal interview, 6 April 2010.

the loved and darling of their mother and sisters are being turned into canon powder by Nawab of Dir in *Jihad* of Kashmir.

In a sense, the Nawab of Dir used people for *Jihad*. The people were threatened; if they did not provide males to the warfare, their land would be confiscated. In 1960s during Ayub Khanera the martyrs were compensated 1000 rupees each.¹⁹

To sum up Kashmir and Kashmiri is still recalled to the people of Dir, by the militant organization of Pakistan, stating to Dirvis that you people are the real defender of Kashmir cause as your ancestors had laid their lives for the defence of Kashmir. There are fifteen link roads in Dir, which were named after the martyrs of Kashmir by different militant's organizations.²⁰

Afghan war

The other important development was the Afghan war, in which most of Dirvis participated. The *Jihadism* was experienced in Dir in the era of Afghan war. The resultant Kalashnikov culture did not spare Dir and according to Wali Khan there were 85 thousands Kalashnikovs in Dir in the year 1986,²¹ later on the weaponization was multiplied and it became a business in Dir.

The leader of *Al-Badarmujahidin* named Bakht Zamin Khan, who is also the veteran of the Afghan war lives in Talash (Dir lower) he regularly visits the mosques and delivered *Jihadi* lectures. The other is Siraj ul Haq *Naib Amir* of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, who lives in

¹⁹Shah Rasool Iala, (Dir lower), Personal interview, 7 June 2010; Mumtaz Khan s/o Mohammad Akbar Khan (Dir upper, Personal interview, 6 September 2009.

²⁰The author discovered these roads and most of signs boards can be seen on Dir-chitral road.

²¹Fayaz Ahmad, "Abdul Wali Khan: A Political Biography", (M. Phil Thesis, Quaid-i-Azam University, 2010), 66.

Samarbagh Dir lower and he holds open political rallies in which he shares the role that he had played in the Afghan Jihad.

Zia Islamization and Jamaat-i-Islami

During the Zia era Jammat I Islami became a powerful party of Dir, still JI has a chain of schools in Dir i.e., *Alhuda*, *Tameer-i-millat*, *Tameer-i-seerat*, *Tammer-i-nwa*, *Hira*, *Iqra*, *Islamia* and *Shaheen* chain school system. Apart from it Jammat played key role in the government schools. *Tanzeem-i-Asataza* is the most powerful and influential organization in Dir. In the election of 2002 out of 1500 registered votes of the teacher community Jamaat-i-Islami gained 1250 votes.²²

The Jamaat-i-Islami has a complete say in the affairs of Dir. Apart from Jamaat-i-Islami, the militant organizations are also operating in Dir. Malak Behram revealed that JI is an ideological party, 50% of its votes are attained on ideological grounds. The other factors that are involved are the *dalla* or tribal system and the personal vote bank of the respective candidate. The JI is an ideological party that believes in introducing *Shariat* through peaceful means.²³

The *madaris* culture in Dir is very open. They have offices all over Dir. The Jamiat – *Ulema-i-Islam* has presence but it is very limited and it runs few madrassas. The other important religious seminaries in Dir are *Ahya ul uloom* Timergarah, the biggest madrassa of JI and *Tafhim ul Quran* Timergrarh. The *Ajamiat ul Tahiria* belongs to *Isha'ttawheed wasunnat* it is located in Maidan. The *Mazhir-ul-Haq*, belongs to TNSM. It has two branches one in Chukyatr Dir proper

²²Zarawar Khan, Amir Aanzemi Asatiza Dir, Personal interview, 5 August 2011.

²³Malak Bahram Khan, Naib Amir Jammat Islami Dir upper and the candidate for constituency KP 93 Dir upper for the forthcoming elections of 2013, Personal interview, 11 May 2011.

and the other is in (Lal Qila) Maidan, now the latter is turned into a police station by the security forces.

According to local sources these madrasas were funded by the zakat fund during Zia era. “The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the subsequent American imperative to drive the USSR out of that country, dovetailed neatly with General Zia’s need to deploy Islam as a weapon in the struggle to gain legitimacy. The US encouraged a radical, purist, and uncompromising Wahhabi version of Islam to create the *mujahidin* as a counter to the Soviets. President Jimmy Carter’s administration created a secret fund of \$500 million to create terror outfits to fight the Soviets. Nicknamed “Operation Cyclone,” this fund was kept secret even from Congress and the American public. Subsequently, the Reagan Administration and Saudi Arabia provided \$3.5 billion to General Zia’s regime for the funding of *madrasas* for the *Afghan Jihad*.²⁴

Nationalistic politics was constrained in the area. Only during the era of Z.A. Bhutto, the PPP struck its root in Dir and now a days it is the second largest party in Dir after Jammāt Islami. From the very beginning, the secular nationalist politics was discouraged. On 21 May 1972, when Wali Khan was on his way to Dir, accompanying Jandul Khan, he was attacked by the armed people near village Bandai, district Dir. Two people, both in his jeep, were killed, and several others injured. Bullet pierced his vehicle, but fortunately, he remained safe.²⁵ Currently, besides JI and PPP, ANP is the third influential party in Dir region. While PML (N) and JUI (F) have no substantial vote bank there.

The victim of blasphemy

²⁴Rubina Saigol, “The Middle East Institute Viewpoints: The Islamization of Pakistan, 1979-2009” www.mei.edu p. 72

²⁵Ahmad, “Abdul Wali”, 92.

In 1982, Sayed Ghulam Kohistani became the first victim of blasphemy. He was flogged at district jail Dir Upper. The allegations against him was that he had thrown his *Pakol* in the air and when it fell to the ground he uttered that Allah will not fix it again on his head so unless he picked it up by himself. Three witnesses were produced by Jammāt-i-Islami, i.e. Maulana Syed Zarin s/o Khan Zarin, Maulana Said Ali s/o Maulana Ghulam Ali, Maulana Said Jan s/o Maulana Umar Jan. All the three witnesses were Jamaat-i-Islami members. Maulana Said Jan is still alive.²⁶

Ironically, none of these witnesses were religious scholars. The allegations were made on political basis because Sayed Ghulam Kohistani was a liberal man and he belonged to PPPP.²⁷ Sayed Ghulam died in 2008. The unfortunate event is the only case of blasphemy in Dir.

The politics of secularism was discouraged in Dir. The politicians were threatened and a mass wide propaganda is launched by the rightist elements even today against the workers of secular and liberal parties.

According to Naveed Anjum Khan,²⁸ the past of Swat will be the future of Dir, as the proverb is narrated in Dir (*Dir da Swat nasalwekhtkalawrusta day*) and it translates as, Dir is lagging behind Swat almost 40 years.

The Gulf countries role in spreading of Wahabbi Islam

The Gulf region was made open during Z.A Bhutto era and the Dirvis rushed there. From Gulf region, they brought Wahhabi brand of Islam and also a source of revenue to the madrassas. Recently, a man by the name of Ishaq of Bibyawer Dir brought 400 Quran and distributed them

²⁶Liaquat Sooz, Poet & president Lawari Adabi Tolana Dir Poper, Personal interview, .6 January 2011.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸A philanthropist and district president ANP Dir upper.

in the different mosques of Dir.²⁹ Prior to the flow of money from the Sheikhdoms, the *Mullahs* and Madrassas were run on the donations of people. But once the gulf money was made available the *Mullahs* segregated themselves from the locals and the traditional Islam and society became Islamized on the *Wahabbilines*. The diaspora of Swat is located in the European countries while the Dir diaspora is in gulf countries who are mostly uneducated and rely on labour wages while Swaties are well educated class.³⁰

Apart from it the *Tableghi Markaz* in Sahib Abad, (Dir upper) for its reconstruction almost six crore rupees has been donated by the different tribes residing in Dir. Every tribe struggled to supersede the others.³¹ In Dir proper and the Talash area, the *Wahhabi* mosques are funded by Saudi Arabia. They have a strict interpretation of Islam, *rafayadains* (rising hands in the prayers),³² prayers and military exercise are compulsory and they are the strong supporters of Jaish-i-Mohammad.

The rise of TNSM

Getting no satisfaction from the specific modus operandi of the Tableghi Jammāt and political speed of Jamaat-i-Islami, Maulana Sufi Mohammad organized and launched TNSM. Exactly after twenty years of the State merger, he founded the Tehrik-i-Nifazi-i-Shariat Muhammadi (TNSM) on 25 June 1989, supported by religious elements belonging to Jamaat-i-Islami and Tableghi Jammāt. During this era, Islam was highly politicized and the political *Mullahs* replaced the traditional role of Mullah, as Sufi himself was a dissent of JI. The TNSM was popular in the

²⁹. Ishaq belong to Bibywer, Dir upper.

³⁰ Dr. Sultan-i-Rome, Professor at Jehanzeb College, Swat an authority on history of Swat, Personal interview 16 September 2011.

³¹ Gohar Ali, Lecture GDC Wari Dir upper, Personal interview 22 August 2011.

³² Maulana Shifque, Imam of Ahl-i-Hadith mosque at Dir bazar, Personal interview, 28 September 2010.

initial days of its activities as “*Tor Patkies*” (Black Turbans) “Among Pakhtuns, *Mullahs* rely on their organizational skills and moral authority through Islam to maintain their positions as respected leaders of their communities. The *Mullah*’s primary responsibilities lie in organizing the village mosque and officiating at the Islamic *rites of passage*”.³³

Why he chose Swat for his political and religious activities is because “he got his religious education from the “, Jamia Haqqania” a religious school at Saidu Sharif Swat. In 1970 when Sufi Mohammad started his own religious school at Maidan Dir district, and hundreds of youth from Swat, Buner, Dir, Bajaur, and far-flung areas of Malakand agency were benefited from the religious school.³⁴

He chose Swat because he himself belonged to the Tajik family. He is not ethnically Pakhtun although he possesses land in Lal Qila Maidan. As he lacked the tribal support of Dirvis, so he chose to move to Swat. Of many reasons, the stratification of Swat society and the strong support from the rural area of Swat, enthused Sufi Muhammad to stay in Swat. Secondly, the people had migrated from different areas to Swat because of economic activities and tourism. In the winter’s period, they almost became jobless because of the halt of tourists activities, while finding no other jobs, they joined TNSM in the idle days.

Another factor in Dir was a vote bank of Jamaat-i-Islami. The hidden forces did not want to disturb the Jammal vote bank. Swat was comparatively liberal and was more prone to modernization than Dir.

In July 2008, the author met personally with Sufi Mohammad while handing over a letter given to me by one of his disciple who was in central jail Peshawar. I talked to him in admirable

³³ Akbar S. Ahmed, *Resistance and Control in Pakistan*, rev. ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004), .26.

³⁴ Irfan Siddique, interview in the Weekly “Tkabeer” Karachi, 19th Jan 1995, p18.

way although i was not there for research purpose, but I found him very simple and straightforward. He was unaware of the surroundings. The people around him were aged between 50 to 70 years. Sufi was living in mud house adjacent to the madrassa at Lal Qila village of lower Dir. He was called in neighboring areas as *mulayee saiband* also among his disciples and students. When he was the head of the madrassa named *Mazahir ul Haq*, he always wore a Black turban, and surrounded by the people of his Jammah.³⁵ Moreover, on November 3, 1994 the then NWFP (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) chief minister Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao announced that *Shariat* would be enforced in the whole Malakand division including the Kohistan district. While addressing a public meeting at Swari (Buner) the chief Minister declared that the *Qazi* courts would start functioning and a committee of *Ulema* would assist the court.³⁶

From 1989 until 1996, the history of Dir would be remembered for the activities and atrocities of TNSM. The repercussion of this movement is Talibanization of Malakand division. In the ANP rally, a suicide bomb blast left 50 martyred and about 90 wounded in Jishin-i-Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at Timeregarah.³⁷ ANP became the point blank target of these religious elements. But according to Malak Behram Khan the Dir Taliban in comparison with the Taliban of Swat were not so destructive because practically and theoretically the society of Swat was divided in two extremes the haves (Khans) and have-nots (serfdoms). The have-nots revolted in order to get rid of these Khans. The disheartened and downtrodden people had joined this movement. The case of Dir is different from Swat as the people of Dir are from middle class and here is no concept of Khan. It is because of the scanty of the plain and cultivated land. The old rivalries of the inter and

³⁵ Author personal observation July, 2008 at Lal Qila Dir.

³⁶ Rehman Khan "Shariat ya Shahadat" in the weekly Takbeer Karachi 17th November, 1994, 15-16.

³⁷ Daily express April 6, 2010.

intra tribes has been leveled here in the era of Taliban's. The JI has played an important role to bring peace and stability to Dir and surroundings' even in Chitral.³⁸

In addition, they targeted female schools and repeatedly they proclaimed that female education is un-Islamic. Later on, the Taliban borrowed that tune of TNSM. "In the last two years the Taliban have burned, torched, and bombed 200 girls' schools in the Malakand Division and have ordered an end to the education of women. They have threatened to mete out dire punishments to women who work for a living, and have strictly forbidden them from going to the market to buy essential goods of daily use. The Taliban have prohibited barbers from shaving men's beards and have destroyed or shut per force music and DVD shops. Musicians and barbers have been forced out of the area at gunpoint."³⁹

For example, two renowned singers from Dir upper had left the area because the Taliban threatened them. Khalid Khan the famous singer from the scenic Usheri Darra and the other is Azim Khan from Dir proper.

The TNSM under the leadership of Sufi Muhammad gained momentum in no time, in a dramatic manner spread like wild fire in the area. His public meetings and gathering in different parts of the Malakand division and the processions of its members with sophisticated arms paralyzed the nerves of the people and the administration.

The society was brought under complete destruction, because lack of education both worldly and religious, they want to impose a law from above over themselves in order to change the course of life, but it is a matter of fact that the change within, never happened. Still the

³⁸Malak Bahram Khan, Personal interview.

³⁹Saigol, *Decades of*, 74.

people are in search to impose a law from above in order to control their day-to-day life, however a change from within is the only way out, which is lacked since centuries.

At the turn of the 21st century, the society of Dir was shaken and shaped by the international developments. The USA entries into Afghanistan, after 9/11 and as a result the MMA exploited the situation and were successful to form government in Pakhtunkhwa. The society was once again radicalized in the lines of old Zia Islamization. The net result is the rise of Taliban. In the early 2007, Taliban made their way to Dir from Swat and then at the beginning of 2009 the Pak Military started the operation Rah-i-rast in Malakand Division. Post Talibanization has created an administrative vacuum; now there are three parties i.e., army, police and the district administration. The people are confused whether to go.⁴⁰

The militants were replaced by the military. In Dir, there is a parallel administration and as usual, the military is supreme in the local affairs. The difference in the approach is that Taliban had blown up the schools and colleges and the military is living there, making these educational institutions as their redoubt. The people of Dir are literally between the devil and the deep sea.

⁴⁰Dr. Sultan-i-Rome, Professor at Jehanzib College, Swat an authority on history of Swat, Personal interview 16 September 2011.

Chapter 4

The *Lashkars*

د لښکرونو ملک ته وايه

په مېرو مور شوي که نور غواړي جنگونه

The Tribal *Lashkars*

In Pakhtun society and in Pakhtunwali two features are very important i.e. *Ashar*(collective works) and *Lashkars*(tribal war party).over the years, *Ashar* has succumbed because of materials, modern technology and gulf money which had brought a big comfort to Pakhtun society. Urbanization has also brought some evils due to which some Pakhtun institutions are succumbed and their role has been diminishing. Talibanization and weaponization have added fuel to the fire. The institution of *Lashkar* has been revived at the advent of Talibanization. Prior to it, *Lashkars* were organized in Nawab era against Swat state, later on the *Lashkars* were organized for the Kashmir *Jihad* during Nawab era and under state patronage.

In post 2001 era, *Lashkar* has been raised from the people. These *Lashkars* were not organized on the tribal bases rather it were organized under religious zeal and excitement in the leadership of Sufi Mohammed.

The last *Lashkars* before 2001 were organized by Sufi Mohammad's TNSM (Tehrik-i-Sharit-i-Nifaz-i-Mohammadi) in 1990s. It was a controlled mob all were black turbaned (*Tur Patkies*). The final show down was made in 1994, when chief minister Aftab Ahmad Sherpao announced *sharia* for Malakand division. The nature of the two *Lashkars* of 1948(Kashmir *Lashkar*) and 2001 was different from each other the former was against Indian encroachment in

Kashmir and was under state patronage, the later was against USA intervention in Afghanistan it was organized under a religious zeal under the leadership of Sufi Muhammad.

In the Pakhtuns society *Lashkars* are organized for the time being at one's own cost, no compensation is granted if someone loses life or get injured however, the only response is revenge, inflicted against the perpetrators.

The organization of *Lashkars* was purely a show of Pakhtun's ego, manhood and at present to counter the Talibanization. When the Swat people were displaced, the Dir people had realized that the next target would be their homes. As Dir has the immediate border with Swat and remained the home town of Sufi Mohammad and a birthplace of TNSM (Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i- Muhammadi) so Dirvis fear was genuine.

This time media and the government of the two secular parties (ANP & PPP) had also played a prime role in realizing the concerns of people regarding Talibanization of their area. Although religious parties were in favor of Talibanization specially JUI and JI however, the former had supported it while the later had just a soft corner for Taliban. Interestingly, JI members comparatively to other religious parties were active in organizing the *Jirgas* and *Lashkars* against Talibanization in support of public opinion.

While interviewing Hussain Shah Yousafzai¹ he said that the JI came forward at last movement when they got green signal from military sympathizers as the JI has stakes in Pakistan military since Zia era. They were assured that there is a no chance of Dir operation in a holistic manner. The operation was conducted by army units against specified groups. The other factor was that among the Talibans of Dir, sources say that the JI members were also

¹Hussain Shah YousafZai, is the district president of Awami National Party Dir Lower.

involved. Therefore, JI wanted to release or protect its members in the name of peace and compromise through peace *Jirgas*.

Besides that, JI had a secure vote bank at upper and lower Dir. However, astonishingly the drive of Talibanization resulted in Dirvis tilt toward secular parties namely ANP and PPPP. In addition, there was a best chance for JI to contact people in the guise of peace *Jirgas* so they could utilize that opportunity to their advantage, which they did not do the optimum; they call themselves the champion of peace for maintaining peace in Dir. The credit goes to military, ANP and PPPP. In resolving peace in Dir Taliban were hunt down and the policy of appeasement was discarded.

The *Jirgas*

The major development at the advent of Talibanization was the formation of *Jirgas*. In Pakhtunwali *Jirgaisan* institution that legitimizes the action of *Lashkars*. In a sense, *Jirga* sanctions the *Lashkars* and *Lashkars* enforce the decision of *Jirga*. The *Jirga* is the only way out for any crises in the Pakhtun society, in summery “*Jirga* is a fairly “democratic” institution in the tribal system which solves problems through open, clear and critical discussions and provokes (promotes) tough dialogue to solve every matter on logical bases through majority (opinion) or by unanimous votes”. In a *Jirga* system, disputes within or outside a tribe, are solved peacefully. Thus, the tribal norm is to peacefully resolve all kinds of dispute through *Jirga*. In rare cases, the *Jirga* may have to use force to implement its decision. Thus, a *Jirga* can form a tribal *Lashkar* to enforce *Jirga* decisions if needed.”²

²Farhat Taj, *Taliban and Anti-Taliban* (UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 34.

The important figure of the Dir *Jirga* is Malak Behram Khan. When he was asked that whether *Jirga* members are free or *Jirga* is addressing the people wishes? he replied that *Jirga* is free and fair, explained the basic rules of the *Jirga* in Dir, that first of all the *Jirga* member take an oath on holy Quran that they will remain unbiased and will keep the secrecy. Secondly, no relatives of both the parties will be allowed in the *Jirga*. Third the *Jirga* proceedings will be kept in secret till the end fourth the *Jirga* will contain the elders of the area, the youth and women are not allowed to participate in the *Jirga*.³ He added that a *Jirga* constituted by the government is always partisan and corrupt thus people do not trust government sponsored *Jirgas*.

In 18 Union Councils, local *Jirgas* were constituted. Each *Jirga* was comprised of 50 persons and was headed by ex-Nazims of their respective area. Same measures were taken at lower Dir. The Chairman of Dir lower *Jirga* was Mohammad Rasool Khan.

In the lower and upper Dir three *Jirgas* were constituted, it was a community initiative, because no government officials were involved in these *Jirgas*. The provincial government of ANP supported these *Jirgas* on moral grounds. The workers and local leaders of ANP were directed from the party high ups to become part of peace process.

(a) The Adenzai *Jirga*

Headed by Zahir Shah Khan Lala⁴, this *Jirga* was the first *Jirga* in Dir. The sole purpose of the *Jirga* was to stop the entry of Taliban from Swat into Dir.

³ Malak Behram, president Dir peace *Jirga*.

(b) The upper Dir *Jirga*

President Malak Behram Khan, chairman Malak Jehanzib, the former is from the all-time powerful and influential tribe of Painsa khel and the latter is from the second in command Sultan khel tribe.

(c) Lower Dir *Jirga*

President Rasool Khan, chairman Zahir ShahKhanlala⁵ (Due to respect people called him Lala) in addition Zahir ShahKhan lala was the chairman of Adenzai *Jirga*

Grand *Jirga*

The grand *Jirga* was constituted from all these three *Jirgas*. The grand *Jirga* of Dir was constituted in April 2010 at fishing hut Chakdara, Dir lower. Prior to it there were two separate *Jirgas* operating in both lower and upper Dir. The aim of both *Jirga* was to counter Talibanization and to arrange *Lashkars* the situation demanded. In addition, the other function of the *Jirga* was to mould the public opinion in favor of peace and military operation.

The *Jirga* members were from all the prominent political parties i.e. Malak Behram(JI), Malak Jehanzib (PML N), Akhonzada Sikandar Hayat(PMLQ), Hussain Shah (ANP), Bakht Baidar Khan (PPP Sherpao), Zahir ShahKhan lala (ANP), Raza ullah advocate (PPPP) Abdurrahman Khan(ANP).

Jirga is most important conflict resolution mechanism for the people of the area, as we know that in our history all the major issues have been settled by the *Jirgas*. In my

⁵Central Additional General Secretary ANP.

humble opinion, *Jirga* is the only way out of the Afghan problem as well because it will be acceptable to all the factions of Pakhtuns on the both sides of the Pak-Afghan border.⁶

The *Jirga* members are the dignitaries of Dir and are respected across the Malakand division. There were some differences among the *Jirga* members on some issues but it was all because of political reasons. According to Hussain Shah lala, the JI presence in the *Jirga* was to preserve its vote bank in addition to protect some of its members from the wrath of Army, as they were directly involved in the Talibanization; the JI has no direct role in the Talibanization of our society.

JI and Taliban are two different forces and both have different line of action. In the present crises, *Jirga* is the only way out, said Malak Behram Naib Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami to the author. He further added that the unanimous decision of *Jirga* was that at any case we would never leave our homes and hearths like the people of Swat, we will stay here and will defend our homes against the Taliban. The army patronage was accepted but the Sultan Khel and Pinda Khel *Jirga* rejected the offer of ammunition.

Malak Behram said that we provided protocol and safety to the government officials and institutions in this regard we protected the police check posts. He said that anyone who destroys our schools and government buildings either they are black water or NATO.⁷ Jamaat-i-Islami stance is that the wrongdoers are foreigners in Dir. Whatever the case may be but in these subversive atrocities, it is the responsibility of the state to crush them. JI stance is in consonance with military and both are serving the interests of each other. The question is why they selected Dir for hideouts? Dir can be a good staging ground for Taliban, it cannot be a staging ground for

⁶Hussain Shah lala

⁷Malak Behram Naib Amir JI Dir upper.

alien forces, as Dir have Islamists and religious parties, have proximity with Afghan border and can serve as good recruiting ground in the future.

The motives behind the *Jirga* formation were to save Dir from Swat like situation, which not only left the worse impacts on Swat but also unmasked Taliban as the trademark of all evils. “Later on, the Swat Taliban- with their poor rural background-blew up over 700 schools, partly, because such schools did not help the local people change their social status in any way”.⁸ Zahir Shah said that “being a president of the Adenzai *Jirga* I told the *Jirga* members and *Ulema* that if the Taliban are on the right side let's join them, if they are wrong doers and agent of someone else let's fight them and declared them as the enemy of the State and people on the load speakers.” But the *Ulema* shied away. At the end of *Jirga*, I took an oath from all the parties that for peace we will fight until the end.⁹

When Malak Jehanzib Khan¹⁰ was asked how he defended Dir from the encroachment of Taliban, he replied that being a head of the Dir grand *Jirga* we decided that every *darra* (pass) will defend its area. Meanwhile the army offered arms but its offer has been rejected because every tribe has its own weaponry and depot of arms and ammunition. In this process, Malak Jehanzib got threats from Taliban but never surrendered to it.

Hussain Shah Khan revealed that Taliban were unaware of what they wanted, they were confused, and their sole aim was to play with blood of Pakhtuns. ‘In a grand *Jirga* held in 2010 at fishing hut Chakdarra; we put the question to the Taliban sympathizers about what kind of Islam did they want? they were also asked to identify the enemy of Islam in their areas so that

⁸Syed Irfan Ashraf, “Understanding Militancy”, *Dawn* (Islamabad) 17 January 2012.

⁹Zahir Shah Khan lala

¹⁰Malak Jehanzeb, Chairman Dir upper *Jirga*

they could be fought out. However, they did not come up with satisfactory answer their sole demand was to give them manpower in order to raise the army of Islam.’¹¹

In reality, sacrifices were made by ANP in both men and material but they did not cash it in a deserving way so far Dir is concerned. In 2009, they have sacrificed its MPA candidate Samin Khan at the hands of Taliban in Wari. In June 2010, 80 more people at Timergara blast when they were celebrating the renaming of Province as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. After the blast, a massive propaganda was launched by JI that the affected did not deserve to be called martyrs, as their aim was not Islamic. To the district teachers, Amir of JI told in the mosque at Bibyawer village that according to Islamic jurisprudence ANP rally was un-Islamic and the people who died there should not be called martyrs. ‘In early June, 2010 the Taliban blew up a mosque in northwest district of Upper Dir, near the Swat Valley. More than 30 people died. In today’s Pakistan, such news is depressingly accepted as a normal way of life.’¹² Later on the martyrs’ number reached to fifty. Taliban claimed responsibility for the deadly attack and said they carried out the blast to punish locals for raising a *Lashkar* against them. The above-mentioned events and most importantly the event of Hayagaye mosque blast were the immediate cause of assault on Taliban of Dir and organization of *Lashkars*.

The *Lashkars*

The *Lashkars* were organized privately. But later on government extended patronage to *Lashkars* after the blast in Hayagaye area of District Dir upper. Moreover, the incursion of Taliban from Swat to Dogdarra (Dir upper) forced the security forces to encourage locals in order to counter Taliban in the area.

¹¹.Hussain Shah Khan

¹².*Daily Times*, June 2010.

Astonishingly, Talibanization has not much proliferated at Dir because of few reasons. First Dir is not urbanized like Swat. Second, in Dir, tribal system is still intact; everyone has a tribal lineage and support. Third the diaspora of Dir is mostly in gulf area in contrast Swat diaspora as the Swaties are skilled and educated diaspora so, their stakes were almost everywhere in the other cities of Pakistan and some have gone abroad. Therefore, in the beginning they were less concerned about Swat. Later on, they realized it but much water has flowed under the bridge. Dirvis first and last priority was Dir, so they did not want to lose it or to go elsewhere from their native land.

Last but not the least there was a class division in Swat, in Dir mostly majority of population belongs to the middle class who have a narrow and traditional approach toward religion.¹³ Narrow in a sense in Dir there is no madrasa like the *Imam Dherimadrassa* of Swat. Moderate in a sense due to low exposure of the world the Dirvis did not have the *Jihad* international agenda. The lower class in Swat did not find any opportunity to empower so resorted to violence. However, for the people of Dir there was no way out at this critical juncture, they encashed the Malazai card that they will never quit their ancestors land at any cost.

Swat was exposed to the national and international media so every act of militancy and violence was magnified from which the militant got fame and power, they made media connection and the FM radiostations became their propaganda tool. Dir was in background and the Taliban activities in Dir went unnoticed in media, so they did not penetrate and proliferate that much. Ironically, during Talibanization females were targeted more, their schools and

¹³ Arab Naz, Chairman department of Sociology, University of Malakand., Personal interview, 11 June2011.

institutions were bombed, and on the other hand females had donated in terms of cash and kind in support of Taliban cause.¹⁴

It was because of the discourse, which has been patronized by the State since 1970s and loud speaker and the F.M radio station made it possible. The females were made conscious that they were the part of the holy war, as they did not have access to the war front so; they should donate and can be enrolled in the third category of *Jihad*, i.e. fighter, helper and donator hence they donated.

In Dir, Adenzai Tehsil is adjacent to Swat and which is highly urbanized became vulnerable to Talibanization. There are a few reasons which explain Talibanization of Adenzai such as ethnically the people of Adenzai are Khwazozais, Yousafzais, the same as the people of Swat; secondly, until 1922 it was a buffer zone between Dir and Swat, finally after the Adenzai agreement of 1922 it came under the jurisdiction of Dir Nawab. The Adenzai tribe had matrimonial relations with Swat, which they made since Wali's era, so because of these reasons Taliban made their way into the Adenzai district of Dir lower.

The next hub of Taliban was the Samarbagh Tehsil of Dir Lower, the hometown of JI's second in command Siraj ul haq. The Talibanization of Dir supported covertly by JI in order to play a tit for tat against the newly formed provincial government of ANP but later on, they realized their folly that in future it will curb their vote bank too. After this cost and benefit analysis JI came up in a cautious way to become part of the tribal *Jirgas* and *Lashkars*. Although the MPA of this area is Hidayat Ullah of ANP, he won because of his anti-Taliban stance in the 2008 elections. Lower Dir shares border with Afghanistan and Bajaur agency so, because of

¹⁴Arab Naz.

these two areas, in order to move freely, Taliban had made their hide outs in the areas of Samarbagh in Maskini,¹⁵ in order to have easy access to Swat, Dir and importantly Afghanistan.

The locals appreciated the formation of Jirgas and Lashkars. The provincial government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa has patronized the *Jirgas* and *Lashkars* through the District administration and also through its workers.

The local leadership of ANP and PPPP were interested in raising of *Lashkars*. But in Pakistani media it has not been welcomed they presented Taliban as monsters, however, the media also questioned the legitimacy of the *Lashkars*. Media is of the view that “For obvious reasons, the government is taking no step to stop the fighting. Instead, it seems to be encouraging or could even be supporting the *Lashkars* to go for the kill. This is the kind of battle that is fuelled by new blood-feuds and is never-ending until one side is vanquished and forced to accept the terms of surrender. Heavily-armed villages and clans hostile to each other cannot co-exist in peace, more so if they are supported and supplied by the government or militant groups such as *Taliban*.”¹⁶ The security of one’s life and property in the Pakhtun society is the responsibility of the concerned individuals because of the state de jure presence and disfunctional state police and judiciary. Of course, the people had weapons at their homes as the culture of keeping weapons at home is very old but they were in peace with each other.

According to an English man, “Pakhtun man’s ornaments are his gun and bandolier, i.e. a belt made for carrying bullets and worn over the shoulder full of cartridges. The gun is always loaded and carried in the hand ready for instant use because blood feuds are very common in Dir. They talk amongst themselves generally about guns their types and rates. During the British

¹⁵ The Pak-Afghan border area and the home of ex-governor of Kunar Malak Zarin

¹⁶ Dr Noor Ul Haq, ed. “The Operation Rah-E-Ras” *Journal of IPRI*, 24 June 2009, 82.

times they own matchlocks, but they have stolen a good many Martinis and Sniders from Indian Government.”¹⁷ In fact, Dirvis are living with weapons since centuries but it has never been raised against the state in such a brutal way as the Taliban did.

Taliban went to the extent that they used females for their heinous agenda. ‘Fortune on Monday saved a minor girl from becoming a suicide bomber who escaped her kidnappers and came in the hands of security forces at Islam Darra* check post on Balambat Maidan road in Lower Dir on June 21, 2011. The Lower Dir police presented the 8-year-old girl Suhana before the media who revealed that terrorists forced her to carry out a suicide attack on a security check post at Islam Darra.’¹⁸

Counter insurgency strategy

Joe Biden was an ardent advocate of counter insurgency, because the counter insurgency won the day in Iraq but Hamid Karzai in Afghanistan rejected it because in his view it will lead to warlordism. Prior to it in the cold war era, counter insurgency was launched by the US forces in Vietnam against Vietnamese and by France in Algeria. France and US both were unsuccessful to stem the tide of insurgency. In Dir partially military was succeed in bringing peace in semblance but covertly the culprits are at large still.

Defeating an arm group requires both co-option and coercion. The Pakistani army adopted the policy of coercion. Only the top leadership was co-opted as they were escaped and the foot soldiers were targeted in Dir for example, the known leadership of Taliban in Dir is Faiz Mohammad and Bakht Zaman both are underground. The relationship built network with local

¹⁷J.G. Elliott, *The Frontier 1839-1947: The Story Of The North-West Frontier Of India* (London: The Trinity Press, 1968), 267.

¹⁸*The Nation*, 21 June 2011.

*During TNSM movement the name of Kufar Darra was changed as Islam Darra.

leaders and establish links with population enhance level of support for their cause however, the Pak army also did it but at the eleventh hour.

Pakistan made state propaganda against Talibanization during the military operation, but once the operation was over, the State machinery again started to present Taliban as good and bad Taliban. Zahir Shah Khan¹⁹ divided Taliban into two categories i.e., Talib-i- Shar and Talib-i-Elam. He said, “we do not know Talib-i-Shar they came from somewhere else, and Talib-i-Elam are still in madrasas they are from our own people.” He said that major differences between Dir and Swat Taliban was that Taliban of Dir were comparatively peaceful from Swat Taliban because the former never opted for beheading flogging or massive destruction of public properties but the later has done all the brutalities.

Organization of the *Lashkars*

The *Lashkars* were formed in order to counter the militants. However, it had two side effects, on one hand *Lashkars* became as an army of the people and on the other hand, people were militarized. It divided the society into two hostile camps, the sympathizers of the Taliban and the anti-Taliban forces. This brought more and more destruction to the people in the shape of increase in suicide attacks.

The security forces were involved in the non-military operation and almost gone on the back foot while the Taliban began to target the head of the peace committees and also the government institutions especially schools and colleges, because these were soft target for them and also kept them in news and established their terror among the people.

¹⁹Zahir Shah Khan Iala, (Central Additional Secretary ANP)

Though the military offensive was limited to Swat and its adjacent districts, the state took advantage of mounting public opinion against the Jihadists and launched a major media campaign against “Talibanization” that proved extremely useful. It was also very timely, given the fact that more than 2 million residents of the Swat region were displaced from their homes during the government offensive, and this could have turned public support against the operation.²⁰

The organization of *Lashkars* was different from the two *Lashkars* which were organized prior in the history of Dir; the *Lashkars* for the Kashmir *Jihad*, and post 9/11 *Lashkars* of Sufi Mohammad for the Afghan war. Both *Lashkars* were gathered purely on the religious basis with full support from the masses and the government. Those *Lashkars* were raised on social and political grounds. The people organized the *Lashkar* on the tribal basis, the role of the religious figures and fervor was relatively low. Because, the religious parties were sympathizers of the Pakistani Taliban as both the religious parties and the Taliban belong to the same Deobandi School of thought. In the same way, military also did not take on the militants wholeheartedly as these militants are considered as an asset by the military viz-i-viz India and permanent American presence in Afghanistan.

Presently, the Taliban’s main target is the leadership of ANP who are in favor of elimination of the Taliban menace and so they paid for its stand in terms of men and material. ‘The tribal militias have also been facing the wrath of the Taliban for ‘siding’ with the government. Militants have killed hundreds of tribal elders and *Lashkar* volunteers in bomb attacks and ambushes.²¹ Although Jamaat-i-Islami was there but it represented this time the Pinda khel tribe. During Talibanization, the Pakistani state lost its sovereignty to various militia and militants

²⁰ Raza Rumi, “The Counterinsurgency in Pakistan”, *Friday Times*, 15 August 2009.

²¹ Naveed Hussain, “Deserted’ by Govt, Tribal Militias Now Fight ‘For Honour’”, *Express Tribune*, 27 March 2011.

i.e. Talibans and the different militant organizations. In Maidan area of Dir lower in July 2010, instead of government there were check posts of Hizb-ul-Mujahedeen.

In response to a question why the Talibans targeted the nationalists? Hussain ShahLala came with an interesting argument that a thief is always in search of the owner of a house, so, the Talibans are shrewd enough and they are trained in the art of judging the true owners. So they are targeting the nationalist forces, because they are responsible to protect people and their land.

The *Lashkars* were formed by taking thirty men from each village. These members of *Lashkars* were responsible for the safety of their respective villages. “The formation of anti-Taliban *Lashkars* is an exercise in self-defence, hence to protect basic human rights. However the questions: what should the citizens do when their state is unable or unwilling to protect their lives and their leaders are too indecisive to take a clear stance? Should they keep requesting the state to protect them and the leaders to give up promises? Should they leave themselves exposed to serious dangers or take whatever life-protecting measures may be possible? are yet to be answered. However, much of the upper-middle class — detractors of the anti-Taliban *Lashkars* always go for the second option, particularly outside the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and FATA.”²² They either go for compromise or leave the area on the mercy of Taliban.

Feature of the *Lashkars*

The anti-Taliban *Lashkars* were not fitted in the government double-dealing, as *Lashkars* proved hindrance in managed chaos. The case of Dir is different; a PPP affiliated tribe’s man has formed strong *Lashkars*. To devalue the worth of genuine *Lashkars* other *Lashkars* were formed

²²FarhatTaj, “A Judgemental Opinion And Some Other Issues”, *Daily Times*, 23 January 2010.

in the Barawal area, these were comprised of Juna khel tribe, who are less in number hardly hundred tribesman, but they are more facilitated because the tribesmen belong to Jamaat-i-Islami. Shad Malak is considered to be the right hand of Sahibzada Tariq ullah, and Inayat ullah, both JI ex-MPs from Dir upper.

The short-term consequences of the policy of ‘lashkarisation’ are appalling, but the future scenario is more horrific. The feuds triggered by *Lashkars* could make the Pashtun society, already embroiled in long-running blood feuds, a living hell, even after militancy is eradicated from the region for good.²³ Although, *Jirga* is the middle way to solve a problem and *Lashkars* are the last resort to handle a problem in the Pakhtun society, however, these *Lashkars* have created havoc, because the opposition was strong and indoctrinated ‘to impose Sharia by force.’ The formulation of *Lashkars* is the failure of state. The cultural values of the Pakhtuns were instrumentalized for law and order because state failed to provide security to its citizens in Dir.

The formation of *Lashkars* was the re-tribalization of the society, *Lashkars* is a pre- state phenomenon in Pakhtuns society, but the state used it as an instrument in the decision making in the FCR, PATA and in the eve of Talibanization. The role of the *Lashkars* in the managed chaos did not fit much because they are targeted invisible enemy time and again.

The leaders of the *Lashkars*

²³Naveed Hussain, “The futility of using *Lashkars*” *The Express Tribune*, November 22, 2010.

Mutabar Malik

Mutabar malik, an aged man about 60 plus but he is a strongman and the chief of the tribal *Lashkars* in the upper Dir belonging to Adam khel tribe in the Kohistan area of Hayagaye. The *Lashkars* are comprised of different tribes i.e. Wardak, Roghani, Chaghazai and a handful of Kohistanis. The strength is about 1000 tribesmen from the different tribes residing in the upper Dir, sheringal, Hayagaye and Dogdarra village. The first armed *Lashkar* was raised from that very village.

Lashkars were more effective in Dir in comparison to Swat because of the strong tribal system, as well as tribal backing. “Residents of village Dog Darra in district Dir formed an anti-Taliban *lashkar*. This *lashkar* clashed with the Taliban several times. The *lashkar* was supported by the provincial government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The *lashkar* successfully removed the Taliban from their area. Similarly, Sultan Khel and Painsa Khel, two leading tribes in Dir district organized a grand tribal *Jirga* in response to the growing Taliban power in the neighboring Swat. The *Jirga* prepared a *Lashkar* of about 400 people to defend district Dir from the Taliban incursions.”²⁴

But the *Lashkars* are raised by the people on their own to protect their mother land. It was in accordance to the Pakhtunwali that the people participated in the activities of the *Lashkars*. It is ridiculous to compare the foreign-assisted war militias in Afghanistan with the anti-Taliban *Lashkars* in FATA and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Pakistani *Lashkars* are not supported by any foreign powers. The proof is that they have far inferior weapons than the Taliban and suffer from short of finances.”²⁵ Pakistan has one of the five best professional and well-trained armies in the

²⁴FarhatTaj, *Taliban*, 52.

²⁵Farhat Ta j, “A judgemental”.

world. However, it uses irregulars to fight..? The question is still unanswerable because military set people vs. people. The *Jirgas* and *Lashkars* were attacked to create a fear amongst the masses that Taliban are out of control and we have no remedy to handle them.

Hayagaye (Khateez) east in Dir upper became the hub of militants' .The militants after being defeated in Swat came to Dogdarra where they have already sympathizers. Here they want to impose their brand of Islam and had started penetrating in the neighboring villages of upper Dir. The Dir *Jirga* decided to force the Taliban to flee from area and the *Lashkars* were used as a force to implement the decision of the *Jirga*.

Shad Malik

Belonging to Barawal area in Dir upper, he is an old traditional politician, with a strong family background from the Juna khel family. He worked for the JI and still he is a staunch supporter of JI. His *Lashkars* are comprised of hardly 100-armed men mostly from Juna khel tribe in the area of Shaltalo, a village on Pak-Afghan border. He is the favorite of Pak army, and received fund and arms, because of the strong bond with JI.

In Barawal area at *Sunni* a narrow valley where the Al-Badar mujahedeen has camp, which has been used since 2007 as a launching pad infiltration into Afghanistan. So the ties between the militant organizations and JI are deep and in line with the military thinking. The pro-military *Lashkars* may be used in future as a strategic asset for hunting the strategic objectives of the state into Afghanistan.

Activities of *Lashkars*

After the encounter with Taliban, and the retaliation by Taliban in the form of suicides, the *Lashkars* are now passive. They had legitimacy in the locality and Mutabar malik is now doing *Jirgas* across Dir. He is now becoming a threat to Jamaat-i-Islami vote bank. His close ties with the Pak-Army make him a popular figure and now he is a powerful voice in the politics of Dir.

Shad Malak is confined to his locality, and he feels that at any stage he can be targeted either by Taliban or by Pak-Army.²⁶ Therefore, he is out of scene now a day. He is of a criminal background and has enmities with local tribes. The *Lashkars* have a loose structure at every union council in Dir. 30 armed men from each UC and the grand *Jirga* can call them on a short notice.

Although, Talibanization had brought many evils. Especially the centuries old process of modernization was reversed. The nation has become paralyzed, educational institutions were blown up, and cultural activities were stopped. But despite all these catastrophes a line has been drawn between the forces of change and the forces of continuity. Now, one can find two views on any issue, as every issue is open for discussion. Some religious issues were questioned for the first time as the status of *mullah*, the *Jihad*, the suicide bombers and their authenticity. In addition, unrest and chaos in Dir make the people realize the importance of peace.

In general, the Pakhtuns have maintained their values, such as *Jirga*, *Lashkar* and for the first time they think beyond religion and *mullah* and even against *mullah*. Last but not the least the ANP has won a constituency for the first time in Dir with a large margin. In upper Dir ANP has become the third largest party while in lower Dir it has become the second largest political force.

²⁶Interview with Shah Alam Khan friend of Shad Malak.

The only benefit is that people in Dir have faced the brunt of religious extremism and have evolved collective desire for change. If they failed to materialize what they have learnt, they will commit historical blunder and the repercussions will be faced by the generations to come.

Conclusion

Massaga (the ancient Buddhist name of Dir area stretching from Chakdara to Lowarai pass) once remained the home of non-violent Buddhism, and the center of Buddhist remnants and stupas. Dir has all the beauties, high mountains; the Panjkora River meets Swat River at Chakdarra, green forests of deodar and the trout fish of Kumrat. The unexplored mineral resources, the waterfall of Usheri Darra, the high lands of *Saidgai danda* and *Bin Shahi* Pass are the hallmark of the wealth and beauty of Dir. And the pre-requisite for its maintenance is peace which has become a forbidden fruit for the Pakhtuns in Dir and also on both sides of the Durand line.

The state of Dir has a chequered history. In the 16th century, the Yousafzai tribe arrived here and ousted the *Bashkar* and *Kashkar* tribe. The 17th and 18th centuries were the era of Khanism in which a sub section of Yousafzais tribe “Malazais” extended its borders. The end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century had seen the rise of Nawabs and until 1922, they engaged in perpetual warfare with the Swat state. The policy of the Nawabs was friendly toward British India, they received subsidy from the British Viceroy and in return protected the British interests in the region.

The Nawab was a feudal lord and a tribal nationalist. He had the backing of Pinda Khel and Sultan Khel families. He was famous for his unique approach, as he did not allow concrete or teen roof house in Dir. The paint of houses was banned and the only color allowed was that of mud locally called *spinakhwara* (white mud), of ash color. Education was forbidden in the state, the very first attempts of Baacha Khan and Fazla-i-Mahmood Makhfi were discouraged in the 1920s, and the *Azad* Islamia School was destroyed in the locality of Khall. The dream of Baacha

Khan was accomplished by the present ANP government in 2008 when “Baacha Khan Trust foundation” founded a school in Gandigar Dir upper after the name of Baacha Khan.

The *Tarborwali* (cousin’s rivalry) of Dir Nawab was based on jealousy as usually *Tarborwali* stands for competition, though he did not compete with the Wali of Swat in the field of education and modernization. He confined himself to Dir, and did not think beyond the borders of Dir. He was a tyrant ruler. Though he suppressed the people, old people still remember him, as *Nawab saib*. They romanticize the era of Nawab, because in those days, there was peace and society was egalitarian. In today’s Dir, the militants ruined the social values and institutions of Dir and now the military is in control with 24 check posts on Dir Chitral roads. Everybody knows in Dir that Taliban were pushed toward Afghanistan, and the presence of military is the sign of another stage-managed chaos for militants uprising.

The first decade of the 21st century saw the rise of TNSM and Taliban and of course their brutalities. The army operation further devastated the situation now it runs a parallel administration in the area with absolute power. The Talibanization was a challenge and was responded by the Pakhtuns accordingly, a line has been drawn in the society between the peace lovers and insurgents.

During the process from tribalism to state formation, Dir has witnessed several revolutions. From the Stone Age up to modern age Dir still exists on the surface of the earth. Every religion and invader of the day passed through here. The remnants of Dir, although most of them are still unexplored, are the witness of these trajectories of history. The only legacy of the Nawab is his palace and the aged people still remember Nawab, as just and traditional Pakhtun. The secularization of Dir society was discouraged at the very first national

elections in 1970. The deposed Nawab Shah Khisro was the candidate for National Assembly. JI candidate Sahibzada Safi Ullah contested against him, and won the election, because of the slogan of *Sharia*, though it has never been fulfilled till the date but it is still their manifesto. It was the only seat in National Assembly which JI had secured from Dir till that date Nawab's family has never indulged in the politics of Dir.

In the guise of religion, the new Nawab of Dir is Jamaat-i-Islami, who is against the cable and internet services. In the electoral politics, JI has stopped the entry of females in the elections. But in time of polling the JI females casted vote in Nehag Darrain the 2002 general elections for the first time in the history of Dir. It is all about politics as the dictum goes, "politics is a dirty game". Nawab era was peaceful. Taliban were not an indigenous phenomenon it was imported to Dir from Swat, comparatively TNSM was somehow an indigenous movement that was effective in lower Dir and at last, the final showdown was played out in Swat. It was disturbing that both had gained the support of Islamists parties due to their popular rhetoric and also the appeasement policy of the state favoured the Taliban cause.

The people experienced the TNSM movement; the houses of the TNSM stakeholders and activists became the sanctuaries of Taliban who destroyed the future of Dirvis. The people have judged both military and militants so their hatred is for both because and both had disturbed the peace and order of the society. Pakistan continued the British policy of loose administration; the tribes were tied to the federation with a policy of carrot and stick.

Dir has passed through transitional period from 1969 to 1975. In this period, the DC was all in all and was the overlord of the district affairs. After the promulgations of PATA in 1975, the powers were curbed to some extent, but a beauracracy-patronized *Jirga* was made the

stakeholder in the affairs of Dir. that reminded the people that Nawab was just in deciding the cases.

Three operations in Dir has been conducted by Pakistanmilitary so far, the Dir operation of 1972, the TNSM operationin 1995 and the last operation *Rah-i-Rast* against Taliban in 2009. The Pakistani military junta had too much invested in hard power in the Pakhtun areas and Afghanistan; it is time to invest in the soft power, which meanseducation, media, women empowerment and basic infrastructure. Otherwise,Pakistan is suffering from a self-destruction trend as; the security establishment is pursuing the policy of militarization of society. Moreover,it refuses to listen to any advice that could help arrest this trend before things get out of hand. The state is security-centered state in which the militants and Islmists are deep-rooted and ever ready to give legitimacy to military action and militancy in the Pakhtun belt.

The people of Dir experienced three systems, the authoritarianrule of Nawab with a swift justice and peace. The Pakistan state ruledtill 1994, and then the TNSM movement tookover, at last in 1999 the Nizam I Adal was introduced.In 21st century, the brutality of the militantsand military destroyed the very peaceful life of people.Z.A Bhutto made the gulf outlet openin order to divert the Pakhtunistan issue, but in addition, it brought the holy version of Islam i.e. *Wahabbism* for the unholy war in Afghanistan.

The *Lashkarisation* made the society a replica of pre-state tribalism when there was no state institution.Every tribe was responsible for its own security. This time the security institutions were at the mercy of militants, so under compulsion the *Lashkars* were organized. In away, it is a breach of trust between the people and the state's most powerful institution.

The *Jirgas* and *Lashkars* were revived and these *Lashkars* performed in a very modest way, because locally the Dir Taliban had some sympathizers among JI and JUI (F) supporters but were not allowed to proliferate in Dir. In the era of Talibanization, the Dir Taliban were not an indigenous phenomenon however, the Swat and Bajaur Taliban penetrated into Dir. After a nominal military operation, these Taliban were pushed to Afghanistan from Dir. The Painda khel and Sultan khel tribes had protected their areas successfully.

The ruling clique in Pakistan is wicked and do not want a nation enlightened with the spirit of democracy. Once the nation gets enlightened, it will abolish extremism, terrorism and sectarianism. The hard liner *Maulanas* Sufi Mohammad and Fazalullah, in the present age of technology and political awareness by extending intangible demands confused the government and people.

Either the social order of the Pakhtuns society was disturbed dually by military or by the militants and both had come on their own. The Talibanization of Malakand division in general and of Dir in particular neither it was class issue nor a genuine movement for the Sharia. It was a game of interest, in which the religious parties made most of the investments and benefits. Their bosses tried to achieve their regional interests. This is to give an impetus to Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan and to counter progressive agenda of ANP and PPP in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Dir had gone through different type of administrative and judicial structures such as FCR, PATA regulation and then in 1999 the Nizam-i-Adal regulations were introduced. While interviewing Malakand based politicians and scholars, they called for a new social contract between the state and people. The Pakhtunwali must be purified and codified, as for the Dirvis *Jirga* is still supreme and of course the middle way of conflict resolution. Awakening in

Pakhtuns, detaching them from Islamism, amendments in Constitution is must as well as the locals must be involved in the decision making, in order to get rid from the Taliban in future.

The dream of Zia's Islamization was completed in the shape of Taliban and Maulana Fazalullah. The strategic depth policy of the military junta is displaying the worse result. Annexation to Pakistan did not brought the desired changes neither the settled district law was extended nor any law was made for it, rather a hybrid and confused law was introduced in the shape of PATA. Like the tribal agencies the elected members were constitutionally barred to make any legislation for Dir, a prior consent was made necessary from the president of Pakistan.

In the words of Naveed Anjum Khan (a philanthropist & District president of ANP Dir upper), the future of Dir will be like the past of Swat; the pre-requisite is education and peace. We are away from civilization centers. The Jamaat-i-Islami and religious madrasas are here to clip the feathers of new ideas and modern worldview. The modern education and the revival of Pakhtun culture can counter the monster of religious extremism in Dir.

APPENDIX I

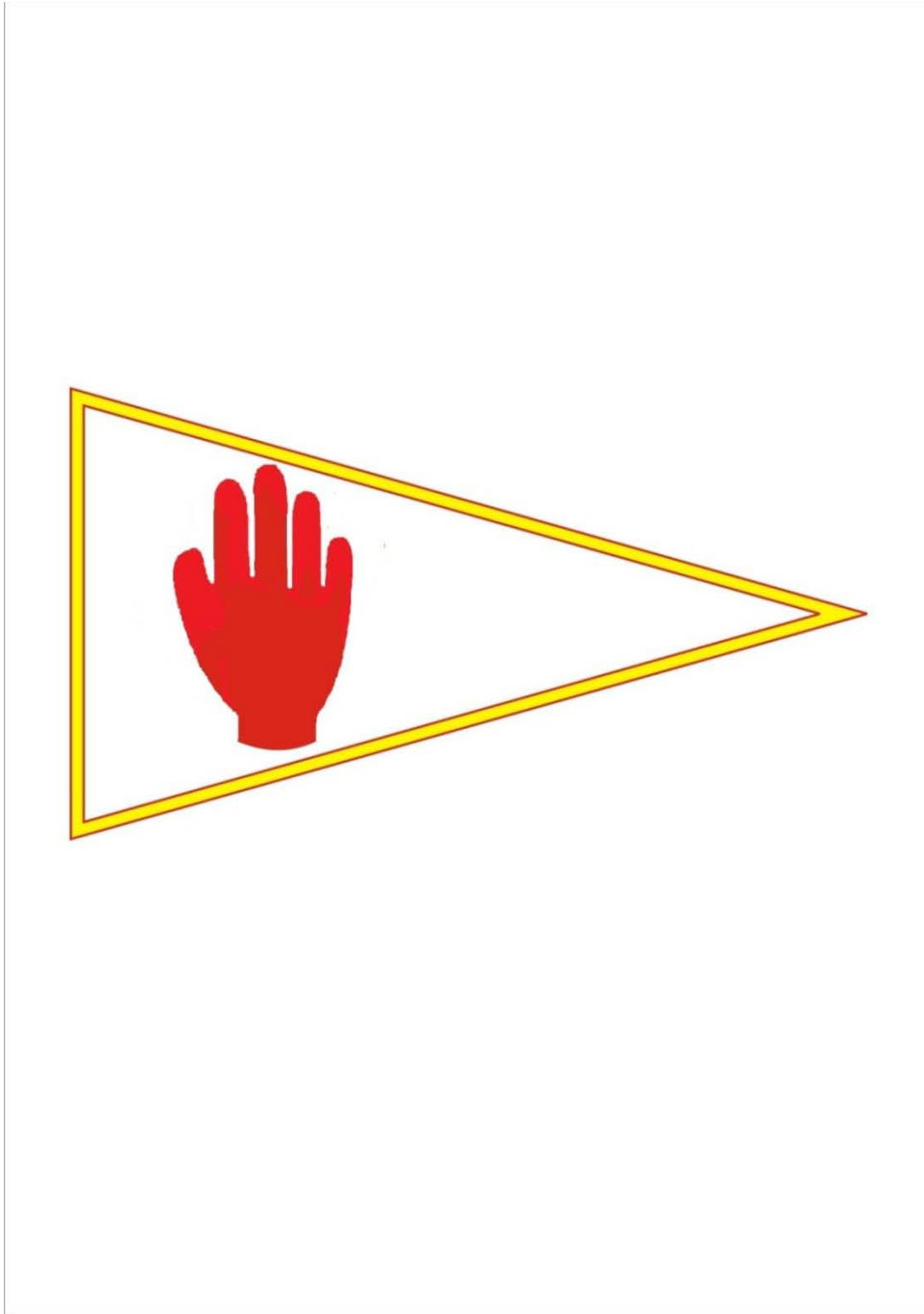
یوسف روئی اعلان

مزایرے

دو مظلومانوں کے اسرہ کے ایک دہے ویسے ویاں ترو۔ حکومت نے معلوم نہ وہ۔ او تو لہ دنیا ترخیر دہ چہ
 تاسو سرہ یہ چیلہ ریاست کنی شہ سلوک کی کیا۔ ستاسو نوابہ نہ دولت سرکولہ اویلو نہ جوہر وی نہ ہر تبار
 او مد رہے۔ چہ ستاسو دنگ در تک انتظام پنہ شی او چیل مال او پیدا وارہ یو خانہ نہ بل خانہ نہ یہ
 اسانہ او سوسے شہنہ یا چہ ستاسو علاج او دامی و ذوقل ان شہ او تسلیم حاصل کری۔ او د پاکستان د
 نہ ویا حصن او دیا ستونو پیشان ترقی او کری۔ د پاکستان نہ ویا وخلقو بہ ذواتت صنعت تعلیم او ذوق
 پہ ہر میدان کنی غم پہ ورا بندہ بران دیا۔ او پنہ ذوقت او آرام شہ وند تیز وی۔ لیکن ستاسو د ریاست قبول
 آسنا نہ نوابہ پہ قافی آرام او عیش عشرت کنی او تاسو پہ کینی و تھرا او پہ تن برینا ان ہنہ۔
 حکومت تدا ہم معلوم نہ۔ چہ نوابہ پہ تاسو یا بندہ شہرہ بگا و نہ کری۔ ستاسو نہ ہرنگہ یہ نہ ورا خلی و تھنہ
 کویا۔ چہ ہند نہ رصہ ما گذار شہی۔ او تاسو نور ہر غیر اتان شہن تاسو کنی چہ چا نہ ہند و نظم بر خلاف او از او چت
 کریدے۔ ہنوی دے اقل کری دی۔ یا نہ د ریاست نہ شہرے دی۔ انہ ہنوی د پاکستان پہ نہ ویا و حصن کینی دوپہ دو مقام
 پہ سر دے ارزی شہ وند تیز وی۔ کہ نوابہ د ریاست کوہ آمدنا ہم پہ قوم فرخ کوٹے۔ نونہ پہ ستاسو دانتہ فرایہ و رخ
 نہ وہ۔ تاسو چہ وقتا نو قتا د نوابہ او د چین و ول خان و ظلمو نو بر خلاف چیلہ او او د حکومت کنی نہ نہ سوسے شہ
 او دیرے ہرنگہ سر و دل پہ دہے فرض را ویستے دی۔ چہ تاسو د غمہ نار و اظلمو نو د خلاصا کریا۔ نوابہ د ستاسو
 فریاد ویریتہ بند کریدے۔ حکومت ہریشہ نوابہ تدا و نیلی دکا۔ چہ نہ ریاست کنی سر کونہ ویر نہ ہر شہنہ
 مدد کرے جوہرے کریا۔ پہ خلق بگا و نہ نہ کریا۔ وخلق نہ وہ یہ نہ ہر مستطہ ہرنگہ نہ اسفر۔ و نیلی دانی فرنی آیارہ و
 بے گناہ متلو نہ کریا۔ او نہ وخلق بے ہنہ بے ہنہ د ریاست نہ ہر شہی د نیک نوابہ تراوسد ہنہ او نہ کرے۔
 حکومت پاکستان نورد ایسے حالات نہ شہ ہر اہست کرتے۔ ویر د پاکستان ہم وند ونگ حصہ دہ نہ دنگ چہ نہ ہنہ و
 ویر خلق ہم واقع کرے۔ چہ د پاکستان د مور و خلق پہ سادہ آرام اہر شہالی او عزت زورہ تیر کرے۔ دہ بارہ کنی یہ
 حکومت پاکستان کو یہ دہہ وارے پرتدہ۔ او ہند و چہ دنگ د تاملو ہنہ آرام دہ اسٹا او تو قہر خیال او سالی پہ ہنہ
 رچہ حکومت بصلہ کریدے۔ چہ تاسو د ہر قسم ظلمو ان و ہنوی د ظلم۔ جبر او ناروا نہ خلاصا کریا۔ چہ تاسو۔
 ستاسو بال بچ او آئینہ نسلی نہ د آرام او عزت زورہ تیر کری۔ حکومت او د پاکستان قبول و خیان تاسو نہ زیرے و د کویا چہ
 تاسو ہیشہ د پارہ د غم و ظلم نہ خلاصا شوری۔

حکومت پاکستان

APPENDIX II



The Ghazi Umra Khan Flag. The flag of Ghazi Umra Khan, later on adopted for some time by the Shehab Uddin Khan.¹

¹The flag has been made by the author in the coral draw.

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