

Religious Extremism and the Rise of Talibanization in Swat

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ABSTRACT

This research has outlook over the extremism ideology that got progressed till the days Taliban and extremist elements were trying to have a rule in Swat while the government trying to counter their narrative of the religious extremism. Now the question to study is that how the religious extremism and rise of militancy in Swat are interlinked. The Swat valley, famous for its rich culture; tourism industry, was severely inflicted by militancy. It remained hub of militancy for almost two years with irreparable loss/consequences to its infrastructure, industry, agriculture, health and badly marginalized the educational setup of the valley, with deep mental, physical and psychological implications. The questions raised by the scholars worked on this whole dramatic scene are very logical but those scholars didn't provide answers for those questions. Once again where the state security agencies was and what they were doing, from where did these militants have heavy weapons and guns. From where did they have modern technologies like radio station setup and communication devices? They captured and controlled the villages and towns of Swat slowly and gradually, from Shangle to Buner and other neighbor regions.

Keywords: *Religious Extremism, Talibanization, Swat, Pakistan*

Introduction

Extremism as defined simply to have opinion at the extreme stand point and not otherwise that could of little flexibility. The inflexibility of opinion held by the extremists have no appeal to reason or open to fair criticism but are on their self-right. You cannot transform or remodel their view point as there is complete lack of tolerance and cannot accommodate or have no place to respect and honor other opinions. In short, such people who has extremist opinion have the finality in their opinion and view and have nothing with the pluralism but dictate their own ideology or point of view. So far the religious extremism is concerned is to have cleanliness and purity. There is no contradictory opinion to have the use of religion of as tool for the extremism and history is evident to it that religions have played the most havoc to add fuel to the fire in the extremism shifting its direction to the religion extremism which remained the most successful tool and arm. It is the complex series of social, political, psychological, theological or historical factors or combination of more that are driving force to such behavior. Swat, one of the princely state that acceded to state of Pakistan, in the Malakand Division with seven district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, formerly known as NWFP. This region is the meeting point of three Asian continent for this it carries its strategic and diplomatic importance; South Asia, Central Asia and China. In 2000 with the rise of Taliban in this region got more importance and military operation November

2007 as its first phase in the Swat Valley with collaboration of local police against TNSM. (Khattak, 2010).

In history that dates back to 1990s when Sufi Muhammad founded the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariati-Muhammad (TNSM) under the slogan of Shariat or Shahadat. (Martyrdom or Islamic rule) and when he was jailed the organization come to the leadership of Mulla FaziUllah, son-in-law of founding leader and Jammāt Islami the Islamist party dissident. Mulla Fazlullah was the former employee at Mam Dheri chairlift and working as operator there when he assumed the TNSM leadership. (Tajik, 2011).

Mulla Fazlullah has earned the nickname "FM Mullah" due to his FM radio broadcast and as such got international concentration. He used to visit different mosques along with his colleagues on every Friday besides radio station preaching of his manifesto in the region. (Khan, 2009).

There is backwardness in the region of Swat and landlordism prevails over there which then rule upon the poor people. Moreover, the government did anything to bring reforms and as well positive change by providing job opportunity to the people of Swat and mostly the economy is agro based only. Fazlullah is mostly followed either by students of local religious seminaries and unemployed people who has no better economic future and thus joining the organization which mostly in return either occupy the land or target the landlords at the first strike in the region. Due to such prevailing situations most of the rich families left their ancestor homes and fled due to terror threats. The result was that who fled and left their homes, their lands and homes were distributed among the peasant who has joined the organization.

A Journey from the Black Turbaned Brigade (TNSM) to Taliban

The continuous struggles of liberals for progression of the society failed due to the religious extremism in Pakistan. This extremism is the biggest cause of failure of regional stability and peace. The warriors (Taliban) are backed by the religious political parties in Pakistan, especially in FATA and Khyber pakhtunkhwa, are the main factor behind the wave of terrorism and extremism in the entire state. Their perspective and interpretation of the Holy QURAN are quite effective to attract the prostrated and illiterate society of Pakistan towards them. They installed a hate in the minds of locals towards the NGO's organization and international organization mostly western countries and liberal forces. They tried to influence people to do jihad against these organization and people who working for these organizations.

The spreading and the interpretation of islamic education under the flag of saudi arabia is also a main cause of religious extremism. The government of pakistan claimed that more than 60 million people living below the poverty line(Dawn, 2016).we people are failed to understand the role of these religious parties in both the states, either they are from house of Saud or from Pakistani pressure groups, they have nothing to do with Islam. They are playing religious cards for politics and power. The Arab kings are not the representatives of Islam nor of their people are, they are just monarchist. The basic need is to make people understand that every word in Arabic is not the final orders of Islam, simply the concept that "murder is not Islam" should be install in minds of common people from the very beginning of their life travel. The people should also learn that an opinion against

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Saudi Arabia is not an opinion against Islam and vice versa, every state is responsible to struggle for the stability and well of their citizens inside and abroad the state (Khan, K. (2009).

“CIA and ISI rewrote the whole history of Pakistan to introduce the children of the nation to the high level of extremism; even text books were full of jihadi teachings. More than 5000 mosque schools were established. Their first target was communism, which a proved a system of KUFAR. In those days literature, funds and arms of international community were introduced into each street of the state, especially in KPK. Approximately \$13 million were distributed between 1984-94 among the opinion makers to change the literature and provide background for their aims and objectives through *The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)*, sponsored by the University of Nebraska, Omaha. Literature books, containing the faults of communism and extremist ideologies were distributed in the refugee camps of an overall worth about \$13 million. School children and students in madras got basic training of arms, the rifles shells and the literature found there proved this claim”. (Ashraf, 2010).

According to the statics of 2002, more than 2392 extremist and religious organizations are operating across the State of Pakistan. Recently they have 232 in number. Other than militancy they have so many other objectives too like enforcement of Sharia and law, changes in the society, target the opposite sects and bring khilafat. They have also affiliated groups who are working either for the same ideology or for some others factors, it is difficult to identify their main agenda as they are working for so many aims at the same time. the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) and Jamiat Ahle-Hadith are the main organizations with whom all the small other organizations are linked directly or indirectly from the 1950s. in the 1970s another big organization formed, named Tehrik Nifaz-e-Fiqah-e-Jafaria which is a Shia organization. These five are the major organization who established small units for their objectives either by militancy or by the use of soft power in education and reforms. These main organizations are working for political stability and the small are aggressive in nature, who struggling for religio-socialization. The major is working politically and also participating in elections and have seats in assembly. (Rana, 2011).

These are the major sectarian groups in Pakistan, Deobandi outfits Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ), Barelvi groups Sunni Tehreek (ST) and Jamaat-e-Ahle-Sunnat, who are working on ways ie political and militancy, to achieve their goals, for politics they have front line parties while for militancy they work secretly.

Swat was a tribal society, having no rules and regulations. (Khan, 1966-67). Khan and Malik were the heads of these tribes, who were leading and ruling them. As there were no rules so there were a lot of conflicts and issues among these tribes, which continued for years, with a loss of precious human lives. in those days two were famous trends killing and kidnaping. There was no guarantee of lives and properties; indirectly there was anarchy for powerful people. The famous religious scholars like Abdul ghafoor maingul, Abdul wadood played very vital role to bring reforms in the society (Khan, 2004). The imbalance in the society was the main cause to turn the society into a state. In 1926 swat became an independent prince

state under the ruler (WALI). In 1969 they joined Pakistan and became a part of the state.

Mahmud of Ghazni, in 1023, attacked Swat and removed all the Buddhist and their king, named Raja Gira in the battle. This was a special scenario for Muslim to preach Islam and changing the chronology of Khans and Malak in the region (Khan, 2004). Swatis and Dalazaks were the two major tribes after the conquering of Swat. With the passage of time and globalization the Dalazaks moved to settled areas like Peshawar and Mardan and the Swatis stayed there in Swat, as a major tribe.

The rise of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) over the years, these local Taliban activists became significant in the year of December 2007. These militants systematized their own organization named as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). They requested thousands of Taliban diagonally in Pakistan and to a large extent from away under the headship of Baitullah Mehsud. Baitullah Mehsud was the pioneer of North Waziristan based commander and the deputy chief and the Amir was Maulana Hafiz Gul Bahadur of the TTP. Moreover it, on the other hand Maulana Fazlullah was head of the Taliban in the Swat region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Bahadur was elected general secretary (a position that was created to appease him, but has no real function). Bahadur detached himself from the TTP in 2008. So, he became the akin of Mullah Nazir because Mullah Nazir was not in favor to fight against Pakistan army or Pakistani state, while Baitullah Mehsud was pursuing war against Pakistan Army, Government and Civilian. They also targeted innocent people of the region. In the spring of 2009, however, Bahadur, Nazir, and Baitullah Mehsud formed the Shura Ittihad ul Mujahideen, and coalition of their tri groups and claimed to have resolved their previous disputes. (Shah, 2009).

Miangul Jahanzeb who was famous as wali e Swat. His era is known as golden era in history of valley Swat. After the death of Abdul Jabbar in 1917 he handed over the government to Miangul Abdul Wadood and after it, he handed over the reins of the state of Swat to his son Miangul Jahanzeb. Because the improvement was at its peak during his phase, he constructed Schools, hospitals, roads, and communication systems and there was generally speaking law and order in the valley of Swat. In addition to it, there had been assembly of ministers which resolute the serious problems of the people. While, Wali himself ready to solve their issues through tribal assembly or jirga, within a day. But after the union into Pakistan of Swat state there were slight developmental projects took place like schools and hospitals were constructed. Yet, serious tension was created when the judicial system was doing nothing to do for the residents and to solve their problems. In Courts civil and criminal cases alike were postponed for years which resulted in frustration among the people. Though the valley of Swat is relatively close to the Afghan border. It was not much affected by the Afghan-Soviet war of the 1980s. In addition to it, when the Afghanistan Taliban came into power many Swatis was supporting them. It was also used as land for training Afghanistan Taliban. Pakistani media manipulate the whole, while sleeping during the whole period of rise of Taliban. After that they got some videos of Taliban's free movement in the markets, having heavy guns. At the same time the Afghan militants and TTP give a hand to support these militants in Swat which was one of the major causes of rise of Sufi Muhammad. (air, 2007).

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Sufi Muhammad belong to Lower Dir he was a local leader of Jamaat-e-Islami in the Maidan area of Lower Dir district, he is a radical cleric. Sufi Muhammad left Jammata-e-Islami and creates his own tanzeem which he became a leader of his organization. The formation of organization in 1989 Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) his main goal was to implement sharia of Muhammad in swat and other areas of Malakand division (Shah & Khan Swat, 1995).

Sufi Muhammad hails from the Kumbar area of Lower Dir, where he received his religious education at local seminaries. He became as a village councilor as a member of Jammata-e-Islami in 1985. After some time, however, he apparently became disheartened with JI (Jumata-i-Islami), and he returned to Maidan to lead prayers at a local mosque and teach at an Islamic school, or madrassa, while beginning to trouble for the implementation of Islamic law, or sharia. Temperamentally, Sufi Muhammad is not charismatic but he is a smooth talker which he gained huge support in the region, unlike other mullas, does not like that.

In 1990s, Sufi Muhammad started a peaceful campaign on a limited scale his aim was to implementing sharia across the valley, but the campaign was got militancy in the valley which created tension among the people. Sufi Muhammad and his believers support them frustrated by the slow system of justice and corrupt public officials in Malakand, adopted the slogan “shariat ya shahadat” (sharia or martyrdom). In 1994, Sufi Muhammad and his followers, called Tor Patkai (Black Turbans) for their black turbans, started to challenge the government of Pakistan and also they blockading roads after the negative response of the Pakistani government to their campaign. Sufi Muhammad used the same tactics blocking roads in an attempt to force the government to implement sharia in Malakand he has been used by Jamaat-e-Islami’s Qazi Hussain Ahmad, with whom Sufi Muhammad parted ways in the late 1980s to form the TNSM. The blockades led to create tension and then waged war with Pakistani security forces. In district Buner eleven people have been killed on May, 6, 1994, they fought for the sharia in malakand division which Sufi Muhammad claimed. There were also other clashes between the followers of Sufi Muhammad and the Frontier Corps of Pakistan which they want to halt the movement as a result many people were killed from both sides. The unrest over when the Sufi Muhammad and government of Pakistan negotiated the Nizam-i-Adal Regulation, meaning “the implementation of a justice-based system,” which authorized sharia in Malakand (Sultan-i-Rome, 2009). The agreement was viewed as a concession by the government and a victory for Sufi Muhammad’s supporters, although his armed uprising was concealed.

Sufi Muhammad’s popularity in Swat and neighboring Dir sank to a low point during the late 1990s, because many locals had been killed during the uprising and Sufi Muhammad himself fled the area, and then joined the government in talks. His believers blamed him that why he led his fighter into a conflict and then he hiding from them. Which affect his personality to some extent, but Sufi Muhammad worked hard to restore his image, aided by the popularity of the Taliban government in Afghanistan among Pashtuns living in Swat; Pakistan’s sole official television station, PTV, regularly aired stories of Taliban victories across the border. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States throw Sufi Muhammad into converted position of power, and he led a tribal militia, or lashkar, of some 10,000 volunteers from the Swat, Dir, Buner, and

Shangla districts, and the Bajaur and Mohmand tribal agencies, to fight U.S. forces in Afghanistan (Ali, 2009). The citizens of Dir and Swat, however, were not met Sufi Muhammad led their brothers in the Afghan quagmire, and hold it responsible for the deaths of their relatives. Pakistani security officials apparently made an old man a favor by arresting him, Dera Ismail Khan almost seven years in the forces, American troops and crossing the border without proper documents, the time span, which can reduce the anger of the people. TNSM, meanwhile, was banned by the government.

Maulana Fazlullah (hero of the drama), was born 1975 in swat valley a simple agricultural family imam dheri near Fizza Gatt Swat. With respect to relation he is the son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad, his original name was Fazle Hayat, but latter he changed his name to Fazlullah. He fought with Sufi Muhammad in Afghanistan against US forces and spent 17 months in Pakistani jail (Yousfzai , 2007). At Mam (small town in swat), he started his travel by establishing a small mosque as his Centre to spread ideology and create public opinion. Later Maolana changed the name of Mam Dheri to Ima Dheri to make it attractive for others this why give it Islamic touch (Fazlullah, 2007). In the 1990s Fazal Hayat changed his name to Fazlullah to look more religious and provide emotional strength to his movement; he was not a full religious scholar, he left the Madrasa in its middle. Once he works with Fizza Ghat chairlift. He said I am not a scholar but there is no one to halt me from implementing sharia in swat (Khan, 2009). Initially he was a teacher of children in their home town Mam Dheri mosque, where he used to teach to children. Maolana conventional teachings gradually change to addresses and after sometime he established his own FM radio station which was an authorized in 2004 (Khan,2009). He earned the nickname ‘Maulana Radio’ and people supported him because he preached the basic of Islam like about prayers, rights of women and men. He gained very soon the support of the local people and some of his previous friends which were fought in Afghanistan with him. Moreover, the people who were abroad to earn especially in Dubai and KSA, when they were back to their home, their families convey the message of Mulla Fazlullah. Besides this the women were much influenced that they even donated their bangles and bracelets etc. he also besides voluntary donations, used to send messages through his commanders that he has not paid Zakat and Sadqa to the madrassas. (Local sources) His emphasis was to pray regularly and refrain from sins. He urged people against America and as well US and allies’ forces that are engaged with Taliban in Afghanistan. With time, his version got strictness and asked people of the valley not to send their girls to schools and education and as well watching Television and listening to music was declared as banned and prohibited in the valley.

“The generation having the extremist ideology from the very beginning of his education, provided readymade soldiers for Maolana” said Ali (Ali, 2007).

As Maolana have very strong communication skills, so his emotional speeches targeted and effected every one of the society. The common people donate every necessity for the construction of new buildings, food items and even women donate their gold to strong the Islamic fake system, promised by the Maolana to e implement. The most dangerous weapon used by the Maolana was the distribution of tickets for a guaranteed paradise. As compare to Pakistani judicial system, their traditional system was very strong; the speeches of Maolana recall the old system

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of Wali, before joining Pakistan as a result people feel a light of hope for their social problems. According to the analyst, Mukhtar Khan "in any form of government even in democracy a leader or militant tries to influence people through his personality and communication strategies which produce a "cult of personality around their' every militant used this rule to create a specific group of blind follower around him, Sufi Muhammad and Fazlullah used the same technique.(Khan, 2009). In 2009 Pakistani army destroyed a Madrasa of Maolana which was constructed with a worth of 35 million rupees, collected from the supporters of the movement. Maolana came in front of the world due to attacking and banning polio teams in swat, he claimed that is a war from Jews and Christians to stop Muslim population to grow(Yusufzai,2007). Another brutal act was the destruction of archeological sites of Budish and other religions in swat, which also included the statues of great historical personalities, this was about September, 2007(Press, 2000). The local people and records proved that Maolan on Radio accepted that he destroyed modern tools of communication in swat a total worth was about RS 20million, which consists of TVs, video recorders, computers and digital cameras, his argument was these are the tools of sin. He also issued ordered to not drink, to not dance, to not listen music, he argues that we have to remove these evils from our society.(Radio, 2008). Fazlullah followed the same strategies of Sufi Muhammad, he throws king of his cards towards common poor people with a promise of distributing lands equally among every one of the society, they captured lands from elites and distributed among them and other people. The society ran towards instability and the labors who were working under these landlords became the owner of their owners. He targeted social injustice and promised of an equal system of justice on the bases of justice and economy. These promises attracted the supporters towards his movement.

The movement gain more strength after the tragic event of Lal masjid, the moral support of people turned into militancy. These were the people who never crosses the front of any school, have no work to do and mostly youth of the society. Maolana targeted these people through his FM radio and get a great success (Shahid, 2009). After the event of Lal Masjid, he declared it war same like that of Afghanistan Non-Muslims and Muslims. He also declared that we have more partners to help us in this war. His brother was killed in a drone attack in Bajawar, this was also a reason of public support and Maolana militancy (Taliban, 2006). After plotting the background Maolana shaped an armed army, who started marching in the markets and streets, parents stopped sending daughters to schools. At the end of the 2007 he had an organized army and had the most popular person in swat valley, indirectly the ruler of the valley. In these situations, brave girls also existed like MALALA, who challenged the bribery of Taliban in the region.

Most of the militants in the organization were criminals, to protect themselves from the legal punishments; they feel themselves safe under the leadership of Maolana. Taliban at that time struggling for a stable man power so they welcomed all these criminals and allotted them good designations. They gained power against the state and local Khans, as these criminals were expert in crimes. Others have domestic problems due to which they joined Taliban. These Taliban started direct fight with the army of local Khans and with the State agencies.(Khan, 2009).

The direct army who were fighters were about 5k in number and the supporters were incountable.a person whose name was Shah Duran,used to sell food stuff in

the steets of Mingora, capital town of swat, was the second commandent of the organization. He was with Maolana from the beganing of his movement. Edia reports says that Shah Duran was died due to kidney failure in Bajawar in 2009. due to his death the structure of Taliban's organization got distured, he was on this designation till his death. (Dawn, Newspaper, 2009). Another prominent name in this list is Muslim khan. Who spent most of his time outside the country, his designation was the spokesperson of the organization. In these days he is in Jail, the military court broke pen on his death sentence. While Sufi Muhammad get free last year at the age of 98, he agreed that he was used by the two religious political parties. Fazlullah joined ISIS and the other Taliban are hiding in Tribal areas and in Afghanistan. (Kakar, 2008).

In the beginning, the Taliban of swat were not too much strong and organized but some of their mates were taking part in the war of Afghanistan, Kashmir and other countries. They were connected with various militant groups in Pakistan. They emerged into power in mid of 2000s and then formed an association with various organizations with the passage of time. Siraj ud din who was the first spokesman of swat Taliban was also the part of Jash e Muhammad. In 2007, he was finally substituted by Muslim Khan due to unknown reasons and currently he is behind the bars. Muslim Khan was a fluent speaker of Pashto, Urdu, English, and Japanese. Moreover, it, he was a staunch member of the People's Students Federation during his educational life (Service, 2008). In 1990s he was a prominent member of TNSM of Sufi Muhammad. After sometime for the sought of a job, he left for abroad and finally started residence in U.S.A. He came back to homeland after the attacks of 11 September. In Pakistan finally started his own business but when Fazlullah came into authority. He purchased his FM broadcasting station and was supporting him. Fazlullah supervised the Shura and was assisting as the movement's military commander. In addition to it, Shura fellows were answerable for specific regions and were also controlling distinct units of combatants. Some of them were selected as infantry, suicide bombers and mapped the youngsters into Taliban army. Fazlullah made a separate wing of Shaheen Commando Force in which 4,000 and 5,000 fighters were included in 2007 (Khan, 2007). Beside it, they tried to forbid films, music markets as well as female shopping centers (Taliban, 2006).

Finally, the Taliban of swat who were under Fazlullah command had been watchfully allied with the TTP. It is more than crystal clear from the facts and figures that Fazlullah and his colleague of Swat Taliban had supported Baitullah and Mullah Omar. Baitullah helper was a staunch supporter of the secret diplomacy of TTP to divert the vision of Pakistani government from operations in swat and was in support of launching more attacks in cities across Pakistan. Suicide blasts increased after this secret diplomacy in Pakistan which is a clear indication of their union with TTP (ISPR, 2009). The organizational structure of Taliban of Swat is drawn in below table.

Table 1

Following was the organizational structure of the Swat Taliban

| Rank | Name |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Chief executive | Mullah Fazlullah |
| Second commandant | Shah Dauran (late) |
| Spokeperson | Muslim Khan (in Jail) |
| Core committee members(Shura) | Sirajuddin Mahmood Khan (in bars) Qari Mushtaq Nasar Khan Ibn-e-Amin (a local person of swat and a staunchmember of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, no news about his life or death) Maulana Muhammad Alam Binori, manager Radio station, Killed March 1, 2010. |

Pak Army started a massive offensive against Tehrik-e-Pakistan (TTP) groups in Malakand division at the end of 2009. After the failure of two agreements between provincial government and Taliban Army launched their operation against them, first dialogue with local Taliban and then with Mullah Fazlullah the Ameer of TTP, but they refused and violate the agreement, they said that we want Nizam-e-Adl regulation in the region, after that they attacked on Police, Pak Army and Frontier Corps (FC). Before the military operation the peace agreement was still intact, but Taliban attacked eighteen times in the month of April in Dir, Swat, Buner and other places of Malakand, eight attacks was on security forces. When Taliban violate the agreements and move forward to the adjacent areas of Swat, Shangla, Dir and Buner to challenge the control of government. Rah-e-Rast operation was the fifteenth most important military operation against Militants in KPK and FATA of Pakistan. When government ended the peace agreement and start operation against them government declared its victory. (Rana, 2009).

Operation Rah-e-Rast has a powerful effect on the mind and behavior of local public which are living in those areas had play a damaging role in the trouble of civilian's lives and government actions in the area. Malakand division has low literacy, they have religious people, strong cultural standards, and all of these things are very easy for extremism to misguide the innocent people with name of religion and the misinterpretation of Islam. In this study the researcher analyze the different aspects and significances of Army operation in Malakand division. A lot of things are there but some of them are below, weak governance, lack of good governance, bad administration, and neglects of government policies in pastoral parts, economic disruption, twenty-five percent illiteracy, severe traditional rules, and illicit use FM radio by Taliban. Terrorist used radio to change the people mind to social uncertainty and radicalism. (Manzoor, K.A & Yousafi, M, 2014).

Insurgency in the swat valley can be outlined from the very first effort of Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNAM) but in realism at that period it did not smart so abundant. Later the rise of Talibanaization in swat valley, subversive

activities has not only affected the inhabitants and life ordinary people, but directly undermine the government officials, machinery which left the society in darkness.

At the outset, the engaged the indigenous to follow them, Fazlullah launched FM radio station which he sought to broadcast in order to address people to help Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat (TTS) for the propagation and implementation of Sharia laws in the Swat valley. Although except all these situations and a relation between militancy and Sharia, most of the people believed that there is very close nexus between the extremist religious education and rebellion. Behind the success of NSM and TTP there was the basic reason and weapon of illegal transmission of FM radio and its teachings. The weak broadcasting laws of the State provided them a soft way to carry out their mission. During the time period of 2002-2007, the government and state agencies were failed to protect the lives and properties of the residence of the Valley. This negligence from the State produce a tension in the region and the people started move towards these militants, which can also be calculated as a basic reason of the insurgency. In such situations the voice of an ideal Islamic state became more popular and attractive for depressed people.

Some analysts thought that it was a class war of elites and poorest prove himself true they argue that during the post state period in Swat, there were sanctions of local swatis to do business.as it was a tax-free zone still today so the elites and investors move to swat and captured all the business and works. They became khans and Malak of the valley and started ruling over the locals. Due to this reason they always kept a feeling of revenge from them. the TNSM provided them a chance and opportunity to get their revenge as a result the poor and depressed people of Swat joined the organization. (The information (see Roznama Aaj Peshawar, (Urdu daily, Peshawar, 2009).

Continuously losing of credibility of the government institutions is also one the major reason of extremism in Pakistan. Our departments are completely failed to deliver their services in its true sense, as a result it produces social injustice and social depression. It is the reason people hates the system and can easily attract and target by these extremists.They make their ideology more fatal against the system. In FATA there is no law and regulation as it is a constitutional part of Pakistan and run through FCR(fronteir crime regulation), in which the MALAK and KHAN are ultimate powers,due to their brutality the people joined these organizations openly for revenge. Missmanagement should be remove from the system to stop further damage. TSNSM also promised for an alternative system,that's why they get public support.

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In 1926 girls schools was established in Swat, which reflects the educational ideologies of the people of the valley and of the WALI. Saif ul Maluk Hakim claimed that durin the prince status of Swat there were three girls' schools, which proved that they gave very much importance to girls' education. Education rate were about 20% at that time and the WALI said that it is better than 0% as compare to the neighbor States. Than what happened to education system in swat, the below calculations are enough to explain.

Table 2

Partially and fully damage institutes in Swat (Male/Female)

| S.No | Category | Swat | | |
|--|------------------|------|--------|-------|
| | | Male | Female | Total |
| 1 | Primary | | | |
| 2 | Secondary | 19 | 82 | 101 |
| 3 | Middle | 08 | 26 | 34 |
| 4 | Higher Secondary | 13 | 13 | 26 |
| 5 | Colleges | 04 | 02 | 06 |
| Total number of schools, colleges which were destroyed in the Swat Conflict tells 2006-2008. | | 02 | 02 | 04 |
| | | 46 | 125 | 171 |

Hence, the Swat valley, famous for its rich culture; tourism industry, was severely inflicted by militancy. It remained hub of militancy for almost two years with irreparable loss/consequences to its infrastructure, industry, agriculture, health and badly marginalized the educational setup of the valley, with deep mental, physical, l and psychological implications. The post-conflict reconstruction, rehabilitation and recovery are in the process through the efforts and support of the government, the international community and NGOs. Nonetheless, serious efforts are needed to complete the immense task of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Conclusion

There are hundreds of questions raised by different researchers and scholars about the whole dramatic scenario faced by the valley almost for two years but no one provided satisfactory answers to these questions, neither by the researchers not by the state and security agencies. One major is about the presence and role of security agencies during this layer of terrorism that why they failed to counter them its root level. From where these militants got heavy and modern weapons and communication technology. Who funded them and by which sources.. From Shangla to Buner, they captured and got control of the valley and the state system was at hibernation mode. Here the government work as silent spectator and didn't speak a single word. When they controlled almost the whole of District and

neighbor districts, than the State realized the seriousness of the issue and started a military operation against these Taliban. They used heavy gunships and WMD to counter these Taliban but common people suffered more during this whole story. Strangely still they didn't get the Fazlullah dead or alive but a single statement issued that he is in Afghanistan now. These questions surely needs answers but who will answer these questions, no one knows, let see to me the time will perhaps prove that what were the realities of the whole event, Maolan Fazullah is still a myth.

Maulana Fazlullah, one of the key fundamentalist and hard-liner cleric usually has a religious dogma or doctrine with certain connotations applied on the people of swat valley. He had appeared in the beginning of 2005, who was the leader of TTP and would like to impose the self-interpreted law of sharia in Pakistan. He has launched an illegal FM radio channel in 2006 with local language in order to spread his own interpreted religious speeches and addresses to the local communities of swat region and surrounding. The local masses were compelled to follow his self-interpreted religious norms, codes, learning its virtues, and practicing of Sunnah 'saying of prophets' etc. That was not a true sense of law of sharia, and extremely violated the religious norms in order to achieve his political goal. Islam never thought us brutality and extremism. It's a religion of peace nor violation. To win the will of local people and their motivations, they have practiced of some famous saying of prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) i.e., 'Enjoying good and Forbidding Evils' (Amar bil Maroof wa nahi anil munkar). They had already established an illegal armed patrol (Hard-liner movement) completely sovereign in Mom Dherai. Under his rule, the masses of swat were compelled to be nurture beards, blades, strictly banned the music, and public punishment were regularly carried-out against suspected spies, and offenders of Fazlullah's hardline interpretation of Shari'a.

It was a serious dilemma for state authorities that how Jihadi's made possible an access to the modern weapons, ammunitions, and wiles set of communication. Why were they heedless to control Jihadi's access on porous border? Fazlullah did not recruited merely non-governmental officials but also some of retired governmental official for implementation of so-called self-interpreted sharia law on the local community of swat region. It was assessed that initially, taliban had a strong hold on small villages and gradually maximized its control to the districts such as, Shangla, Buner and vicinity zones but civil forces and government institutions were suitable to control these radical jihadist. When the situation of entire region became deteriorated then government officials called for military assistance. Military operation 'Rahe-i-Rast' outset against Fazlullah and his radical militant jihadi group through armed forces and air gunship helicopters. Initially, operation was successful but most of Taliban ran to Afghanistan and thus, swat region controlled by Pakistan military. The people of swat valley are perplexed and did not lucid the facts till to date. Many questions aroused in the mind of local people regarding sudden emergence of talibnization in the region. If someone knew the reality, but it has remained a silent truth. The secret is still under the curtain of mission players but immediately will be exposed.

Further, it is identified that during the talibanization in swat region, no more foreign elements founded or snatched but most of them were comprised on TTP (Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan). They were assisted by many radical and so-called

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Islamic donor organizations. Fazlullah manifesto was not to directly deal with local administration but acquired to control overall region of Swat valley and its surrounding. But before Fazlullah, in November 2, 1994, Maulana Sufi Mohammad's TNSM activists had occupied the district court and the Swat airport calmly and made sternly feeble the local administration of Swat region. The civil security forces became suitable and accepted it silently. It has remained an unmentionable truth but it has wrapped for a national interest.

The people of Swat valley are more patriot and peaceful. They respect the national sovereignty and scarified for national interest. They are always celebrating national festivals (Eids etc) with the central government and keeping avoided from one-sided provincial decision. The local people of swat were handicapped by external factors and militancy. The compromisations of incapable local government and civil security institutions are real responsible for the entire destructions. Why they have provided a safe haven to the Fazlullah and his few hundreds pioneers. Musharraf said that this is a war of Pakistan's sovereignty and the people of Swat will sacrifice to defend the land, which they will be rewarded, but the so-called reward became costly to the local people of Swat. During the military operation and beyond, number of security check points deployed and outset the routine checkup of local people and their identities shown an image of prisoners or strangers. That was really big hurdle for local people of Swat.

From security point of view, it is a peaceful region. Before the terrorism and talibnizations in Swat, It has found a central tourism factory of state which played a key role in GDP of Pakistan. During the military operations, sometimes security officials don't care of Pushtoon's traditions and codes but the people of Swat always cooperate and avoided such factors in order to eliminate the terrorism factors. Some famous religious leaders ruled over the region, thus, the people of swat are more religious and they love Islam, but they are against of terrorism and anti-state elements.

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