

Culture Distortion and the Rise of Militancy in Swat

Zafar Khan & Khurshaid

Abstract

Prior to merging with Pakistan, the peace in Swat valley was maintained with the help of Pashtun cultural traits under the rule of Main Gul Abdul Wadud. In his reign, the state affairs were governed according to the spirit of Pakhtun culture and *Rewaj* (customs). This approach enabled him to maintain durable peace in Swat. However, the post merger period of the valley faced numerous challenges such as socio-cultural distortion, which provided spaces to radical forces. Moreover, the recent militancy in Swat valley emerged after the socio-cultural distortion. Further, the socio-cultural distortion provides social and cognitive infrastructure to the growing militancy in Swat valley.

Ke words

Pashtunwali, Jarga, Riwaj, Cultural Distortion, Radical, Militancy, Talibanization

Introduction

In not so distant past, the Swat Valley of Pakistan was known for its relatively calm, peaceful and prosperous environment. However, completely inverse picture was observed in the same valley in the first decade of this century. The foundations of an organized state system were laid in 1917 as a result of *Kabal Jirga*. Maingul Abdul Wadud was made the head of the state. Later on, the state was merged with Pakistan in 1969. However, the post merger period of the valley faced numerous challenges, which ultimately surfaced in the shape of Taliban militancy. Therefore, various socio political changes have occurred after 1969 (Sultan-i-Rome, 2008). Generally, there are certain factors responsible for the socio-cultural distortion in Swat and particularly over throne Maingul Abdul Wadud rule. The people of Swat have suffered on numerous socio-cultural, economic and political grounds after the post merger era. Currently, the local inhabitants of Swat have been passing from critical condition as a result of post merger distortion. They are fed up of the lawlessness, war and uncertainty. However, the only solution they all agreed upon is the re-introduction of the type of *Wali* system. What takes them into such nostalgia? It will become clear if the system under *Wali* is analyzed.

Political Administrative System of Swat under Wali-e-Swat

Before the merger period the system of Swat valley was based on the amalgamation of Pashtun cultural traits and some modern principles. *Riwaj* (customs) used to be the foundation of Swat state system. "Mianguel Abdul Wadud and Mianguel Abdul Haq Jehanzeb, the rulers of Swat, governed the

State under local customs called *Riwaj*.^{*} In most cases, *Riwaj* (custom) was more powerful than the religious injunctions (Swati, 1984). Therefore, "the judicial system of Swat was not Islamic in its essence as is commonly believed. It was a synthesis of the traditional codes, Islamic norms compatible with the traditional codes, and the commands, orders and words of the ruler" (Sultan-i-Room, 2006, December). For this purpose, the customary law book of swat (*Riwaj Nama-e-Swat*) was compiled. It carried the details of various customs. In essence, rewards and punishments were designed in the light of local customs. If it is about civil or criminal cases the customary law used to be a guiding star. The laws of the swat state were made in the light of Pakhtun cultural values and Pakhtunwali. The laws of the swat state were strictly followed in the time of Main Adul Wadud. The basic reason behind the commitment of the local were the acceptance these laws on the indigenous level. p

Judicial System of Wali-e-Swat

The judicial system of Wali-e-Swat was famous for the speedy justice. Justice was provided at door step to the people of swat valley and cases were decided at hand during *Wali* era. The local people were not deprived from justice. As a result of speedy justice system the local people were satisfied from the rule of wali swat. Particularly, the era of Miangul Jehanzeb was an impetus in this regard. He introduced drastic reforms in every field. He was rightly called founder of Swat (*Memar-e-Swat*) (Khaliq, 2011, September 26). Swat was not having a viable education system. His father introduced an education system that he led it to new peaks later on. He developed an environment where everyone was having easy access to all educational institution. Even the downtrodden were made able to get it cheaply. There was no discrimination in this regard. Those, who could not afford, were given stipends and scholarship. For meritorious educational services, he was titled *Sultanul Ulum* (the master of knowledge). Regarding peace, Swat valley under Wali system was very exemplary. Nobody could disrupt peace there and nobody could challenge the rule of Wali. That's why "the people of Swat today are still nostalgic about the days of peace during the Wali's time" (Aziz, 2010).

Moreover, judicial administrations met needs and aspirations of Swatis during *Wali* times. The whole judicial system was based upon socio-religious and cultural dimensions (Khan, 1973). At the same time, *Jargas* decided the code of conduct (*Dasturul Amal*). It was unavoidable for the ruler to include people in decision

^{*}Riwaj means customs or tradition in English. It is basically meant a combination of Pashtunwali and Shariah, a judicial system based on the religious scriptures or Islamic Jurisprudence

making in early days as he needed their cooperation. Particularly, Miangul Abdul Wadud met the challenge with a unique strategy. He never promulgated a constitution nor relied upon issuing decrees. He empowered local *Jargas* to make their own rules for their respective areas (Sultan-I-Room: 2008, P, 195). They were set in circle to provide equal status to Jirga members. If he issued any judicial order, the *Jarga* used to affirm it. Fines for various crimes were also adjusted, including the punishment through *qisas* (soul for soul). Asif Khan narrated Miangul Abdul Wadud (*Badsha Sahib*) in the following wordings.

“Whenever a region was conquered or merged into the State by option, I used to call a jarga of the whole population and ask them to frame laws themselves for various crimes such as murder, robbery, theft, extortion, rape and adultery. After they reached a unanimous decision with regard to the punishment for each transgression, I made them draw up a contract bearing the signatures or thump-impression of all the participants. The local cases were decided in accordance with the terms of this penal code. (Khan, 1963)

Moreover, religious feelings of the local people were also considered important during the decision making process. Historically speaking, the people of Swat valley showed great love towards Islam. Hence, religion has been integral part of their culture; therefore, judicial system was designed according to Islamic teaching as well. The system was called *Qazi* system. It was hierarchical in nature. At the top there was Ruler (*Wali*) while at bottom *Tahsildar*. Later on, a new department was established, called *Mehkama-e-Munsifan* (Department of Justice). The judges were called *Munsifs*. Their responsibility was to dispense timely and quick justice on sites or to report the situations to *Wali*. The disputes were resolved according to Quran and Sharia. The Swat was administered through an ideal type of Sharia and Islamic system. Justice system in former state of Swat was very efficient, swift, free of cost and effective. Cases were mostly decided at first or second hearing. Therefore, crimes were committed rarely in the time of Wali Swat

Pukhtu (Pashto) as the Official Language of Swat

The *Pakhto* or Pashto the mother tongue of all Pakhtuns was given high value and respect in the former state of Swat. The Yusafzai of Swat loves their language and they are well versed in it. The study of their history shows that they inherited the language from Afghanistan since their migration to Swat Valley. The dialect of Yusafzai Pakhto is very rich and they always flourished the language. Bayezid Ansari and his writings are having immense imprints on Swati people and Pakhtu "He elevated his mother tongue to the level of literary language and ensured its survival with his *Khayer-ul-bayan*" (Chimmel, 2004, p, 250).

When Miangul Abdul Wadud came into power, he declared that Pakhtu will be the official language with Urdu script (Khan, 1963, p.117). Before the adoption of Pakhtu as official language, Persian used to be the language for official communication. Now the records of all military, judicial and civil nature were entered in official register in Pashtu language (Sultan-I-Room, 2008, p. 223). Miangul Jehanzeb was well versed in Pakhtu language. All his official correspondence was in the Pakhtu language. During his time, books from other languages were translated into Pashto for understanding of lay man.

Criticism on Swat *Wali* System

Whatever its good qualities, it was a fact that the *Wali* system was autocratic in its nature. For instance, the common people were having very little involvement in national and political affairs. As well as, all powers sprang from the ruler. No one could question his authority. All were on his disposal. He could bypass even his own decrees. The criteria for voting in Swat sate were very strict; only few were eligible for voting. "In the *Wali's* reign only few were considered human beings while the rest were thought of as being two-footed animals" (Sultan-I-Room, 2008, p.297). Freedom of expression and conscience and political activities were very rare. Moreover, the democratic institutions were not initiated according to the spirit of democracy. In this case, there were no places for the criticism over the decision of *Wali*. At the same time, any kind of protest against the *Wali* was brutally suppressed in swat state in the time of *Wali*.

Merging with Pakistan and Death of Criminal Justice System in Swat

Finally, the *Wali's* State merged with Pakistan on August 15, 1969. It was a peaceful process. The special status of the area was to be retained, until the people of the valley decide otherwise. Becoming the part of a huge system, people thought that Swat would progress rapidly as a district of Pakistan. A hope was flourished for common development and general progress of the area. This hope was very high for peace and law and order in Swat. But it proved otherwise. The situations deteriorated in Swat by making mess of the administration and judicial system. Hope for freedom, development and human rights were tarnished. Generally speaking, the merger caused problems for the people include; socio-cultural and political and justice (Marwat & Toru, 2005, p.08).

Post merger, Swatis could not understand the complicated system as they had been under a simple and acquainted system of *Wali*. The *Wali* system was operated according to the spirit of Pakhtun culture. However, the new Pakistani system was not a democratic one in its true sense. It was not acceptable to the local people in Swat. In a democratic system people are happy because they find it a way to true,

sincere, patriotic and public leadership. People are happy because democracy speaks for the, happiness, well being, equality and prosperity. Such things are very rare in a naive democracy of Pakistan. Swat people found the system crippled and inexplicable. For them, it has been a complicated and perplexing system. When they went to courts for resolution of their disputes, they suffered in many ways (Fakhr-ul-Islam, 2011). The cases, which were decided in days during Wali's reign, now took decades to come out of Pakistani judicial system. This delayed justice created extreme anxiety and disappointment amongst Swatis. The Taliban of Swat also provided speedy justice to the people. This is very logical conclusion that the comparatively crippled and inexplicable judicial system has left a lot of room for Taliban insurgency.

Cultural Distortion in the Post-Merger Swat

Like other spheres of life, cultural distortion has suffered Swati people; as they have lost its patronage and protection in the form of swat state. Generally, Pashtun Tribe is considered one of the largest tribe in the world. They love their culture and they are also guided by it. "They are defined more by their shared culture, language, and traditions than by a modern sense of nationality" (Williams, 2011, p.18). They have defined unwritten code of conduct, called *Pakhtunwali*. Pakhtuns behaviors can be guided by this code. The overall Pakhtuns interaction includes; socio-political and economic etc. However, *Pakhtunwali* includes (*badal*) revenge, (*Mailmastia*) hospitality, and (*Nanawate*) asylum. It is considered the complete code of Pakhtun life. It is the combination of the cultural traits, which they will never ignore. Various tribes in Swat have been intimation with their culture and code of conduct (*Pakhtunwali*). In recent past some of the abnormalities affected the culture of Swati people. The analysis of culture distortion in Swat will make the things simple to study the draw a clear picture of Taliban insurgency there.

Moreover, several socio-cultural, demographical, political, economic and religious factors impacted various traits of Pakhtuns cultural traits in Swat after its merger with Pakistan. The time of merger coincided with some global and regional changes. The society is open to these changes and it is the reason that it could not remain aloof from what is happening around. The imprints of world media reached everywhere in the former State of Swat because of advanced infrastructure of communication and information, with respect to other regions of Pakhtun belt, Swat was advanced in such matter because of the *Wali's* benevolent autocracy (Sultan-I-Room, 2008, p.212). This fact exposed their culture to inevitable changes. They faced a transitional period and therefore a desire for accommodation with new circumstances. It was further precipitated by a generation gap. Transitional period also created some negative aspects for culture. Such was the case for the people of Swat and their culture. Therefore, globalization has impacts on the socio-cultural fabrics of Pakhtun society (Inam-ur-Rahim and Viaro, 2005).

Further, globalization and technological advancement exposed the people of the valley to cultural digenesis. A great number of people left for abroad- mostly to Arabian states- in search of jobs (Addleton, 1992). They fetched a culture with themselves, which presented a challenge to the local culture. "Visible traits of foreign cultures have been added to Swat culture, especially that of Saudi Arabia. Most of the people, specifically women are using attire which was never the part of the local culture" (Addleton, 1992). The local culture of Swati people have distorted after the emergence of globalization.

Moreover, family structure has also been modified in the valley especially, in Mingora and its suburbs. Swat, like other Pashtun areas has been having a traditional family structure. It is argued that extend family system has been a strong cultural norm in Swat. It is a unit of Pakhtun society. Hence, need, exposure and desire for better life pushed a major portion of Swati population towards a new type of nuclear family system. Both types of families have their own mechanism of life style. A man in nuclear family feels independent in various matters. It is a step towards individualism in a society. This phenomenon in Swat led towards freedom from collectivism and its bonds which is the basic principle of *Pakhtun* culture. An individual who previously relied upon *Jirga* for resolution of a family disputes was now looking towards state courts. It caused the slow but steady erosion of *Jirga* system in the valley. Moreover, the court system is not functional to effectively resolve the problem of the local people. The vacuum has aroused, which has filled by various forces in the shape of Taliban (Sultan-I-Rome, 2009).

However, various religious sects and their doctrines influenced the culture and lifestyle of the people of Swat. It took place on the basis of two ways. Firstly, an organized way of propagation was adopted. And the best tool in this regard was Madrassas network of the religious sects. Wahabi and Deobandi schools of thought are very prominent in them. Both of them are closed to each others in terms of their perceptions towards religion. Both are regarded very strict interpreters of Islam. They are also having strong differences of concepts, interpretations and beliefs. It has resulted into sectarian violence on many occasions. Deobandi school of thought is long established in Pakistan especially, Pashtun belt including Swat valley. When the followers of Wahabism tried to establish seminary system in Swat, the move was strongly opposed by Deobandis. Sufi Muhammad set up a seminary in Sangota, which was raised to the ground by those loyal to the dominant religious figures of the time. It was the time when resistance against Russia was increasing day by day. Jihadists were holding roots in Afghanistan. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia proved the strongest allies in terms of promoting jihadist resistance against USSR. Thus Deobandis and Wahabists came under the same umbrella to fight the same enemy.

Sufi Muhammad established Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) in 1989 in Dir. Later on, the organization crept into Swat with the tacit support of the then Commissioner of Malakand Division through *Loya Jirga*. TNSM and its founder Sufi Muhammad was carrying Wahabi version of Islamic ideology (Prakash (Col), 2011, p.146). In this way, Wahabist culture flourished in Swat. It is an open secret now that these sects were supported by state institutions to support the holy war in Afghanistan. This deliberate social engineering in Pakhtun culture has brought cultural vacuum in the region, which later on was further exploited by Taliban to gain cognitive and social support for the movement of Talibanization.

Secondly, Wahabism crept to Swat through the expatriates working in Saudi Arabia and other Middle Eastern countries. A great number of people from Swat left for Middle East, particularly those who were uneducated in religious and worldly knowledge. Their inherent blind love for Islam and its birth place, Saudi Arabia led them into a new world. They got impressed by the religious lifestyle of the people of Saudi Arabia and other Arabian states. On return they brought the religious ideology and socio-religious lifestyle. Along with socio-cultural changes, the migration of the local people to Middle East also caused demographic and cultural changes in the valley (Lindholm, 1982). In this regard, Osama-bin-Laden with Wahabist ideology and expatriate money, they could easily be exploited by propaganda in the name of religion. They found Mullah Fazlullah, the son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad and the follower of Wahabi school of thought, as the real 'panacea' for all the socio-cultural problems. That's why when he delivered sermons and advised them for banning some cultural traits while adopting others, a major portion of Swat population welcomed him. Emboldened by such acceptability he was becoming strict and violent in his sermons, which finally led to armed resistance for challenging the writ of the state in the valley of Swat to impose *Sharia* there.

At the same time, the socio-economic conditions and structure of Swat valley have also undergone a drastic change, which in return has impacted the lifestyle and culture of the people of the valley. Historically, social stratification in Swat valley used to be done on two bases. Firstly, on the basis of land; landless (*Faqir*) and landed (*Dawtari*), Secondly, on the basis of religiosity and ethnicity (*Mian, Mullahs and Ami*). The stratification was formalized by the state of Swat (Hussain, 2011). The stratification underwent a change in recent past. It happened due to modern developments in the world and region. People from the valley travelled to Arabian countries in search of better and lucrative job opportunities. Foreign remittances caused changes in socio-economic structure of the society. The remittances increased in the coming years. Agriculture and hotelling industries also flourished in the years. As a result of that peasants became wealthy and started buying the lands,

which they previously cultivated on rent (hijara). Khan has 20 jaraib of cultivated land (one jaraib is equal to approximately 1,100 square feet) while a Gujjar has 150 jaraib. The Gujjar community has earned billion of rupees in the Arab states. Another community, the "Shapankyan" or "Shpoon" (shepherd) are the wealthiest community today in Swat. Most of them they have now settled permanently and abandoned nomadic life.

Moreover, the change in socio-economic condition impacted the cultural traits. Those who were previously decision makers of the society now became powerless. Above all, Khans and *Malaks* used to be the influential of the society in the Wali's state. They used to play central role in *Jirgas* and their decision used to be observable. Losing their status they also lost their leading role in society, which created a vacuum for new forces. The leadership dynamics has changed after the cultural distortion in Swat valley. Later on Taliban emerged a new leadership in Swat valley after cultural distortion (Ahmed, 1986, p.79).

Another factor which impacted the life matters of the residents of Swat is the administrative and judicial developments after its merger with Pakistan. Civil law of Pakistan was introduced over there after 1969. A common resentment arose against the law. The people started protest in this regard which resulted into promulgation of Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) regulations. PATA declaration was issued on July 26, 1975. The system was having its pluses and minuses but its demerits were more than its merits (Fakhr-ul-Islam, 2011, p.41). In 1993 a group of lawyers from Malakand division challenged PATA regulations in Peshawar high court. They viewed that the regulation is contrary to the provisions of Pakistani constitution and therefore should be annulled. High Court decision came in favor of lawyers and against PATA regulations. The government of the province challenged the decision of high court in the Supreme Court of Pakistan. On January 14, 1994, the Supreme Court retained the decision of High Court and regarded PATA regulations as unconstitutional. And once again the land became without law (Fakhr-ul-Islam, 2011, p.41).

The discussion shows that how the land of Swat valley was put to administrative and judicial experiments after its merger. But they all failed as they were not to meet the needs, attitudes, lifestyle and cultural values of the people. If it is civil law or PATA regulations latter on, they all met with failure. Those laws can never be compared with the law of *Wali*. The laws under Swat state were according to the *Riwaj*. They were simple and efficient in its nature. Rafiq, a seventy year old resident of Saidu Sharif, the government seat of the then Swat state, make a beautiful comparison.

“Justice and peace was very cheap in the days of Wali of Swat. Cases used to be decided in days. If someone committed a murder, he would be brought to justice the same day; while the present system is very different. The justice is always delayed here. A case of minor nature lies before courts for year and still it is undecided. This system is totally alien to us. It is complicated and inefficient system which is absolutely different from that of Wali's Swat”. (Personal Communication, December 2013)

All the cultural lapses led to the degeneration and downfall of the system in the post-merger Swat. Who will fill the created vacuum? What type of system people wished to have to fill the vacuum? What sort of forces will try to exploit people desires in this regard? All these questions were answered by the by the latter on situations in the Valley. Certain religious elements presented the alternative model in shape of Islamic *sharia'h*. TNSM of Sufi Muhammad and Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat, under Mullah Fazlullah are its example (Bokhari, 2008).

TNSM was created on June 28, 1989 by Maulana Sufi Muhammad for the purpose of imposition of *Sharia'h* (Islamic law) in Malakand division including Swat (Fakhr-ul-Islam, 2011, p.42). In the wake of annulment of PATA regulations by the Supreme Court of Pakistan in 1994, TNSM started its activities for achievement of its goals. On May 11, 1994, thousands of people under the guidance of Sufi Muhammad blocked Malakand road for a week. On 12 May, 2011, demonstrators lost their lives as a result of police firing in Buner. They were the first casualties during the start of the movement. Meanwhile, negotiations started between Sufi Muhammad and government. Finally, an agreement was signed on November 26, 1994. Under the agreement '*Sharia'h* regulation' was imposed in the region. The regulations also failed as Sufi Muhammad raised questions over the procedure of its implementation. Therefore the agitation continued in one way or another. Another failed attempt of reconciliation was made in 1989-99 by the government under Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif but could not succeed. In 2000 the then governor of the NWFP (now Khyber Pukhtunkha, KPK), Maj. Gen (r) Muhammad Shafeeq made another attempt and signed another agreement with TNSM chief, Sufi Muhammad. The agreement regarded *Sharia'h* as the supreme law for Malakand division and Swat.

Swat Post 9/11

September 11, 2001 attacks on USA changed world politics including that of Pakistan. War against terrorism in Afghanistan was repercussive for Pakistan and its people. The international forces invaded on Afghanistan to eradicate the menace of terrorism in October 2001. However, a strong resentment developed against

Pakistan especially in tribal areas. Many people pledged to fight on Taliban side in Afghanistan. Religious elements led the agitation against USA and its allies. Its example is TNSM under Sufi Muhammad in Dir. He led a militia around 10,000 people to jihad against the 'infidels' in Afghanistan. Meanwhile, the Taliban were defeated in Afghanistan, Sufi Muhammad and his followers made their way back to Pakistan. Maulana was caught and imprisoned by security forces of Pakistan. He remained in jail till 2008. This created a vacuum of leadership for TNSM which was filled by his son-in-law, Mullah Fazlullah.

At the same time, Mullah Fazlulla, commonly known '*Radio Mullah*' got settled in Mamdheri, a village of bank of river near Mingora, Swat. He founded a Madarassa there and started delivering his sermons through FM radio. His movement was peaceful at its initial stages. At this stage he advised people to adopt their lives according to the teachings of Islam. With the passage of time, he started involvement in the lives of people by cursing for not following the culture of Islam. Later on, he regarded the women education as un-Islamic. He harshly criticized women for not following the Islamic norms of *Pardah*. Finally, he became violent. He started arming his followers. When the number of his armed men reached 4,500 in October 2007, he created a parallel governmental system in the Valley (Fakhr-ul-Islam, 2011, p.56). Thus Swat Valley went into the lap of Taliban militancy.

Conclusion

Culture has a significant influence on the collective matters of Swatis. Historically, the people of Swat have a deep regard and respect for their culture. The then *Wali* of Swat glued his society and state with the help of cultural tenets. His regard for Pakhtu and *Pashtunwali* made Swat state an exemplary peaceful and prosperous society. Culture in state and national affairs turned the political system according to the wishes and needs of the people. But after the merger of Swat with Pakistan in 1969, altered the *Wali's* system and the cultural traits of the area were ignored. The introduction of Pakistani administrative and legal system led to the distortion of important cultural norms and thus a 'dangerous' vacuum was created which other forces tried to exploit in coming years.

The recent militant crises in Swat lead us to the conclusion that the circumstances were deteriorated because culture was separated from the lifestyle of the people in the valley of Swat. Taliban uprising in Swat is having close connection to the socio-cultural life of its residents. The narrated events give us a clear explanation of what happened in Swat and why and how the situations deteriorated into militancy. Thus we can say that cultural distortion is directly proportional to the rise of militancy in Swat valley of Pakistan.

References

- Addleton, Jonathan (1992). *Undermining the Centre: The Gulf Migration and Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Ahmed, Akbar S. (1986). *Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Aziz, Kalid (2010). Swat: The Main Causes of the Breakdown of Governance and the Rise of Militancy. *RIPORT*
- Bokhari, Laila (2008, April). *Who are the Pakistani Taliban? The Actors, Their Ideology and Pragmatism*. OMS Conference paper, Oslo.
- Fakhr-ul-Islam (2011). *Mutabadil Adalati Nizam awr Swat Operation* (written in Urdu). Peshawar; Regional Studies Institute.
- Hussain, Khadim (2011, Apr-June). Modes of conflict in Pakistan Swat Valley (1989-2008). *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 4(2).
- Inam-ur-Rahim and Vairo, Allen (2005). Swat: An Afghan Society in Pakistan-Urbanization and Change in a Tribal Environment. published by an NGO HUIRA, Swat in collaboration with the Graduate Institute of Development Studies, Geneva. Urdu translation of a few chapters is available under the title: "Swat: Social Geography: in-between the Tribal traditions and Modernization"
- Khaliq, Fazal (2011, September 26). Last ruler of Swat: Jahanzeb, a visionary who educated and loved his people. *Express Tribune*.
- Khan, Asif (1963). *The Story of Swat*. Peshawar.
- Khan, Ghulam Habib (1973). *Riwaj Nama/Dastoor-ul-Aml Swat (The Book of Precedence)*. Official document on the procedures of Swat State.
- Khan, Khurshid (2009, January 19). Swat-- Towards a Wahabi State. *The News International*.
- Lindholm, Charles (1982). *Generosity and Jealousy: The Swat Pukhtun of Northern Pakistan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Marwat, Fazal-ur-Rahim Khan & Toru, Parvez Khan (2005). *Talibanization of Pakistan: A Case Study of TNSM*. Peshawar: Area Study Center, University of Peshawar.
- Prakash, Ved (Col), (2011). *Encyclopedia of Terrorism in the World*. Gyan Publishing House
- Schimmel, Annemarie (2004). *The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art and Culture*. Reaktion Books.

- Sultan-i-Rome (2008). *Swat State from Genesis to Merger (1915-1969)*. Oxford University Press, Pakistan.
- Sultan-i-Room, (December, 2006). Administrative system of the Princely State of Swat. *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*. (Lahore) vol., XXXXIII, No.2
- Swati, Saranzeb (1984). *Tarikh Riyasat-e-Swat (History of Swat State) (written in Pashto)*. Peshawar: Azeem Publishing House
- Williams, Brain Glyn (2011). *Afghanistan Declassified: A Guide to America's Longest War*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Sultan-I-Rome, (2009), "Swat Critical Analysis", institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi, India. p4

The author Mr. Zafar Khan is a Lecturer of Sociology at the University of Peshawar. His PhD research is on cultural distortion in the wake of terrorism. He can be reached at guloona315@gmail.com.

The author Mr. Khurshaid is a Lecturer of International Relations at the University of Peshawar. His area of research is post 9/11 terrorism. He can be reached at khurshid4ir@yahoo.com.