

Trends of militancy in Khyber Agency in 2011

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History

The total land area of Khyber Agency is 991square miles, the agency headquarters are in Peshawar in winter and Landikotal in summer, the land of the agency is barren and there are little agricultural activities in the agency.¹

Political structure of the agency

Political Agent is the head of the Agency Administration and he also performs the duties of District Magistrate and Session Judge of the Agency. Khyber Agency has three subdivisions namely Bara Sub Division, LandiKotal Sub Division and Jamrud Sub Division. Three Assistant Political Agents and seven Tehsildars are running the administration of the Agency and assisting the political Agent. Every sub-division is headed by Assistant Political Agent. The Headquarter of the Political Agent is in Peshawar but has a camp office in LandiKotal as well. The Assistant Political Agents has their headquarters in their respective Sub Divisions.

The administration of the Agency is run through the Tribal elders, Maliks, Lungi Holders (SufaidRaish) and Khasadars. ²

Economy

The people of Khyber Agency are mostly involved in business because there is little cultivable land for agriculture in the agency and this agency is the main hub of narcotics transportation to the settled districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the rest of Pakistan. Afridi tribe of the Agency is involved in the transport business.

Major tribes in Khyber agency

The majority tribes in Khyber are Afridi while there are eight major sections. However there are important pockets of Mallagoris, Shilmanis, and Shinwaries.

The Afridi tribe is further divided into eight clans, Adam Khel, Zakha Khel, Kukki Khel, Kamar Khel, Qamber Khel, Malik Din Khel, Sipah and Aka Khel³

Political Parties

In Khyber Agency every major political party of the country has its vote bank but majority of the candidates after getting elected support the sitting government like in the 2002 election both the candidates joined the PML- Q led Government

in the center and same is the case in the recent election of 2008 in which Noor-ul- HaqQadri and Hamidullah Jan Afridi won the seats from Khyber and both joined the government

Tussle between Mufti MunirShakir and PirSaif-ur-Rehman in Khyber Agency

Mufti MunirShakir was the follower of Deobandi school of thought and PirSaif-ur-Rehman belonged to Barelvi school of thought. PirSaif-ur-Rehman actually belongs to Afghanistan and has been settled in Khyber Agency since 1977⁴. He was a staunch supporter of the Barelvi sect of Islam. Many across Pakistan and in some parts of Afghanistan consider him a spiritual leader. He has a large following among the people of Punjab. Barelvis are in majority in Punjab Province.⁵

Mufti MunirShakir is a Deobandi religious leader from District Karak of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province. He came to Khyber Agency in 2003 when he was expelled from Kurrum Agency for creating sectarian violence.⁶

Both religious leaders had established their own FM Radio Stations in the Agency to convey their message to the people. The two Pirs who were both from outside the Khyber Agency quickly became rivals over serious sectarian differences. Violent clashes began between the supporters of the two Pirs in November 2005 as they defamed each other through their respective radio stations. Both religious leaders issued fatwa's against each other and ordered each other to leave the agency and rallied their supporters on sectarian grounds. The followers of the two Pirs outside of the agency were also ready to jump into the fight and support their respective leaders.⁷

The main difference between the Barelvis and Deobandi sects, both of which are Sunni, is that the Barelvis believe in Saints and associate divine powers with the prophet Muhammad, while Deobandis' believe that Prophet Muhammad (SAWW) was simply a man and messenger of Allah and divinely inspired and his powers should not be over emphasized.⁸

In 2005 and in 2006 tension heightened between PirSaif-ur-Rehman and Mufti MunirShakir and local people of the Agency sought government support to resolve the problem. Hundreds of people were killed in clashes between the supporters of the two Pirs.⁹

The government in February 2008 ordered both the religious leaders to leave the Agency and settle somewhere else. On the request of the Afridi tribal Jarga the Pakistani government postponed a military operation in the Agency to give a chance to the local Jarga to peacefully resolve the issues. The tribal Jarga in the end was able to pressure both PirSaif-ur-Rehman and Mufti MunirShakir to leave Khyber Agency.

PirSaif-ur-Rehman left Khyber Agency and settled in Punjab Province where he has a large following among the people of Punjab where majority of the

population is affiliated with the Barelvi sect. Mufti MunirShakir was arrested at Karachi Airport while going abroad. He was kept in prison for fifteen months and was released on 21.8.2007 from protective custody.¹⁰

Peace did not returned to Khyber Agency even after the expulsion of the two Pirs. The two religious outfits Lashker-e-Islam, inspired by Mufti MunirShakir and commanded by Mangal Bagh Afridi and Ansar-ul-Islam inspired by PirSaif-ur-Rehman and led by Qazi Mahboob-ul-Haq continued to attack each other¹¹

Mangal Bagh

Mangal Bagh is around forty-three or forty-four years old. He belongs to the Sipah clan of the Afridi tribe. He is resident of Bara Tehsil in Khyber Agency. Mangal Bagh's father has died when he was very young and his mother has raised him alone. He spent few years in an Islamic Madrassa but could not complete his education in the Madrassa and started to earn his livelihood by becoming a truck conductor. He during an on record interview stated that his family owned one or two buses that he was operating. Mangal Bagh has fought in Afghanistan in the late 80s against the Soviet forces during the Jihad against the Russians.¹²

Mangal Bagh after his return from Afghanistan joined the Awami National Party (ANP) which is a secular Pashtun nationalist party in Pakistan. He was elected Secretary of Bara Transport Association with the support of ANP. Mangal Bagh is a shrewd political operator and used the ANP platform to become the secretary of the Bara Transport Association in 2001.¹³

Mangal Bagh meet Mufti MunirShakir when he joined the non-violent TablighiJamaat. When Mufti Shakir was expelled from Khyber Agency he appointed Mangal Bagh as head of the Lashkar-e-Islam Group in February 2006, while Mangal Bagh portray himself as an advocate and supporter of the poor people of the Agency. He is against the Maliks and the rich people who are collecting funds from the government for themselves. This has helped him to attract a large number of youths to Lashkar-e-Islam.¹⁴

The local people are frightened from Mangal Bagh as he moves in the Agency with many well armed bodyguards and follow the ideology of Mufti MunirShakir to use force to implement Islamic Sharia. He has ordered his men to wear caps and grow beards and that the women should wear shuttle-cock Burqas when they have to come out of their homes in Bara Tehsil on July 2006.

Mangal Bagh has banned music, drugs, Liquors and has ordered people to refrain from the above mentioned businesses otherwise they would be punished by Mangal Bagh's men. Mangal boasts that he has 120,000 men in his group. The fact is that he has around three to four thousand men in his group.¹⁵

Mangal Bagh established his own FM Radio Station through which he delivers sermons on different religious issues. He has introduced a new form of Laws in the Agency and imposed fines on criminals. The fine of murder is set at Rs

500,000. Keeping a television set or a dish antenna fine was Rs 50,000 and Rs 500 is fine for failing to pray five times a day.¹⁶

Mangal Bagh established his headquarters in Gagrina village in Bara Tehsil of Khyber Agency and has openly challenged the writ of the state by asking Pakistani Government to drop its demand of his surrender. He also threatened the government of launching an armed demonstration against the government and took the conflict out of Khyber Agency it would also be spread to the entire Peshawar District.¹⁷ Mangal Bagh has rejected the offer of TTP to merge his group in the conglomerate (TTP) and has kept himself at distance from the TTP Taliban. Some people also claim that Mangal Bagh is the creation of Pakistan Army which wants to use him for its interests.

Mangal Bagh has also extended his operations to the suburbs of Peshawar city. His men began patrolling Peshawar suburbs. They have kidnapped sixteen Christians from academy town in Peshawar in 2008¹⁸. The hostages were later released with the help of a tribal Jarga. Pakistani government also accuses Mangal Bagh of committing acts of terror in Peshawar City. The police claimed that Lashkar-e-Islam was involved in the bomb attack in which fifty people were killed on October 29, 2009 car bombing.¹⁹

Mangal Bagh is expanding his muscle and enhancing his influence to Jamrud Tehsil of Khyber Agency. Some members of the Kukki Khel clan opposed his presence in Jamrud, but an armed assault forced the Kukki Khel elders to seek pardon. Drugs and liquor seller were forced to stop their businesses in Jamrud area of the agency.²⁰

Mangal Bagh has set up Qazi Courts in Bara where people brought their disputes for solution. These courts provided on the spot justice to the people free of cost. The courts also award punishments as per Islamic jurisprudence and have amputated hands of thieves and beheaded murders.²¹

Mangal Bagh's Lashkar-e-Islami has occasionally entered into battles with some of the local tribes in Peshawar. On 3,3,2008 Mangal Bagh's men attacked the village of Sheikhan in Peshawar District and killed ten people in the village another twelve were wounded over a religious issue. In April 2008 Mangal Bagh closed down the government offices in Bara.

Mangal Bagh also threatened the Khasadar force to stop performing their duties and if they continue their houses would be burned and one million rupee fine would be imposed on them.²²

From the past several months Mangal Bagh is keeping a very low profile. According to FRC sources in late 2009 Mangal Bagh came to South Waziristan to escape arrest by the Pakistan Army due to the frequent military operations in the agency but he is said to have come back to Khyber Agency and living at an unknown location in Tirah Valley due to the ongoing military operation against Lashker Islam by the Pakistani army which is going on in Bara Tehsil since November 2011.²³

Profile of Qazi Mahboob ul Haq of Ansar ul Islam of Tirah valley

Qazi Mahboob-ul-Haq is around forty five years old. He belonged to Tirah Valley of Khyber Agency. Qazi Mahboob is a local mullah and a supporter of Pir Saif-ur-Rehman, who appointed Qazi Mahboob as head of Ansar -e-Islam when forced to leave Khyber Agency. Qazi Mahboob is based in Tirah where his group is strong and dominant and he has established his headquarters in this Valley, which is famous for the cultivation of Hash and opium. Qazi Mahboob is an arch-rival of Mangal Bagh and his Lashkar-e-Islam group. Hundreds of people have been killed in clashes between the two militant outfits during last five years.²⁴

Qazi Mahboob has around twelve to fifteen hundred men in his group and he like Mangal Bagh do not fight against the Pakistani security forces and neither is he involved in across the border attacks on the American and NATO forces based in Afghanistan. His group is confined to Tirah Khyber Agency and he has kept his group at distance from the TTP taliban.²⁵

Qazi Mahboob also established an FM Radio Station through which he air Islamic programs and anti-Mangal Bagh propaganda. He is also running Islamic courts in Tirah where people brought their disputes for solutions. His courts provide speedy and easy justice to local people. He has also warned the criminals living in Tirah to reform themselves and give up their past criminal professions or they would be severely punished by Qazi Mahboob's men and they would be made an example for others.²⁶

In December 2009 Qazi Mahboob's men captured the village of Bar Qamber Khel from Lashkar-e-Islam group and burned several houses of Lashkar-e-Islami men in Qamber Khel. Qazi also claimed that he has confiscated a huge cache of arms and ammunition left by Lashkar-e-Islami people. He also boasted that Ansar-ul-Islam flags are hoisted Toor Toot area adjacent to Kurrum Agency. He also said that the houses of those people who have voluntarily migrated from Qamber Khel would not be burned or damaged by Ansar-ul-Islam. ²⁷

Qazi Mahboob is politically affiliated with the JUI-F of Maulana Fazalur Rehman and he receives Zakat and Usher on the crops of Hashish and Opium which are grown in Tirah valley. This Zakat and Usher money is the main source of Qazi Mahboob to run his Ansar-ul-Islam and pay the salaries of his commanders and militants of his group²⁸

Militants Groups of Khyber Agency

1, Lashkar-e-Islam Group

Mufti Munir Shakir established Lashker-e-Islam in 2005 as a Deobandi organization. When he was expelled from Khyber Agency in 2006 he named Mangal Bagh, a former Mujahid and a bus driver, as head of Lashker-e-Islam, with Muhammad Tayyab, Saifur Khan. Tribal representative including Misri Gull, Ghuncha Gull, Jan Gull and Haji Halim Shah and twenty others from various Afridi tribes are the members of Lashkar-e-Islam Shoora. Zar Khan is the group

spokesman. Abdul Wahad is the deputy of Mangal Bagh in Khyber Agency.²⁹

Lashkar-e-Islam is offering dollars eighty to one hundred to attract new recruits along with free meals. The total strength of the group is around three to four thousand men.³⁰

Lashker e Islam from the past couple of months is involved in fighting against the TTP militants led by Tariq Afridi in Tirah Valley for the control of the area. It is also fighting against the Zakha Khel tribal Lashker namely Touhid ul Islam which is not allowing Lashker e Islam to establish bases in their areas.

Lashker Islam is facing a tough time in Khyber Agency from the past many months because the Pakistani military has launched recently a military operation in Bara Tehsil against Lashker e Islam militants and the group has to fight TTP, Ansar Islam and the Zakha Khel tribal Lashker in Tirah Valley which has weakened the group greatly.³¹

2. Lashkar Ansar Group

Ansar ul Islam was created on July 18, 2006 to counter the growing influence of Lashkar-e-Islam in Khyber Agency. The members of TanzeemIttihadUlema established the group and Qazi Mahboob-ul-Haq a local religious leader leads the organization. The group is based in Tirah and in some part s of Jamrud Tehsil.

The group Shoora consist of Maulana Ahmad, Ghulam Nabi the former head of peace committee Ghulam Nabi and Muhammad Hussain along with twenty others from different tribes and clans. Dr. Naeem is the spokesman of the group and it is closely associated with JUI-F of Fazal Rehman ³²

3. Naamdar Group (Amr Bil Maroof WA Nahi Anil Munkar)

Haji Naamdar was the resident of Bara Qamber Khel area of Khyber Agency. His family originally belongs to Qandahar Province of Afghanistan and has settled in Bara long ago. Haji Naamdar was a religious cleric in Bara Qamber Khel and has established a militant organization in the Tarkho Pass in Tirah valley with the help of some supporters from his own Bara Qamber Khel and Kukki Khel tribe of Jamrud. The name of his organization was *Amar BilMaroofWaNehi Anil Munkar* (suppression of vice and encouraging virtues) after gaining some popularity in Tirah Valley he tried to establish his organization in his native area of Bara Qamber Khel in 2005 with the help of some local tribal elders like Haji Zareef.

Haji Naamdar also had contacts with the Arabs of Al-Qaida and Afghan Taliban. He was a strong supporter of Haji Gull Bath Khan Afridi a tribal elder who has given shelter to some Al-Qaida families in his area. These Arabs had a lot of money and modern weapons and expensive vehicles. They have built fort like houses with all modern facilities and have made bunkers in their houses in Tirah valley.³³

Naamdar has also established a FM Radio Channel to spread his ideology in the agency and has also ordered people in the Bara Qamber Khel area to listen to his program on his FM Radio daily otherwise they would be punished.

Haji Naamdar also used to run his own private jails by the name of Guantanamo Bae and Abu Gharib where he used to keep criminals and those people who has defied his or Shoorah rules.³⁴

In 2007 Haji Naamdar developed differences with the TTP of Baitullah Mahsud and has taken action against the TTP militants in 2007 when the TTP men tried to abduct the world food program (WFP) director near Ziarai square area in LandiKotal. The FC and the Khasadar force succeeded in freeing the WFP director from the TTP people but few FC men were killed in the shoot out between the TTP and the FC. The TTP when reached Bara Qamber Khel they were arrested by Haji Naamdar's men and they shaved heads of the kidnapers. This treatment meted out to Taliban made Hakimullah Mahsud the then head of Taliban Khyber Agency very angry because shaving one's head is being considered as very insulting in the Mahsud culture.³⁵

Haji Naamdar was also accused by the TTP that he has agreed to take one hundred and fifty thousand American dollars per year to safeguard the American and NATO supply convoys to Afghanistan. The TTP says that Naamdar was not allowing the TTP to target the NATO supply convoys passing through his area because he was receiving money from the Americans. ³⁶Differences between Naamdar and TTP increased to a level that the TTP tried to assassinate Naamdar in a suicide attack in 2008 when he was delivering a lecture in a mosque but he survived the attack. The suicide bomber was a Mahsud sent from South Waziristan. Few months later the TTP again targeted Haji Naamdar through a local Afridi boy, who fired at Naamdar with an AK-47 rifle when Naamdar was delivering lecture in his madrassa after morning prayers in 2008.

Haji Niaz Gull now heads the group and Munsif Khan is the spokesman of the group. The group has now been weakened to a great extent in the Agency.³⁷

4, Tehrik Taliban Pakistan (TTP)

Mustafa Kamal was the Commander of TTP in Khyber Agency. He was around thirty or thirty two years old an Afghan national. TTP is not very strong in Khyber Agency. Mustafa Hijrat was involved in attacks on convoys and fuel tankers taking fuel and other war and food stuff for the American and NATO soldiers stationed in Afghanistan. 70% of the supplies for the American and NATO forces go through the land route of Torkham Highway passing through Khyber Agency. Mustafa Hijrat in November 2008 attacked a convoy of trucks when TTP fighters ambushed it near Landikotal and took away thirteen trailers with them and two Humvee military vehicles of the American army. He also attacked NATO terminal in Peshawar and in one such attack burned more than eighty containers in Peshawar in early 2009.

Pakistani security forces from Jamrud Tehsil in Khyber Agency arrested Mustafa

Hijrat and he was killed after a few months of his arrest when he tried to escape from police vehicle in Peshawar. He died in 2009. After Hijrat's death Tariq Afridi is said to be looking after the affairs of TTP in Khyber Agency.³⁸

The TTP is also involved in a feud with the Haji Naamdar group which is blaming the TTP for assassinating Haji Naamdar and Naamdar group people have ambushed twice TTP members resulting in the killing of five Afridi TTP activists and this feud is still going on. TTP is nowadays fighting against the Lashker e Islam of Mangal Bagh and the Zakha Khel tribal lashker in Tirah valley of Khyber Agency.

Now the TTP is headed by Tariq Afridi in Khyber Agency since July 2010³⁹

5. Abdullah Azzam Brigade Khyber and Orakzai agencies

Abdullah Yousaf Azzam commonly known as Abdullah Azzam was basically a Palestinian from Jordan who has volunteered to join the Afghan Jihad against the Soviet Union which has invaded Afghanistan. Azzam established a respectable place among the Jihadist groups in Afghanistan. The world most wanted man Osama bin Laden the chief of Al-Qaeda was also much impressed with the ideology of Abdullah Azzam. Abdullah Azzam organized the Arab volunteers to bring them under one banner to fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

After his death in 1989 in Peshawar his followers organized a militant organization and named it after their spiritual leader Abdullah Azzam Brigade. The group was not known to be involved in any major militant activity in Pakistan or in Afghanistan until 2009 when militants affiliated with Abdullah Azzam Brigade carried out a suicide attack on the five-star Pearl Continental Hotel in Peshawar. Seventeen people were killed in this attack.⁴⁰

Amir Muawia the spokesman of the group while talking to the media from an undisclosed location claimed the responsibility of attack on lone five-star hotel in Peshawar. The spokesman made it clear that the attack was in retaliation to Pakistani military operations against the Taliban militants in Swat and Malakand, Orakzai and Dara Adam Khel.⁴¹

On October 1, 2010 Abdullah Azzam Brigade spokesman Omar Farooq contacted the Landi Kotal Press Club and claimed responsibility for the killing of Dr. Farooq vice chancellor of Swat Islamic University. Omar Farooq said that the Taliban killed Dr. Farooq because he used to write against the Taliban and has also termed the suicide bombing illegal in Islam. He also claimed responsibility for the kidnapping of Vice Chancellor of Islamia Collage University Peshawar Dr. Ajmal Khan who is also the cousin of ANP President Asfandyar Wali Khan. The incident of Dr. Ajmal Khan took place at 9 O'clock in the morning on 7 September 2010 in the professor's colony area in the university of Peshawar campus. The kidnappers arrived in two vehicles and kidnapped Dr. Ajmal from his house. He is still in the custody of the Taliban militants. Omar Farooq also claimed responsibility for the attacks on NATO oil tankers in Khyber Agency.

Abdullah Azzam Brigade is based in Khyber and Orakzai agencies of FATA.⁴²

Money generating sources of Mangal Bagh and Qazi Mahboob-ul-Haq

Mangal Bagh collect taxes from all Afridi tribesmen who live in Bara and Jamrud Tehsils of Khyber Agency. He used to collect tax per family according to their monthly income. He charged rupees one thousand to fifty thousand per month from the local people of the above mentioned two Tehsils. Those who do not want to pay the tax are being tortured and threatened that their houses would be burned down and they would be expelled from the area.⁴³

Afridis of Khyber Agency who live in Peshawar city and other cities of Pakistan also have to pay the tax because they are told that if they do not pay the required amount of money than they would not be allowed to come back to their areas and their houses would also be burned down.⁴⁴

Mangal Bagh has also levied heavy taxes on Hashish and Poppy sold in the bazaars of Jamrud and Bara Tehsils. Hashish is in much in demand in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa province and is smuggled from here to other parts of Pakistan and also large quantities of Hashish are smuggled to Europe and Middle Eastern countries. In this way Mangal Bagh is raising hundreds of millions of Pakistani rupees per year through tax on Hashish and Poppy. Mangal Bagh has also announced ban on selling and purchasing of hashish in Bara and Jamrud Tehsils after the end of 2010. According to local sources Mangal Bagh has stored hundreds of millions of rupees worth hashish so that he could sell it at double and triple price in 2011 after his ban on selling and purchasing of hashish in area under his control.⁴⁵

Qazi Mahboob of Ansar ul Islam has also levied taxes on people living in the area under his control in Tirah Valley and he receives the Islamic Usher tax on agricultural product and in Tirah the main cash crop is Bhang and Poppy crops because nothing else grows there. Every family has to pay the usher on their crops to Qazi.⁴⁶

This usher is collected from all people who own land in Tirah Valley so majority of the Afridi tribesmen of Khyber Agency have to pay the usher on their Hashish and Poppy crops to Qazi because Tirah is the traditional homeland of the Afridi of Khyber Agency and so every Afridi of Khyber agency likes to have piece of land for his family in Tirah valley weather they live in Jamrud or Bara Tehsils. So due to this usher on hashish and Poppy crops Qazi Mahboob ul Haq is also earning millions of rupees every month to run his network in Tirah Valley.⁴⁷

According to some local people the main reason of fighting between Mangal Bagh and Qazi Mahboob is not sectarian or religious differences but the control over drug trade in the agency. Tirah is the place where hashish and poppy is grown and then brought to Bara and Jamrud tehsils where the hashish and poppy is sold to the drug dealers who later smuggle it to different parts of Pakistan and to abroad.⁴⁸

Drone Attacks in Khyber Agency

The first drone attack took place in Khyber Agency on May 15, 2010 on a vehicle in Kandaw area of Tirah valley killing 13 militants affiliated with TTP Swat Chapter.⁴⁹

The second drone attack took place on 16th December 2010 in Tirah Valley killing an important commander of TTP Swat Ibn Amin along his six guards ⁵⁰

The third drone attack took place on 17th December 2010 in Tirah Valley and two important commanders of Lashker e Islam by the name of Yar Azam and Mahmud were killed along with several other militants in the attack⁵¹

The fourth drone attack also took place on 17th December 2010. In this attack drones targeted a compound in Speen Darang Village killing 32 militants of Lashker e Islam along with several commanders. The militants had gathered in the village for a meeting when they were targeted by the drones⁵²

The fifth drone attack also took place on 17th December 2010 in Narai Baba Village in Khyber Agency 15 militants affiliated with Lashker e Islam were killed in the attack.⁵³

Areas Suitable for development activity in Khyber Agency

Jamrud sub division and LandiKotal sub divisions are suitable areas for development activities in Khyber Agency. Only Bara sub division is facing isolationism because of the military operation continued against Lashker e Islam militants. Bara sub division is considered the main hub of Lashker e Islam in the Agency. The area of Bar Qamber Khel in Bara is also suitable for development activity. The area of Tirah Valley is also not suitable for development activities as fighting between the TTP headed by Tariq Afridi, Lashker e Islam of Mangal Bagh and Ansar ul Islam headed by QariMahboob is continue. All the three groups mentioned above are fighting against each other for the control of Tirah Valley. The Zakha Khel tribal Lashker by the name of Touhid ul Islam is fighting against Lashker e Islam militants in Tirah to expel them from area.⁵⁴

Development activity needed in Khyber Agency

Rebuilding of roads infrastructure is needed badly in all the three sub divisions of Khyber Agency because due to fighting between the Army and local militants, secondly the negligence of the Political Administration and Pakistani Government and thirdly the heavy containers taking NATO supplies to Afghanistan, have badly damaged the road infrastructure in the Agency.

Schools and colleges were destroyed by militants or due to the military operations should be rebuilt as soon as possible. So far seventy two schools were destroyed by the militants or by the Army in Khyber Agency. This situation has deprived thousands of students from education. Government should enforce its

writ in the Agency as due to the bad law and order situation in many parts schools are closed because the teachers and students can not come to their schools due to security reasons.⁵⁵

Technical training schools are needed in Khyber Agency so that local people can be skills to become self employed and earn their livelihood

The area of Tirah valley is very suitable for forestry which will help the local people to earn extra money. Local people should be imparted training about forestry.

Small dams are direly needed in Bara, Jamrud and LandiKotal for provision of drinking water and for irrigation purposes as there is shortage of clean drinking water in the above mentioned areas. The dams would also save the agricultural land from floods. The dams would also help to convert the barren land in the agency into cultivable land.⁵⁶

Health facilities are needed in all the three sub divisions of Khyber Agency. The existing hospitals and BHU are of no use or providing very little medical help to the local people. Local people have to take their sick and injured to Peshawar for medical treatment. Lady Doctors are also badly needed in the Agency because women face the most difficulty in getting medical treatment because most of the males don't like to take their women to a male doctor for medical treatment and check up and has to go without getting any medical treatment.

Handicraft training centers for women are also imperative in all the three sub divisions of Khyber Agency, where women would be imparted skills of tailoring, embroidery and other handicrafts to enable them to earn money and support their families.

Windmills could be installed on the mountain tops of LandiKotal sub division to generate electricity to overcome the energy shortage in the Agency. The fast air on the mountain tops of LandiKotal is very suitable for wind power generation.⁵⁷

Role of Tribal Elders in Khyber Agency

Like other Agencies of FATA the tribal elders or Maliks used to play a very important role in Khyber Agency. Tribal elders were playing the role of bridges between the tribes and political administration. Political administration used to enforce government writ through the tribal elders and Maliks. Tribal elders and Maliks also used to convey the demands and needs of the local tribes to the political administration and the government. Tribal Maliks and elders were respected in their areas and people used to listen to them and follow their directives in the Agency. To disrupt this link between the tribes and the government local militants began to target the local tribal elders and Maliks in Khyber Agency. Several prominent tribal elders and Maliks and their relatives were killed or injured in target killing which forced them to shift to the settled areas of KPK or other cities of Pakistan or keep a low profile in their areas to save themselves from the wrath of local militants.⁵⁸

Tribal elders could still play a very important role in Khyber Agency in eradicating militancy and bringing peace back to the Agency. The government has to convince the local tribal elders that the government is serious in dealing with the militants and it would provide all support and security to the tribal elders in eradicating militancy. Once tribal elders are assured that the government is on their side then they can convince the local population that militancy is not in their interest and militants should be expelled from the Agency. They can raise tribal lashkers in their respective areas to clean their areas from militants. The tribal elders and Maliks could prove a great asset for the government in the ongoing situation in Khyber Agency.⁵⁹

Names of prominent tribal elders killed or injured in target killing

1, Malik Ibrahim Kukki Khel son of Attaullah Jan Afridi head of Kukki Khel tribe in Khyber Agency

2, Malik Gulli Shah Kukki Khel

3, Malik Juma Gull

4, Malik Ahmad Khan Kukki Khel

5, Two brothers and one nephew of Noor ul Haq Qadri the elected MNA from Khyber Agency were killed in target killing

6, Malik Shamsher Afridi he was targeted but survive in the attack and was only injured

7, Malik Darya Khan Afridi has been targeted twice by the militants but on both occasion he survived in the attacks⁶⁰

Role of tribal Lashkers in Khyber Agency

At the moment there are three tribal Lashkers active against the militants in Khyber Agency. The Zakha Khel tribal Lashker by the name of Touhid ul Islam is fighting against the Lashker e Islam militants in Tirah Valley to protect their areas from becoming a base for the militants. So far dozens of tribal lashker volunteers and Lashker e Islam militants have been killed due to the ongoing fighting in Tirah valley. The Zakha Khel tribal lashker is composed of several hundreds volunteers and they are entering into furious fight against the militants in their areas. Tooti Khan Afridi and Sharin Afridi head the Zakha Khel tribal Lashker. The Zakha Khel tribal Lashker has also blocked the roads leading to the bases of Lashker e Islam of Mangal Bagh.

Junda Khel clan of Malik Din Khel tribe has also formed their own tribal Lashker consisting of two hundred volunteers in Kata Kosht area of Jamrud. The Junda Khel tribal Lashker is not allowing the local militants in their areas. The Junda Khel tribal lashker is headed by Malik Issa Khan

The third tribal Lashker has been formed by the Kala Khel clan of the Kukki Khel tribe in Jamrud. The Kala Khel tribal lashker is also said consisting of around two hundred volunteers and they are also not allowing the militants to have a foot hold in their area.

Military Operations in Khyber Agency

So far Pakistani army has launched four military operations in Khyber Agency. The code names of the military operations are as follow

- 1, Darghlum (here I come) 2008
- 2, BiaDarghlum (here I come again) 2009
- 3, Sirat e Mustakeem (straight path) 2009
- 4, Khwakh Ba Da Sham (you will like me) 2010

The fifth operation is continue against the militants of Lashker e Islam in Bara. The fresh military operation was started on 21st October 2011 a day after Lashker e Islam militants ambushed a military convoy killing several soldiers. The fresh military operation in Bara Sub Division is said to have displaced eighteen thousand people from their homes and villages.

The frequent military operations in Khyber Agency failed to eliminate militants completely but has caused a lot of problems for the civilian population of the Agency because tens of thousands of local people have to leave their villages and houses and become IDPs due the military operations in the Agency. Hundreds of homes, shops and business centers of local people have been destroyed in these frequent military operations in the Agency.

Dozens of civilians were killed or injured in these military operations. Many Schools, BHUs, Hospitals etc were also destroyed in the military operations.⁶¹

IDPs Situation in Khyber Agency

There are two types of IDPs; the first type is of those people who are registered and living in camps. According to 26 February 2011 statistics of FDMA (FATA Disaster Management Authority) there are 4,679 families settled in Jalojai camp, (FDMA consider 9 persons per family) and mostly the IDPs are in camps but according to the data collected from political agent Khyber Agency the total displacement from Khyber Agency is 2,222 families in which some are in Jalojai Camp and some are settled in different areas of KPK and no one has returned to their home town because of the ongoing military operation.

Unregistered IDPs

The second type of IDPs is of those who are unregistered and still not registered with FDMA. They are 4,444 families in number. Some of these unregistered IDPs are living inside the Agency and some are living outside the agency and settled in

KPK with their relatives or rented houses.⁶²

Challenges faced by IDPs

Bara internally displaced persons (IDPs) at Jalojai refugee's camp near Peshawar have been suffering from many problems.

There are six BHUs or health centers for IDPs, which are not sufficient to facilitate huge population of IDPs, an insider disclosed. The health facilities are nominal, which do not meet the basic needs of patients especially children and women and in most of the cases doctors refer patients to hospitals in Peshawar where they incur huge expenses. There is reportedly only one electricity transformer, which remain usually out of order and multiplies the problems and sufferings of IDPs. An insider disclosed that last year the transformer was out of order for more than six months, which had upset the IDPs.

The drainage system is very poor due to which the stagnant water creates problems such as increase of mosquitoes that cause malaria and other diseases. These problems multiply in summer, as the authorities have no arrangements for anti mosquitoes spray etc. The tents are not standardized to protect the dwellers from cold and hot weather. Similarly the lighting system is very bad, a former officer of the IDPs informed. He said that the security situation was also not up to the standard as anybody can enter the IDP camp.⁶³

The children have been suffering a lot, as they have not been provided with education facilities beyond primary level. The children suffer from skin diseases in summer due to unhygienic surroundings. The sanitation facilities are bad, which has very negative impact on the lives and environment of the IDP camp. An officer told that only water system was appropriate as the tube-wells are functional that provides clean potable water.

The tribal women don't like to live in the IDPs' camp because of privacy (Purdah) or boundary walls system is not right enough to hide their identity and their household activities. The tribal women cook their foods themselves inside their tents, which disturb their life in hot summerdays. The lavatories system for women is also not praise worthy, which is another problem of tribal women in the camp. The plastic lavatories don't meet the needs of the women. Due to these issues tribal women are facing mental stress due to which women folks also fight with each other on minor issues that disturb the life of the civilized IDPs, an officer of the IDP Camp informed. CRD is an NGO that has provided radio transistors to the IDPs to entertain and educate them somehow. Sports activities are also arranged by the concerned quarters to minimize their tensions and provide them entertainment to some extent.⁶⁴

List of NGOs helping the IDPs of Khyber Agency

Bara internally displaced persons (IDPs) at Jalojai refugee's camp near Peshawar were suffering from many problems, particularly tribal children and women are main sufferers in the camp since 1 September 2009. The Afghan

Commissionerate is solely responsible for the overall security situation of the IDPs' camp, which in return is supported by the UNHCR, an official of the camp disclosed. Dozens of NGOs and government organizations have played their role to alleviate the grievances and sufferings of the IDPs at this camp, which includes National Commission for Human Development (NCHD), SPADO, HRDS, HDOD, IRC, Muslim Aid, RID, Al-Khidmat Foundation and CAMP. The main focus of these NGOs was to provide sanitation facilities and to create awareness in this regard and to give education to children so that they could not lag behind. The edible items are provided by WFPO and UNHCR, which are distributed through an NGO called BEST. ⁶⁶

NCHD has established ninety centers for education learners at Jalozei IDPs' camp out of which thirty are allocated for the children of Bara whereas the remaining centers are for those from Bajaur Agency. There are at least 22 learners in every center, who are being educated by 90 teachers. For twenty centers there is one in-charge teacher who supervises the teaching methods of the teachers and the participation of the learners in these centers. Interestingly the teachers have been taken from within the IDPs to facilitate them to earn some livelihood. Some of the NGOs are busy in wash and sanitation program, some are working on education of the IDPs and the others are working on health side. ⁶⁷

Conclusion

The militant groups active in Khyber Agency are getting weaker due to the infighting between the different militant groups in Khyber Agency. This infighting between the militants is main cause of the weakening these militants groups in the Agency. This situation is very ideal for the Pakistani Army and local tribal Lashkers to defeat the militants and bring peace back to the Agency, as militants are divided and fighting for the control of the Agency. Pakistan government should take full advantage of this situation and should try to win the hearts and minds of the local population to enforce government writ in the Agency. Government should also extend full support and security to anti-Taliban tribal elders and leaders of tribal lashkers so that they could be effectively used for elimination of militants and militancy from Khyber Agency. Government should start development activities in the Agency as soon as possible so that the local people could again live a normal life in their homes and villages. Government should also take advantage of the infighting between the militants and try to convince the local mid level commanders and foot soldiers of the militants groups to leave their groups and join the government forces in restoring law and order situation in the Agency.

¹www.fata.org accessed on 12.11.2011

²<http://waziristanhills.com/FATA/AgenciesFRs/KhyberAgency/tabid/79/language/en-GB/Default> accessed on 2.2.2012

³ Ibid

⁴Ibrahim Shinwari, "Controversial Cleric Leaves Tribal Agency with Supporters," Daily Dawn, February 3, 2006.

⁵ Ibid

⁶SayedManzar Abbas Zaidi Paper A Profile of Mangal Bagh published in November 2008 on Long War Journal website accessed on 7.6,2010

⁷Raheel Khan paper Militancy and Conflict in Khyber Agency for the New American Foundation published in April 2010

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¹² Ibid

¹³Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, "A Profile of Mangal Bagh," Long War Journal November 2008.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵Interview with Malik Ahmad Shah of Bara Khyber Agency conducted in Peshawar, January 16, 2012.

¹⁶ Ibid

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¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, "A Profile of Mangal Bagh," Long War Journal November 2008.

²¹ Ibid

²²RahimullahYusufzai, article "Man from Bara." Published in The News International

²³ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

²⁴ Interview with Malik Ahmad Shah of Bara Khyber Agency conducted in Peshawar, January 16, 2012.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Interview with Sabil Afridi militants of Ansar ul Islam group conducted on 27 December 2011 in Peshawar

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Raheel Khan paper Militancy and Conflict in Khyber Agency for the New American Foundation published in April 2010

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

³² Interview with Sabil Afridi militants of Ansar ul Islam group conducted on 27 December 2011 in Peshawar

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Interview with Sabil Afridi militants of Ansar ul Islam group conducted on 27 December 2011 in Peshawar

⁴¹ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Interview with Javed Afridi resident of Bara conducted on 7.1.2012 in Islamabad

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Interview with Alam Khan Afridi resident of Tirah valley conducted on 4.1.2012 in Peshawar

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Said Nazir article US drone strikes in Khyber Agency published in the daily News International on 20th December 2010

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵²

<http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/Pakistan/database/Droneattacks.htm> accessed on 3.2.2012

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Interviews with Sudhir Afridi correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency and Malik Ahmad Khan Afridi conducted on 15th December in Peshawar

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Data collected from Federal Disaster Management Authority (FDMA)

⁶³ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted

on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

⁶⁴ Ibid

⁶⁶ Interview with Sudhir Afridi Correspondent FRC for Khyber Agency conducted on 11.1.2012 in Peshawar

⁶⁷ Ibid