The Reflection of Swat Crisis in Folk Poetry

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Abstract

Swat crisis has deeply influenced and still continues to influence the daily lives of the people of Swat. The crisis has been interpreted by different people according to their understanding on the basis of academic training, political affiliation, religious orientation, social and economic background. Apart from academic and political activists there is a very sensitive class of poets who saw the crisis from their own perspective. These poets, despite their different social background, diverse religious and political orientation have one point in common: they feel the sufferings of the common people and express it in their poetry. The poetry of tribal people is more valuable as compared to the poetry of other areas. Here the poets express first hand information, they are not victims of media and propaganda. They observe their surroundings minutely with their unique style and sensitivity. Their poetry, during and after the crisis, is full of events faced by the people of Swat. They have composed poems regarding the miseries of the people, not only when they were compelled to vacate their homes, but also about institutions responsible for the crisis; they have criticized their leaders, the clergy and the state actors, and have presented the hardships of the people. They have also suggested solutions, emphasizing education, unity and discipline.

The present paper is an attempt to bring into limelight some glimpses of the poetry of crisis. Mainly focusing on Swat, Buner and in rare cases outside the area, data for this paper was collected through field survey and private interviews with the poets of the area. An attempt has been made to focus on those poets who have not published their works due to different constraints, who belong to different social backgrounds and are mostly poor; few are illiterate and none of them is a university degree holder.

Inter-relationship of poetry and history

Literature has played its positive role in portraying social and political life in human history¹ and for their important role in every era poets are

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Hakeemullah, 'Pushto Ghazal Par 9/11 key Asaraat', in *Pakistani Zaban* wa Adab par 9/11 key Asaraat, conference proceeding, held 7-11 August

called the eyes of a nation.² Poetry is considered one of the oldest forms of expression. Human race has found it much easier to express and memorise the verses instead of prose. Poetry is a very important source of history. Homer's *Iliad*, in 8th century B.C., is the story of Trojan War that had taken place hundreds of years before.³ According to Aristotle history and poetry are clearly distinguished by one obvious thing, history relates 'what has been' and the poetry 'what might be'.⁴

He claims that poetry is chiefly conversant about general truth and history about particular. A purposeless poetry is valueless in comparison to the poetry which contains specific purpose and thought to some specific ideology of nations. The latter is linked to the national development and plays an important and helpful role in the destiny of a nation, such poetry provides valuable evidence to historians.⁵

Swat crisis: an overview

The Yusafzai tribe migrated to Swat in 16th century, they did not establish a government in Swat, but lived there according to their own tribal traditions. Swat state came into being in 1915 when a tribal *jarga* brought Sayyid Abdul Jabbar Shah to Swat. After its merger with Pakistan in 1969, Swat, Dir and Chitral were declared districts with a different status, named Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and put under the administration of North West Frontier (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa). Before the merger, the state had its *Dasturul Amal*—code of conduct, which had fulfilled the demand and requirement of the people. Cases were decided according to that code of conduct. After merger with Pakistan the government promulgated PATA Regulation, a complex and unwelcoming law. The delay in resolving cases through judicial process created discontent among the people and speedy justice was demanded by different segments of the society. Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) became much popular and dominated

^{2010,} organized by Institute of Literature, Urdu, Persian and Languages, University of Peshawar.

Yar Muhammad Maghmoom, *Da Azadai Tahreek au Pukhtu Shayeri*, 1900-1947 (Pukhtu) (Peshawar: Pukhtu Academy, 2007), p.27.

Beverley Southgate, *History: What and Why? Ancient, Modern, and Postmodern Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2004), p.15.

⁴ Ibid.

Yar Muhammad Maghmoom, *op.cit.*, pp.31-2.

Justine Fleischner, 'Governance and Militancy in Pakistan's Swat Valley' at http://csis.org/files/publication/111014_Fleischner_SwatValley_0.pdf.
Accessed on 2-10-2012.

the scene.⁷ TNSM demanded that Islamic law must be implemented in the whole Malakand division, and for that purpose there was an arm disruption in 1994. The turmoil of 1990s did not change the attitude of the government to resolve the issue and delaying tactics were used to prolong the tension. The 9/11 incident changed world politics and led to the US invasion of Afghanistan. The TNSM chief Sufi Muhammad led a crowd of about 10,000 to Afghanistan for *jihad* against the US and its allies, and on his return from Afghanistan, he was arrested along with his son-in-law Fazlullah.⁸ The latter was released from jail after seventeen month imprisonment. After his return from the jail he started a private FM radio broadcasting channel in his own village Mam Dheri.

After the Lal Masjid operation in Islamabad, Fazlullah declared *jihad* against the government and started offensive measures against Pakistani security institutions and government assets. To counter Fazlullah, the state machinery responded and Pakistan Army launched four operations in Swat from 2007-2009. As a result of those operations, the army although partially cleared the area from Taliban but on the other hand it brought immense damage to Swat. It directly affected every walk of life and hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homes and migrate to other parts of the country. The deep rooted consequences of this crisis influenced all spheres of life.

The beauty of Swat in the eyes of poets

Swat is famous for its beauty and is usually called Switzerland of the East. Large number of visitors from all over the world come here and enjoy the beauty and hospitality of its people. Naqib Ahmad Jan, a local poet, wrote about the Swat valley in the following Urdu verses:

⁷ Sultan-e-Rome, 'Crises and Reconciliation in Swat'. *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies*, 3:1 (2011), pp.53-79.

Ihsan Haqqani, Swat ka Muqqadama (Mingora: Shoaib Sons, 2009), p.20.

Qandeel Siddique, 'Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan'. at http://www.diis.dk/graphics/.../RP2010-12-Tehrik-e-Taliban_web.pdf. Accessed 23-09-2012.

Zahid Ali Khan, 'Military Operations in FATA and PATA: Implications for Pakistan'. at http://www.issi.org.pk/publication-files/1339999992 58398784.pdf, p.133. Accessed on 2-10-2012.

ھے دیکھنی جو جنت ارضی تو آئیں کرنی ملاحظہ ھے دلکشی تو آئیں دیکھوگے ھر نظر پہ دلفریب وادیاں گویا ھے کوہ قاف یھاں اڑتی ھیں پریاں 11

Come if you want to see heaven on earth Come if you want to see the beauty of nature You would see enchanting valleys As if fairies have come down on earth.

Comparing its beauty with the rest of the areas, the poets give preference to its flowers and springs and consider River Swat as very special. Eitaab Buneri compares the beauty of Swat in the following way:

په ستائنه ې د كوم كوم ځايي شروع كړم هم كمال دم هم جمال د سوات په زمكه خكلا كانې ېبلها دى په هر لو رى سيند ښكاره دم لكه خال د سوات په زمكه 12

From where should I start the description of its beauty? There is awesome beauty in Swat There is enchanting beauty everywhere

River Swat presents spectacular sight of breath taking beauty

Why one may wait for the onset of spring O Mazlum! There is spring in Swat all the time.

دوی چي د مغرب د ښاريو صفت شروع کړو

ما ورته د سوات د پسرلو خبری و کړے 14

Naqib Ahmad Jan, recorded by Ishtiaq Ahmad in a meeting at his residence in Swat on 8 February 2013. It is pertinent to note that all unpublished poetry has been referred in this manner. Ishtiaq Ahmad recorded the poetry during his visits to the residence of different poets in Swat on the dates mentioned against their names. On the request of the poets the exact name of their villages have not been mentioned.

Eitaab Buneri, 09 February 2013.

Fazal Hussain Mazloom, 11 February 2013.

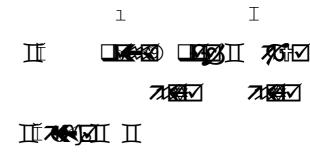
When they started praising the beauty of the cities of West I started praising the beauty of the springs of Swat

In the normal situation almost all the poets used to write romantic poetry or they focused on social issues, after the crisis they found a new field for their writing because it left deep scars on their mind. Sarwar Musakhail thus narrates:

Oh! My beautiful Swat, a land of fascinating hues and colors You have become bereft of colors due to vicissitudes of time The foe has bad intentions for you It seems your extreme beauty has become your foe

The events of the crisis as depicted in local poetry

The poetry written during the crisis has discussed many events which clearly reflect how the poets understood the phenomena. Following is a sketch of the sufferings of the people as observed by different poets:



My beautiful land has suffered tremendously My heart bleeds on the destruction of my fascinating land My land is going through the horrific period of its history Old and young mourn alike on this destruction

¹⁴ Muhammad Ayaz Khalil, 08 February 2013.

¹⁵ Sarwar Musakhail, 12 February 2013.

Sardar Alam Sater, 12 February 2013.

Regarding the law and order situation the poets observed:

The merchants of people send every day

The cut off head of an innocent at-least as gift

She prayed! May you come back safe today

I do not demand for nose ring and bangles any more

The role of the army has been widely criticized by the people of Swat. There is a general impression that instead of hunting the militants they have mostly tortured the general public. One of the poets laments in the following way:

Swat resembles Karbala where Hussainites are dying Yazid's troops have pitched themselves on the mountains.

Migration and local poetry

The military ordered the people to leave their homes and migrate to safe places during the operation. There was no proper and organized means arrangement. Orders were issued to vacate villages in very little time. Neither was there any facility for sick, old and children nor any means of transportation. The people including sick, old, children and women traveled for many kilometers by foot. This gloomy sight has been depicted in the following manner:

پښی می تنړاکې په مزل مزل شوې توان می په تلو د وړاندم نور نشته دم لک می په غیږ کښې بابا جانا و اخله زما ماشوم وجو د کښې زور نشته دے 20

¹⁷ Darwaish Durrani, 8 February 2013.

Muhammad Gul Mansoor, *Os Bangri Chala Wakhlam* (Pukhtu) (Takhtbai: 2010), p.81.

¹⁹ Muhammad Raziq Wisal, 12 February 2013.

My feet are swollen due to blisters I don't have any strength to continue walking. O! My beloved father hold me in your arms My feeble body does not have any strength.

The soft beautiful feet of the women have been despoiled who are running to and fro for protection of their honour.

I am homeless and have lost every thing O God! Bring peace in Swat my beloved is homeless Let me narrate the woeful tale of my country The rich and poor both are homeless.

The stature of leadership in local poetry

The poets have blamed their leaders and are of the opinion that the policies and vested interest of their leaders were responsible for the miseries of the people. General Musharaf, MMA government in NWFP and all others have been criticized for being incompetent. The poets consider that none of them has the courage to speak the truth. Everyone of them has been working for vested interests and depicted Pukhtuns as terrorists.

They used to call us terrorists Our leader has always showed such cunningness Alas! Our leadership is inept.

²⁰ Sater.

Salem Miankhail, 9 February 2013.

Muhammad Gul Mansoor, op.cit., p.31.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.64.

They sell us to other for their vested interest But when they are among us they talk about self-respect.

The poets have also blamed the people at helm of affairs for being deceptive. They have been on the pay roll of 'others'. Both the military leadership and Pukhtun nationalists are criticized in this context.

Whosoever becomes our leader He is on the payroll of 'others'.

The poets, representing the collective wisdom of the community blame the political leadership for not resolving the issues confronting the masses. They wrote about their plight much before the situation got worsened. Saqib and Sirhindi have referred to this situation in the following verses:

There is no one among the Pukhtuns leaders who could say I will stand by you through thick and thin

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.89.

Muhammad Ilyas Saqib, Da Namar pa Seera (Pukhtu) (Mingora: Jan Kitab Kor, 2012), p.61.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.83.

Muhammad Hashim Jan Sirhindi, *Shaledaley Grewan* (Pukhtu) (Mingora: Jan Kitab Kor, 2010), p.98.

Neither he resolves the differences nor maintains peace I am more than a leader to you although I am an evil I am witnessing the worst sort of atrocities

Yet I close my eyes from all this, then how am I leader

Apprehensions of the people

The poets consider the present wave of militancy a part of the game which has been playing in the region for the last few decades. They categorically state that Pukhtuns are not terrorists rather victim of the aforementioned game. Saqib has reflected this feeling in the following verse:

Neither we do fight nor are we terrorists, we are peace loving We are Pukhtuns yet we are blamed as terrorist.

We can also find the apprehension of the people in the poetry. They consider the present situation a war against the Pukhtuns.

پښتانه مړی
نارينه هم
زنانه مړی
تل د امن
په بهانه مړی
څوك چي پوي شی
په معنی مړی
امے ثاقبه
بل څوك نه مړی
روزانه مړی

رو زانه موى

²⁸ Muhammad Ilyas Saqib, 12 February 2013.

²⁹ *Ibid*.

Every day,
Only Pukhtuns are dying
Men and women
They are dying in the name of peace
The people who understood
They knew why they are dying
O Saqib!
No one else is dying
Every day
Only Pukhtuns are dying.

I asked oppressor why you are killing me He told me that I am the resident of Pukhtunkhwa

Poets not only narrate the events but also express their concerned about the future of their nation. Mirajuddin Sangeen of Swat of the opinion that current continuous oppression is a systematic plan to push the people towards inferiority complex.

There are slaughtered every where How will the situation get better The people could not utter anything due to fear They are sliding towards inferiority complex

Apprehensive about their future, they suggest that speaking the truth will result in the assassination of the speaker.

Rohul Amin Amin, 9 February 2013.

Mirajuddin Sangeen, 12 February 2013.

Masud Shah Saud, 9 February 2013.

When you utter anything for your right You will find yourself an example for other

The poetry of the crisis has also a reflection of the threats posed to the honour of the females. Sulaiman Fida has nicely depicted the picture in the following couplet:

پیغلو دَسر په لوپټو باندی مولاس کیدوی دلته رالوتی داهو اخولا څه بل رنګه ده نه ده چا مال نه دَ چاسر او نه عزت خوندی دم دلته کښی امن او حیا خولا څه بل رنګه ده 33

O maidens keep intact your modesty
The values of the times have now been changed
Now the honour, property and existence of course is no more safe
Here the values of peace and modesty are of another kind

Shad Buneri has described the behaviour of the armed forces with the general public in the following verses:

حالاتو په ما کړے وو خپل زور چي خبريدم ژوندون راته جوړ شومے وو پيغور چي خبريدم چي ځوك مو وو ساتلي شاده ځان له محافظ هغو راله لوټلے وو ټول كور چي خبريدم 34

When I came to know my condition had deteriorated When I came to know my life had become a joek O Shaad! The people who were our guards They had looted our homes

These poets also have expressed the feelings of the people about the role of the security agencies. One of the common beliefs of the masses is that this whole mess has been created by the state agencies. The poets have narrated categorically:

Shaad Buneri, 11 February 2013.

³³ Sulaiman Fida, 10 February 2013.

Whom could we ask for justice and safety? They are the supporters of oppressors.

راځۍ **د** ځان نه زوراور جوړاوۍ ماته زما په کور کښې شر جوړاوۍ ₃₆

They come as powerful people And oppress me in my home

Traditionally *lakhkar* were formed for the implementation of *jargah*—Pukhtuns council of elders, protect the tribe in crisis and at times approved offensive action on the opposing tribe. The Swat crisis changed the nature of tribal *lakhkar*. The state institutions were involved in *lakhkar* formation. They also armed the masses for the protection of their areas as well as fighting against the militants. Some of the Pukhtun intelligentsia objected to the officially patronized *lakhkar*. The people of Swat also did not like it and considered it a conspiracy against the local people. The poets gave their advice to the high ups that this is not a good practice. Peace can only be retained by peaceful means and violence begets violence as Rooh ul Amin Amin and Sulaiman Fida have depicted in the following manner:

امن په امن به راځي خو په دې نشي راتلے چي شي ټوپك د هر پښلتون د هر بچي په غاره 37

Peace will come through peaceful means But not by putting the barrels over Pukhtuns shoulders

O Leader of Pukhtuns! Do understand this That peace will come without gun and *Lakhkar* [Lashkar]

³⁵ Mirajuddin Sangeen, *op.cit*.

Muhammad Hayat Hayat, 12 February 2013.

Rohul Amin, op.cit.

³⁸ Sulaiman Fida, *op.cit*.

War in local poetry

The poets being more sensitive discuss all aspects of society. There is an elegant verse of Saqib:

If someone ask me about the war I am not at all supporter of the war except in love

We are peace loving people We want peace we are not prone to fighting

After the start of the operation, behavior of the security forces toward local people became humiliating. Dozens of check post were established by the security forces and they enquired the people in such a way as if they have conquered an enemy's country. The general public was compelled to perform night watch duties. The poets narrating this state of affairs in their own style, have expressed their fears.

I want to express my feeling But could not due to prevailing fear Search me at every step, asking, where have you come from It is very difficult to come out from home now

Apart from the fear the poets also condemn the forces for not performing their duties and compelling the people to protect them. Fida has not only nicely referred to this situation but also questioned the efficiency of the army.

Muhammad Ilyas Saqib, op.cit., p.139.

Muhammad Gul Mansoor, op.cit., p.89.

Wali Rahman Wali, 9 February 2013.

ماته لیونے وائی جویم به نو کله ی نظر زما نظر ته ځی او گوره په ما خپله سو کنی کوی دی به له په کومو پښو سنگرته ځی 42

They call me fool
I am fool in their sight
Look how they are getting protection from me
How they would go to the battle field

په قدم پس رانه پښتني کيږي ما لاروم کنړی زما په خاوره پيژند کلو زما په کور کښي غواړی داسي رامشه د هيچا په خاوره 43

I am interrogated at every footstep
I am being treated as a stranger at my home
I am asked to prove my identity
O God! No one should be insulted in such a way

The depiction of mullah

Pukhtuns are emotionally attached to Islam. The *mullah* and religious class has always been respected but the crisis has leveled down the popularity graph of *mullahs* and now the people think about them in such a manner:

The fairy tales of Paradise and Hell are no more believed It has become very difficult to deal with *mullah*

⁴² Sulaiman Fida, *op.cit*.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ismail Darman, 8 February 2013.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

O un-practicing *mullah!* do not give us sermon Your greed has distorted your faith

دى بعضو ملايانو ته والله كه بيشانه وكم دوى زما د قوم نه اكثر لارغلطه كړى ده4

I shall not pardon those *mullahs* Who have misguided my nation

مونږه پخپله به يو بل پورې يو بل حيران کړل دا داسي وخت دي چې په يو بل موسجدي پريخودي مونږه به ټول مسلمانان په يو ميدان راغونډ شو خو که زمونږ ملا د کفر د فتوې پريخودي

We wondered one another when saw each other In this time of confusion we stopped our prostrations All Muslims would become united on one platform If our *mullahs* abandoned the apostatizing *fatawa* (religious decrees)

Pray and advice by the poets

The poets, in their poetry, pray for peace and also advice the people to enlighten themselves through education.



O Allah! Please accept my pray for peace Let no one be killed in any bomb blast



O Allah! Bring instability to those people Who are instigating my poor nation for war

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.61.

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⁴⁶ Muhammad Ilyas Saqib, *op.cit.*, p.41.

Muhammad Gul Mansoor, op.cit., p.79.

Muhammad Ilyas Saqib, op.cit., p.31.



Take the pen and wipe out the blame of terrorism from you O Pukhtun! You are being suspected as long as the gun is in your hand

The religious and social celebrations at the time of crisis

The poet presents the sorrow state of affairs and question how his nation can celebrate different religious and social festivals. One of the poets reflected the feelings of the people in the following way:

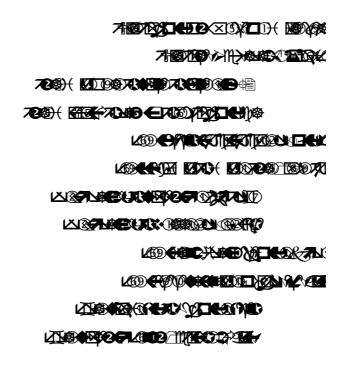


The heart of every person is full of grief and sorrow O happy day of Eid! We are not in position to enjoy you How we can welcome you in the series of miseries We are being killed without any justification The New Year is welcomed in the following way⁵²

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ismail Darman, op.cit.

⁵² Ibid.



Welcome! New Year
Bring progress, knowledge and peace
Come so that we could envy each other
O New Year! Come with zeal and enthusiasm
Come with beautiful messages
Come like spring with beautiful flowers
Bring happiness to the dejected hearts
Bring freedom of our enslaved lives
Bring new ideas and perceptions in our life
Bring good sentiments to our life
O New Year! Bring the tide of progress
Bring a lot of happiness for us, despaired people

Conclusion

The Swat crisis is one of the darkest episodes of history for the people of Swat. They are peace loving people and emotionally attached to Islam. They have been exploited quite a few times in the name of religion. The religious class has mobilized them many times in the past and those aware of this fact used clergy for their vested interests. We have witnessed this in the uprising of 1897 and promulgation of Tahrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM). In the former case, Sartor Faqir

was leading while in the later Sufi Muhammad was the man who led the masses. Similarly in Swat crisis Fazalullah and his associates were the key persons who misused Islam for their vested interests and served the cause of the hidden agenda operating in the region since long.

In the crisis of Swat apart from religious circles, illiteracy of the Pukhtuns, unemployment and vested interests of different states, role of leaders and security agencies have also contributed their part. The crisis also provided some food for thought for the people to start thinking about their future. The poets and other literary persons wrote about the prevailing situation in their society, and advised fellow Pukhtuns to enlighten them with modern education as most of the evils emerge from darkness. The crisis has deeply influenced the people from every walk of life. The psychological, political, economic and social implications are visible everywhere.

The way out of the present crisis is not simple as many Pakistani and outside state actors are involved but the mess may be brought considerably under control if every individual is educated enough to differentiate between the truth and myths. The following verse sums ups this remedy:



Take the pen and wipe out the blame of terrorism from you O Pukhtun! You are being suspected as long as the gun is in your hand.