

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study is an attempt to examine the phenomenon of socio-economic development, that has taken place in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) from 1975 to 1985, with especial emphasis on the development in the Mohmand Agency. The study covers all the sectors of the tribal economy including total area, population and density and administrative set-up. The production and physical infrastructure sectors i.e. agriculture, irrigation, industries and mineral development, power, transport and communication; and social sectors such as health, education, physical planning and housing and rural development, form the basis of the study. Political development is out of the scope of the study.

The tribesmen of the Mohmand Agency have their own socio-economic set up. They have their own political and cultural system developed by their forefathers which is based on Pukhtunwali i.e. the Pukhtun code of life.

In the Tribal Areas, military penetration failed over the centuries. From 1974-75, onward began, what can be termed as "socio-economic penetration". One of the key factors, inhibiting economic development in the Tribal Areas before the establishment of Pakistan, was the reluctance of the tribesmen to accept any development scheme from a government they considered foreign and alien. After independence, there was no such inhibition but a clear realization that as a means of national integration, the Tribal Policy had to be changed mainly through economic measures and that the total neglect of the Tribal Areas during the British period, had to be done away with. Thus in 1947, at the advent of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as a gesture of goodwill and a first step to bring the Tribal Areas within the social and economic mainstream of Pakistan, made a historic announcement of the

withdrawal of the armed forces from the cantonments around the Tribal Areas. The situation changed, the Tribal Areas became an integral part of the new born state and the tribesmen became its citizens. Their attitude also changed and the obstinate tribes became docile, ready to cooperate and willing to accept any plan which would enhance their standard of living.

After the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam, the administration and successive governments in Pakistan failed to honour the benevolent promises made by him, for the economic uplift of the Tribal Areas. The Tribal Areas suffered from socio-economic inequalities for more than twenty five years and only minimal social projects were undertaken by the local administration with limited results. It was only in the decade of 1970, that a vigorous policy of economic development in the Tribal Areas was launched by the Government. This policy had a profound impact and the following years saw an unparalleled developmental activity. There was a clamour from the tribesmen, demanding more roads, schools, colleges, hospitals, electricity, and tube wells, in fact more of everything which was reciprocated by an equal response from the Government.

This research aims to undertake a systematic study and to review the major thrusts of socio-economic development in the Tribal Areas, during the period between 1975 and 1985, with special emphasis on the development in the Mohamand Agency.

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

For the purpose of the study, Mohmand Organization is restricted to those tribes living in the geographical boundaries of the Mohmand Agency. Mohmands in Afghanistan, forming half of the entire Mohmand population and the large groups of Mohmands settled in Charsaddah, Mardan and Peshawar districts of the North West Frontier Province, fall outside the scope of this study.

The study has been undertaken with the following objectives:-

1. A systematic study of the area in respect of its physical, social and cultural characteristics and tribal traditions and institutions.

2. To study, the administrative system during the British rule and after independence with special reference to socio-economic uplift of the region.
3. To study, all the economic and social sectors of the economy, with special emphasis on the development of transport and communication, health and education, and its impact on the society.
4. To study, the commodity producing sectors such as agriculture, irrigation, industry, and minerals.
5. To identify major areas of difficulties and constraints that stand in the way of socio-economic development of the area.

The integrated approach adopted, makes the study fully comprehensive and unified to provide detailed information about the area in a developmental perspective.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The Mohammads are little known because of their ferocity and inaccessibility into their territory being one of the most isolated areas of the Tribal Belt. The literature concerning the area is scanty, mostly written by the British administrators and civil servants with a particular point of view. This study however, provides information of the present day socio-economic conditions of the area, rather than political expediency or political solutions. The area has begun to serve as a huge experiment station for development projects sponsored by the Government of Pakistan since 1975. This study focuses its attention, with special emphasis, on the development plans and projects, for increasing the source base and improving the living conditions of the people.

The main factor in understanding the tribal social structure is that, all aspects of human activity whether social or economic are inter-related. Once the tribal social structure and its mechanics are clearly understood, then the implementation of development plans and projects becomes easy and clear. This study therefore, examines economic statistics and relates it to the

tribal social structure.

The significance of the year 1975 lies in the fact, that it was the base year for the new economic activities in the Mohamand Agency. Although, efforts for the development of the Tribal Areas started in 1970, on the dissolution of 'One Unit'. However, these efforts were intensified in 1975. To begin with, a new road was constructed up-to Nawagai, the same year, an intermediate college was set up at Ekka-Ghund, and the construction of the new Agency headquarters started at Ghalanay, in the interior of the Mohamand Agency. In the same year, there started a large scale tribal migration to Gulf States at the Government as well as private level. This study points out the nature and reasons of the rapid changes brought by these economic activities in the traditional thinking and living style of the people.

The launching of a new tribal policy in 1974-75, brought significant changes and, since then, revolutionary results have been achieved in the fields of education, health and other public sectors. The details of the developmental activities have been discussed in the study.

METHODOLOGY

The following sources were used during research, for getting information and collection of reliable data.

1. Field Survey

Field surveys comprised personal observation, structured and unstructured interviews. In personal observation, main emphasis was on the attitude, behaviour, values and traditions, of the people.

Since it was difficult to ask people directly to disclose information about their families and conflicts, unstructured interviews were conducted, in which, it was left to the respondents to talk at will and the information collected were, tested and assimilated later on. It is important to note that very often, the unstructured interviews provided more information than the structured ones.

Arranged interviews were also carried out with key informants. Information through this method was collected from teachers, doctors and political leaders, such as, Maliks, Members of National Assembly and Senators. Informal discussions were held with elderly persons of the area, who had been in intimate contact with the socio-economic conditions and changes, over a considerable period of time. These persons were in a position to describe, not only the existing state of affairs but also, the observable trends and significant milestones in the evolutionary process of the society, and provided useful information.

2. Documentary Sources

The sources consisted of published and unpublished documents, official reports, statistical reports, manuscripts, diaries, letters and books. These sources were of two types; Primary sources and Secondary sources.

a. Primary Sources

First hand data was gathered from unpublished official records, files, correspondance, letters and reports of the various agencies and departments concerned with development efforts in the Tribal Areas.

For this purpose, at the Agency level, liaison was established with the nation building departments working under the Political Agents, to collect necessary data and information from their official records.

At the Provincial level, close contacts were established with the FATA-Development Corporation Peshawar and various departments of the Government of NWFP, responsible for the implementation of development projects in the Tribal Areas.

At the Federal level, data was collected from the development sections of the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions, Finance Division, Health Division, Planning Division and Population Census Division,

Islamabad.

Data was also collected from various development reports, presented to the National Assembly as well as Senate, from time to time, by the Ministry of SAFRON, Islamabad.

The comprehensive briefs, presented to various delegations from the Tribal Areas in their meetings with the Prime Minister and President of Pakistan, were good sources of necessary data and information.

b. Secondary Sources

Published material available on the topic chosen for study, was the main source of initial information. It was of great significance and help in discovering, whether the study undertaken had already been thoroughly researched or not, thus making the present study a redundant one. This procedure also helped to point out the relationship of other studies to the present one, to avoid unnecessary duplication and to focus attention on the more significant aspects, not touched upon by other scholars.

These sources included books, articles, periodicals, Journals, magazines, bulletins, published thesis and news papers etc.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the near past, vast literature on the Pukhtun society has been accumulated. The British writers have written some good books on the political conditions and strategic importance of the region, comprising North West Frontier Province and the Tribal Areas. A report on the Mohmands by W.R.H. Merk (1898), Monograph on the Orakzai Country and Clans by L.W. King (1900), and Mizh: a monograph on Government relations with Mahsud Tribe by E. Howell (1931), were written by Political Officers, describing the tribes in their charge from the point of view of political administration of these tribes.

Some academic studies for example, R.I. Bruce's The Forward

Policy and its Results (1900), C.C.Davies, The Problem of North West Frontier 1890-1908 (1975) and L.Harris, British Policy on the North West Frontier of India (1960), have highlighted the political and strategic aspects of British Frontier Policy alongwith a list of military expeditions against the Frontier tribes.

The others which include, such as R.T.I. Ridgway's Pathans (1918) republished in 1983; J.W Spain's The Pathan Borderland (1963), H.G.Roverty's Ethnological notes on Afghanistan (1888), F.M.Roberts, Fortyone years in India (1897), R.Warburton's Eighteen years in the Khyber (1879-1898), and Frederik Barth's Political Leadership among Swat Pathans (1972), provide rich information about the ethnography of the North West Frontier, tribal and geographical division of the people and their fighting strength.

Some works like, H.B.Edwardes, A year on the Punjab Frontier 1848-49 (1851), H.Pearson's The Hero of Delhi: The Life of John Nicholson (1939), A.C.Taylor's General Sir Alex Tayler (1913), and R.Bosworth Smith's Life of Lord Lawrence (1885), give some interesting accounts of the early administration of the British Officers and throw light on the socio-economic conditions of the Frontier and its gradual transformation under the British control.

Administrators, missionaries, doctors and soldiers have contributed over a century to multi-dimensional problems and intimate accounts of Pathan social and political life. There is a peculiar love-hate relationship inherent in the concept about the Pathans. The two main points that emerge from these accounts are divided between the noble half of the concept, a different type of native, his likeability, democracy, frankness and sense of humour. The other half of the concept, his 'savageness' treachery, and the dangers of duty on the Frontier.¹

Every writer on the Frontier had similar tales and incidents

¹ C. Allen, A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947, London, 1977, P. 201.

of sudden violence and death to tell.¹ The main reason that caused this great halo of romance to float over the British endeavour on the Frontier was that, the tribesmen were, by and large, left to themselves in the Tribal Areas and social contact and administrative control was at a minimum level. Thus they remained tribal in the most profound sense of the word, unpenetrated and unencapsulated by large state systems and civilizations. At the same time, colonization on the frontier was not the total uprooting and destruction of a civilization by the British, as in other parts of South Asia. In spite of the regular engagements with the colonial power, the tribal structure in the interior remained unitary and unchanged. Raids and reprisals did not create or reorder social structure. They may have even served to confirm it.

This mystification and romanticization of the Frontier is not restricted to the British writers alone, for most writing on the Frontier in Pakistan too, is of similar accounts. It was an evaluation, not based on sophisticated intellectual or cultural criteria but on a wrong notion wherein the Pathan emerged as a noble savage and his country, an acknowledged no man's land of the Tribal Areas - a land beyond the pale. This was the position of the Tribal Areas till 1947.

The position drastically changed with the emergence of Pakistan which recognized these areas within the pale of national integration and their people as citizens of the new born country. Since then, some outstanding books have been written with special reference to the socio-economic development of the Tribal Areas, rather than political mystification. In the social anthropological literature, two important contributions are: Barth, *Segmentary opposition and the theory of games; a study of Pathan organization* (1959) and Akbar, S. Ahmed, *Millennium and Charisma Among Pathans: a critical essay in social anthropology*, (1976). The later study combines research with close and personal knowledge of the Pathan Society. The other general works, the theme of which is the tribes

¹ Pettigrew, Frontier Scouts, Selsey, 1965, P. 80.

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political situation in the Pukhtun society, specially that in the Tribal Areas, calls for attention. There has been a great change in the Tribal Areas since the publication of these works. The process of overall development has brought major changes in the life style of the tribesmen, but few would dispute the hypotheses that such changes have been there, still, it has been insufficient to meet the needs and requirements. The preponderant reason for this is, the financial limitations, but added to it have been factors, such as illiteracy, traditionalism, resistance to change and reform.

Most of all, an attitude on the part of the people as well as Government, who regard most forms of change as unnecessary, and western inspired with corrupting influence. Most of these negative factors are the outcome of the widespread general poverty and ignorance in which the Tribal Areas have been engulfed for decades. After independence and specially since 1970, there has been impressive development in Tribal Areas in the fields of agriculture, industry, transport and communication, health and education, but the lack of up-to-date literature and information based on data calls for attention because systematic focus on the subject of socio-economic development in the Tribal Areas has not been made as yet. This study is an attempt to fill this gap.

structure. His book, Pukhtun Economy and Society (1980), is an important research work on the Mohmand Tribe which deals with two distinct categories of tribal groups i.e. (Settled Area Mohmand (SAM), and Tribal Area Mohmand (TAM), and their changing internal and external relations to changing economic and political situations. He maintains that SAM and TAM approximate to the ideal model (Pukhtun) inspite of severe constraints of an encapsulated situation with larger state systems, implying different social, economic, political and administrative sanctions and changes.

Another important work on the Mohmands, is Andre Singer, "Guardians of the North West Frontier, The Pathans" (1982), which has discussed in detail the various social, economic and cultural aspects of a Mohmand village of Kado Koroona in the Qasim Khel section of the Tarakzai clan in the Michni area of the Mohmand Agency.

A useful work on the Mohmands, is W.R.H. Merk, "The Mohmands," originally published by the British Indian Government at the Punjab Press, Lahore, in 1898. Akbar, S. Ahmed deserves credit for having located and got Merk's Report on Mohmands published in 1984. This monograph gives valuable account of Mohmand's history and their geographical and tribal division. Merk was the Deputy Commissioner Peshawar, part of whose charge was the Mohmand Tribe. Merk's Report concentrates on the qalang (tax) type social and political organization of Mohmands, perhaps due to the lack of his access to the nang type of Mohmands, residing deep in the interior of the Mohmand country. It was because, his report was published in 1898, many years before the interior areas of the Mohmand country were opened after its formation as a Tribal Agency in 1951. However, the richness of ethnography, description of the geographical areas, tribal division of the people, and political analysis, makes the report almost contemporary and a good contribution on Mohmand Tribe.

The comprehension of these studies is profound and a source of inspiration in understanding the Pukhtun society. However, the paucity of literature on the rapid changing socio-economic and

of the Frontier, are, J.W.Spain, The Pathan borderland (1963), Olaf Caroe, The Pathans (1983), and Arthur Swinson's North West Frontier: People and Events 1939-1947 (1967). Spain has briefly discussed the socio-cultural life of the Pathans with a summary of the British Tribal Policy, the political reform in the Frontier Province, the problems faced by the Pakistan Government in the area and the progress achieved since 1947 upto 1960.

Olaf Caroe's book "The Pathans" is a labour of his love for the Pathans, their language, their code and their land. Like Howell and King, he has left behind material which contains authentic ethnography and political accounts of the Frontier tribes. The Pathans themselves recognize this work as the authentic source of their history. The book also includes an Epilogue in the light of recent events in Afghanistan.

Another useful work is Dr.Lal Baha's book on the, N.W.F.P. Administration under the British Rule 1901-1919 (1978), which deals with two main aspects of the administration of the North West Frontier Province during the period 1910-1919; first the British Government's relations with the Frontier tribes and second, the administrative, social and economic developments of the settled districts of the N.W.F.P. The study emphasizes the developmental activities in the sphere of physical infrastructure, such as development of rail and road in N.W.F.P. and Tribal Areas and land revenue, irrigation and education in the settled districts, during the British administration 1901-1919. The study also provides accounts of the history of the colonial encounter with the Frontier tribes and British Frontier Policy.

Akbar, S.Ahmed, a civil servant, a Fellow of the Anthropological Institute of London, has published several books on the Pukhtun society. As a Political Agent, he established close contacts with the people and got first hand knowledge of the Tribes and Tribal Areas. In his study, "Social and Economic Change in the Tribal Areas" (1977), Ahmed has reviewed the developmental activities of the Government in the Tribal Areas during the period between 1972 and 1976, and their impact on the tribal social