

Pashtun Tahafuz Movement Restoring or Destroying Pashtoon's Pride; Social Media and International Media Coverage

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Abstract

Acronym PTM is the curtailed form of a Civil & Human Rights Movement called Pakhtoon Tahafuz Movement. In a very short period of time, this movement made to the headlines of many renowned channels and drew the heed of many social and human rights activists on a national and international level. Preliminary, the sole objective of this movement was to listen to their locality populace grievances & to assuage their intimidation of being extra-judicially killed which got hype after Military ops were started in full swing against the terrorists & their syndicates. Before this, no one even had the bravado to cast doubts on the Military actions but after PTM has been made public, their leaders left no stone unturned in lashing out, now openly heep censure, decries, sees the role of Military with scepticism & don't eschew from expressing paradoxical narrations against Military & intelligence Agencies.

Portfolio, back in 2014, a drove of students in Gomal University which are situated in KPK, started a movement which they first made it notorious by the name; Mehsud Tahafuz Movement but later turned into a complete ethnic-based movement called as Pakhtoon Tahafuz Movement. Worst luck, after Karachi mishap, Pakistan is on the fringe of thorned civil anarchy again and in such a horrible & untethered situation, state has to come forward to resolve this impending issue which afterward, may put their sovereignty

highly at stakes and this void may be filled by the foes to cash it if left unresolved.

Keywords: Pashtun Tahafuz Movement, FATA Waziristan, Security Forces, Social Media, and International Media, Tahir Dawar & Arman Loni

INTRODUCTION

PTM a new civil rights and human rights movement called the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement is attracting a huge number of local and international media attention. PTM is a non-violent enormous movement intended it to resolve Pashtun dissatisfaction. PTM, openly and indirectly, targeting the Pakistani army. This movement was called “Mehsud Tahfuz movement” it was started in 2014 by a set of students at Gomal University D-I-Khan Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The initiative was to remove the landmines from Mehsud territory FATA War, Talibanization, and operations affected areas. Pakistan is bearing political and civil anarchy once again. Because of inner obliteration, huge distractions and displacement of peoples in the tribal area FATA (KPK). Culturally ethnolinguistic diversity nationalisms construct Pakistan more insecure.

A researcher Dr. Nazir Ahmad¹ in his article “*Pashtun nationalism in search of political space and the state in Pakistan*” said that literally, the Pashtuns, particularly from FATA, didn't treat, with equal rights like given rights to other citizens of the country. Nazir added that the reason is not only Government but more important the role of the army which is debatable that portraying the tribal area Pashtun as a terrorist. Even though the current ongoing Pashtuns protecting movement is nonviolent and nonaggressive. (Mir, 23 Aug 2018). FATA is a set of seven tribal agencies, All who belong form FATA called Pashtuns. And more than 1.5 million refugees started life in FATA because of US attack of Afghanistan in

2011. Due to this war and terror flame swing toward FATA remain and know the land of the Taliban, Al-Qaida, Jihad, and war zone. All the agencies are controlling by Political agents (PA'S) or called deputy commissioners. APA, have directly under the control of the Army. The APS'S have/had enormous powers from the federal Government and Maliks. Even though they were considering as a Chief executive of the region. No doubt that they are well corrupted and nothing did for tribal agencies. On the other hand, Maliks never shows loyalty with tribes. Never think of build roads, infrastructure health education. Actually, Malik's enjoyed the violence corruption tear and painful deprivation efforts fruits of tribes. Malik's got awarded and simply subsidized well.

Militants, Military, Mullah, and Maliks in FATA

After 9/11 attacks on the world trade center, the federally regulated tribal areas were commonly circulated propagated and tried to disseminate. According to Dr, Muhammad Akbar Malik² said, that imported wealth, weapons and black ideology have been done much many to facilitate the current Militants and inverting power relations between Maliks and Mullahs. Finally, as a result, militants started killing of Malik, Mullah, Military no one knows who killed whom why and for what? But no doubt FATA leftovers for suffering till now. Militants, Military, Mullah, Maliks (4M'S) have suffered and still suffering a lot. How to overcome these all failure, establishment need gatekeeping (Lookout) on each appearance of movement in the tribal area and other disputed or undisputed regions as well. And they need fully and finally new effective political and regulating structure. (Malik).

A researcher Kriti M. Shah³ said in her article " Too little, too late: The mainstreaming of Pakistan's tribal regions" that it's extremely exceptional that first time Pashtuns in history have been able to organized by thousands under leaders who are not Mullah either not based on any religious leader.

PTM has organized thousands of peoples on the purely based on Pashtun pride and demanding to restore of Pashtuns decorum. She added that challenges of PTM and India's efforts of independence against the British have direct similarities. She compared that PTM upholding a protest like a Bacha Khan's bequest of uniting Islam, non- violence and Pashtun pride. (SHAH, JUN 28 2018).

Pashtun History since the British Regime

Abdul Ghaffar Khan was born on 6 February 1890 in the city of flowers Peshawar Utmanzai in Pashtun family. He started three non- violent movements of the Indian independence movement, Khudai Khidmatgar movement, and Pashtunistan movement. Khan was a close friend of Gandhi they had sincerely approbation to work together from British rule for independence. Indian national congress was a party to struggle for independence from the British ruling. In 1931 when the party was not agreed any more with Gandhi policies they offered party presidentship to Ghaffar khan but he refused. In actuality, Khan betrayed by these all things happened. He told to Congress, " you have thrown us to the wolves". "But I promise to serve humanity in the name of God. I promise not to be violent and to retaliate. I promise to forgive those who oppress me or cruelly treat me. I promise to spend at least two hours a day for social work", Women rights education equal rights and freedom from British ruling for each religion, race, and nations.

According to Lester Kurtz⁴, said in 'International Centre on Nonviolent conflict' that in the world Khan was the first leader who organized a nonviolent force maximum 100,0001 mostly they were Pashtuns which is also called (Pathans). The Khan movement of Khudai Khidmatgar clothing was some specific color of (Red-shirts). These all things were not acceptable to British Raj and they were giving a harsh penalty to whom they were involved in civil disobedience etc. Ghaffar

Khan was exiled after partition and faced massive troubles in his life, however during British rule and Pakistan as well. Khan said that “In the days of the British, I had to go to prison many times. Although we are arguing with them, their treatment was somehow tolerant and polite. But the treatment is given to me in our Islamic country I don't even want to say anything”. (Kurtz, 2009).

How The Movement comes up

On January 13, 2018, a young Pashtun Naqeebullah Mehsud killed in Karachi from Waziristan FATA. Naqeeb was famous for his other name Veer. He was kidnaped by police with his two friends but after a few days police released his two friends. However, Naqeeb was kept back in prison tortured even though killed, in a fake come across. Along with this later, his three other friends were also killed in a police encounter. Naqeeb his family and the villagers were flown from his hometown to Karachi because of Army operation against militants. He was prominent for his personality as a young celebrity from Waziristan on social media. Mehsud was planning to start his business in Karachi's Sohrab Goth but unluckily his wish didn't come true. Pashtuns are the second largest ethnic group in Pakistan. It's nearly 15.42% of the total population. Naqeeb Ullah victim gives birth to an organized long march in the entire country later called it “Pashtun Long March”. (Akhter, January 28, 2019)⁵.

PTM Basic Demands

The key complications of the PTM during the Pashtuns long march are as follows.

- 1: Police officer Rao Anwer and others should be punished who's tortuous illicit killed of Naqeeb.
- 2: A committee board must acknowledge for extrajudicially killed, fake encounters according to the execution and administration agencies of Pakistan.

3: Missing persons must treat under the law of the court of Pakistan. And forced Vanishing must be fade away to the immediate end.

4: A Pashtun tribal areas should free of illegal landmines.

5: Entire community supposed to be not bear, penalizing if they have no direct association with extremist. Finally the most important is to stop inhumanity.

The questions arising that what is the vitality, power which is visible or invisible driven Pukhtoons out to compel them for a non-violent movement. Is it they are not patriotic? Is it because of Talibanization or militants? Is it because of extremism and terrorism? Or Puhtoons dignity and freedom of rights? How and why the Walley of tribal areas leftovers Conflict zone? Why PTM started the slogans ('Da Sanga Azadi da') what kind of freedom is this? ('Yeh Ju Dehshatgardi hai, Iss kay Pechay Wardi hai') The uniform [military] is at the back of terrorism.

Social Media and International Media Coverage

The PTM movement started to encourage Pashtuns across Pakistan. They started long marches, rallies against this deep unhappiness and frustration. Frequently they used Social media as a bridge of communication with Pashtuns ethnic worldwide. They started their campaign with Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc, with #PashtunTahfuzMovement#PashtunLongMarch2Lahore.

According to "the International Marxist- Humanist" reported by Rehman Sufi⁶ that Pakistani local and mainstream media are totally ignoring activities of the movement. Even though ignoring their activities by Pakistani media will give them more power. (Sufi, April 24, 2018).

According to the V.O.A That Pakistan tighten up to not reporting of Pashtun rights movement. On May 13, 2018, during a Pashtun rally addressing in Karachi two Journalists were identified arrested by Police. Police stated that protesters

were chanting slogans against State, as a Journalist Sailaab Mehsud and Zafar Wazir were included. Pakistan ordered to block V.O.A, services. A US government deeply requested to unblock the Vice of America Pashtu and Urdu languages websites. It's the violation of freedom of expression. Pakistani Information Minister, Fawad speaks to the associated press in Islamabad that these websites are blocked for "false biased coverage". (Tanzeem, December 12, 2018)⁷.

The Opinion of Aljazeera report, a Taha Saddiqui⁸ said, that the Pakistani government should not replicate the history of 1971. East Pakistan was the largest ethnic group of at that time. The central government was administrating by General Ayub Khan. Instead of listening to their uncertainties, Civil rights, Issues, Injustices they have been facing for a long time. The armed forces started operations against the distressed and pained populace. As a resulted Pakistan divided. Saddiqui added that "The PTM in Pakistan: Another Bangladesh in the making". (Siddiqui, 13 Jan 2019)

BBC Urdu⁹, Women linked to Pashtun protection movement: Resistance politics is not easy for women nor for men. I am a khawaza Meena. I have been over 80 years. 13 years ago I had to leave my house because of 13 members was killed in our family. Including my brothers, nephews, and sons. We rented a home at Dera Ismail Khan. In our Pashtuns cultures mostly from FATA the woman living in the houses, had never seen the market nor the city. I am worried that will happen next. After the military operation, we found our hometown houses were totally destroyed. Ali Wazir my son is the member of the national assembly will go on the same way. But as a mother, I am strongly supporting him and others Pashtuns woman as well.

Usmat Shahjahan a 56 years old woman graduated from Holland belong from KPK district Karak. Talked to BBC Urdu, that PTM is the ruler of the colors. People of political parties, social workers and victims are all who ask for the right to join

the movement. We, women, think that In such circumstances we need to speak. That the Pashtun nation had to face racism discriminations. There are 60 to 70 thousand madrassas where children of these women were made for war, on the name of “Fake Jihad” and deprived of basic rights of education Jobs, etc. (News, 8 Feb 2019)

According to the Human Rights Commission in 2018 that the number of “enforced disappearances” in 2017 interrelated to the actions of security forces. If it's constant in a similar way it will be a massive risk for “Human Rights”. Commission also ensured, certified that only in Khyber PukhtoonKhwa province 867 peoples missing.

In an interview with CNN¹⁰, leader of PTM said, that “ 95 percent of our peoples have been Ostentatious, by War in terror. I acknowledged that there were Taliban, Suicide Bombers, in our area. We proclaim that local peoples were also involved with them. But not we all. Pashteen added that State should not inspect everyone with a similar sort”. (McKirdy, May 12, 2018)

Manzoor using Social media

PTM leader using social media regularly to get a concentration of peoples and communicate information on the subject of the movement. In his one video message through Facebook live that “this ongoing killing is not constitutional. Be it killing by the police by other Pakistani institutions, by FC by the Pakistani Military and by whoever else Constitutionally, they must produce the accused in court. They don't have the right to kill someone directly. Manzoor added that means they challenge us like gangsters. They blatantly treat us like enemies. We ask the courts, the Pakistani state, to stop these people because they refuse to obey the constitution. Actions beyond the Pakistani constitution mean the creation of a state within a state. These particular institutions, these state agencies, have created, within the country, a separate brutal writ of their own. The

writ is actually against Pashtun interests. Naturally, to protect themselves, Pashtuns have to challenge such a writ. The Pashtuns tell them: “Come to the courts, the constitution because the constitution is your promise with me. You and I will live together under that constitution. But if you insist on bullying me, if you insist on your thuggery, if you have sworn to keep killing me, if you are dead set on being my enemy, well why don't you understand? Why the state pretends to be deaf? Why the official listens and nod but don't act? And we are still receiving dead bodies of young Pashtuns. My this video message if any of the officials are watching to this, the agencies, let them understand this. Let them open their eyes, let them pay attention. God forbid Pashtun have risen and indeed they are ready to do everything to protect themselves. Have mercy on your own self! This movement is public awakening in Bajaur, Swat, Mir Ali, Wana, Mehsuds and Waziristan, Quetta, don't mistake it people just protesting. A Pashtun hand is closer to the oppressor's neck as well.

Tahir Dawar & Arman Loni

On October 26, 2018, the superintendent of police officer Kpk disappearing from Islamabad and found his dead body in Afghanistan it's shocking for security forces and agencies as well. On February the assassination of Professor Loni a social activist controversial too for provincial and central Government. According to Dawn new¹¹, police force declared that postmortem revealed no signs of injury. Whatever if the police were not involved then why social media users target police institution? What is the agenda behind this kind of social media users, and who they are? It's a huge risky challenge for the state to come over with these issues. (Editorial, Dawar, & Geo news, February 06, 2019).

Chief Minister Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

In the most recent public addressing in North Waziristan Mahmood Khan accuses that “our government is a government of Pakhtuns. But the so-called nationalist divided Pakhtuns just for vote bank and political gains”. According to the ‘International The News¹²’ that Chief Minister assured the affected peoples of militancy and military operation who they are internally displaced or migrated to Afghanistan would be brought back to their homes soon. He also announced for roads development rehabilitation constructions, educations health, and fast internet facilities as well. (Khan, March 10, 2019)

Security Forces role and Self-Sacrifices

Retired Brigadier Asad Munir a former Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) officer worked in diverse places of country plus FATA as well. Munir talked to CNN¹³, That “armed forces have been massive losses in northwest parts of the country in terrorism. He added that more than six thousand soldiers killed and many lives missings”. Forces will never bear anyone to sabotage FATA peace. Asad Munir had questions from the PTM leaders that I don’t know who is funding for rallies, traveling from one city to another, where are the finances coming from? (McKirby, May 12, 2018)

The Pakistani military spokesperson Major General Asif Ghafoor talked to a public conference that “ PTM is working on anti- Pakistan agenda, with the assist of foreign countries. And let them know that don’t cross their boundaries, that state compel to take an unsympathetic action”. Manzoor Pashteen responds of above questions that money are collecting from supporters of rallies. The research found out that for political using of social media are quite different today. Social media especially Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, blogs, Online Local Tv, Smart Phones totally changed the earlier approaches of movements. Providing additional sources of awareness about any ongoing movement updates. Without no media prejudiced.

According to (Lim, 2012)¹⁴ that actually Facebook have a vital role in recent popular movements. (Lopes, 4/1/2014)

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This paper focused particularly on the relationship between Social media International media covering the ongoing PTM movement. And why all of the sudden international media starts to care about Pashtun rights. Where were they when they were bombed by a drone on a daily basis? Mazoor Pashteen and the movement slogans are more hazardous, risky then foreign and national threaten. Mostly authors and reporters, journalist are not well familiar with Pashtuns territory FATA, Waziristan, over-all Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa. In each news report whether nationally and internationally they don't have objectivity. Few researchers directly show partiality with movement it's because of not his/her research curiosity but his common well country base portraying the image of Pakistani forces in this way. Which is inquiring for the academic world and Pakistani administration as well. Nearly everyone media organizations globally and social media users have been asked and complained about Pakistani media that, they are not giving appropriate concentration to the movement. But we can't come across worldwide that any state can tolerate or show state opposite movements.

I believe our armed forces have done a commendable job, to come over with war and terror in a specific area of FATA. I hope our security agencies realize the issue and do dialogue with PTM otherwise things may go worst. How many times do we have to condemn or criticize the extrajudicial Pashtun killings? Is there any end in sight? Is the clock ticking? Is it you or us next? Is there any sanity left? This will not silence but rather amplify the voices! It's time to hear and address every grievance. It's time to give the marginalized voices some space. Arresting teachers, leaders in handcuffs or common people from

ethnic movements would not solve the issue. A Pashtun or any Pakistani asking for rights is not the one you should be anxious.

But I am not of the opinion that any of his unconstitutional demands should be fulfilled. But I am pretty sure that the gap between Pashtuns, Pakistani civil society, rural class, middle class, and elite will be in the same row. PTM leader and protester also need to understand the restoration of Pashtuns dignity nor to follow the political approaches who they just used Pashtuns for their own personal advantages. State and working under state agencies law, policies should formulate some changes in each step of life to compete with the world and stable peaceful internally and globally. Peace, Pashtun dignity to give them rights opportunities as a primary duty of the state.

And the most important thing to give suggestion to the government as a student they need to change some policies as soon as possible. They should distinguish the social media designing, disinformations and even though to show Pashtuns in drama or TV show as terrorists extremists are very problematic and hurting the Pashtuns Belt grievously. And strictly controlled over Social media of foreign countries. If it could possibly try to create own social media platform for entertainment education information and communication.

In summing up I would like to propose to the administration that the Pashtun tribes and others rural regions communities whether minorities or majorities religious nonreligious, assemble each other for enlargement of business, markets, social values and norms of life with harmony. Fata leftovers War- zone operations against militants, etc. They will raise their voices for their rights protests may they have mental disturbance because of War's operations effects. The government needs an arrangement with them through a very polite way to organize a team of doctors, psychiatrists for treatment of anxiety, depression and change their

dissatisfaction in happiness. And think about the pain of suffered peoples and try to stop ethnic-based discriminations especially through social media and these western cunning powers start a hybrid war in different countries through BBC, CNN, FOX News, VOA, etc. Further decision-maker, needs to begin Sports, Speeches, Science and technology competitions between Pashtuns, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, Hunza Gilgit, Kashmiries. To wrap up abhorrence, bring love prosperity and talent between them. The media, social media, International media and Pakistani paid affiliated journalist need to scrutinize carefully by the government. No doubt PTM's compels to start the movement because of tolerance wrecked. But they need to use their approaches to executives in professionally and mutually understanding way. Openly criticizing of Army, agencies are really demoralizations of State nationally and globally as well. The public is a very important factor they should understand rhetorically politically each and everything with open eyes. They need to know and should not easily flow in the direction of the water. Public needs to investigate, the role of their local leaders Malik's, some mullahs local community judges and government as well. Finally, I would like to say that the example of the public is water and the government is like a ferry, water can support the ferry/boat but also demolish it too easily.

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