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## **Resilience of the Mahsud Tribe: A Comparative Analysis of Historical and Contemporary Resistance Tactics**

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### ***Abstract***

*The Mahsud tribe has a long history of resistance against outside invasions. This article gives a detailed account of the resistance strategies and tactics of the tribe during the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. A parallel has been drawn between the 19<sup>th</sup>-century resistance tactics and the contemporary struggle of the Mahsud tribe against the Pakistani state. Based on a detailed analysis of secondary sources and some in-depth interviews with first-hand sources, this article has identified the continuities and changes in Mahsud's resistance with the passage of time. This article could help policymakers and peace activists chart out sustainable peace plans for the South Waziristan region.*

**Keywords:** Mahsud tribe, Resistance, Insurgency, Waziristan, Pashtunwali

### **1: Introduction**

The Mahsud tribe inhabits South Waziristan, located in the north-west of Pakistan. This tribe has a long history of resisting outside domination. They have demonstrated unyielding perseverance to protect their autonomy and cultural heritage (Jhazbhay, 2012, 82–104). The special character of the Mahsud tribe has attracted the attention of many researchers. One important area that has yet to be overlooked by most of the researchers is the juxtaposition of the historical resistance of the Mahsud tribe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century with their present struggle against the Pakistani government. This paper attempts to fill this gap by investigating and analyzing the historical records and modern accounts with particular reference to the resistance strategies of the tribe. The paper has been broadly divided into eight sections, including an introduction and conclusion.

The comparison of the resistance tactics of the Mahsud tribe allowed the identification of continuities and changes in different historical contexts.

### **1: 1 Contextual Background**

The Mahsud tribe is one of the most admired Pakhtun ethnic groups that has remained a significant part of the socio-political landscape of the Afghan-Pakistan border region of Waziristan in the north-west of the Sub-continent (Jhazbhay, 2012, 82–104). During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British ambitions to expand its sphere of influence to Central Asia exposed the empire to one of the fiercest resistances from the tribal society (Khan, 2012, 39–51). The unfailing commitment of the Mahsud tribe to protect their autonomy, traditions, and tribal political structure became a vital impediment for the Empire's Westward expansion (Malik, 2017, 89–106).

The centuries-old historical construction of the Mahsud tribe is reflected in their historical struggle during the last two centuries. The political changes occurring around the tribe have also affected their life patterns and the nature of their relations with the state authorities. The partition of India was a landmark in deciding the destiny of the tribe. After becoming a part of Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas, a new layer of complexity was added to their already intricate tribal-state relations. The regulation of the tribe remained a major challenge to Pakistan (Ali, 2019, 45–62). The Mahsud tribe refused to compromise their tribal autonomy, cultural identity, and territorial liberty.

A comparison between the Mahsud tribe's historical resistance against the British and their contemporary war against Pakistan is evidence of their enduring spirit against any move to regulate their conduct or intervene in their tribal affairs. This historical context makes a strong justification for this research at a time when the Pakistani government is facing a major security

challenge from its Western border. This paper offers significant historical and contemporary perspectives to inform policy and decision-making processes that may lead to sustainable peace in the region.

### **1: 2 Research Objectives**

Primarily, this research aims to comparatively analyze the resistance tactics employed by the Mahsud tribe during the 19th century against the British and their contemporary war against Pakistan. The insights from this comparison are utilized to identify the continuities and changes in Mahsud's resistance over time. The objective of this identification is to differentiate the central causes influencing the shifts in their strategies and narratives. Within this context, this research aims to propose policy options for an enduring peace process in the region in light of changing regional and international political realities.

### **1:3 Significance of the Research**

There are two aspects to the significance of this research. Firstly, it is a valuable contribution to the existing literature on tribal-state relations in the Indian subcontinent during the colonial era. The examination of the resistance strategies of the Mahsud tribe is enlightening and helps develop an understanding of the dynamics of socio-cultural and religious identity among the frontier tribes. Secondly, it is helpful in exploring the complexities of the process of integration of tribal societies into the post-colonial state. This investigation is vital for identifying the challenges faced by the Pakistani government and suggesting policy alternatives for ensuring sustainable peace in the region. Additionally, the insights from this research would be helpful for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners interested in comprehending the dynamics of resistance movements and struggling to create balance between state authority and indigenous aspirations for autonomy.

## **1:4 Scope and Limitations**

The scope of this article extends to the analysis of the socio-political context, factors responsible for the violent response from the Mahsud tribe, and the adaptation of tactics to deal with the evolving challenges and government structures starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century colonial experience to the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century post-colonial Pakistan.

There are two main limitations to this research that may influence its findings and conclusions. Firstly, the historical records and accounts of the Mahsud tribe are limited and mostly reflect the biases of the narrators. The documentation of historical records during periods of conflict has a high probability of manipulation and distortion. Secondly, access to reliable information in the contemporary conflict in Waziristan is difficult due to the sensitive nature of the issue. In addition, the special character of the Mahsud tribe and their geo-strategic advantages make this study less likely to be used as a model for understanding similar movements and their strategic tactics in other regions. Despite these limitations, this study is a significant addition to the existing literature on the Mahsud tribe's resistance, seeking to offer a new perspective on the resistance strategies.

## **2: Literature Review**

To develop this article, the literature reviewed on the Mahsud resistance was broadly divided into two categories. The first category consisted of the prominent works on the resistance during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the second category was picked from the leading contributions of scholars, historians, and researchers on the contemporary insurgency in South Waziristan.

Spain (1963), in his influential book "The Pathan Borderland," argued that the Mahsud tribe has such a strong sense of loyalty to their collective identity that the tribe members could go to any extent to safeguard their autonomy. MacMunn (1922) argued in his book, "Frontier and Overseas

Expeditions from India," that the Mahsud tribesmen were arrogant, one of the most difficult groups to control, and could not easily be subdued. He argued that the Mahsud tribe's familiarity with the terrain and skill in the art of guerilla warfare made them invincible.

Trench (1986) argued in "The Frontier Scouts" that the Mahsud tribe fully utilized their knowledge of the terrain of Waziristan to their advantage and surprised the British forces with their guerilla warfare tactics. Trench provided a detailed account of the firsthand sources, including the narratives of British officers and scouts, to support his arguments. A significant feature of this book is the inclusion of the Mahsud tribe's perspective on the conflict along with the British worldview.

Caroe (1920), in his seminal work "The Waziristan Revolt 1919," argued that the skill of the Mahsud tribe to use their terrain as a lethal weapon against the British allowed them to resist the colonial forces. Marwat (2010) argued in his book, "Tribal Militancy in Pakistan: A Case Study of South Waziristan," that the contemporary insurgency of the Mahsud tribe against the Pakistani government is the continuity of the historical character of the tribe in Waziristan. He referred to the marginalization of the Mahsud tribe as one of the vital contributing factors to the tribe's militant struggle against the Pakistani forces.

Abbas (2014) explores the resurgence of the Taliban in South Waziristan in his book, "The Taliban Revival: Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier." Abbas identified various factors responsible for the Mahsud tribe's support for the Taliban. He argued that Mullahs have played a vital role in various Mahsud uprisings against foreign invaders; therefore, the contemporary support for the Mullah should be considered a continuity of the historical role of Mullahs in the South Waziristan region.

Ismail and Khan (2017), in their article "Dynamics of Taliban Insurgency in FATA: A Case Study of South Waziristan," identified the various causes of Taliban insurgency in South Waziristan. They argued that there are four pillars of the Taliban insurgency in South Waziristan: the presence of Pakistan's regular armed forces in FATA; the fear of losing tribal autonomy; the availability of the latest weapons to the warring guerillas; and external support for the insurgency in the context of regional and global power games.

Despite these studies, a lot more has been published about the Mahsud tribe, its history, and its resistance. As a review of all the available sources about the Mahsud tribe's resistance is beyond the scope of this paper, only these selected works were reviewed to build a context for this study.

### **3: Who are the Mahsud?**

The Mahsud tribe is a well-known Pashtun ethnic group. It had a rich history. The Mahsud tribe had lived in the rocky and hilly South Waziristan area along the western border of Pakistan. The South Waziristan region is known for its exigent terrain and terrifying natural defenses. There are vast stretches of arid plains combined with rough hills and valleys. This geography of South Waziristan greatly shaped the cultural identity and lifestyle of the tribe. The tribe has historically relied on pastoral, agricultural, and small-scale trade for their collective sustenance. The Mahsud tribe's conduct is regulated by the Pashtunwali or Pakhtunwali code. Pashtunwali referred to a traditional set of ethical rules and conventions that dominate the various aspects of the tribe's social and political life. The core pillars of this code included honor, hospitality, and revenge (Jhazbhay, 2012, 86–92).

Recorded history is witness to the Mahsud tribe's reputation for its ferocious struggle to remain free and its resistance against foreign invasion. During the 19th century, the Mahsud tribes bravely resisted British expansionist moves toward Afghanistan. Although their resistance was a

part of broader Pashtun tribal uprisings, they got more prominence due to their spirit to defend their land, honor, and culture (Malik, 2017, 98–102).

With the decolonization of the subcontinent, the Mahsud tribes became part of the federally administered areas. The post-independence period brought new challenges. The tribal communities had to navigate their place within the objective realities of a modern nation-state framework (Niazi, 2018, 35–40). The Mahsud tribe's commitment to its autonomy was further challenged when parliament in Pakistan decided to merge the federally administered areas into Pakistan's provincial political structure. The Government's efforts to bring tribal society into the mainstream created new suspicions. The tribe was not ready to compromise its indigenous autonomy at any cost.

The geo-strategic location of South Waziristan shaped the destiny of the Mahsud tribe. It determined the nature of its interactions with regional powers. The great game of politics during the colonial era, Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, and the rise of the Taliban in Afghanistan greatly affected the tribal belt, including South Waziristan, making it a hot seat of regional geopolitical struggles (Mirza, 2016, 115–120).

This historical journey of the Mahsud tribe and its relationship with external powers shaped the collective consciousness, identity, and resistance traditions of the tribe. The same enduring spirit that protected its tribal autonomy continues to play a central role in its present-day resistance. The tribesmen are not ready to allow the Pakistani state to extend its writ over the tribal regions (Jan. 2023). Keeping in view this historic and geographic context, the following sections delve deep into analyzing the Mahsud tribe's resistance strategies against the British during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and the transformation of their war tactics after the partition of India.

#### **4: The Mahsud Tribe's Resistance against British Empire**

The Mahsud tribe became one of the most difficult impediments to the successful execution of the British Westward expansionist policy. Following are some of the vital causes for the Mahsud tribe's fierce resistance:

Firstly, the tribal religious leaders convinced the tribesmen of the potential threat to their autonomy and honor had the British been able to establish direct control over the tribal belt. The British effort to impose their legal and administrative control over Waziristan was perceived as a potential threat to the Pashtun code of honor (Rahman, 2013, 12–19). The colonial administration's persistent interference in disrupting centuries-old indigenous social practices and tribal conventions led to the breeding of a strong anti-British feeling among the tribesmen. The religious leadership of the tribe played a vital role in transforming this anti-British feeling into a violent resistance (Tanner, 2009, 23–40).

Secondly, the British efforts to create a class of loyal tribesmen proved counterproductive. Their favors to large landowners became the cause of disputes over land rights, grazing areas for animals, and natural resources. In addition, the taxes and levies imposed upon the tribal communities further contributed to endemic grievances and intensified anti-British feelings among the marginalized sections of the Mahsud tribe (Marwat, 2010, 122-133).

Thirdly, the aggressive military campaigns of the British in South Waziristan and their ignorance of the resilience of the Mahsud tribe, who were renowned for their military skills and experts in guerrilla warfare tactics, ambushes, and hit-and-run attacks, made the British forces vulnerable before them. Each successful campaign against the British forces contributed to boosting the morale of the Mahsud Tribe (Abbas 2014, 102–105).



Finally, the support from the Afghan government and historical ties with the Pashtun communities of Afghanistan became a key source of support and enforcement for the Mahsud tribe's resistance (Marwat, 2010, 131–132).

Thus, a combination of these religious, cultural, and politico-economic factors played a critical role in igniting and supporting the Mahsud tribe's resistance against the British.

## **5: Tactics and Strategies of the Mahsud Tribe**

During the second half of the 19th century, the Mahsud tribe employed numerous effective tactics to challenge the colonial expansion in South Waziristan. Adaptability, mobility, and the ability to use the challenging terrain as a lethal weapon against the enemy were the key features of these tactics.

### **5: 1 Guerrilla Warfare and Ambushes**

Guerrilla warfare was an essential component of the Mahsud tribe's resistance. The tribesmen used hit-and-run tactics and avoided a direct collision at most. It helped them strike swiftly and disappear into the rocky terrain. Guerrilla warfare had a demoralizing effect on the British soldiers. A feeling that an uncertain death could arise from behind any rock added to the uncertainty and frustration amongst the British forces (Trench, 1986, 139–141).

Another major feature of Mahsud's resistance was ambushes. The tribesmen used to select strategic locations along the supply routes and wait for the best times to engineer a strike. They used mirrors for signaling and conveying messages to each other. This strategic thinking and the successful execution of such plans served as double-edged swords for the Mahsud fighters. It not only caused huge casualties for the British forces but also disrupted their communication and supply lines. This ultimately hampered the ability of the British to control the South Waziristan region (Marwat, 2010, 130–131).

## **5: 2 Exploiting the Terrain**

The Mahsud tribe's familiarity with the craggy and perfidious terrain placed them in an advantageous position against their enemies. They exploited steep hills, dense vegetation, and narrow valleys, to plan and execute their guerilla offensives against the British forces. The knowledge of the terrain allowed them to evade chasers and withdraw to their hideouts (Spain, 1963, 120–121).

## **5: 3 Alliance Building**

Lingual and cultural bonds with the neighboring tribal communities made it convenient for the Mahsud tribe to forge collective alliances. This helped them form broader fronts of resistance against the British. The alliance building potential of the Mahsud tribe, on cultural grounds, helped them neutralize the *Divide and Rule Policy* of the British. These alliances were also helpful in facilitating coordinated actions against the British forces (Zahab, 2010, 540–561).

## **5: 4 Avoiding All-Out Wars**

The Mahsud tribe avoided engaging in large-scale battles as a strategy to frustrate the British forces. This tactic also allowed them to minimize the risk of significant casualties. The flexibility and adaptability of their resistance strategies and tactics helped them pose sustained defiance for a hundred years of resistance against British colonial rule (Marwat, 2010, 129–130).

The Mahsud tribe's resistance against the British during the 19th century seriously damaged the latter's desire to control the tribal belt and expand its sphere of influence to Central Asia. This resistance had far-reaching consequences for the British colonial policy toward South Waziristan. It greatly altered their military strategy and how they perceived the tribal societies of the North-Western frontier region.

## **6: The Mahsud Tribe's Resistance during the 20th and 21st Centuries**

The Mahsud tribe's resistance transformed in response to the changing political landscape of the region after the partition of India. The second half of the 20th century and the first quarter of the 21st century witnessed shifts in the nature of the Mahsud resistance. The tribe faced new challenges after the integration of the tribal belt into a new nation-state framework. This section of the article investigates and analyzes Mahsud's resistance strategies in the contemporary world.

### **6:1 Post Partition Socio-Political Context**

With the partition of British India in 1947, Pakistan emerged as a Muslim-majority state. The tribal areas, including South Waziristan, were integrated into Pakistan under a special political arrangement. This arrangement was termed as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and ruled by FCR<sup>1</sup>. FATA had a separate legal and administrative system with partial oversight by the central government. The Mahsud tribe, like other federally administered tribes, had a dual identity. They were Pakistani citizens but devoid of legal citizen rights (FCR, 1872).

This indistinct political status of the Mahsud tribe laid the foundation for their contemporary resistance. They struggled in pursuit of their legal status in the new state without compromising their identity and autonomy.

### **6:2 Postcolonial Challenges and Grievances**

In the post-colonial phase, new challenges emerged for the Mahsud tribe. The interaction of the tribe with the newly established Pakistani state resulted in new grievances. The socio-political and economic changes occurring around South Waziristan had a profound impact on the Mahsud tribe's worldviews and their responses to various stimuli.

While the government introduced governance and administrative reforms, claiming to bring the tribal areas on par with the mainstream, the tribe perceived those as an encroachment on their

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<sup>1</sup> FCR is the abbreviation of Frontier Crimes Regulations.

traditional tribal structures. As an outcome of the two diverging worldviews, a new phase of resistance started. The Mahsud tribe declared to protect their code of honor, institutions, and tribal social structure (Mahsud, 2023).

Another significant cause of dissatisfaction among the Mahsud tribe against the Pakistani state was the newly introduced land reforms and resource management policies. The new reforms were contradictory to the traditional land tenure system. In the meantime, disputes also emerged over resource utilization and new taxes levied by the government (Fearon & Laiton, 2003, 123).

The South Waziristan region remained impoverished. It has historically faced socio-economic disparities. The advancement in communication during the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries allowed some members of the Mahsud clan to move across Pakistan in search of better opportunities. This allowed the members of the tribe to compare their living standards with those of the rest of Pakistan. This comparison led to the development of a relative sense of deprivation among the Mahsud tribes. Their limited access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities added to their sense of marginalization and resentment against the state (Imran, 2023).

South Waziristan's geo-strategic location had made it a refuge for many terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Time and again, military operations against these terrorist groups often resulted in collateral damage, internal displacement of civilians, and violations of human rights in the South Waziristan region. As a result, anti-state sentiments further deepened among the Mahsud tribe. Some external factors also added fuel to the fire. These included Soviet and American interventions in Afghanistan, the rise of the Taliban, and the volatile Pakistan-Afghan border. The increasing grievances against the state served as key drivers of their resistance against the Pakistani government (Ahmed, 2008, 13).

### **6:3 Adaptations in Resistance Tactics**

In response to the changing socio-political context, the Mahsud tribe adapted to the new challenges of the post-colonial Pakistani state. These adaptations manifested their capacity to retort and adjust to changing objective realities. Faizullah Mahsud (2023) argued that preserving tribal autonomy has always remained a question of life and death for the Mahsud tribe. It is an additional basic need for the tribal people along with food, shelter, and clothing. Thus, tribal independence was a part of the evolutionary struggle of the Mahsud tribe. Muhammad Imran Mahsud, who is a professor at a public sector university in Pakistan, suggested that the Mahsud resistance against the Pakistani state is headed by a section of the tribe; therefore, associating militancy in South Waziristan with the Mahsud resistance is an oversimplification of the situation. With the passage of time, the Mahsud tribe has also learned peaceful ways of resisting oppressive and discriminatory state policies.

He referred to PTM<sup>2</sup> as a glaring evidence for his assertions. On the contrary, Asim Jan Mahsud contested Imran's argument, and he termed it a nationalist resistance of the Mahsud tribe against neo-imperialism. Asim alleged that Pakistan was a state serving the neo-imperial interests of the United States. He argued that merging FATA into Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was an attempt to compromise the centuries-old traditional structure of the tribal people in general and the Mahsud tribe in particular. As a reaction to the rise of armed groups and militant organizations in the region, such as the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), leading Mahsuds like Baitullah Mahsud and Hakimullah Mahsud posed a challenge to Pakistani authorities in the region. Abbas (2014, 104–105) argued that religious and ideological factors also played a vital role in shattering the Mahsud resistance. He referred to the ideological shift associated with the acceptance of Islamist and jihadist narratives by some members of

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<sup>2</sup> PTM, Pashtun Tahafuz Movement, is the peaceful resistance movement of young Pashtuns demanding peace in Waziristan region.

the Mahsud tribe. He accused both regional and transnational actors of promoting Jihadist narratives among the Mahsud tribes.

### **6:3: The Role of Modern Communication and Technology**

Communication and technological advancements have also influenced the Mahsud tribe's resistance tactics. The Mahsud tribes access to modern communication tools, including mobile phones and the internet, has sharpened their warfare techniques. They were able to coordinate effectively, share information swiftly, and counter propaganda warfare in a much improved way. The use of social media platforms allowed them to disseminate their message to a larger audience in a short span of time. The addition of modern technology to the already free soul of the Mahsud tribe has made their resistance more fierce against the Pakistani state (Marwat, 2010, 122-130).

### **6: 4 Responses from the Pakistani Government**

In response to the contemporary Mahsud resistance, the government of Pakistan adopted a three-pronged policy. The main pillars of this policy were the following:

Firstly, it tried to coercively oppress the resistance. For this purpose, military operations were launched, and an attempt has been made to dismantle the militant networks. Despite some successes, these operations were severely criticized because of the collateral damage they brought to civilians and their properties (Hassan, 2014, 104–105).

Secondly, the government initiated a peace process by engaging the Mahsud elders in a process of dialogue. An attempt was made to bring the militants into the mainstream political process and address the grievances of the hardliners. Such efforts by the government were also seen with suspicion by some Wazir locals. For instance, Dawar (2023) accused the security establishment

of Pakistan of patronizing the militant Mahsud groups. He argued that the Mullah-Militant Mahsud-Military Troika is responsible for the instability in North and South Waziristan.

Lastly, the government of Pakistan has initiated various developmental projects, including investment to improve infrastructure, education, and healthcare facilities (Government of Pakistan, 2014, 18–19).

## **7: Comparative Analysis**

A comparison of the Mahsud tribe's resistance during the colonial and postcolonial eras gives some interesting insights into the evolution and transformation of tribal warfare strategies and tactics. The following continuities were identified in the resistance tactics of the tribe:

1. The Mahsud tribe relied heavily on guerrilla warfare and ambush tactics to strike and surprise their opponents and then retreat swiftly to their safe havens in the rocky terrain.
2. Protection of cultural identity remained a constant thread in the Mahsud tribe's resistance against external opponents. They skillfully utilized this thread to build collaboration among the tribe members.
3. Religious narratives played a vital role in their resistance movements from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until now. The mullahs played a significant role in steering the Mahsud resistance.

Despite the aforementioned continuities, the Mahsud tribe also adapted to changing objective realities. Following are some of the most significant changes and shifts in the strategies and resistance tactics of the Mahsud tribe:

1. During the contemporary resistance of the Mahsud tribe, it was observed that some factions within the Mahsud tribe have inclined more toward Islamist ideology. This shift

also divided the Mahsud tribe, as the Islamists sometimes attacked the centuries-old traditions of the Mahsud as well.

2. The contemporary resistance seemed to be influenced by many transnational factors, including Wahabi Islam, global jihadist movements, and regional conflicts. The addition of these factors has made their resistance more complex and lethal.
3. Unlike the 19th century, the Mahsuds have started using modern communication technologies to coordinate their attacks against their opponents.

The shift in the resistance's tactics was the outcome of several factors, such as the changing political context in post-colonial Pakistan, new regional and global conflicts, the rise of the transnational militant jihadist movement, and instability and civil wars in their neighboring Afghanistan.

## **Conclusion**

The comparative analysis of the Mahsud tribe's resistance against British colonial rule in the 19th century and their contemporary resistance against the Pakistani government in the 20th and 21st centuries reveals several key findings. The tribe played a vital role in the history of South Waziristan. The tribe has shown remarkable resilience against all odds and fought for the protection of its tribal identity and autonomy. The tribe's ability to adapt to changing circumstances and their reliance on and expertise in Guerilla warfare made them a real challenge for any intruding external power to rule them. Despite certain continuities in their resistance tactics, guerrilla warfare and the commitment to protect their cultural identity remained a common thread for their confrontation against external intruders throughout their historical presence in South Waziristan.

## **Recommendations**



Based upon the detailed analysis of the Mahsud tribe's resistance during the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the following recommendations could ensure sustainable peace in the South Waziristan region:

1. There is a need to build inclusive governance structures in the South Waziristan region.
2. The government must involve the indigenous stakeholders to chart out a comprehensive de-radicalization project for militant segments of the Mahsud tribe.
3. As the Mahsud insurgency is linked to the geopolitics of the region, it is therefore pertinent to initiate a dialogue with regional actors for the purposes of developing regional cooperation and adopting a zero-tolerance policy against terrorist groups.
4. A platform may be established for the long-term engagement of the Mahsud tribe in dialogues. Special parliamentary committees composed of tribal representatives could serve the purpose.
5. Research studies on the different dimensions of the tribal societies should be encouraged to get a deeper understanding of the root causes of the conflicts and develop early warning models to avoid potential conflicts.

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