



**OFFICE OF THE  
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**FRONTIER POLICY (1938) An official Report.**

**O.K. Caroe C.I.E. I.C.S. (12.9.38). Resident of Waziristan.**

- Waziristan is not a local problem.
- Wean them away from Kabul by strengthening their economic dependence on India. Link them with Indian Islamic culture.
- “Mizh, by Sir Evelyn Havel”
- Pathan is by nature prone to take advantage of signs of weaknesses which he thinks he can detect.
- Relations with Afghanistan are crucial.

**Comments.** NW & SWA as king maker and king Breaker (Nadir Shah).

Paradoxes & duplicity of Rules in Kabul. Exploit the Tribal. Keep them in good mood so that India (read Pak) could not wean them away but they should not become so strong and formidable to dictate terms to Kabul. Routes to Kabul & India through Tribal. Historical policy of Kabul / towards ‘tribal “Keep them happy \_\_\_\_\_ but at bay”’.

**Comments.** Culture of Kabul more western than Peshawar (1919-1996) till Taliban rule.

**Comments.** Political Administration must settle the feuds. We have rather fueled.

- **Maliki**.none justified. “Payment of Maliki does not prevent a tribe engaging in hostilities with government.
- It is only common to find the leading allowance –holders secretly at the back of agitation and disorder in the belief that such tactics may pay them and their popularity in the Tribe.

**Comments.** “You can only hire loyalties of tribesmen and cannot buy it” So the highest bidder is to be successful.

- “Ghar Malik” VS Kuchery Malik.
- Rise of Taliban. Torn loyalties, deceit, and weak moral authority of Maliks.
- 1979 & Maliks challenged by Nouveau riche, young educated tribal and religious leaders.
- Afghan psyche of collective leadership.
- Maliks are paid according to “Nikat” and not for the services rendered.
- Corrupt Political Administration in collusion with Maliks\_\_\_\_\_resultant Chaos.

**Olaf Caroe.**

- Education may not ensure peace in Waziristan.
- Gradual introduction of merit and performance based parameters of Khassadars to be commanded by Police offices.
- Tribesmen must be linked with India.

**Comments.** We succeed but new breed of Taliban look towards Afghanistan for spiritual and strategic guidance.

- **Pitty.** All Afghan Taliban are product of our Madrassas but pupil leading the teachers or “teachers following the students”. Leading role of “Ustad” as per culture of Islam reversed
- Classic violation in case of Afghanistan.
- **Higher education is not a Panacea but a snare (Olaf Caroe)**
- FATA only a constitutional and legal entity and no ethnic or religious and even socially segregated and ostracized lot.
- Mostly over represented in the Elected Bodies.

- Non-residential Tribals in Civil, Military, trade, construction, transport, hoteling, business.
- Many non-residential MNA /MPA from settled areas.
- Voters of settled MNA /MPA and local bodies of District. Dir, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Tank, Charsadda, DIKhan and even Mardan.
- Karachi, Peshawar and Islamabad emerging Power Centers of Tribal.
- Socio-Political acceptability in Kabul and Islamabad.
- Indian and specially NWFP/Khyber Pakhtunkhwa always looked towards Tribal to fall back and support as “Role model” of freedom for Indian.

**FRONTIER POLICY.**

**Comments by A.D.F. Dundas C.I.E I.C.S.**  
**Chief Secretary on the Report of Olaf Caroa. 26.9.38**

- **Policy of domination up to Durand Line ideal but impossible (Col. Bruce) did it in NWA in 1927-28 and had the whole country in turmoil (Same Col Bruce messed up, Miss Elis incident in 1923, as DC Kohat).**
- **The more the troops move the more do incidents occur. Let it be admitted that the tribesmen hate the army and that they love shooting at it. Let scouts and political administration to make friends. When I say “friends” I mean friends of expediency. There will no genuine friendship.**
- **We have no advantage over them in the hills.**

**Mr.E.F Lydall (ICS) note 24.10.38 APA Miranshah.**

- **The larger the column the bigger the victory in war and bigger the temptation to snipe in peace.**
- **Rethinking of Forward Policy in 1938. A modified forward policy and “Penetration” through development and negotiation proposed.**
- **Chief of India Sir Philip Chesods. “Waziristan is a training ground for our troops with a view to get ready for the next world war.**

APA I do not think so.

- **Blindfolded in a darkroom, chasing a black cat which is not there.**

**PA Khyber. C.S Searle. 1.4.1934**

An increase of levy is necessary for village protection.

**Maj. R.N Bacon O.B.E. PA NWA D.O.H.O 1076-S. 26.10.38.**

- **We had two objectives**
  - (i) **To prevent raiding of settled districts and**
  - (ii) **To win over the tribesmen to our side.**

- **Kidnapping of Hindus and release on payment of ransom has become a business.**
- **At the moment we are working at cross purposes. The political work one way and the army the other. Army considers Waziristan as a training ground for their troops. Army officers and men have little sympathy with the tribesmen. This has generated hatred among tribesmen.**

Maj. G.L.Mallam. October 1938 Bar at Law –IPS.

- **Last good move was in 1923 when Forward policy was Inaugurated in Waziristan.**
- **Forward policy result \_\_\_\_\_ Military occupation has led to increase in friction and bitterness between Govt & Tribes and has posted a war mentality on both sides. Force the leadership away from moderate to the fanatical, reactionary and religious elements.**