

Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariat Mohammadi

AT A GLANCE

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HOW TO CITE

Mapping Militants Project (MMP). "Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariat Mohammadi." Last modified August 2012.

SUMMARY

Formed: 1994

Disbanded: Group is active.

First Attack: November 1994: In November 1994, the group launched an armed campaign in which it forcefully took over many government functions in Swat valley.¹

Last Attack: November 2011: TNSM orchestrated a suicide bomb attack at a Pakistani army training camp in NWFP.²

OVERVIEW

Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariat Mohammadi is a Pakistani militant group whose goal is to enforce Shariah law in the Malakand Division of Pakistan, a region that includes Swat valley. Maulana Sufi Muhammad established the group after the Malakand insurgency in 1994 after gaining support from a court decision supporting Provincially Administered Tribal Areas as well as implementing an armed campaign to overtake government functions in Swat valley. The group pushed for a series of judicial reforms favoring Shariah law in their region. TNSM promotes boycotts of local elections, portraying the Pakistani government as Western-imposed. With the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Sufi Muhammad led 10,000 TNSM fighters to aid the Taliban. In 2009, TNSM increased its hold on Swat valley with another offensive involving 4,000 TNSM militants. Under international pressure, the Pakistani government responded by sending 30,000 troops to try to reverse TNSM's offensive. Sufi Muhammad negotiated a truce with Pakistan over the conflict in Swat valley, in which the TNSM agreed to a two-year cease

fire in return for implementation of Shariah law. The truce was viewed internationally as acquiescence to TNSM ideology.

NARRATIVE SUMMARY

Tehreek Nifaz-e-Shariat Mohammadi is a Pakistani militant group whose goal is to enforce Shariah law in the Malakand Division of Pakistan, a region including Swat valley.

Maulana Sufi Muhammad established the group in 1994.³ The group had been advocating for the implementation of Shariah law for several years but was able to become an active political player after a 1994 Supreme Court case rejected the legality of some parts of the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas Regulations - parts that overturned the previous removal of judicial authority from local areas.⁴ This decision tacitly supported the aims of groups such as TNSM, aims that included judicial reform.⁵ With the return of judicial authority to the locals in the spring of 1994, the TNSM decided to use this opening as an opportunity to gain further regional authority. In November 1994, the group also launched an armed campaign in which it forcefully took over many government functions in Swat valley.⁶ The group then established its own highly bureaucratic organizational structure.⁷

Due to its support of speedy justice and equality of classes, TNSM enjoys a support base among the lower classes in the region.⁸ It recruits supporters and funding using FM radio broadcasts.⁹

The group pushed for a series of judicial reforms favoring Shariah law in their region.¹⁰ TNSM promotes boycotts of local elections among its supporters, portraying the Pakistani government as Western-imposed.¹¹ With the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, Sufi Muhammad led 10,000 TNSM fighters to aid the Taliban.¹² The group enjoyed considerable success of its objectives in its region because the governor of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Iftikhar Hussain Shah, ordered loyalty to the group regarding their Taliban excursion, and officials across the provincial government and law enforcement agencies also harbored loyalties to the TNSM.¹³

In 2009, TNSM increased its hold on Swat valley with another offensive involving 4,000 TNSM militants.¹⁴ Under international pressure, the Pakistani government responded by sending 30,000 troops to try to reverse TNSM's offensive.¹⁵ Pakistan also arrested Sufi Muhammad, ostensibly for inciting violence during the time he encouraged followers to participate in the US-Taliban conflict.¹⁶ Muhammad's son-in-law, Maulana Fazlullah took over leadership of the TNSM.¹⁷ Sufi Muhammad negotiated a truce with Pakistan over the conflict in Swat valley, in which the TNSM agreed to a two-year cease fire in return for implementation of Shariah law.¹⁸ The truce was viewed internationally as acquiescence to TNSM ideology.¹⁹ The TNSM has continued to destroy hundreds of schools providing education for girls as it moves towards its goal of Shariah law, but some question its continuing strength after the leadership exchange in 2009.²⁰

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

A. LEADERSHIP

Maulana Sufi Mohammad (1994 to 2009)

Maulana Fazlullah (2009 to Present)

B. NAME CHANGES

C. SIZE ESTIMATES

- 2001: 10000 (Pakistan Journal of History and Culture)²¹
- 2009: 4,000 (New York Times)²²

D. RESOURCES

TNSM draws its resources from multiple sources. First, the group receives financial resources from certain mosques and madrassas.²³ Second, before the 2009 government offensive in Swat, TNSM had reported control of Swat Valley emerald mines, receiving about a third of the profits from the mines. This revenue is significant as these mines have historically been profitable, yielding about 10 percent of the world's uncut gems, or about US\$15 million in value.²⁴ Third, the TNSM is a member of an opium smuggling network in the border agencies of Bajaur and Dir.²⁵ Fourth, in the past, TNSM benefitted from Saudi and Gulf State support.²⁶

E. GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS

Disclaimer: This is a partial list of where the militant organization has bases and where it operates. This does not include information on where the group conducts major attacks or has external influences.

The TNSM operates primarily in Swat Valley of the NWFP, where, until a 2007 government counter-campaign, their headquarters were in the city of Mingora. The group operated a major camp at a madrassa in Bajaur Agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). A government strike in 2006 also destroyed this camp. Other training camps have been reported in Malakand Agency and Derail Tangeer, both in the FATA. The group also briefly operated in Afghanistan during its campaign to support the Taliban during the U.S. invasion.²⁷

STRATEGY

A. IDEOLOGY AND GOALS

- Sunni
- Wahhabi

B. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The TNSM's goal is to replace the Pakistani government, which it criticizes as Western-influenced, with Shariah law. As it works towards this end, the TNSM often takes over local government functions.²⁸ Given this anti-government stance, it is surprising that a spokesman

associated with the TNSM in 2009 announced TNSM had plans to participate in upcoming elections, but it is not clear whether his views were representative of the group as a whole.²⁹

C. TARGETS AND TACTICS

TNSM typically targets Pakistani soldiers, government officials, or local leaders opposing their actions in their district.³⁰ To achieve these objectives, the group relies on informal protests and roadblocks as well as more structured rocket attacks, IEDs, and suicide bombings.³¹ The TNSM focuses on Pakistani targets and has not been known to carry out attacks on Western targets but has included them in speeches as designated “enemies.”³²

MAJOR ATTACKS

Disclaimer: These are some selected major attacks in the militant organization's history. It is not a comprehensive listing but captures some of the most famous attacks or turning points during the campaign.

November 1994: In November 1994, the group also launched an armed campaign in which it forcefully took over many government functions in Swat valley. (Unknown).³³

October 2007: Roadside bomb targeting Pakistani soldiers in Mingora, Swat. (20 killed).³⁴

October 2007: Destruction of symbolic, historic Buddha statue in Swat, as a sign of Islamic supremacy. (0 killed).³⁵

2009: Roughly 4,000 TNSM militants seized control of much of Swat in 2009, starting in February. The Pakistani government responded in May with 30,000 troops and airstrikes. The counterattack was not very successful, but the fight ended in July 2009 with a truce brokered with Maulana Sufi Muhammad. (Unknown).³⁶

November 2011: Suicide bomb attack at a Pakistani army training camp in NWFP. (42 killed).³⁷

INTERACTIONS

A. DESIGNATED/LISTED

B. COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Due to its support of speedy justice and equality of classes, TNSM enjoys a support base among the lower classes in the region.³⁸ It recruits supporters and funding using FM radio broadcasts.³⁹ Its entrance into the region has devastated the tourism industry, leading to decreased incomes in the area.⁴⁰

C. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER GROUPS

TNSM is an important member of the Pakistani Taliban coalition, the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).⁴¹ Although little information is available, it seems that TNSM and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) have been locked in a turf war in the Malakand division. Similarly, the Jamaat-Ulema-e-Islam, JI, and TNSM are in conflict with each other in the tribal areas for power and influence in the region.⁴² In the early 1990s, the TNSM provided the ideological inspiration for the Afghan Taliban.⁴³ The group was allied strongly with the Afghan Taliban leader, Mullah Omar. Sufi Mohammed is also the father-in-law of Mullah Fazlullah, a Swat Taliban leader. Sufi Mohammed is reported to have said that the Taliban government which ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001 was ideal.⁴⁴ Sufi and the TNSM actively fought alongside the Taliban against the US and Northern Alliance forces in Afghanistan sending more than 10,000 fighters into the country.⁴⁵ Recently, however, no evidence has been available that the groups are still in cooperation.⁴⁶ TNSM has recently aligned with Tajik and Uzbek allies to bolster its responses to pressure from military counter-terrorism.⁴⁷

D. STATE SPONSORS AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

MAPS

- Pakistan

¹ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

² "Tehreek-e-Nefaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi." Jane's World Insurgency and Terrorism. July 2010.

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⁴ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

⁵ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

⁶ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

⁷ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

⁸ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

⁹ "Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi" (Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws). South Asian Terrorism Portal. Available at: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TNSM.htm> }. Its entrance into the region has devastated the tourism industry, leading to decreased incomes in the area {Khan,

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¹⁰ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf

¹¹ Khan, Navid Iqbal. "Tehreek-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi in Malakand Division (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): A Case Study of the Process of 'State Inversion'". Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXI, No. 1, 2010. Available at: http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest_English_Journal/6.%20Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-%20Muhammadi,%20Navid%20iqbal.pdf ; "Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi" (Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws). South Asian Terrorism Portal. Available at: <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/TNSM.htm>

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¹⁴ "Swat Valley." Times Topics. New York Times. November 2010. Available at: http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/pakistan/northwest-pakistan/swat_valley/index.html?8qa

¹⁵ "Swat Valley." Times Topics. New York Times. November 2010. Available at: http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/pakistan/northwest-pakistan/swat_valley/index.html?8qa

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¹⁹ "Swat Valley." Times Topics. New York Times. November 2010. Available at: http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/pakistan/northwest-pakistan/swat_valley/index.html?8qa

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²³ Greg Smith, "The tangled web of Taliban and associated movements" in Journal of Strategic Security, Vol 2 No. 4, November/December 2009 available at: http://www.henley-putnam.edu/templates/hpu/downloadables/journal/JSS_Vol2No4_Nov2009.pdf#page=39

²⁴ ARY News, "Taliban Occupy Emerald Mine in Shangla," April 24, 2009, available at: <http://www.thearynews.com/english/newsdetail.asp?nid=25684>

²⁵ ARY News, "Taliban Occupy Emerald Mine in Shangla," April 24, 2009, available at: <http://www.thearynews.com/english/newsdetail.asp?nid=25684>

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