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Paper  
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# Modes and Scale of Conflict in Pakistan's Swat Valley (1989-2008)

*Khadim Hussain*

## Introduction

Two events—one in the late 1980s and the other that began in the early 80s and precipitated in the early 90s—coupled with the prevailing social, cultural, class and gender frictions—have largely defined the critical situation in recent years in the Swat valley, in Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkwa (KP). Firstly, a section of the local population petitioned the Peshawar High Court in 1989 to seek a declaration that the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) Regulation of 1975—a legal framework distinctive from the rest of Pakistan—was unconstitutional.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat-i-Muhammadi (TNSM) was formed in 1992 by Sufi Muhammad, a Jamaat-e-Islami renegade, who managed a madrassa in Kambar, Dir.<sup>2</sup> The TNSM was largely behind the radicalization that followed in the valley.

The first event seems to have indicated the desire of the people to get rid of the discriminatory and marginalizing legal regime, while the second evidenced a shift in religious authority in the valley as the TNSM attracted extensive support in Swat, especially from the upper part of the valley. The discourse of power, ideology and control was reconstructed which counted on the socio-cultural frictions prevalent in the valley. The Pashto era in the valley before 1917 had particular legal, social, cultural and political frameworks.<sup>3</sup> The influence of these frameworks continued although with changing dynamics during the 1917 to 1969 period when Swat was a distinct state first within British India and then in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> The status of clergy, the landless (*Faqir*), and women could be traced back to the Pashto era in order to understand the modes and scale of conflict in the Swat valley.<sup>5</sup>

It is significant to understand the shift in religious authority, socio-cultural dynamics in evolutionary perspective, gender dynamics and legal battles in the context of Swat in order to comprehend the complete picture of the present conflict in the Swat valley. It is assumed in this study that the modes and scale of socio-cultural and socio-political conflicts already existed in the valley and the introduction of emerging geo-strategic and institutional factors brought the region to its present critical stage.

It is also assumed that the nature of conflict in Swat from 1989 to 2008 may be systematically comprehended at the ideological, socio-cultural, institutional/structural and geo-strategic levels. Moreover, the mode and scale of the conflict may also be understood through observing the patterns of ideological persuasion, social contagion and territorial expansion by the TNSM and the Swat chapter of Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP).<sup>6</sup>

This study relies upon primary and cross-disciplinary data to understand the hypothetical transitivity, cultural frictions and logics of differentiation (group formation, otherization, etc.).

## Methodology

Structured interviews from the seven sub-districts of Swat—Barikot, Babuzai, Kabal, Charbagh, Khwazakhela, Bahrain and Kalam—were carried out on the history, culture, society, social transformation, institutionalization and militancy. Fifty respondents from each tehsil were selected and stratified on demographic, professional, socio-class, age and partisan basis for expert opinion and valid observations of Swat in the cultural, historical, social, religious and political contexts. Besides interviews, analysis of official documents such as Fatawa Wadudia, PATA regulations of 1975 and 1976, Nifaz-e-Nizam-e-Shariah Act 1995, Nizam-e-Adl (Shariah) Ordinance 1999, the peace agreement reached between Taliban and the KP provincial government on May 21, 2008 and the subsequent promulgation of Nizam-e-Adl (Shariah) Ordinance 2008 were also analyzed to understand the context of state intervention in determining the modes and scale of conflict in the Swat valley. The primary data was also analyzed through participant observation (field work) as a regular observer of the events in the valley from the late 1980s until today.

## Socio-cultural Dynamics in Swat Valley in Evolutionary Perspective

The stratification of society in Swat on the basis of the landed (*Dautari*) and the landless (*Faqir*) on the one hand and on the basis of ethnicity and religiosity (Mian, Mullah and Ami) on the other was largely formalized after the state of Swat was formed in 1917. In 1969, Swat merged into Pakistan and its status as a state ended. During the state era, established mechanisms for conflict resolution developed a legal framework of sorts that could be conveniently called customary law.<sup>7</sup> Schisms in the social fabric were culturally and administratively cemented in an effective manner as “traditional elites, divided into two prominent social groups, had to give space to the religious and the marginalized groups because of the politics of social grouping.”<sup>8</sup>

The cultural fabric under such dynamics had remained diverse and inclusive. According to Khurshid Khan, Assistant Professor at the Department of History at Mingora Degree College, Swat:<sup>9</sup>

*Mela* [sporting and entertainment fair] was the main component of cultural ceremonies in the valley. The state-sponsored *mela* on the bank of River Swat was the most famous event. The Wali [of Swat] would visit the *mela*. Dances, circus and many items of entertainment were integral parts of the *mela*. Elders always talk about those bygone days. During Eid ceremonies, besides men, women also used to gather around the tombs of saints. They used to spend a day in shopping and singing. The Pakhtun code and state authority gave protection to females attending *melas* in Swat.

A high level of satisfaction was observed among the older generation of Swat regarding the legal and administrative capability of the Swat state. Karim Bakhsh, a 55-year-old farmer of Utrora, near Kalam, says, "During the era of Wali (title of ruler of the Swat state), a murderer would be arrested within 24 hours. The crime rate was low and the *Qazi* would decide a case within hours."<sup>10</sup> Religiosity in the valley had remained in consonance with the cultural inclusiveness. The people across the valley were followers of Imam Abu Hanifa. The religious class had no concern with worldly affairs. That class was only responsible for leading prayers five times a day, funeral prayers, *khatam* and solemnizing marriages. A *maulvi*, or cleric, used to spend his life on the income of Sirai land and charity. He would not be a member of the *jirga* or the *lashkar*.<sup>11</sup> Besides the religious class, the landless (*Faqir*), mostly ethnic Gujars and Ajars, remained culturally absorbed in the broader social fabric but remained socio-politically unrecognized.

It was observed that besides exclusion from the jirgas and the lashkars, very few, if any, intermarriages took place between the ethnic Yusufzais and the landless or the *mullahs*, mainly due to the socio-politically stigmatized status of *mullahs* and *Faqirs*.<sup>12</sup> According to Zabardast Khan, a Yusufzai, "it was considered against the code of Pakhtunwali to sell one's land to a Gujar or Ajar."<sup>13</sup> This norm effectively kept the landless on the periphery of society in the valley within an otherwise inclusive socio-cultural fabric. The absence of political institutionalization further shrank the socio-political space for the landless and the *mullahs* as political parties and political activities were banned in Swat until the state was merged into Pakistan in 1969. According to Inamullah, a teacher and social worker in Swat:<sup>14</sup>

The law and order situation was better on account of the fact that the state was run by one person. The same is true for the quantity and quality of the infrastructure. But human rights were severely violated. Forced labor was very common, and there was no awareness of civil and human rights. The state seemed to be enjoying a moderate and even secular profile, but people were happy to get their cases decided in a short time.

It seems that although there were schisms in the socio-cultural fabric of Swat as well as a lack of political institutionalization, the people had a higher level of satisfaction. It was that satisfaction that kept the friction in the socio-cultural fabric dormant. Once the legal and administrative framework of the Swat state came to an end, that friction started making itself visible in the valley. According to Sultan-e-Rome:<sup>15</sup>

With the merger of Swat State, confusion and chaos prevailed. The litigants did not know where to turn [to] for justice. Quick and cheap trials and decisions, whether just or unjust, and their proper execution and implementation came to an end. The prolonged procedures, undue delay, great expenditures, high bribes, misuse of *riwaj* (customs) and the further deterioration of PATA highly aggravated almost all the people of Swat.

This process seems to have affected the already vulnerable classes of the Swat valley in several respects, including socio-cultural. The simmering friction in the socio-cultural fabric started coming up to the surface. Socio-political re-adjustments and re-alignments started taking place in all parts of Swat. While the lower part of the valley took little time to get accustomed to the sluggish Pakistani state institutions—this part had already started evolving into a semi-urban society—the upper part, which was predominantly rural, remained embroiled between the pre- and post-state attitudinal systems and customary law.

The pattern of decisions in both traditional and state jirgas, the pattern of intermarriages and the pattern of land owning in a society where land owning played a significant role in determining the level of power and acknowledgement indicate that the process of otherization had already started. That process seems to have already brought the marginalized segments into a somewhat isolated social group in the valley. Otherization of the group had already started reinforcing the isolation, especially in the wake of denial to social services like health and education.

### Structural Vacuums and Conflict

The state of Swat was merged into Pakistan in 1969, and all laws applicable in Pakistan were extended to Swat immediately afterwards. The courts and the legal system were functioning there in the same



manner as elsewhere in Pakistan until 1974. But in 1975, the federal government introduced the PATA Regulation, eclipsing the regular laws in force in the region at the time.

The PATA Regulation was an odd combination of authoritarianism, ignorance of the changing social structure of the Swat valley, and conventions framed to appease the local elite. Judicial authority was transferred from the regular courts to the deputy commissioners of the districts in Malakand Division. A jirga consisting of local notables would decide cases of conflict among the people of the area under the supervision of a tehsildar (revenue officer).

The jirga members would be selected from among the landed gentry, and the clergy of the area would sanction the decisions made by the jirga. Appeals against the jirga's decision could be made to the deputy commissioner and the provincial home secretary.

Revenue, judicial and executive powers were thus vested in a single individual—the deputy commissioner of the district—completely ignoring the socio-political and economic dynamics that were fast changing the very fabric of society in the valley. Under the PATA Regulation, the timber mafia ruthlessly engaged in depleting the natural resources of the valley in connivance with the district administration and the jirga members. The educated middle class was expanding and lawyers, teachers, doctors, businessmen and activists had started making an impact on society in the valley.

Several NGOs took up projects that created awareness among the people about human rights and the environment. Moreover, political parties such as the Pakistan People's Party, Awami National Party, Pakistan Muslim League, Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam also developed their constituencies in Swat, Buner, Dir and Chitral districts of Malakand Division.

While the educated middle class and socio-political activists were busy with their awareness raising programs in the Swat valley, lawyers in the late 1980s submitted a petition in the Peshawar High Court (PHC) pleading for the abolition of the PATA Regulation. The PHC granted the petition in February 1990. The federal government appealed to the Supreme Court which upheld the PHC verdict four years later, ruling that the PATA Regulation was unconstitutional.<sup>16</sup>

Several interviews suggest that in the late 1980s and the early 90s, new aspirants for socio-cultural spaces, especially, middle-class businessmen, the landless and small land owners who had gone abroad to earn a living, had started making their presence felt. The socio-cultural recognition, however, was continuously denied to the new aspirants for power and prestige in society. Hence, a two-pronged vacuum—the socio-cultural vacuum and an administrative-legal vacuum—fragmented the society that went unnoticed by those who wielded socio-political power.

#### **Shift in Religious Authority: Formation of TNSM in Malakand**

Another significant development in Malakand Division at the time was Maulana Sufi Muhammad's departure from the Jamaat-e-Islami. He became a member of Dir's district council and also ran a madrassa in Balambat area of Dir. Both the traditional elite and the provincial bureaucracy were keen to retain their absolute power in Malakand Division. This was in the early 1990s when the power of the Taliban was expanding in Afghanistan with the help of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Deobandi madrassas

were sending militants across the border to help the Taliban in Afghanistan and the renewed zeal of the clergy in KP province was making an impact across the Pashtun belt.

By the time the Supreme Court declared the PATA Regulation unconstitutional, the TNSM had become so powerful that it brought the entire Malakand administration to a standstill in 1994, demanding the imposition of Shariah in the Swat valley and other districts of Malakand Division.

Instead of extending the regular laws to Malakand that had been eclipsed due to the introduction of the PATA Regulation, the provincial government recommended the introduction of the Shariah Nizam-i-Adl Ordinance in 1994, acquiescing to the demagogic antics of the TNSM and compounding the confusion created by the provincial bureaucracy.<sup>17</sup> The ordinance made it compulsory for the civil courts to seek the assistance of a *Muawin Qazi*, who was a cleric, and an *Aalim Wakil*, learned in Islamic law. The advice of the cleric, however, was not binding on the civil courts.

The TNSM objected to this arrangement and the federal government promulgated the Shariah Nizam-i-Adl Regulation 1999, thereby increasing the clerics' influence in the courts. The caretaker provincial government proposed the ill-advised Shariah Nizam-i-Adl Regulation 2008 that would make the courts subservient to the clerics while the revenue and executive authority would be exercised by the local administration.

The TNSM was active in Dir, Buner and Swat even before the Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled on the federal government's appeal against the Peshawar High Court verdict on the PATA Regulation. It is now a well-known fact that a deputy commissioner of Lower Dir remained in close contact with Sufi Muhammad, who established and strengthened his organization with the help of the local administration and local notables. In the early 1990s, Sufi Muhammad had established links with Mufti Abdur Rashid of Al-Rashid Trust and Maulana Masud Azhar, head of Jaish-e-Muhammad.

A year after Masud Azhar announced the launch of Jaish-e-Muhammad, he visited Swat to meet Sufi Muhammad. In a large public gathering in Mingora, Sufi Muhammad and Masud Azhar pledged to thunderous applause of their supporters to wage jihad against the infidels. This explains the pouring in of the Jaish activists into Swat to help local militant leader Fazlullah in his war against the state. The links also speak volumes of the militants' networking in the Pashtun belt.

Sufi Muhammad had passed a decree that military training was a religious obligation for all Muslims of the Swat valley. The training was carried out through the networking mentioned above. This decree, along with the decrees of other jihadist ideologues, such as Mufti Nizamuddin Shamzai, Mufti Abdur Rashid, Masud Azhar and Maulana Tahir Panjpeeri, brought about a substantial shift in religious authority by effectively constructing a Salafi jihadist ideology and by communicating it to a larger audience through various channels of communication, including illegal FM radio channels and pamphlets. The principles of jihad, thus, underwent a substantial change with respect to its mode and nature. Firstly, the principle of declaration of jihad by the '*Ulul Amr*' (the sanctioning authority of the government) was rationalized by arguing that as there was no genuine '*Ulul Amr*' in Pakistan and Afghanistan, one could wage jihad against the two states to bring about Shariah rule in these states. Second, the principle of jihad to be waged only by the rightful authority in defense of the Muslim norms and symbols was sought to be rationalized by making the argument that in the absence of a rightful authority it was obligatory for every adult Muslim to wage jihad under an organization.

The power politics and the shift in religious authority took a new turn after these administrative, judicial, social and religious developments. A vacuum was created not by the Supreme Court decision on the PATA Regulation but the collusion of the administration with Sufi Muhammad, who wreaked havoc in Malakand Division, according to interviews with knowledgeable circles of Swat. The political administration of the time allowed Sufi Muhammad a free hand to regain the power he had lost through the Supreme Court decision.

### **Mode and Scale of 2006-08 Conflict**

One of the major reasons for the turmoil in the Swat valley through 2006-08 can be traced back to this confusion created by the local elite and the state. The key to understanding the internal factors lies in understanding the composition of Fazlullah's supporters. The majority of them belonged to the lower rung of the social structure—mainly groups that lacked a share in land holding in the area. Fazlullah communicated with them in their language through his FM radio channel, giving voice to their frustrations, and owning them as his own. That gave Fazlullah's supporters in the marginalized groups a sense of empowerment.

Both the state and the traditional and political elite of the valley failed to respond to the aspirations of those who remained marginalized. The modern educated clergy and the new aspirants for socio-cultural recognition became wealthy but had no social credibility, even political parties hesitated to award them tickets to contest elections. Awareness raising and other activities by a wave of non-governmental organizations in the early 1990s as well as the process of urbanization contributed to the erosion of the traditional power bases and cultural space began to be occupied by the above mentioned classes. The clergy had gained political influence after the Soviet-Afghan war. The student wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), a right-wing political party, had started occupying the public educational spaces. Wahabi intrusion in the valley through madrassas in the late 80s and the early 90s along with the influence of Jaish-e-Muhammad on the TNSM and subsequently on Shaheen Force of Fazlullah and the Swat chapter of the TTP all played a role in the lead up to the Fazlullah-led insurgency against the Pakistani state. The shift in religious authority became complete after the Wahabi intrusion in the valley as a result of the dissemination of the discourse of jihad by the TNSM besides the virtual occupation of public educational institutions such as colleges and universities by the JI.

### ***The Story of Fazlullah***

On the basis of interviews with close relatives of Fazlullah, it is not very difficult to discern the dynamics of his rise and the evolution of his militia. Fazlullah was born and brought up in Imam Dherai, a village to the north of Mingora, the main business hub of Swat, across the River Swat. The area was home to the Nepkikhels, a sub-clan of the Yousufzai tribe. Fazlullah passed his 12<sup>th</sup> grade exam from Government Jahanzeb College Swat in the late 1980s when the Afghan war was at its peak. His father, who had sold almost all his property and was landless for all practical purposes, came under the influence of Sufi Muhammad of the TNSM and sent Fazlullah to Sufi Muhammad's madrasa in Dir. There Fazlullah developed cordial relations with Sufi Muhammad's family and was later married to one of his daughters.

Fazlullah actively participated in the insurgency orchestrated by Sufi Muhammad's TNSM in 1994. The insurgency brought Malakand Division to a standstill and ended with the promulgation of the Nizam-i-



Adl Regulation of 1995. Later, when Sufi Muhammad led a militia of some 10,000 men from Malakand Division to Afghanistan in October 2001 to fight alongside the Taliban, Fazlullah accompanied his father-in-law. After the international forces dismantled the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Sufi Muhammad and Fazlullah were arrested on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and imprisoned. Fazlullah was released from prison a year later.

Fazlullah then settled in his native town but had no job and started working as a chair-lift operator in a concern established by his cousin, Sirajuddin, who later became his spokesperson. With the help of the local population and the financial and technical support of a native of Kuza Bandai, a village adjacent to Imam Dherai, he started an illegal FM radio channel in 2004. The support was rendered by Habib Khan, who had made his fortune while working in Britain, and was known in the locality as a staunch Wahabi jihadist. Around this time, Fazlullah developed contacts with the late Maulana Abdur Rashid of Lal Masjid in Islamabad. He later declared himself a disciple of Abdur Rashid.

### *Fazlullah's Strategy in Swat*

On the basis of 200 interviews and participant observations from 2004 to 2007, it is easy to see the strategy adopted by Fazlullah to bring about a substantial shift in the socio-cultural and socio-political power structures in the Swat valley on the basis of a version of Salafi jihadist ideology. His strategies included ideological persuasion, social contagion, social control and expansion of that control.

The discourse Fazlullah constructed revolved around jihad, martyrdom, revival of the glory of Islam, anti-modernism and anti-women and anti-state narratives. The illegal FM radio proved to be an effective tool to disseminate the discourse because it was inexpensive and easily accessible in the upper valley in particular and in the lower valley generally.

During the social contagion stage, Fazlullah identified the US and the state of Pakistan as the enemy, acknowledged and highlighted the lot of the marginalized, established a madrassa and *markaz* or centre for ideological persuasion at Imam Dherai on communal land with the local population's support and started to help the people resolve their daily problems and conflicts. Fazlullah developed a strong local resource base by persuading the natives working in the Middle East and in the West to donate generously to the newly established madrassa.

During the stage of social control, Fazlullah established a loose militia, called Shaheen Force which was later merged into the TTP, established a parallel judicial system, and started targeting those who were socially, culturally and politically influential in the upper valley. His militia also co-opted criminal gangs in and around Swat that provided him with trained hands in gun-running. Throughout this time, Fazlullah continued to develop his organizational structure. He gradually isolated the community by banning television, Internet and girls' education. The target killing and virtual slaughtering of those suspected to be 'spying' for the authorities, also inculcated fear in the community.

The state institutions in the upper valley were effectively defeated during the stage of social control. Fazlullah's militia started running a parallel judicial system, parallel administration and recruiting from almost all parts of Swat, especially from the towns of Charbagh, Kabal and Matta. Fazlullah's organizational structure became robust, networked and hierarchical after he joined the Baitullah-led TTP and became the Swat chapter head of the militant outfit. Militant training and recruitment drives were



launched across the Swat valley. Some observers believe that the right-wing Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) government in the NWFP facilitated Fazlullah to gain control of the area in many ways. Firstly, the provincial government disallowed any move by the local administration and the federal government to block Fazlullah's control of the valley. Secondly, the provincial government simply looked the other way as Fazlullah started large-scale recruitment and amassed financial resources and used his illegal FM radio channel to spread his extremist ideas.

### *Gender Dynamics*

It will not be out of place to mention the role of women in Fazlullah's movement on the basis of interviews with 150 women of the community. The women from both rural and urban areas around Mingora in the age bracket of 55 and above were swayed by the message of the firebrand Fazlullah as he used the radio channel to spread his ideas. The elderly women lent full support to Fazlullah through donations to build his *markaz* and madrassa in Imam Dherai. The elderly women of the Swat valley had struggled to reconcile with the fast pace of social changes around them, including more educated women professionals venturing out to participate in the social, cultural and economic life of the valley in the late 1980s and the early 90s.

The old generation of women was largely conservative and viewed with great antagonism young women moving away from their socio-cultural roles. This developed fragmentation and frictions in identity narratives and hence they adopted the interpretation disseminated by Fazlullah related to the very narrow socio-cultural role of women. As the older generation of women still had a position of influence within the domestic domain, they started supporting Fazlullah financially. They rationalized their support, both financial and socio-cultural, in the wake of the shift in religious authority and the consequent capture of cultural, social and political spaces by Fazlullah's militia.

### *Military Operations in 2007-08*

The Frontier Constabulary (FC) and police launched a crackdown on Fazlullah's militia in July 2007 on the orders of the provincial government. As Fazlullah's militia had gathered considerable strength by the time, the operation by the FC failed, further consolidating the control of Swat by Fazlullah. Kabal, Matta, Khwazakhela and Fatehpur sub-districts came under his militia's complete control. Target killing of local influentials, destruction of girls' schools, suicide bombings and attacks on state installations and security personnel became pervasive in the valley. Almost all state institutions, including the police, the local administration, public schools, banks and courts, retreated or closed down.

After the failure of the FC operation, the army was called in to regain control of the area in August 2007. The intensity of the conflict in the valley increased after the July 2007 security forces operation against militants and seminary students holed up in Lal Masjid in Islamabad. It was during the military operation between August and December 2007 that Fazlullah's militia developed a strong linkage with militant leaders Baitullah Mehsud in Waziristan and Faqir Muhammad in Bajaur Agency.

The military announced victory in the operation against Fazlullah and his militia in December 2007 but fieldwork after the operation suggests that the militia, its recruitment and training centres and its network remains intact. The militia kept on running a parallel administration and judiciary in the upper part of valley even after the operation was declared successful. There was a lull in the conflict during the

February 2008 general elections. After the elections, the newly elected coalition provincial government of Awami National Party and Pakistan People's Party started a dialogue with the militants after releasing Sufi Muhammad who was still in jail. A peace deal between the government and Fazlullah's militia was signed in May 2008. According to several interviews in the upper valley of Swat, the deal provided an opportunity to Fazlullah's militia to reorganize. The peace agreement collapsed a few months later due to different interpretations by the two sides of various clauses of the agreement. Another military operation was launched in July 2008. This time the operation disrupted some supply lines of the militia although the command and control structure of the militia could not be effectively dismantled.

### **The Geostrategic Factors**

Some observers believe that the role of national and international actors might not be ruled out in the prevailing situation in the valley. They are of the opinion that the US might be interested in containing the march of the Chinese to Pakistan's Gwadar Port and the Karakorum Highway to access trade routes and Central Asian oil reserves, which might jeopardize US trade interests in the region. The Inter Services Intelligence, observers believe, might be interested in blocking the deployment of NATO forces in the region. Residents in Matta, Durushkhela and Ningolai stated in their interviews that they had seen Jaish-e-Muhammad militants and those who might have come from Waziristan helping the local Taliban gain control of upper Swat.

Pakistan has known strategic interests in the region through Afghanistan. Many believe that Pakistan would like to trump the Indian interests in the region. That might have prompted a part of the intelligence establishment to support the Taliban in one way or the other. Surveys in the Pashtun belt found similar perceptions among the common people.

### **Conclusion**

The local socio-cultural dynamics—including the changing gender role, a shift in religious authority, evolution of the socio-political economy of the valley, the institutional conflict (relations between the federation and the province), the legal disputes in 1994 and more recently, socio-ethnography of militants leaders, the strata of Fazlullah's recruit in the context of international/transnational dimensions, the TSNM and the Afghan Taliban, the post-9/11 context and collaboration with the war on terror have altered the local dynamics of conflict, eventually accelerating the retreat of the state in the Swat valley. All four levels of conflict in Swat played overlapping roles to develop a full-scale insurgency in the Swat valley between 1989 and 2008. Further research may be needed to understand the comparative roles of all these factors in determining the modes and scale of conflict in Swat.

KNOWLEDGE FOR PEACE

## Appendix

### Major points of the May 2008 peace deal between the government and Swat Taliban

(Source: [http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/05/pakistani\\_government.php](http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/05/pakistani_government.php))

- Shariah law would be imposed in Swat and Malakand;
- Pakistan Army would gradually withdraw troops from the region;
- The government and the Taliban would exchange prisoners;
- The Taliban would recognize the writ of the government and cooperate with security forces;
- The Taliban would halt attacks on barber and music shops;
- The Taliban would not display weapons in public;
- The Taliban would turn in heavy weapons (rockets, mortars);
- The Taliban would not operate training camps;
- The Taliban would denounce suicide attacks;
- A ban would be placed on raising private militias;
- The Taliban would cooperate with the government to vaccinate children against diseases such as polio;
- Fazlullah's madrassa would be turned into an Islamic university;
- Only licensed FM radio stations would be allowed to operate in the region;
- The Taliban would allow women to perform their duties at the workplace without any fear.

KNOWLEDGE FOR PEACE



## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup> Inam-ur-Rahim and A.Viaro, *Swat, an Afghan Society in Pakistan* (University of Geneva, 2002); Sultan-i-Rome, "Merger of Swat State: Causes and Effects," (MARC Occasional Papers, No.14, Modern Asia Research Centre, The University of Geneva, April 1999); Sher Muhammad (advocate), interview by the author in Mingora (Swat), April 2007.
- <sup>2</sup> Khadim Hussain, "Terrorism in the Pashtun belt: Analytical framework for finding mediatory solutions," 2008, <http://www.airra.org/documents/AbstractTerrorism%20in%20the%20Pashtun%20belt.pdf> (accessed October 30, 2009).
- <sup>3</sup> Frederick Barth, *Political Leadership among the Swat Pathans* (London: Athalone, 1959).
- <sup>4</sup> Frederick Barth, *The last Wali of Swat* (US: Waveland Press, 1985); Sultan-i-Rome, "Da Said Babaji Na thar Wali Swat pourey," *Pukhto* 29, no.11 (1997): 12.
- <sup>5</sup> Sultan-i-Rome, *Swat State, 1915-1969-From Genesis to Merger: An Analysis of Political, Administrative, Socio-Political, and Economic Development* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008); Abdul Wadud, *The story of Swat as told by the founder* (Peshawar: Ferozesons, 1962).
- <sup>6</sup> Khadim Hussain, "The truth about PATA regulation," *Dawn*, April 3, 2008, <http://www.dawn.com/2008/04/03/ed.htm#4> (accessed November 1, 2009).
- <sup>7</sup> Inam-ur-Rahim and A.Viaro, *Swat, an Afghan Society in Pakistan*.
- <sup>8</sup> Shaukat Sharar, interview by the author in Swat, December 2008.
- <sup>9</sup> Interview by the author in Mingora (Swat), December 2008.
- <sup>10</sup> Interview by the author in 2007.
- <sup>11</sup> Khurshid Khan (Assistant Professor, Department of History, Degree College, Mingora), interview by the author in Mingora (Swat), December 2008.
- <sup>12</sup> The few cases of intermarriages between the Yousufzais and the mullahs and the landless that were observed by this author indicate that the couples were ostracized in the local community because of marrying against the consent of the Yousufzai families.
- <sup>13</sup> Interview by the author in Miandam (Swat), January 2006.
- <sup>14</sup> Interview by the author in 2007.
- <sup>15</sup> Sultan-i-Rome, "Merger of Swat State: Causes and Effects," (MARC Occasional Papers, No.14, Modern Asia Research Centre, The University of Geneva, April 1999)
- <sup>16</sup> Khadim Hussain, "The truth about PATA regulation."
- <sup>17</sup> Sher Muhammad, interview.

## *About Institute*

The Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS) is an independent, not-for-profit non governmental research and advocacy think-tank. An initiative of leading Pakistani scholars, researchers and journalists, PIPS conducts wide-ranging research and analysis of political, social and religious conflicts that have a direct bearing on both national and international security. The PIPS approach is grounded in field research. Our surveys and policy analyses are informed by the work of a team of researchers, reporters and political analysts located in different areas of conflict in Pakistan. Based on information and assessments from the field, PIPS produces analytical reports, weekly security updates and policy briefings containing practical recommendations targeted at key national and international decision-makers. We also publish survey-based reports and books, providing in-depth analysis of various conflicts or potential conflicts.



### **Pak Institute for Peace Studies**

Post Box No. 2110, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Tel: +92 - 51 - 2291586

Fax: +92 - 51 - 2100651

[www.san-pips.com](http://www.san-pips.com)

Email: [pips@san-pips.com](mailto:pips@san-pips.com)