

**Refugee Review Tribunal
AUSTRALIA**

RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE

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Questions

- 1. Have the TNSM campaigned against the education of women in Swat District of the NWFP? What is the present situation in the Swat District?**
- 2. Are there reports of homes being destroyed in September 2008, or thereabouts, in Tehsil Kabal of Swat District?**
- 3. Given that relocation to Karachi might be a possibility, please provide information on: the general situation of Karachi's Pashtun community (in relation to security and livelihoods); the effectiveness of local law enforcement in Karachi (including attitude towards militant Islamist networks); and whether there have been any reports of Pashtuns from the NWFP being pursued by NWFP or FATA based militant networks.**
- 4. What information is available on an NGO known as the Malakand Development Authority (or Malakand Division Authority) in Swat and its relationship with the TNSM? If no information is available, please provide any information available on the relationship between the TNSM and NGOs generally?**

Background: maps of the NWFP, the Malakand region and Swat District

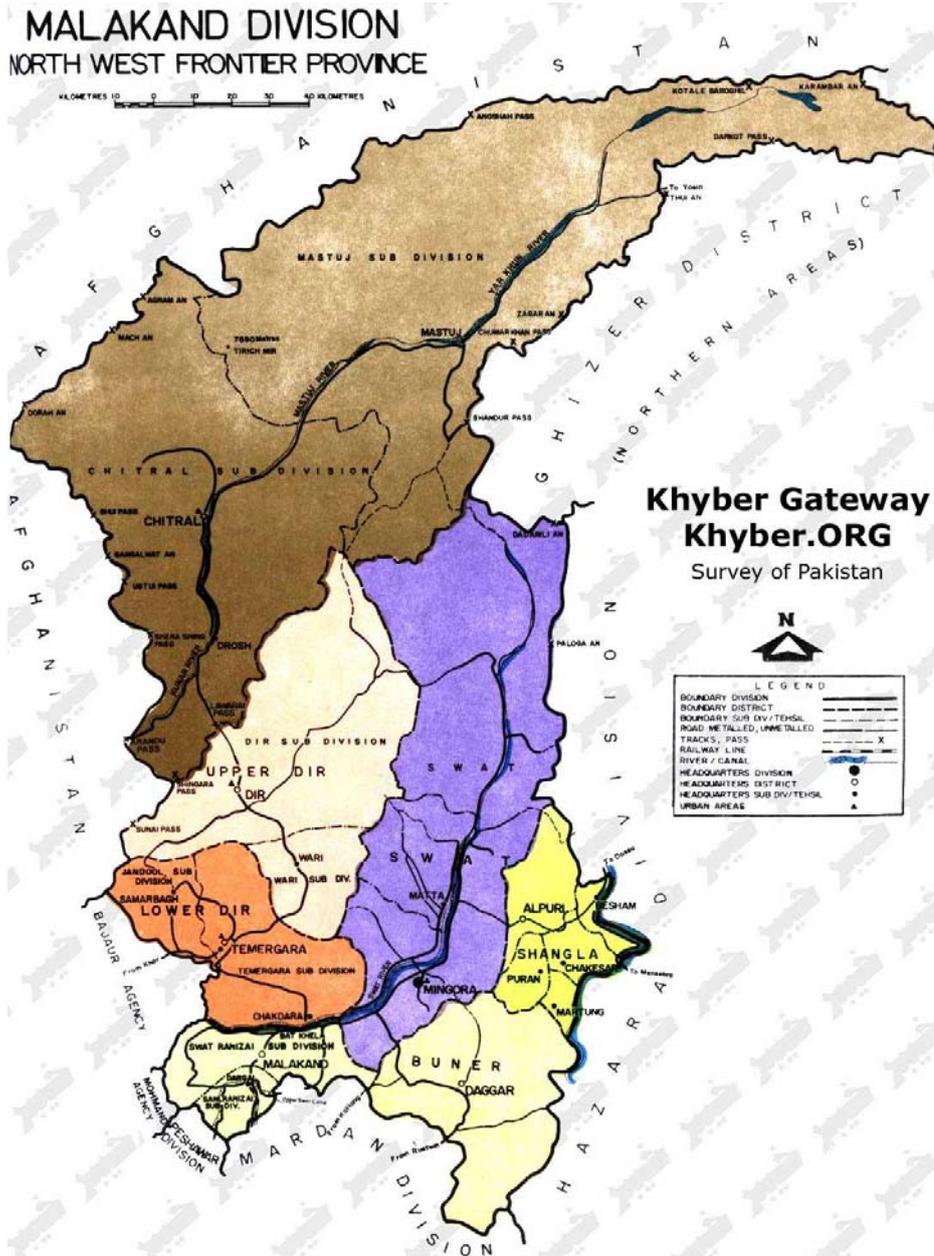
The following map shows the location of Swat District (in yellow) amongst the various other districts of the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) (in green) and the various agencies of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) (in blue). The location of two of Swat's major settlements, Saidu Sharif and Kalam, are also identified. The map was sourced from the Suvastu Swat website:



(‘Swat, NWFP’ (undated), Suvastu Swat website

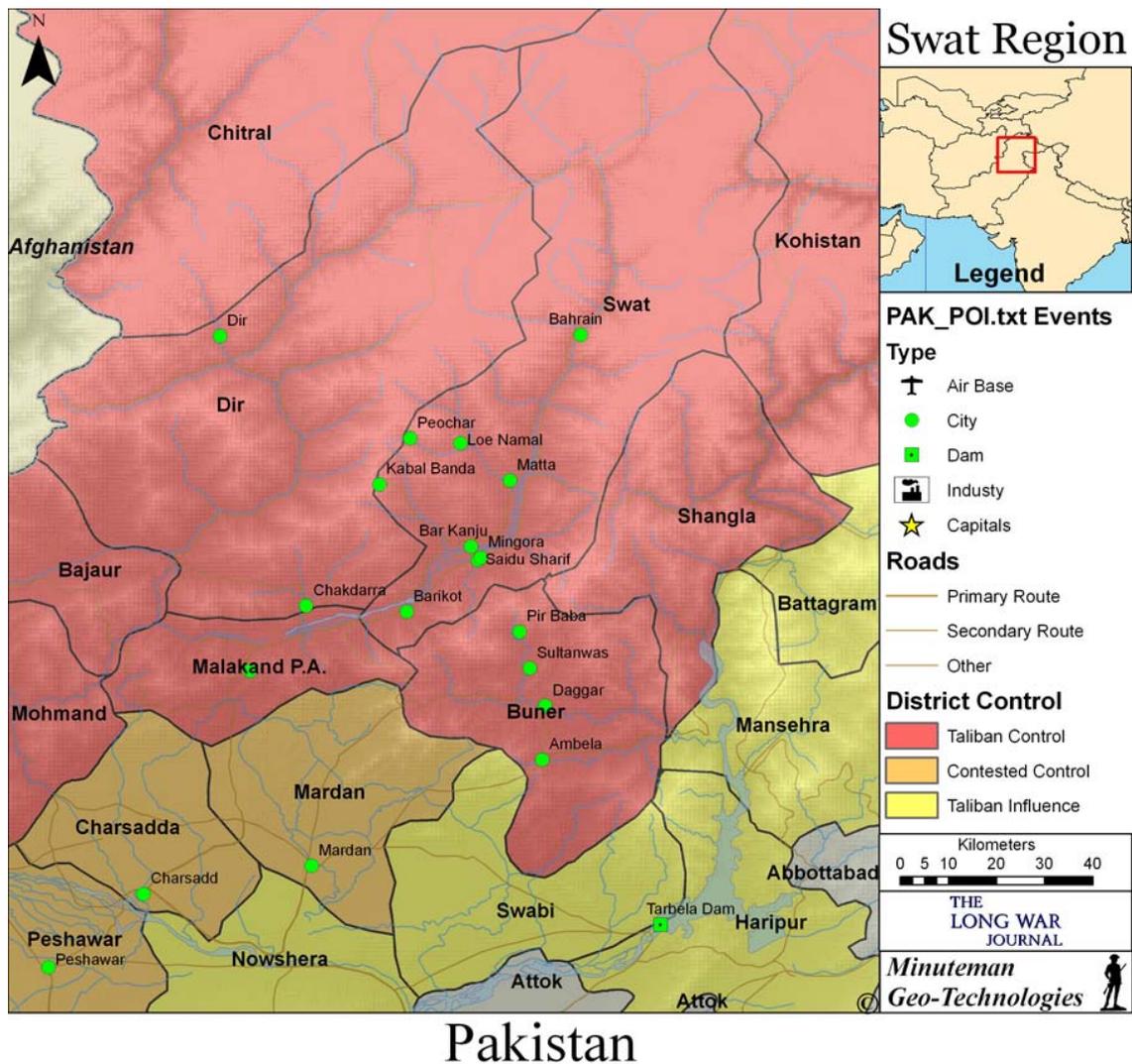
http://suvastu.thewalt.org/resources/wsb_519x557_Swat_NWFP+Kopie.jpg – Accessed 16 June 2009 – Attachment 1).

The following map, sourced from the Khyber Gateway website, details the arrangement of the seven NWFP districts which are sometimes referred to collectively in news reports as the Malakand Division (these being the Malakand, Buner, Swat, Shangla, Upper Dir, Lower Dir and Chitral Districts). This Malakand area effectively comprises the north-western corner of the NWFP.



(‘Malakand Division’ (undated), Khyber Gateway website <http://www.khyber.org/images/maps/malakanddiv.jpg> – Accessed 16 June 2009 – Attachment 2).

The following map, sourced from the website of *The Long War Journal* and dated 12 May 2009, shows the location of several of the Swat Districts major population centres as well as the areas of the Malakand region which, in the opinion of the creators of the map, were under “Taliban” control or influence at that time.



(‘Swat Region, Pakistan’ 2009, *The Long War Journal*, 12 May http://www.longwarjournal.org/maps/Pakistan/SWAT12MAY09_9001.php – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 74).

Three other maps sourced from the Khyber Gateway may also be of interest, these are: a map of Saidu Sharif which is the provincial capital of the NWFP (see Attachment 3); a map of Mingora, a principal township in the recent fighting in the NWFP (see Attachment 4); and a map of the various population centres and roads in the lower Swat Valley (see Attachment 5) (‘Saidu Sharif’ (undated), Khyber Gateway website <http://www.khyber.org/images/maps/saidusharif.gif> – Accessed 16 June 2009 – Attachment 3; ‘Mingora’ (undated), Khyber Gateway website <http://www.khyber.org/images/maps/mingora.jpg> – Accessed 16 June 2009 – Attachment 4; ‘Lower Swat Valley’ (undated), Khyber Gateway website <http://www.khyber.org/images/maps/lowerswatvalley.gif> – Accessed 16 June 2009 – Attachment 5).

RESPONSE

1. Have the TNSM campaigned against the education of women in Swat District of the NWFP? What is the present situation in the Swat District?

Introductory summary

Numerous articles have appeared over recent years reporting on a campaign against female education in the area of Swat District in the area of the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) being driven by elements of the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) under the leadership of Maulana Fazlullah and/or Sufi Mohammad (Maulana Fazlullah has been the primary focus of reporting since the imprisonment of his father-in-law, Sufi Muhammad, in 2001; Sufi Muhammad was released in April 2008 and is reportedly again a leader of some influence). Over the last year news reporting on the insurgency in Swat has, more and more, taken up the convention of reporting on the Swat District's insurgents as "the Taliban" following the decision of the TNSM leadership to bring the TNSM into the Taliban-styled umbrella movement known as the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP; referred to in many reports as the Taliban in Pakistan, or simply "the Taliban") which was launched in December 2007. Spokesmen for the Maulana Fazlullah network have also represented themselves, in some news reports, as the Tehrik Taliban Swat (TTS) and, according to *Islam Online* reporting, the TTS title is representative of a factional rift within the TNSM with elements loyal to Fazlullah breaking away from the 2008 Sufi Mohammad brokered peace-deal with the Pakistan government. The exact nature of the TNSM/TSS/TTP relationship remains unclear. Even so, studies published by research groups like the Jamestown Foundation suggest that the TTP's constituent groups remain very much independent networks. It would also seem from such reports that the common label, "Taliban", can belie significant differences of opinion and political interest in terms of the various networks operating in the NWFP and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). News reports of disagreements within TTP ranks with some of Maulana Fazlullah's activities suggest that the Fazlullah led elements of the TNSM remains a regionally autonomous network. And in what follows, for ease of reading, it is assumed that reports of Taliban activities in the Swat district can be read as referring to the activities of the Maulana Fazlullah led membership of the TNSM (though it should be noted that some sources claim that smaller groups of Pakistani fighters from other TTP networks as well as some foreign Al Qaeda fighters may have participated in the recent insurgency in Swat) (for information on the TTP and the place of the TNSM/TTS within this network, see: Roul, A. 2009, 'Gems, Timber and Jiziya: Pakistan's Taliban Harness Resources to Fund Jihad', *Terrorism Monitor*, Jamestown Foundation, 30 April vol.7: no.11 – Attachment 20; Sulaiman, S., Adnan, S. & Bukhari, A.S. 2009, 'The Swat Conflict: An Arc of Instability Spreading from Afghanistan to Central Asia and Xinjiang', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol.7: no.13, 18 May – Attachment 55; Abbas, H. 2008, 'A Profile of Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan', *CTC Sentinel*, January, vol.1: no.2 – Attachment 63; Yusufzai, R. 2008, 'The Impact of Pashtun Tribal Differences on the Pakistani Taliban', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol.6: no.3, 7 February – Attachment 60; for the fractured nature of the TTP umbrella movement, see: Yusufzai, R. 2008, 'A Who's Who of the Insurgency in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province: Part One – North and South Waziristan', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol.6: no.18, 22 September – Attachment 61; for disagreements between the Fazlullah led TNSM/TTS faction, the Sufi Mohammad led TNSM faction and other TTP leaders, see: Latif, A. 2008, 'Taliban Divided on Girls Education', *Islam Online*, 26 December http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1230121252530&pagename=Zone-English-News/NWELayout – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 64; Latif, A. 2009,

‘Pakistan Targets Taliban Swat Leadership’, *Islam Online*, 12 May http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1239888847725&pagename=Zone-English-News/NWELayout – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 65; ‘Differences crept between TNSM, TTP over Sharia implementation : NWFP minister’ 2009, *webIndia123.com*, source: *ANI*, 7 June <http://news.webindia123.com/news/Articles/World/20090607/1269658.html> – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 62; for claims that non-indigenous fighters participated in the recent Swat insurgency, see: ‘Blankets, bullets, a pneumatic drill – a Taliban HQ’ 2009, *Dawn*, 24 May <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-blankets-bullets-a-pneumatic-drill-qs-02> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 25; and p.13 of: International Crisis Group 2009, *Pakistan: The Militant Jihadi Challenge*, Crisis Group Asia Report no.164, 13 March <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/getfile.cfm?id=3870&tid=6010&type=pdf&l=1> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 58).

There is some variation in the reporting on the manner and extent to which the TNSM is said to be opposed to female education. Some news details give the impression that the Maulana Fazlullah led militants are opposed to female education entirely. Maulana Fazlullah’s organisation reportedly issued a decree banning all female education in Swat in December 2008. Several reports have alleged the group’s responsibility for the murder of “District Council member and child rights activist Bakht Zeba in Mulakabad area of Mingora on Tuesday (November 25 [2008]) for advocating education for children in Swat” and a number of reports relate that the Swat based insurgents have destroyed over 100 girls schools. In February 2009 it was reported that the TNSM was willing to concede to female education up to a certain age and providing certain codes of conduct were observed. Other news sources, however, appear to suggest that this, rather than an absolute ban, was always the aim of Maulana Fazlullah’s organisation. There is also some variation in the available reportage with regard to the motives associated with the destruction of schools by the TNSM in Swat. According to a January 2009 *Gulf News* report: “Asked why the Taliban were then targeting the schools and education institutions, the spokesman said more than 75 per cent of schools and colleges in the region were being used by security forces to dump their logistics, and as temporary camps”. It may also be of interest that in May 2009 *Islam Online* reported that Sufi Mohammad and other elements of the TTP umbrella movement were opposed to certain aspects of Fazlullah’s reported ban on female education (for the murder of Bakht Zeba, see: Achakzai, J. 2008, ‘Child rights activist killed in Mingora’, *Daily Times*, 28 November http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C11%5C28%5Cstory_28-11-2008_pg7_23 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 82; ‘Taliban new dictum: Marry daughters to militants’ 2009, *Express India*, 2 January http://www.expressindia.com/story_print.php?storyId=405824 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 83; for the impression of total opposition to female education, see: ‘Pakistan: Origins of the violence in Swat Valley’ 2009, *IRIN*, 26 February <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=83105> – Accessed 30 May 2009 – Attachment 6; for reports of a more nuanced attitude, see: Khail, I.K. 2009, ‘TNSM warns against further military action’, *The Nation*, 5 May <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/print/Politics/05-May-2009/TNSM-warns-against-further-military-action> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 11; for the *Gulf News* report, see: Khan, F.R. 2009, ‘Taliban in Swat ready to reconsider women’s education’, *Gulf News*, 28 January <http://www.gulfnews.com/world/Pakistan/10279933.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 12; for the TNSM/TTP disagreements on this issue, see: Latif, A. 2008, ‘Taliban Divided on Girls Education’, *Islam Online*, 26 December

http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1230121252530&pagename=Zone-English-News/NWELayout – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 64).

There is also some variation in the manner in which different news sources have depicted the TNSM's campaign in Swat. While some news sources have reported on "Taliban" administered beatings and beheadings conducted in order to project a sense of puritanical Islamist terror in the Malakand region, others have claimed that the puritanical activities of the TNSM, and its demands for the institution of Islamic law, are part of a complex weave of social and economic grievances. According to the latter view the persons targeted by the TNSM primarily are the Swat District's wealthy land owning castes and other power brokers along with anyone seen as a police informant. A number of reports note that the TNSM, during its occupation of the Swat District over the first half of 2009, used this time to take over the district's mines, orchards and other resources. Sources vary in the extent to which they represent this campaign as part of a genuine populist revolt or an attempt by the Taliban to win over the local populace (for reports which focus on the insurgency as primarily a vehicle of religious terror and/or criminality, see: 'Swat: lessons from a militant takeover' 2009, *The Hindu*, 21 January

<http://www.hindu.com/2009/01/21/stories/2009012155481000.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 9; Taj, F. 2008, 'No class war in Swat', *The News*, 18 December

http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=152439 – Accessed 18 June 2009 –

Attachment 18; for reports which focus on the insurgency's socio-economic grievances and criminality, see: Khan, S. 2008, 'Behind the crisis in Swat', *The News*, 27 November

<http://www.thenews.com.pk/print1.asp?id=149242> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment

17; Khan, S. 2008, 'The nature of war in Swat-Sartaj Khan', Chowk website, 27 December

<http://www.chowk.com/ilog/70308/47736> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 19;

Perlez, J. & Shah, P.Z. 2009, 'Taliban Exploit Class Rifts in Pakistan', *New York Times*, 17

April <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/17/world/asia/17pstan.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009

– Attachment 22; Iqtidar, H. 2009, 'Who are the "Taliban" in Swat?', Open Democracy website, 30 April <http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/email/who-are-the-taliban-in-swat> –

Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 23; Roul, A. 2009, 'Gems, Timber and Jiziya: Pakistan's Taliban Harness Resources to Fund Jihad', *Terrorism Monitor*, Jamestown Foundation, 30 April vol.7: no.11

http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34928 –

Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 20).

Following the Pakistan military's June 2009 push into upper Swat as part of its renewed offensive, reports have appeared of the Pakistan Army's occupation of the northern Swat township of Mingora. Reports of Pakistan Army claims to have killed groups of "Taliban" fighters in the Malakand region have appeared regularly in recent weeks and there have even been claims that Swat is being cleared of "Taliban" fighters altogether and that Maulana Fazlullah may himself have been killed or seriously wounded. Even so, reports of clashes between the Pakistan security forces and militants in Swat, and the surrounding Malakand districts, continue to appear. And some news reports have been skeptical about the claims of the Pakistan military. A number of reports feature interviews with Swat residents who comment that the insurgents have simply withdrawn from the Swat valley for the duration of the area's occupation by the Pakistan Army. Such reporting appears to suggest that claims of military success may be premature and a misreading of what is actually a strategic withdrawal on the part of Swat based militants, with some militants resuming their local village occupations while others temporarily relocate elsewhere to wait the army out (for the claims of the Pakistan military see: 'Swat offensive to conclude only when extremism is

rooted out : Zardari' 2009, *Thaindian News*, source: ANI, 5 July http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/swat-offensive-to-conclude-only-when-extremism-is-rooted-out-zardari_100213684.html – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 66; 'Clashes kill 28 Taliban in Upper Dir, Swat' 2009, *Dawn*, 17 June <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/19-lashkar-kills-six-more-taliban-in-upper-dir-03> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 67; 'US newspaper lauds Pakistan army's gains in Swat By Our Correspondent' 2009, *Dawn*, 3 June <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/the-newspaper/national/us-newspaper-lauds-pakistan-armys-gains-in-swat-369> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 68; 'Maulana Fazlullah seriously injured' 2009, *India Express*, source: *Press Trust of India*, 2 July <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/maulana-fazlullah-seriously-injured/483820/> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 69; 'Taliban leader Fazlullah killed in Swat strikes?' 2009, *Times of India*, 3 July <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/msid-4729326,prtpage-1.cms> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 70; for more skeptical reporting and claims that the insurgency has withdrawn, see: 'Don't fool people by claiming "premature" success in Swat operation : former PAF official' 2009, *Thaindian News*, source: ANI, 1 July http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/dont-fool-people-by-claiming-prematuresuccess-in-swat-operation-former-paf-official_100211821.html – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 71; 'Knowing the reality' 2009, *Business Recorder*, 2 July – Attachment 72; Roggio, B. 2009, 'Pakistani troops advance into Swat's main town', *The Long War Journal*, 25 May http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2009/05/pakistani_troops_adv.php – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 73; for the comments of Swat residents, see: Magnie, M. 2009, 'Pakistanis begin to rebuild lives', *LA Times*, 29 June <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-pakistan-buner29-2009jun29,0,3434515.story> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 75; 'Blankets, bullets, a pneumatic drill – a Taliban HQ' 2009, *Dawn*, 24 May <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-blankets-bullets-a-pneumatic-drill-qs-02> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 25; further to this, the insurgency may also be well situated to refit having reportedly reaped huge financial gains from its brief occupation of Swat's gem mines: 'Taliban cash in on Pakistan's untapped gem wealth' 2009, *Dawn*, source: *Agence France-Presse*, 5 July <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-taliban-cash-in-on-pakistans-untapped-gem-wealth-qs-03> – Accessed 6 July 2009 – Attachment 76).

Source information overview

An overview of the available reportage on the TNSM/TTP, and its activities in the NWFP's Swat District follows below. The overview proceeds, for the most part, in chronological order: presenting examples from the range of reports which have appeared over the last six months (for previous research, covering previous years, on the relationship between the TNSM and female education in previous years, see: RRT Country Research 2007, *Research Response PAK31685*, 19 May – Attachment 59; for an overview of the history of the TNSM and its insurgent activities in prior years, see: RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response PAK32205*, 29 August – Attachment 81).

A 26 February 2009 report put out by the UN administered *IRIN* news agency provides a good overview of the manner in which the situation in Swat has been generally reported in the international press and much of the Pakistan national press. The article relates that the

TTP affiliated TNSM is opposed to female education (see the section: *Why is girls' education threatened?*), that: "At the end of 2008, Fazalullah banned all education for girls"; and that: "Since the conflict in Swat began, 170-200 girls' schools have been torched or bombed". The report also relates that: "In February [2009], the militants said they would allow education for girls to Grade 5"; but that in spite of this: "An estimated 80,000 girls are still not in class as schools felt too threatened to re-open after the winter holiday". The overview follows:

Where is Swat?

The mountain valley of Swat, covering 10,360 sqkm, is about 170km north-east of the NWFP capital, Peshawar, and about 160km north-west of Islamabad. With its clean river, open fields and forests, tourism has traditionally been the main source of revenue for many of its 1.8 million people, most of whom are ethnic Pashtuns.

...What is the present status of Swat?

Swat is an administrative district of NWFP; it does not lie within Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and does not border on Afghanistan. The capital is Saidu Sharif but the main city is Mingora, adjacent to Saidu.

What are the origins of the conflict?

In 1992, Sufi Mohammad Khan established the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariah-Mohammadi (TNSM) in Swat, as a party seeking an Islamic order. The party rose to national prominence in 1995, when Khan demanded the immediate imposition of Sharia, Islamic law. Violence followed as paramilitary forces began an operation against him.

After Khan's imprisonment in 2002, his son-in-law, Maulana Fazalullah, a former chairlift operator, took over the TNSM at age 28. By 2007 he had aligned himself with the hardline Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), setting up dozens of illegal radio stations in Swat from which he preached his message of jihad (holy war).

Who are the main combatants?

Fighting in Swat began after Fazalullah in July 2007 ordered supporters to avenge a security force operation to clear militants out of the Red Mosque (Lal Masjid) in Islamabad. Since then, paramilitary forces and the Pakistan army have fought militants led by Fazalullah. A brief truce in May 2008 brought relative peace but fighting resumed in August. Some 4,000 militants are said to be battling 12,000 troops. Although the militants in Swat enjoy support from militants in tribal areas they are not directly linked to them.

How many people have died?

There is no independent confirmation of the number of casualties. In January 2009, the military said 142 soldiers and paramilitary troops had died since August 2008. In 2007, the military confirmed the deaths of 230 civilians and 90 military personnel. At the end of 2007, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in Swat said at least 400 civilians had died and 1,000 houses were destroyed.

How many people have been displaced?

According to rights groups and the media, approximately 800,000 of Swat's 1.8 million people have fled. With intensified fighting from February 2009, as the Pakistan government promised to retake control of the valley from the militants, more people are reported to have left. Camps for internally displaced persons have been set up in Mingora and elsewhere by the provincial government.

Why is girls' education threatened?

Fazalullah opposes education for girls. Since the conflict in Swat began, 170-200 girls' schools have been torched or bombed. At the end of 2008, Fazalullah banned all education for girls. An estimated 80,000 girls are still not in class as schools felt too threatened to re-open after the winter holiday.

In February, the militants said they would allow education for girls to Grade 5. The government has promised all schools in Swat will re-open. Some schools have reopened in the valley but attendance is extremely low despite the truce. Women have also been ordered via militant-run radio stations to give up work and stay at home. Men have been ordered to grow beards and wear prayer caps.

Do the militants enjoy popular support?

Militant leaders, including Fazalullah and Khan, claim locals back their call for Islamic law but there is little independent evidence to support this. In the February 2008 general election, the secular Pashtun nationalist Awami National Party won 31 out of 96 seats in the NWFP provincial assembly, including most of those from the Swat area, while the coalition of religious parties, the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) won only nine. The MMA failed to win any seat in Swat, which sends two members to the national assembly and seven to the provincial assembly. The TNSM did not contest the polls and has never done so since it opposes democracy.

What is the human rights situation in Swat?

HRCP has described it as "appalling". Apart from curbs on education for girls, the militants have been responsible for dozens of beheadings, public lashings and other acts reminiscent of the deposed Taliban regime in Afghanistan. According to media reports, those atrocities have included public executions without trial, the display of severed heads, the humiliation of women accused of prostitution by forcing them to dance in public before killing them, the exhumation of the bodies of enemies and public floggings. People opposing the militants have in some cases been forced out of Swat. Businesses, including video and CD shops, tailoring and barber outfits, have been burnt or forcibly closed down.

What is the nature of peace efforts?

The NWFP government has agreed a truce with Khan of the TNSM, whereby Sharia law would be imposed and both sides lay down arms. Residents have welcomed the ceasefire; however, two previous accords along similar lines have broken down.

The abduction and killing of a prominent journalist, Musa Khankhel, days after the truce, aggravates those fears. Many Pakistanis have criticised the deal, with HRCP warning it offers no guarantees to protect basic liberties and rights of groups, including women. Friction between different militant factions adds to the risks of the truce failing, though for the moment it has enabled girls to return to school, albeit only when fully veiled, as directed by the militants ('Pakistan: Origins of the violence in Swat Valley' 2009, *IRIN*, 26 February

<http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=83105> – Accessed 30 May 2009– Attachment 6; for a more extensive timeline on these matters, see: ‘Pakistan: Timeline on Swat Valley turbulence’ 2009, *IRIN*, 11 February <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=82864> – Accessed 30 May 2009 – Attachment 7).

With regard to the alleged beheadings referred to above, few reports could be located which provided more precise details about who has been beheaded by the TNSM/Taliban in Swat and why. In those reports where such details are noted it would generally appear that those targeted for beheadings are security personnel, government officials, or persons suspected of collaboration with Pakistan security forces. This said, *IRIN* news refers to reports of deaths over the period August to December 2008 which included “the killing of women who decline to stop work and public beheadings of those accused of spying” (‘Pakistan: Timeline on Swat Valley turbulence’ 2009, *IRIN*, 11 February

<http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=82864> – Accessed 30 May 2009 – Attachment 7; Haider, K. 2009, ‘Taliban behead two Pakistani officials in Swat’, *Reuters*, 3 May <http://uk.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUKTRE5421AQ20090503> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 14; see also: Khan, J. 2007, ‘Militants behead 13 in Pakistan’, *Herald Sun*, source: *Reuters*, 27 October <http://www.news.com.au/heraldsun/story/0,21985,22660883-5005961,00.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 13; ‘Swat Taliban paying mercenaries ‘blood money’ to “behead” policemen’ 2009, *DNA News*, source: *Asia News International*, 29 May <http://www.dnaindia.com/report.asp?newsid=1259932> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 15; ‘Pro-Taliban militants publicly behead four Pak security personnel in Swat’ 2007, *Thaindian*, source: *Asia News International*, 14 November http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/world-news/pro-taliban-militants-publicly-behead-four-pak-security-personnel-in-swat_1002740.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 16).

On 27 November 2008 an article in *The News* by Swat based social activist Sartaj Khan put forward the view that the concerns being fought for in the Swat valley had more to do with economic inequality than religious zealotry, and that the primary targets of the TNSM are the wealthy Khans.

The uprising in Swat has to be seen as part of the wider conflict that has engulfed the region and Pakistan since 9/11. The “war on terror” has only aggravated the social situation in Swat and given birth to a movement which has its roots in history. The Swati Taliban are not organised on a localised agenda, not on a tribal basis.

In Swat feudals are known as “Khans” while “Pakhtun” refers to those who have cultivated land and are prosperous. “Sayyeds” and “Mians” generally also have land. This particular section of society has traditionally controlled wealth and politics for centuries before it was challenged from two sides: the emerging commercial class and the new middle classes, and the landless.

Those not owning land consist of two groups. The first are the old inhabitants of the valley who were marginalised by the area’s conquest by Yusufzais in the 16th century. They consist of the Gujars and Ajar. The latter, known in Pashto as Kasbgar, include blacksmiths, cobblers and hair-dressers. “All alike are directly or indirectly dependent on the landowners both politically and economically,” in the words of anthropologist Fredrik Bath.

In some ways, Swat’s society is divided on the lines of the caste system, or social groups “of a caste type,” as Bath called it. The body of a commoner cannot be buried near the grave of a Mian. However, the emergence of a “new middle class” – such as real-estate agents,

transporters, contractors, people in the armed forces and the bureaucracy, and traders – has been a significant development in challenging the old khanite landed classes in NWFP. Remittances from people whose wealth and power comes from sources other than land also play a crucial role in the development of the emerging middle class.

The appearances of new social players on the social and political arena can be judged from their roles in different movements. The most important are the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) and the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). These movements, in the guise of Islamism, are the expressions of the desires of the new middle class and other deprived classes. In one way or the other, they have challenged the dominance of the existing feudal landed autocracy.

The TNSM was founded in 1992 by Sufi Mohammad who, after leaving the Jamaat-e-Islami, launched a movement that enjoyed the support of various sections of society, including ex-servicemen and traders. The TNSM built its support on the criticism of two issues vital to society: the judicial system imposed on the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) and the corrupt electoral and political system of Pakistan. The TNSM rejected electoral politics. Sufi Muhammad saw no hope in society's Islamisation through parliament and opposed the Islamic parties that want to bring changes through parliament. In a speech in Kalam, he said: "There is no room for the vote in Islam and the concept of democracy which some religious political parties are demanding is wrong."

The Supreme Court's verdict on Feb 12, 1994, that PATA regulations are unconstitutional, not only provided legitimacy to the struggle of the TNSM but also gave it impetus. The verdict was followed by mass uprisings in Malakand and adjacent areas. The PATA regulations had replaced the rules of Swat state with its merger to Pakistan in 1969.

After the merger of the ruling family and the Khans, they occupied the lands of the poor, the commoners' lands. Force was used which resulted in clashes. The year 1969 also saw a mass peasant upheaval in the country. The landless occupied the land they cultivated. These settlements are still pending in courts. In the 1990s with the arrival of neo-liberalism, there came the speculation boom in the real-estate business. By now, as a result of autocratic rules and distortions in the Constitution, the existing judicial system in Pakistan was corrupt to the core. Settlement of land cases takes tens of years. Real-estate agents see their land or their commission stuck up in the judicial quagmire. The TNSM was built up on public sentiments and demanded the Sharia as an answer to public grievances. When it came to impose the Sharia the most significant measure of all was the rapid settlement of land disputes.

In 2001, on the eve of the American attack on Afghanistan, public mobilisation of the TNSM for jihad and subsequent events prove to be catastrophic. The debacle in Afghanistan and the arrest of leaders of the movement on return from Afghanistan paved the way for the MMA's gains in the 2002 elections. The leadership of the MMA mobilised the rural poor to defeat the politics of the Khanite landed classes. But the MMA government was soon to be found corrupt to the core as well. Very soon MMA alienated the masses and created distrust in the rural poor.

Islamism builds at the expense of liberal-left-secular-nationalist movement. Pakhtun nationalism (ANP) and Islamic reformism (MMA) failed in challenging western domination and the ruling elite. The Islamism of the Taliban therefore became a force to counter these, with the corrupt rulers portrayed as responsible for the poverty and misery in the country. Poverty, which declined in the 1970s and '80s, has increased since the 1990s. The income of the bottom 20 per cent of households decreased to 5.7 per cent, while in the 1970s and '80s it was 7.5 to 8 per cent. This decline in the total share is more significant for the poorest if inflation is also included.

War and the integration of Pakistan into the world market paved the way for emergences of new movements and changes to old ones. The TNSM was transformed dramatically in the last two years or so. In a society marked with ethnic, cultural, and tribal lineages, Islam and 'Islamic' leaders could transcend the boundaries and unite people for a common cause. In the name of Islam and Sharia class interests can be disseminated. That is where Fazlullah appears on the scene.

Fazlullah, a school dropout in Mingora and a chairlift operator who worked for Rs1,500, emerged as the leader of the Pakistani Taliban of Swat, at the age of 28. "Quick justice and efficient government, this is something that people wanted and this is what the people saw" in Fazlullah, as Prince Asfandiar Amir Zeb, a member of the former ruling family, remarked in an interview with journalist David Montero. Fazlullah's madressa, at Imamderi, was built with the support of the poor and the new middle classes. People across the valley, including women, donated \$2.5 million for the cause. But resentment developed in some sections of the middle classes as the movement became more radicalised. Today the militant section of the movement consists of the rural poor, whereas the middle and poorer classes had dominated the TNSM.

Fazlullah communicates with his supporters, through his FM radio. As analyst Khadim Hussain has said: "The marginalised groups have a sense of empowerment in their state of powerlessness. Both the state and the traditional elite, with the political elite of the valley, unfortunately, have all along failed to respond to the aspirations of those who remain marginalised in the already marginalised society of Swat valley."

The militants are targeting the Khans regardless of their political affiliations and have given their fight a class dimension which, in the context of exploitation and oppression that has gone on for centuries, acquires significance in their battle "to win the hearts and minds" of the people (Khan, S. 2008, 'Behind the crisis in Swat', *The News*, 27 November <http://www.thenews.com.pk/print1.asp?id=149242> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 17).

On 18 December 2008 *The News* published a reply to Sartaj Khan's above article authored by Farhat Taj, research fellow at the Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Research, University of Oslo. According to Farhat Taj the notion that what is happening in Swat is part of a class struggle misrepresents the situation.

In his article, "Behind the Crisis in Swat" (*The News*, Nov 27), Sartaj Khan argues that the current religious militancy raging in Swat is a class war. He writes: 'the militants are targeting the khans regardless of their political affiliations and have given their fight a class dimension.'

The fact is that the Islamist militants are targeting those khans who are politically active and influential. These are the khans who can be a hurdle in the way of the savage mediaeval order interpreted as Islam that the local and foreign jihadis want to impose on Swat and other areas of the NWFP and on FATA. Khans who are not politically active, keep their eyes closed to the brutalities of the jihadis and keep their mouths shut about them are not targeted. If it were a class war, every khan, regardless of his political leanings, would have been a "legitimate" target. Moreover, the jihadis are also targeting the poor political workers of political parties, especially the ANP, not because they are khans but because they have nationalistic and secular credentials.

In Swat and other Pakhtun areas the Taliban and Al Qaeda have happily joined hands with those hardened criminals who share the "benefits" of their robbery, murders and kidnappings with Taliban-Al Qaeda gangs. Leaders of a genuine class war would think many times before striking any kind of alliance with criminals.

Schools indiscriminately bombed by the Taliban in Swat include those where the khans were not educating their children, who would go to elite schools in Swat, elsewhere in Pakistan and even in Western countries. The Taliban have bombed small village schools where children of poor people received education. How can this be justified in terms of class war?

The Taliban have destroyed down, or forced the closure of, petty businesses like barber shops and small kiosks selling music DVDs and CDs. This is part of the Taliban's agenda to impose on the Pakhtun a narrow social order that stifles every kind of free choice and entertainments in the name of Islam.

The writer quotes a socio-political analyst, Khadim Hussain, in support of his thesis. I discussed his article with Mr Hussain, who said he never implied in any of his writings that the situation in Swat is class war, and that the writer of the article had quoted him completely out of context.

The writer referred to an anthropological research conducted in the 1960s by Fredrik Barth, a scholar of Pakhtun culture, and points out that those who don't land in Swat are directly or indirectly dependent on the landowners, both politically and economically. I recently had a talk with Fredrik Barth. He told me he is not aware of the current social situation in Swat. The fact is that social changes have happened since the time Barth did his research. There are people who previously did not possess land but now own houses and some land.

Pointing to the longstanding unsettled land disputes in Swat the writer says: "When it came to impose the Sharia the most significant measure of all was the rapid settlement of land disputes." I don't know how many longstanding disputes have been "settled" by the Taliban in areas under their control in Swat, but this is certainly not the most significant measure of their "Islam." The most significant measures are: public punishment, including public beheadings, bombing of schools, music shops, barber shops, public harassment of women not "properly veiled," threats to musicians, and destruction of Buddha statues in Swat.

It is true that in some poor villages in Swat the militants tried to address the widespread poverty, to take control there. But they could do so only because they were given a free hand by Gen Musharraf and his friendly opposition, the MMA government in the NWFP. Once the militants gained the control, they imposed the most savage way of life in the name of Islam. The government of Musharraf never came forward to rescue the villagers from the militants. The net result is that today they continue to live in poverty and they have lost whatever little civil liberties they had.

I do not mean to suggest that there are no poor and landless people and no longstanding unsettled land disputes in Swat. There are, as in the rest of Pakistan. Moreover, this is not to say that I justify feudalism. I do not. All I wish to say is that landlessness, poverty and unsettled land disputes have been wrongly attributed as causes of a class war that just does not exist in Swat in the context of the current situation. What we see in Swat and other Pakhtun areas is part of the global jihadi agenda. After all, the militant Punjabis, Arabs, Chechens, Uzbeks, Tajiks and Afghans have not descended on the Pakhtun areas to wage war on behalf of the poor people of the areas. They are there to occupy the areas, enslave the people and use them as launching pads to wage violent jihad, as they wish to do anywhere else in the world. I would request all those who write on the Pakhtun areas to look into the realities of the areas before they raise their pens to write. Distortion of the realities on public forums like The News can contribute to the sufferings of the Pakhtun. This also sends out a wrong message to the world. The ultimate beneficiary of all this can only be the militants.

I also wish to say a word about the disturbing news from Canada last month. Tariq Ali has reportedly said that the Taliban represent Pakhtun nationalism. I have yet to read any of his writings where he expresses such view. But I still think the report is a matter of grave concern, if indeed it is true. I would invite Tariq Ali to make a trip to a large number of villages and towns in the NWFP, FATA and Afghanistan, meet people there and see the situation with his own eyes. Upon his return he must publicly tell what he observed that can relate the Taliban with Pakhtun nationalism. Tariq Ali is an honest scholar. Honesty demands that he undertake the trip. I am afraid the Taliban will never let me conduct a free scholarly investigation (Taj, F. 2008, 'No class war in Swat', *The News*, 18 December http://www.thenews.com.pk/daily_detail.asp?id=152439 – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 18).

Sartaj Khan has subsequently published a response in kind to Farhat Taj's arguments of December 2008

I welcome the contribution made by Farhat Taj in her article 'no class war in Swat' (the News Dec 18). However, she is critical of my arguments on the nature of war in Swat. It is not surprising in any way. These are the common currency on the main stream media: a war waged by religious bigots with the help of foreigners. She argues that militants are targeting 'the khans who can be a hurdle in the way of the savage mediaeval order interpreted as Islam that the local and foreign jihadis want to impose on Swat and other areas of the NWFP and on FATA.' There are a number of theoretical and practical problems with these views.

Following the foot step of Adam Smith, sociologist August Comte presented a 'Stage theory' of human history. He 'located the theological stage in the medieval' era. It is from this that it has been a tendency to portray highly religious societies caught and stuck in the earlier stage of history. It is true that religious revival often creates an ideal of medieval times but a utopia does not make them medieval. It is now admitted by a number of researchers on Islamic movements that movements emerged since 1970s are not medieval in any sense.

She emphasizes on the presence of criminals and outlaws in the movement. I am agreed. But you cannot throw the baby with the bath. There is no concept of a 'pure' class war either. Every Pakistani know that how criminals the Khans, Wadras and Sardars are! In fact every Sardar, Malik and Khan patronage gangs of outlaws and criminals in their respective constituencies. (I can provide the names of gangs/gangsters who are patronages by the so called 'progressive secular' Pakhtun Khans).The bombing of schools and civic installations are deplorable but these installations are used by forces as their bases in villages.

Imperialist and their clients are always fighting a war for civilization, justice and democracy: freedom fighters of 1857 war were portrayed by British imperialism as outlaws and criminals; and the Roman Empire called their enemies 'barbarians.'

It is always difficult for ruling elites to impose a war on its own people unless they create an imaginary enemy menace for the existence of society as a whole. People are told that insurgency is the work of a tiny group of miscreants but with 'foreign hand and aid' they are too powerful to counter. To root out the insurgency, operation is necessary. In the name of peoples' war more than 1.2 million ordinary Pastuns have been displaced from the Warzirstan, Bajour and Swat. According to Anti-war news the government is mostly targeting common citizen. On the eve of air strikes more than four hundred thousand left Bajour in a population of six hundred thousand. ISRC reported that Cholera affected more than three hundred thousand emigrants.

Farhat Taj offers a superficial view, taking events on their face value. But first of all who is fighting a religious war against whom in Swat? Common Sunni Pakhtuns are targeting the Sunni Pakhtun Khans and their supporters. Although it has been admitted 'Khans are a favorite target of the militants', yet notion of class war is refuted. The problem with these arguments are that the class war is being considered the one waged by some secular/nationalist guerillas under the red banner of Maoist or Stalinist groups with an agenda of land distributions in the fashion of 1930-70s. They are unable to see beyond the common sense frame work set in the cold-war era in 'peasants' wars of the third world.' It is not a 'peasant war' at all but a struggle of different layers of petite bourgeois including non-agriculture, lumpen and landless. I called them 'rural poor.' Class is an 'objective' reality: independent of individual consciousness. The rural poor become a force 'in itself' when they fight 'for itself' against the ruling elites.

Furthermore, German revolutionary Fredrick Engles noted that a class war can be waged in disguised of religion. Before Mujahadeens and Taliban, in Pashtun society, there is a long list of people who led struggles in the guise of Islam: including Pir Rokhan, Fiqir of Ipi, Mullah Pawanda, Haji Sahib Turangzai and Abdul Rahim Populzai. It is also very interesting that 'Khans' always sided with the foreign powers against their own people. The Pashtun Khans supports the puppets in Kabul installed by the British, Russian and American imperialism while a commoner has to wage a war against these powers under the leadership of Mullahs. As noted by Jonathan Neale 'By 1939 Afghanistan had a tradition that when the kings and feudal lords failed the common people they would resist under the banner of Islam.'

Farhat Taj in a highly dubious way portrayed as if I quoted the author of an anthropological work on Swat, Fredrick Bath, out of context. She argues that Bath told her 'he is not aware of the current social situation in Swat.' First; I used the argument to show the importance of land in Pashtun society. Second; every Pashtun is familiar with the significant of land and role of khans in their society very well. So Dr Sultan-I- Rome also quotes Bath when he wants to emphasizes the importance of land in Swat: 'Land not only remained the basis of subsistence and prosperity in the agrarian and tribal society of Swat and the adjoining areas but also the "main source of economic and political power" and "vehicle of a political identity and involvement.' Third; in spite of passing sweeping remarks she should read carefully when I point to the importance of emerging social forces in Pastun society.

A writer might change his mind after writing but it doesn't change the reality itself. I pointed out in my previous article that as the TNSM dramatically changed its color and became more radicalized with passing of time many section of the petite bourgeoisies change their altitude and opinion regarding the movement. No wonder Khadim Hussain now thinks differently. It is not important what does Khadim Hussain think about the nature of the struggle. Farhat Taj must explain what did Khadim observed when he wrote about the class character of the TNSM: 'The movement was seen to be stronger in the area where the landed aristocracy has its firm hold since long. The workers who joined TNSM were mostly those who belonged to the landless families. The movement gave them an opportunity to participate in the power game of the area.... The landless masses and religious groups of the influenced part of the valley joined hands under the leadership of Maulana Sufi Mohammad which became a strong force in a short span of time' or when he wrote for Fazlullah's supporters:

He also wrote about the class background of the supporters of Fazlullah 'The key to understanding the internal factors lies in understanding the composition of Maulana Fazlullah's supporters. The majority of the supporters belong to the lower rung of the social structure – the vocational groups who do not have a share in the land distribution of the area. The Maulana communicates with them in their language through his FM radio, gives them recognition, and owns them as his colleagues. The supporters of the Maulana in the marginalized groups take a sense of empowerment in their state of powerlessness. Both the state and the traditional elites along with the political elites of the valley, unfortunately, have

all along failed to respond to the aspirations of those remained marginalized in an already marginalized society of Swat valley. It is where the Jihadist interpretation found its room.' (Swat Valley after emergency in Pakistan , Nov 9, 2007 khadimhussain on Blogster.htm) . And on August 8, 2008 he provided answer to the people like Farhat Taj: 'Why were Sufi Mohammad of the Tahreek-i-Nifaz- i-Shariat- Mohammadi (TNSM) and Maulana Fazlullah, the firebrand cleric whose supporters are fighting the military presently, successful in disrupting the peace of the valley? They succeeded simply because they were able to count on the deprivations of the subalterns. The traditional elite of the valley, the government, the civil society, the political parties and the NGOs have failed to respond to the deprivations of Swat's denizens in general and the marginalised in particular.' (Destruction of Swat Khadimhussain Blog, <http://www.dawn.com/2007/11/20/op.htm#3> I would argue that the institution of Khans and Maliks is superfluous. And the Talibanization of Pastun society is not a solution either. We must separate the leadership of Taliban from common rural poor. The leadership of Taliban might have a different agenda that from a common rural poor. Chris Harman aptly summarizes the contradictions of Islamism 'Islamism then, both mobilizes the popular bitterness and paralyzes it; both build up people's feelings that something must be done and directs those feelings into blind alleys; both destabilizes the state and limits the real struggle against the state.' That is why we need an alternative base on the democratic and progressive human values but it doesn't means to make hue and cry on the destruction of old order based on exploitation and oppression (Khan, S. 2008, 'The nature of war in Swat-Sartaj Khan', Chowk website, 27 December <http://www.chowk.com/ilogs/70308/47736> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 19).

On 26 December 2008 *Islam Online* reported that there were significant disagreements on issues relating to education and the enforcement of Islamic law between a faction of the TNSM led by Maulvi Fazlullah, a TNSM faction led by Sufi Mohammad and other constituents of the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) umbrella movement. Extracts follow:

A Taliban group in Pakistan's troubled northwest has banned girls from attending schools, threatening anyone who doesn't heed the warning, drawing opposition from bigger movements in the area.

"All the girls students are asked not to attend the schools after January 15 (2009), otherwise their parents will be responsible for the consequences," Maulana Shahid, a deputy of Maulvi Fazlullah, who leads a splinter faction of Tehrik Nifaz-e-Shari`ah Mohammadi (TNSM), said in a speech broadcast by the FM radio.

He, however, did not elaborate the consequences if the girls insist on going to school.

Haji Muslim Khan, a purported spokesman of Tehrik-Taliban Swat (TTS), confirmed the threat.

"It has been decided by our Shoora (consultative body) that no girl will be allowed to go to school after January 15 (2009)," he told IslamOnline.net by phone from an unknown location.

"We have asked them to get their certificates and other documents from their respective schools within the stipulated date."

Muslim Khan, a former seaman who has spent two years in the United States in late 1990s, contends that girls are bound to get religious education only.

"Yes, education is a must for every man and woman (in Islam), but women are bound to acquire religious education only," he said.

"They go to school without observing Pardah (veil), which is against Islamic norms."

The TTS parted its ways from TNSM of Sufi Mohammad as the latter refused to enforce Shari`ah by force.

The TNSM has reportedly opposed the TTS warning too.

Asked what if girls observe pardah, would they be allowed to attend schools, the spokesman said that the issue has been discussed by the TTS.

“But the problem is that despite our warnings, only a few girls observed pardah. Therefore, we have decided to stop them from attending the schools.”

Several girls’ schools have been set ablaze in the north western frontier province (NWFP) and Waziristan in the past few months.

The Pakistani government and security forces blame Taliban for the schools burning.

...But bigger Taliban groups reject the TTS warning.

“We have nothing to do with their (TTS) announcement,” Hakim Mehsud, a spokesman for Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the most powerful Taliban group in south and north Waziristan, told IOL.

“It has never been our policy to burn the schools or stop males or females from acquiring education.”

The TTP, a conglomerate of different pro-Taliban groups in the tribal area, said it believes girls have equal rights to acquire education.

“Religious education is equally important but you cannot rule out the importance of vocational and conventional education,” Mehsud said.

...“I am surprised that on what basis they (TTS) have issued such a crude warning,” he said.

Mullah Nazir’s group of Taliban, which controls Wana, the capital of south Waziristan, also brushes aside the TTS warning.

“We totally reject this warning. It has nothing to do with Taliban,” spokesman Suliman Waziri told IOL (Latif, A. 2008, ‘Taliban Divided on Girls Education’, *Islam Online*, 26 December

http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1230121252530&pagename=Zone-English-News/NWELayout – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 64; see also: ; Latif, A. 2009, ‘Pakistan Targets Taliban Swat Leadership’, *Islam Online*, 12 May http://www.islamonline.net/servlet/Satellite?c=Article_C&cid=1239888847725&pagename=Zone-English-News/NWELayout – Accessed 2 July 2009 – Attachment 65).

A 21 January 2009 opinion piece which appeared in India’s *The Hindu* comments at length on the situation in Swat with regard to female education and women’s rights generally. The article also reports that persons who have opposed the TNSM have been targets of attack.

Known as the Switzerland of Pakistan, it is a place remembered for its orchards and natural beauty, where the singing, dancing and skiing brought in thousands of tourists every year. Swat, a district of 1.7 million people in the North-West Frontier Province, a five-hour drive from Islamabad, is now better known as the first “settled” district in Pakistan to have been taken over almost entirely by the Taliban. As Kishwar Naheed, an eminent poet and feminist,

recently said: “They are sowing blood in the orchards these days.” The singers and dancers have fled or renounced their vocation, and a bomb ripped the ski resort many months ago.

On January 15, girls’ schools in the district closed down on an edict from the Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi, the Swat chapter of the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan. The TNSM is headed by Maulana Fazlullah, also known as Mullah Radio after the FM station he has illegally run for nearly three years, using it to preach an extreme interpretation of Islam. An estimated 80,000 girls have had their education cut off. The government declared an extended winter vacation and has promised to reopen the schools by March 1. But with 183 schools blown up – including five on Monday – the promise seems unbelievable. Even if the schools reopen, there will be no teachers because under the de facto Taliban rule in Swat, women cannot work.

The Taliban has ordered that women should not step out of home unescorted by a male family member. Shopkeepers have been told not to sell goods to unescorted women. In Mingora, main town in Swat, an area known as Green Square has been renamed “khooni chowk” (blood square) or “chowk zibakhana” (slaughterhouse square) after the daily stringing up of two or three bodies of people seen to have defied the Taliban, even for mild criticism in a private conversation.

...The Army has not been able to help. Sent to rein in Mullah Fazlullah in October 2007, the military claimed successes through November that year, promising to deliver Swat back to its people by the second week of December. But that did not happen. In May 2008, the secular Awami National Party, which came to power after the elections in February, entered into a peace deal and ceasefire with Fazlullah. The agreement failed within weeks, and the Army had to be called out in July. But the Taliban appears to have won, despite six months of operations.

...The ANP now openly blames the Army for not fighting the Taliban in Swat effectively enough. “If they want, the Army can clear the entire district in one minute,” is the popular refrain. On the floor of the NWFP Assembly, an ANP legislator declared that the “Taliban and soldiers fight under a single commander.” Senior ANP leaders allege a more sinister conspiracy. Hasham Baber, the party’s additional general secretary, believes that Swat is being primed as the new “safe haven” for all manner of militants “who will use it to launch attacks into Afghanistan and India.” The presence of militants owing allegiance to Punjabi groups in the district is widely talked about.

The Army, for its part, blames the ANP for making the deal with the TNSM, allowing its members to regroup in areas soldiers cleared a few months earlier. Independent commentators say the Army’s main worry is that an all-out operation would cause unacceptable collateral damage as the militants are using civilians as human shields. The military is not prepared for this, especially as many voices in the media and civil society have been blaming army operations for the Talibanisation of Swat. Commentators also point to the severe military operation in neighbouring Bajaur agency, which has apparently been successful.

...According to district officials, of the 1,725 policemen in Swat, only 290 are left, the others having deserted or never returned from leave. The Army is confined to its camps or checkpoints. The Hindu spoke to several people from Swat, now in hiding in Islamabad, and they all found it inexplicable that the Army and Taliban checkpoints co-existed within a few kilometres of each other, and that the military had not even jammed Fazlullah’s FM radio. Nor has there been any arrest of TNSM cadres.

The few who have offered resistance to the TNSM have been eliminated. Pir Samiullah, a local landlord and spiritual leader, issued a fatwa against Fazlullah’s jihad. Fazlullah mounted an armed attack on the Pir. Some 150 farmers who worked on Samiullah’s lands put up a

battle but could not save their leader. The Army did not show up. The Pir's followers buried his body but the Taliban, afraid it would turn into a shrine, exhumed the body and strung it up as an example of what would happen to those who did not fall in line ('Swat: lessons from a militant takeover' 2009, *The Hindu*, 21 January <http://www.hindu.com/2009/01/21/stories/2009012155481000.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 9).

On 28 January 2009 *Gulf News* reported that a TNSM spokesperson had said in an interview that the TNSM might be willing to rethink their opposition to female education if a peace solution in Swat could be found. The TNSM spokesperson also appears to have suggested that the TNSM's attacks on schools in Swat have had more to do with the use of schools by the Pakistan Army rather than with any TNSM opposition to education *per se*. "Asked why the Taliban were then targeting the schools and education institutions, the spokesman said more than 75 per cent of schools and colleges in the region were being used by security forces to dump their logistics, and as temporary camps". Extracts follow:

Taliban of the Swat region are ready to "reconsider" their policy on "education for women" through consultation with Islamic scholars after peace is restored in the area, Taliban spokesman Muslim Khan announced here on Wednesday.

He said Taliban are pro-education and scientific advances, but were against the western way of living and culture that was creeping in the Muslim society.

He was talking exclusively to Gulf News on a cell phone from an undisclosed location of the restive Swat region.

Pakistani security forces have been engaged in a bitter military operation against the Taliban of the Swat region since 2007, where Pakistani Taliban are gathered under the leadership of Maulana Fazlullah, the hardline religious cleric who demands enforcement of Islamic Sharia Law in the valley and Malakand division of NWFP province.

Muslim Khan is the chief spokesman of Maulana Fazlullah who is nowadays hiding at some undisclosed location in the wake of ongoing military operation.

Recent western and Pakistani media reports said the Taliban of Swat have targeted 174 children schools and colleges in the region and were strictly against women's education.

The Taliban spokesman however, said they would abide by any fatwa of religious scholars and ullema regarding women education.

"We are not against education, but we insist that our new generation should be imparted with religious and then scientific and technology education," he reiterated. "The Taliban need doctors, engineers and scientists to strengthen our cause."

Asked why the Taliban were then targeting the schools and education institutions, the spokesman said more than 75 per cent of schools and colleges in the region were being used by security forces to dump their logistics, and as temporary camps.

"When the Taliban encounter forces, these educational institutions...are also hit" (Khan, F.R. 2009, 'Taliban in Swat ready to reconsider women's education', *Gulf News*, 28 January <http://www.gulfnews.com/world/Pakistan/10279933.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 12).

On 13 March 2009 the International Crisis Group (ICG) expressed concern at the manner in which the Pakistan government had sought to appease the TNSM in the Swat District. The ICG's report is notable for the significant links which it argues exist between the TNSM, Al Qaeda and "Punjab-based radical Deobandi groups like the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and its offshoot Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ)". Extracts follow:

The Pakistani Taliban, which increasingly controls large swathes of FATA and parts of NWFP, comprises a number of militant groups loosely united under the Deobandi Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) that have attacked not just state and Western targets, but Shias as well. Their expanding influence is due to support from long-established Sunni extremist networks, based primarily in Punjab, which have served as the army's jihadi proxies in Afghanistan and India since the 1980s. Punjab-based radical Deobandi groups like the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and its offshoot Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ) provide weapons, recruits, finances and other resources to Pakistani Taliban groups, and have been responsible for planning many of the attacks attributed to FATA-based militants. The SSP and LJ are also al-Qaeda's principal allies in the region.

...Having established bases and training camps in Afghanistan in the late 1990s, the SSP and LJ trained alongside al-Qaeda, and assisted the Taliban regime in its fight against both the Northern Alliance and Afghanistan's Shia community. Following their return to Pakistan after the U.S.-led intervention in 2001, the SSP and LJ established contacts with regional jihadi groups like the Jaish-e-Mohammed and LeT, discussed in more detail below. The LJ established a major training centre in Muridke, where Jamaat-ud-Dawa – the renamed LeT (see below) – was headquartered. In December 2006 the LJ extended support to the Swat-based Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), an ally of the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban, in its plans to target prominent Pakistani politicians and international forces in Afghanistan, reportedly assuming the role of recruiting suicide bombers for these missions.

Pakistani Taliban groups have also absorbed members of radical Sunni organisations who were operating independently before the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, such as the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM). This Sunni militant organisation had been considerably weakened when hundreds of its followers went to fight alongside the Taliban following the U.S.-led intervention in Afghanistan, and were killed or detained there. The TNSM's cadres have recovered lost ground under new leaders like Maulana Fazlullah, a key Taliban ally who heads his TNSM faction in Swat, which draws on significant numbers of al-Qaeda fighters.

The TNSM was founded in the early 1990s by Maulana Sufi Mohammed to implement Sharia in the Swat and Malakand regions. Mohammed was an active leader of the Jamaati-Islami in the early 1980s. When U.S.-led forces invaded Afghanistan in 2001, Mohammed and his son-in-law, Fazlullah, led their followers to Afghanistan in order to wage war against foreign forces and the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. Both of them were arrested upon their return. Fazlullah was released on bail but Sufi Mohammed, refusing to apply for bail, remained in custody.

On 16 February 2009, NWFP's Awami National Party (ANP)-led government and the TNSM reached an agreement, devised by the military, for the imposition of Sharia in NWFP's Malakand region, which includes Swat. According to the initial agreement, the government will, among other provisions, establish Qazi or religious courts to decide all cases after 16 February 2009, ensuring adherence to Sharia; dismantle security checkpoints after 4 March 2009; and withdraw troops to their barracks. The government would also release militants detained in anti-terrorist operations, with the TNSM insisting on the release of all detainees, including those responsible for violent crimes such as public executions and rape. In return, the TNSM will ensure that the Pakistani Taliban in Swat lay down heavy weapons, end its

armed campaign and accept the government's writ in Swat, including allowing boys' and girls' schools to reopen – but all females attending school must wear the purdah, or veil.

The deal negates the wishes of an electorate that voted out religious right-wing parties in Swat, supporting the ANP in the February 2008 national elections for the very purpose of reversing the MMA's Islamisation policies. While the accord ostensibly aims at dividing militants in Swat from FATA-based counterparts, it will in fact only strengthen those links. Furthermore, given al-Qaeda's links to Swat-based militants, described above, the deal will not only enhance the Taliban's presence, but also al-Qaeda's, as did earlier peace deals under Musharraf in FATA.

Since the deal, TNSM chief Sufi Mohammed has increased his demands, claiming in a 1 March 2009 press conference that he was dissatisfied with the speed of the NWFP government's implementation of the accord; insisting on a 15 March 2009 deadline for Sharia courts to be established, presided over by judges appointed by Sufi Mohammed himself, and for all imprisoned militants to be released by that date. The Swat Taliban, who have ordered all non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to leave Swat, also insist that any military movement or action in the district be pre-approved by them. On 4 March, the NWFP government agreed to an additional 17-point plan to enforce Sharia in Swat, which included measures against obscenity and corruption, closing down music shops and expelling "prostitutes" and "pimps" from Swat. This new agreement, noted a national daily, "virtually amounts to handing over charge of Swat to the Taliban and allowing them to determine arbitrarily the distinction between vice and virtue and impose their own values through an extrajudicial system of vigilantes".

By agreeing to these demands, and vowing to implement the accord "at any cost", the ANP-led NWFP government has abdicated governance of the Malakand region to the extremists while it has failed to enforce the peace. Weeks after reaching agreement, the militants attacked and killed security personnel and abducted government officials. A national daily commented: "Now that their hold is consolidated – at least for the time being – the Taliban are revealing their hand and it is clear that sweeping change is the order of the day, allowing us to see what is our likely future as the Taliban groups gradually take hold of the country" (International Crisis Group 2009, *Pakistan: The Militant Jihadi Challenge*, Crisis Group Asia Report no.164, 13 March <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/getfile.cfm?id=3870&tid=6010&type=pdf&l=1> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 58).

A 14 April 2009 opinion piece which appeared in India's *The Hindu* comments at length on the situation in Swat with regard to female education and women's rights generally. The report makes a number of claims about attacks on schools and the widely publicised "flogging video". Extracts follow:

In the now famous 'flogging video' – undated footage shot with a cell phone in Swat (judging by the language and clothes) – a man whips a woman in red lying face down on the ground, pinned down by two men, encircled by a crowd of other men. It is painful to watch the leather strap thwack down on her buttocks as she cries out in pain. There is much obscene in this image, not least the man holding down her arms, squatting so that her burqa-covered head is practically forced between his thighs.

...The Taliban claim that the woman who was really flogged was accused of fornicating with her father in law, and that small boys meted out the punishment (that is, to humiliate rather than hurt). The woman in the video, whose face is never visible, was accused of 'adultery' – after allegedly being in the company of a na-mehram (unrelated) man – who was also flogged. Her subsequent denial of the flogging before a magistrate may reflect the

intimidation she faces. The point is, someone was flogged, and it wasn't the first time that the Taliban meted out such a public punishment.

All this diverts from the real issues. For one thing, such punishments have been and legally can be meted out to women in Pakistan, thanks to Gen. Zia-ul Haq's controversial Hudood laws. Political dissidents and journalists have felt the lash on their backs. So have some women – a few in prison and at least one publicly in Bahawalpur. Since Zia's time, the state has not administered this punishment – but two decades after his departure, vigilantes trying to establish their writ are following that path. And last but not least, the flogging was only part of the all-pervasive issue of violence against women that already exists in the region.

...They have destroyed hundreds of girls' schools, besides targeting teachers and non-government organisations (NGOs) attempting to provide health and education facilities in the area. Such NGOs have been under attack since before 9/11. Remember the summer of 2001, when Taliban attacked NGO offices in the tribal areas. The tragic murder in Mansehra of three women and their driver working for an NGO focusing on education on April 6 comes barely a year after an armed attack, also in Mansehra, in February 2008, when a dozen gunmen burst into the office of an organisation focusing on children and rehabilitation work since the 2005 earthquake. Their indiscriminate fire left four employees dead.

Those terming the video 'fake' argue that no one who was really flogged would be able to sit at all, the girl sat up then walk on her own feet as the girl in the video did as she was led away. However, psychiatrists say that in "no one who was actually flogged would be able to do that."

...In March 2007 Taliban in Khyber Agency publicly stoned and then shot dead a woman and two men on charges of adultery. They videotaped the shooting and circulated it – footage even the most sensationalist channel would think twice about broadcasting. The 'Swat flogging video' is an aberration only in that the local media broadcast it. One reason for the broadcast (conspiracy theories aside) was that the footage, while horrific, involved no blood or limbs being lopped off.

There have been other incidents of public executions of men and women in the region. In September 2007, the beheaded bodies of two women kidnapped in Bannu were found with a note in Pashto warning that all women "involved in immoral activities" would meet the same fate – like Shabana, the dancer in Mingora who was shot dead (Sarwar, B. 2009, 'Vigilantes, the state and that flogging thing', *The Hindu*, 14 April <http://www.thehindu.com/2009/04/14/stories/2009041455011300.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 10).

On 15 April 2009 Human Rights Watch (HRW) released a statement to the effect that: "The Pakistani government should swiftly reverse its decision to cede de-facto administrative control of the Swat valley in Pakistan's tribal areas to the Taliban and affiliated groups" as "[t]he move presents a grave threat to the rights of women and other basic rights in the troubled region". Extracts follow:

On April 13, 2009, President Asif Ali Zardari signed an ordinance imposing Sharia law in the Swat valley and effectively empowering the Taliban and other groups, there and in surrounding areas of the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA). Human Rights Watch called for the details of the February 15 peace deal with the Taliban, part of which included an agreement to impose Sharia law on the area, to be made public and said that any agreement must ensure the basic human rights of the population.

“The Taliban are taking Swat back to the Dark Ages and the Pakistani government is now complicit in their horrific abuses,” said Ali Dayan Hasan, senior South Asia researcher at Human Rights Watch. “Tossing out the rights of the people in the tribal areas reflects abysmally on both the government and the Pakistani military’s ability to protect Pakistan’s citizens.”

The Pakistani armed forces, police, and administration have effectively abandoned most of the Swat valley and adjoining areas, leaving the Taliban in de-facto control. While the full details of the peace agreement have not been officially released, the new legal framework is seen by the Taliban and affiliated groups as formal acquiescence by the Pakistani government to their administrative control of the region.

The Taliban have imposed their authority in Swat and adjoining areas through summary executions – including beheadings – of state officials and political opponents, public whippings, and large-scale intimidation of the population. Girls’ schools have been shut down, women are not allowed to leave their homes unless escorted by male family members, polio immunization programs have been halted, and nongovernmental organizations have been expelled. Music and film have been banned and stores trading in them have been destroyed. All men have been required to grow beards.

Human Rights Watch expressed particular concern about the likelihood of increased abuses against women and girls in Taliban-controlled areas. The public airing in April of an undated but recent mobile telephone video of the public flogging of a woman by the Taliban in Swat caused outrage across Pakistan and internationally. The two-minute video showed a veiled, screaming woman face down on the ground as two men hold her arms and feet and a third man whips her repeatedly.

“The government defends this ordinance by saying that the officials implementing the law are still appointed by the provincial government and that they will respect the rights of women and others,” said Hasan. “But the reality is that any official in Swat who does not follow the dictates of the Taliban may be signing his or her own death warrant.”

President Zardari signed the “Nizam-e-Adl” (system of justice) ordinance after Pakistan’s parliament unanimously passed a resolution recommending the measure. The ordinance followed the peace deal signed by the government of Pakistan’s North West Frontier Province (NWFP) with the Taliban to end hostilities in the area between Pakistan and the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), the Pakistani Taliban, which have been ongoing since the summer of 2007. The provincial government, led by the ostensibly secular Awami National Party (ANP), concluded the agreement with Sufi Mohammad, leader of the Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-Mohammad (TNSM), a Taliban affiliate.

Although the text of the agreement has not been formally released, it is known to call for the withdrawal of the Pakistani military from the Swat valley, the release of all Taliban prisoners, the withdrawal of any criminal cases against Taliban leaders and fighters, and the imposition of Sharia in the Malakand Division, a region that covers over one-third of the province, including the Swat valley (Human Rights Watch 2009, ‘Pakistan: Swat Deal Grave Threat to Rights’, 15 April <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/04/15/pakistan-swat-deal-grave-threat-rights> – Accessed 30 May 2009– Attachment 8)

On 16 April 2009 *The New York Times* reported that the success of the TNSM in Swat was largely related to the manner in which the network had appealed to long standing economic grievances in the region. The report provides extensive details on the manner in which the TNSM is said to have targeted local figures of power and wealth.

PESHAWAR, Pakistan – The Taliban have advanced deeper into Pakistan by engineering a class revolt that exploits profound fissures between a small group of wealthy landlords and their landless tenants, according to government officials and analysts here.

The strategy cleared a path to power for the Taliban in the Swat Valley, where the government allowed Islamic law to be imposed this week, and it carries broad dangers for the rest of Pakistan, particularly the militants' main goal, the populous heartland of Punjab Province.

In Swat, accounts from those who have fled now make clear that the Taliban seized control by pushing out about four dozen landlords who held the most power.

To do so, the militants organized peasants into armed gangs that became their shock troops, the residents, government officials and analysts said.

The approach allowed the Taliban to offer economic spoils to people frustrated with lax and corrupt government even as the militants imposed a strict form of Islam through terror and intimidation.

“This was a bloody revolution in Swat,” said a senior Pakistani official who oversees Swat, speaking on the condition of anonymity for fear of retaliation by the Taliban. “I wouldn’t be surprised if it sweeps the established order of Pakistan.”

The Taliban’s ability to exploit class divisions adds a new dimension to the insurgency and is raising alarm about the risks to Pakistan, which remains largely feudal.

Unlike India after independence in 1947, Pakistan maintained a narrow landed upper class that kept its vast holdings while its workers remained subservient, the officials and analysts said. Successive Pakistani governments have since failed to provide land reform and even the most basic forms of education and health care. Avenues to advancement for the vast majority of rural poor do not exist.

Analysts and other government officials warn that the strategy executed in Swat is easily transferable to Punjab, saying that the province, where militant groups are already showing strength, is ripe for the same social upheavals that have convulsed Swat and the tribal areas.

Mahboob Mahmood, a Pakistani-American lawyer and former classmate of President Obama’s, said, “The people of Pakistan are psychologically ready for a revolution.”

Sunni militancy is taking advantage of deep class divisions that have long festered in Pakistan, he said. “The militants, for their part, are promising more than just proscriptions on music and schooling,” he said. “They are also promising Islamic justice, effective government and economic redistribution.”

The Taliban strategy in Swat, an area of 1.3 million people with fertile orchards, vast plots of timber and valuable emerald mines, unfolded in stages over five years, analysts said.

The momentum of the insurgency built in the past two years, when the Taliban, reinforced by seasoned fighters from the tribal areas with links to Al Qaeda, fought the Pakistani Army to a standstill, said a Pakistani intelligence agent who works in the Swat region.

The insurgents struck at any competing point of power: landlords and elected leaders – who were usually the same people – and an underpaid and unmotivated police force, said Khadim Hussain, a linguistics and communications professor at Bahria University in Islamabad, the capital.

At the same time, the Taliban exploited the resentments of the landless tenants, particularly the fact that they had many unresolved cases against their bosses in a slow-moving and corrupt justice system, Mr. Hussain and residents who fled the area said.

Their grievances were stoked by a young militant, Maulana Fazlullah, who set up an FM radio station in 2004 to appeal to the disenfranchised. The broadcasts featured easy-to-understand examples using goats, cows, milk and grass. By 2006, Mr. Fazlullah had formed a ragtag force of landless peasants armed by the Taliban, said Mr. Hussain and former residents of Swat.

At first, the pressure on the landlords was subtle. One landowner was pressed to take his son out of an English-speaking school offensive to the Taliban. Others were forced to make donations to the Taliban.

Then, in late 2007, Shujaat Ali Khan, the richest of the landowners, his brothers and his son, Jamal Nasir, the mayor of Swat, became targets.

After Shujaat Ali Khan, a senior politician in the Pakistan Muslim League-Q, narrowly missed being killed by a roadside bomb, he fled to London. A brother, Fateh Ali Mohammed, a former senator, left, too, and now lives in Islamabad. Mr. Nasir also fled.

Later, the Taliban published a “most wanted” list of 43 prominent names, said Muhammad Sher Khan, a landlord who is a politician with the Pakistan Peoples Party, and whose name was on the list. All those named were ordered to present themselves to the Taliban courts or risk being killed, he said. “When you know that they will hang and kill you, how will you dare go back there?” Mr. Khan, hiding in Punjab, said in a telephone interview. “Being on the list meant ‘Don’t come back to Swat.’”

One of the main enforcers of the new order was Ibn-e-Amin, a Taliban commander from the same area as the landowners, called Matta. The fact that Mr. Amin came from Matta, and knew who was who there, put even more pressure on the landowners, Mr. Hussain said.

According to Pakistani news reports, Mr. Amin was arrested in August 2004 on suspicion of having links to Al Qaeda and was released in November 2006. Another Pakistani intelligence agent said Mr. Amin often visited a madrasa in North Waziristan, the stronghold of Al Qaeda in the tribal areas, where he apparently received guidance.

Each time the landlords fled, their tenants were rewarded. They were encouraged to cut down the orchard trees and sell the wood for their own profit, the former residents said. Or they were told to pay the rent to the Taliban instead of their now absentee bosses.

Two dormant emerald mines have reopened under Taliban control. The militants have announced that they will receive one-third of the revenues.

Since the Taliban fought the military to a truce in Swat in February, the militants have deepened their approach and made clear who is in charge.

When provincial bureaucrats visit Mingora, Swat’s capital, they must now follow the Taliban’s orders and sit on the floor, surrounded by Taliban bearing weapons, and in some cases wearing suicide bomber vests, the senior provincial official said.

In many areas of Swat the Taliban have demanded that each family give up one son for training as a Taliban fighter, said Mohammad Amad, executive director of a nongovernmental group, the Initiative for Development and Empowerment Axis.

A landlord who fled with his family last year said he received a chilling message last week. His tenants called him in Peshawar, the capital of North-West Frontier Province, which includes Swat, to tell him his huge house was being demolished, he said in an interview here.

The most crushing news was about his finances. He had sold his fruit crop in advance, though at a quarter of last year's price. But even that smaller yield would not be his, his tenants said, relaying the Taliban message. The buyer had been ordered to give the money to the Taliban instead (Perlez, J. & Shah, P.Z. 2009, 'Taliban Exploit Class Rifts in Pakistan', *New York Times*, 17 April <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/17/world/asia/17pstan.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 22).

Some of the issues addressed in the above *New York Times* are taken up in a subsequent article, of 30 April 2009, authored by Humeira Iqtidar, a research fellow at the Centre of South Asian Studies of the University of Cambridge.

Who are the "Taliban" in Pakistan? Islamist militants in the country have won significant international attention after wresting control over the Swat Valley, the restive region in northern Pakistan where elements of sharia law are now in place. Yet these militants do not self-identify as "Taliban", unlike the Afghan Taliban who chose the name for themselves, and preferred it to the then generic term "mujahideen". The term "Taliban" means students; the original Taliban were educated in madrassas, religious schools. Groups and individuals that are being labelled the "Taliban in Pakistan" (TIP) are very different from their Afghan counterparts in important respects. It is pertinent not just to think through the implications of these differences but also to raise questions about why distinguishing details are being lost in the media frenzy of recent months.

In Swat, the group that has gained the most notoriety in recent months calls itself Tehreek Nifaz e Sharia Mohammadi (TNSM [1]). This can be roughly translated as the "Movement for the Implementation of Mohammedan Law". However, such a rough translation is inevitably problematic because substituting "Law" for "Sharia" here conveys the sense of a rigid set of rules. The "sharia" is, instead, a fairly broad set of guidelines allowing greater subjectivity and contextualisation to the individual judge than "law" does. (See for instance, Mohammed Qasim Zaman, *Ulema in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change* [2], 2007; Wael Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity and Change in Islamic Law* [3], 2001)

Unlike the core of the Afghan Taliban, the so-called TIP are not madrasa educated; most of them are semi-literate or illiterate. Those who have received some educational training have generally attended local schools but not madrassas. Based on what little information there is about the militants, it seems that the leadership of the TIP consists in large part of men who have worked or continue to work in shops, as day labourers, as hawkers and peddlers, or in the case of the current leader, Maulana Fazlullah, as a chair-lift operator [4].

The TNSM was started by Sufi Mohammed, a local religious leader, in 1992. Since the beginning there have been suspicions regarding his relationship with the ISI – Pakistan's now infamous intelligence agency. The speculation is that ISI support for his movement for the imposition of sharia in Swat in 1992 created instability that put tremendous pressure on the government of then prime minister Benazir Bhutto. Those were the days when the ISI was very suspicious of Benazir Bhutto's support for its activities; later, perhaps, such conflicts of interest no longer existed.

Here at least the TNSM shares a history with other Islamic militant groups; the progeny outstrip the desires and commands of their parent. After his largely unsuccessful attempt to force his way into public view in the 1990s, Sufi Mohammed came to wider attention when he issued a call for the support of Afghan Taliban after the US invasion Afghanistan in 2001. Tellingly, his call for support received a lukewarm response from the Afghan Taliban leader

Mullah Omar. Arrested by the Pakistani government for inciting violence, he was released from prison in 2008.

During this period his son-in-law Fazlullah headed his movement. Fazlullah's claim to fame, initially, was his FM radio channel and, in particular, his own program which established a significant following among the women of Swat. This is paradoxical given his emphasis on public piety, the burden of which often falls on women. Nevertheless, it appears from local reports that the FM radio channel had some variety in its offerings – from recipes to discussions on local politics – and was popular enough to be noteworthy.

How and why Fazlullah decided the time was ripe for his call to arms, and precisely what was the extent and nature of his activities up till that point remain uncertain due to the little information available. What is quite certain is that the Pakistani army's decision to blockade the region – at times stopping the movement of food and medical supplies – and to attack some villages swelled the ranks of the TNSM. After an uncertain and largely ill-planned foray into the valley, the army retreated leaving the TNSM with a moral victory and control over some regions.

A recent report in the New York Times claims that the Swat Taliban have exploited class rifts [5] within Swat to deepen their hold. They first targeted the two dozen or so local landlords. Each time a landlord fled in response to TNSM threats, local peasants were allowed greater access to the vacated land. The new arrangements also allowed for a share of revenue for TNSM. Other reports in Pakistani newspapers suggest that emerald mines from the area have been reopened under a profit sharing scheme with the local miners.

While critics have slammed the government for making concessions that allow sharia law in the region, the motivation behind imposing sharia may stem from more than just religious zeal. The much discussed Nizam-e-Adl [6] (Mechanisms for Justice) regulation that was passed as part of the ceasefire agreement between the Taliban and the government of Pakistan and ratified by President Asif Ali Zardari on 14 April, makes perfunctory mention of the desire to adhere to Quranic injunctions, but rather is concerned primarily with providing quick and effective justice. The mechanisms may be misguided, open to abuse and problematic, but it is easy to see how the fundamental thrust of the regulation has found resonance locally. It is ultimately an endeavour to bypass Pakistan's judicial system that is heavily biased against the powerless, and to facilitate quick decision-making.

A history of inequity and resistance may feed into contemporary events. The Malakand area of Swat was an important hub of peasant mobilisation during the 1970s, agitations that were suppressed only with a certain amount of brutality and with the connivance of local landlords and the state machinery. Not surprisingly, the landlords are often the region's political leaders and administrative officials. Though it would be quite a stretch to see the TSNM in Swat as the heirs of these older peasant movements, their legacy no doubt lingers in the restive region.

Much media attention has focused on the worsening plight of women in Swat, particularly after the video-taped public flogging [7] of a 17 year-old girl. Unfortunately, the kinds of atrocities perpetrated by the TNSM against women also occur in the feudal holdings of many of the "secular" political elite of Pakistan. Yet these incidents do not make headlines in the same way. Few Pakistanis can ignore the fact that restricting women's mobility and reducing their educational opportunities (as the TNSM intend to do) along with gang rape, abduction, and honour killing have a long history in southern Punjab and Sind, areas where both President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani have vast landholdings.

The alleged video recording the public flogging of a woman by Taliban in Swat has not been conclusively proven as authentic. A woman named Chand Bibi was initially identified as the one being flogged. However, she was reported to have sworn before a judge that the video was not hers (Jang newspaper, 11 April, 2009, front page). It is entirely feasible that she did so under duress. Quite rightly, the video generated debate and outrage within Pakistani print and television media.

Along with the very legitimate concern for women's rights, sectors of the Urdu language press as well as various local TV channels expressed disquiet that the video and its reception have echoes of the campaigns carried out just before the US attack of Afghanistan. "White men liberating brown women from brown men" (to use Gayatri Spivak's terminology) has a long history in justifying wars and occupations. The brutal treatment of women by the Afghan Taliban became the subject of email petitions, news reports and first person accounts in magazines like Elle, Ms. and Cosmopolitan.

Charles Hirschkind and Saba Mahmood point out the usefulness of this campaign in justifying the attack on Afghanistan and the callousness that was allowed within this framework:

"In the context of this intense concern for Afghan women, it is striking how silent the vast majority of Americans have been about civilian casualties that resulted from the US bombing campaign. In December 2001 – two months after the start of the US military offensive – the Feminist Majority website remained stubbornly focused on the ills of Taliban rule, with no mention of the hundreds of thousands of victims of three years of drought who were put at greater risk of starvation because US bombing severely restricted the delivery of food aid. The Feminist Majority made no attempts to join the calls issued by a number of humanitarian organizations – including the Afghan Women's Mission – to halt the bombing so that food could be transported to these 2.2 million Afghans before winter set in." (Feminism, the Taliban, and Politics of Counter-Insurgency [8], Anthropological Quarterly, 2002)

Hirschkind and Mahmood wrote this in 2002. It is arguable whether women in Afghanistan have benefited at all from the invasion since then. Even with the best of intentions the actual reach of the NATO forces remains severely limited within Afghanistan, and the writ of the Karzai government hardly extends beyond Kabul.

This is not to say that the developments in Swat should not cause concern, or that TNSM deserve our support, but rather that we need to look deeper to see where their strength stems from. Only then can we come up with an effective counter-strategy. The way the crisis is being constructed in mainstream media – highlighting the group's affinity with the Afghan Taliban – seems likely to generate only one kind of response- a military one. US and UK governments have been openly pressurising Zardari to take the military option. Since Sunday, Pakistani troops have already started another "operation [8]" in Buner.

However, the attention that the Swat TNSM have received from the US administration, including most recently Hilary Clinton, in recent weeks belies more than benign concern for the fate of the Swatis. The threat of these "Taliban" justifies the blatant disregard for civilian lives evidenced by the US army's drone attacks [8] inside Pakistan and creates the ground for an overt extension of the war in Afghanistan to Pakistan. This extension of the war in Afghanistan to Pakistan has resonances with earlier tried and tested strategies of the Pentagon. Using a template from the Vietnam war, Washington's "AfPak" strategy follows a familiar logic: "The US has pretty much won the war in Vietnam/Afghanistan. This is the last little bit that needs sorting now, because Cambodia/Laos/Pakistan are harbouring Communists/Taliban. Once they are cleared up we can declare complete victory."

Pakistan face many real problems, stemming in large part from the stifling inequity that pervades its political structures. The task of tackling these challenges is not abetted by intensifying militancy in the country, which has increased dramatically since the US invasion of Afghanistan, a spillover effect that Pakistan can ill afford.

However, it is still not beyond the capacity of Pakistani society to contain these militants. I am reminded here of what Shirin Ebadi [8], Iranian Nobel Laureate and Human Rights Activists said in response to a question from an audience at Cambridge University some years ago. She was asked about what feminists in the west could do to help women in Iran. “Nothing,” she said, “We are capable of fighting our own battles and will manage, as long as you can stop your governments from invading us” (Iqtidar, H. 2009, ‘Who are the “Taliban” in Swat?’, Open Democracy website, 30 April <http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/email/who-are-the-taliban-in-swat> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 23).

A 30 April 2009 article by Animesh Roul published in the Jamestown Foundation’s *Terrorism Monitor* appears to suggest that the primary focus of the TNSM/TTP at present is to exert control over the Swat Valley’s economic resources, reporting that this has been a central concern in the region since the peace deal of February 2009 and that “Mullah Fazlullah, the leader of the Swat-based Tehrik Taliban Swat (TTS), has been largely responsible for this economic activity in the NWFP”. According to Roul, it is arguably “the Taliban’s current strategy in the Swat region...to exploit all resources available to them while the truce agreement with the Pakistan government is in force”. The TNSM/TTP network has reported seized mines, orchards and timber resources. And it is reported that: “Locals are eager to work for the Taliban, who take one-third of the profits and distribute the rest to the workers”. It may also be of interest that the report notes that in another area of the north-west, beyond the NWFP in the FATA Orakzai Agency, a reported source of revenue for Hakimullah Mahsud’s TTP aligned network is “jiziya” (“the poll tax levied on non-Muslim minorities living under Islamic rule as sanctioned by Shari’a”). Roul notes reports that “Taliban militants have demolished houses belonging to the minority Sikh community and confiscated their property in the Ferozkhel area of Orakzai Agency after they failed to pay the negotiated amount of 15 million rupees to the Taliban as jiziya”. Extended extracts from Roul’s report follow:

The exploitation of northwest Pakistan’s natural resources for organizational revenues started in April 2008, when Taliban militants took over the Ziarat marble quarry, a white marble mine in the Mohmand tribal district. Before the arrival of the Taliban, Islamabad had planned to modernize the marble mines at Ziarat as part of an effort to increase marble and granite exports to \$500 million per year by 2013. Roughly one million tons of marble are extracted from FATA every year (Daily Times [Lahore], July 20, 2008). Since the Taliban takeover, the quarry has brought the Taliban tens of thousands of dollars. Buoyed by this success, the TTP began eyeing the emerald deposits of Swat.

Emerald Mining

Arguably, the Taliban’s current strategy in the Swat region of Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) is to exploit all resources available to them while the truce agreement with the Pakistan government is in force. Late in March, reports from the Swat valley emerged that the Taliban militants had taken control of government controlled emerald mines located in the mountains of Mingora. The occupation of the Mingora mine apparently took place sometime in February 2009, following the peace deal between the provincial administration and Sufi Muhammad, leader of the Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM – Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Law). Taliban forces then seized the nearby Shamozaï and Gujjar

Killi mines and initiated mining and trading processes on their own, employing a large number of local laborers. Locals are eager to work for the Taliban, who take one-third of the profits and distribute the rest to the workers.

The Gujjar Killi emerald mine in Shangla district (NWFP) was formerly leased to Luxury International, a US-based firm that abandoned operations when fighting began in the area. Nearly 70 Taliban militants occupied the mine after ousting government-appointed officials and employed local laborers on a profit sharing basis (Daily Times, April 2). Locals said the Taliban had decided to occupy Gujjar Killi when the government failed to take any action after the seizure of the Mingora mine (The News, April 2). Muslim Khan, spokesman for the Swat Taliban, justified the mining by saying that “all these minerals have been created by Allah for the benefit of his creatures” (Sunday Telegraph, April 4).

Mullah Fazlullah, the leader of the Swat-based Tehrik Taliban Swat (TTS), has been largely responsible for this economic activity in the NWFP. Fazlullah, the son-in-law of TNSM leader Sufi Muhammad, now controls these mining activities in Swat and adjoining places. According to one report, the gemstones are sold quickly at below market prices and smuggled to the Indian city of Jaipur (capital of Rajasthan) and thereafter transported to Bangkok, Switzerland and Israel (Sunday Telegraph, April 4). A BBC report indicated that emerald prices range from \$1,000 to more than \$100,000 for a cut stone, depending on the size and quality (BBC News, March 24).

... Timber Trade

Another lucrative source of income for the Taliban is Swat’s forests. The symbiotic tie between Taliban militants and the Timber mafia in Swat and nearby Dir is no secret. Large-scale illegal cutting of the region’s pine forests began simultaneously with the 2007 Taliban offensive in the area and the flight of most of the people living in the forests (Dawn, March 22). Taliban militants have been involved in the widespread cutting of the thick pine forests and apple orchards of Malam Jaba, Fatehpur, Miandam and Lalko, often in collusion with the mafia elements that cause enormous environmental damage to the region while making immense profits (The News, April 13).

The Taliban has long been in control of the timber trade in the NWFP and parts of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). In mid-2008, Environment Minister Hamidullah Jan Afridi pointed towards the militant-criminal nexus in FATA and stated that the “timber mafia” has been responsible for funding militancy in the NWFP and in FATA (Daily Times, July 28, 2008). The enormity of the illegal exploitation of this state-owned natural resource can be determined by the statement of one government official: “The losses suffered by forests in the last year were more than the losses of the last two decades” (The National [Abu Dhabi], April 3).

The Jiziya Tax

Taliban financing efforts have reached the Orakzai Agency of FATA, situated close to Swat and Bajaur Agency, the site of heavy fighting between the Taliban and government forces in recent months. Taliban militants have demolished houses belonging to the minority Sikh community and confiscated their property in the Ferozkhel area of Orakzai Agency after they failed to pay the negotiated amount of 15 million rupees to the Taliban as jiziya—the poll tax levied on non-Muslim minorities living under Islamic rule as sanctioned by Shari’a. The houses were destroyed at the behest of Taliban commander Hakimullah Mahsud, the Taliban head in the Orakzai Agency and a close aide of TTP chief Baitullah Mahsud (The Nation [Islamabad], April 30). Earlier in April, Taliban militants demanded 50 million rupees a year as jiziya. To enforce their demands they held local Sikh leader Sardar Saiwang Singh captive and occupied a number of Sikh-owned houses (ANI, April 15; Daily Times, April 16).

Many Sikhs have decided to flee Swat, followed by members of the Hindu and Christian minorities (SamayLive, April 25). The situation for the Christian minority in Swat following the imposition of a Shari'a-based administration is not good and they are reportedly living in constant fear of the Taliban, even though the TTP's Qari Abdullah is reported to have agreed to provide equal opportunities to the religious communities of Swat (Compass Direct News, March 31). Qari Abdullah's pledges to protect minorities aside, pro-Taliban elements have attacked the Christian community in the Karachi neighborhood of Surjani Town. The violence began when pro-Taliban militants tried to prevent local Christians from removing graffiti on their church that demanded Christians convert to Islam or give jiziya, like the Sikhs in Orakzai (Daily Times, April 23; The News, April 23).

Conclusion

Surprisingly, the Islamabad administration has so far remained silent over the Taliban takeover of mines and the exploitation of forest resources. Pakistan is suffering the loss of 65 billion rupees annually from the illegal timber trade and indiscriminate deforestation alone. The plight of minority communities has been ignored by the government.

The brief military operation against a marauding Taliban in Buner and Lower Dir notwithstanding, the Pakistan government is largely reluctant to initiate any major offensive in Swat against TNSM-TTP militants there. Instead of addressing the exploitation of minorities and the indiscriminate looting of Swat's resources, the central government seems prepared to go ahead with implementing Islamic law in the Swat region under the Nizam-e-Adl Regulations. The continuing decline in government authority in the region will give ample opportunity to the Taliban to organize an exploitative but functioning financial system. (Roul, A. 2009, 'Gems, Timber and Jiziya: Pakistan's Taliban Harness Resources to Fund Jihad', *Terrorism Monitor*, Jamestown Foundation, 30 April vol.7: no.11 http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34928 – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 20).

On 5 May 2009 Pakistan's *The Nation* reported on a number of statements made by former TNSM leader Maulana Sufi Muhammad to an Indian journalist. Maulana Sufi Muhammad is reported to have said of the TNSM's policy on education that: "We want education for men and women which is strictly based on Islamic principles". The extract follows:

Agencies add: Defunct TNSM Chief Maulana Sufi Muhammad has said that liberation of Kashmir is not Taliban mission, 'we only want glory of Islam'.

He said this is his first ever interview with an Indian journalist.

He said that his organisation was demanding enforcement of Shariah only because it ensures welfare of humanity, peace and reconciliation.

'It is necessary in Pakistan because the ideology of Pakistan and its Constitution both call for it', he maintained.

When he was asked if his contention to promulgate Shariah laws in Pakistan did not look like a bid to establish a parallel system in the country, he said it was not the least a parallel system because the Constitution of Pakistan clearly provided for the rule of Holy Quran and Sunnah in the State and no code contrary to it was acceptable. 'We want education for men and women which is strictly based on Islamic principles', he maintained. When asked about the type of reforms he wanted to bring to punish the crimes, he replied, 'we are demanding the heavenly system in which the criminals are punished according to the nature of crime. This is up to the Qazi to apply the law on the basis of evidence' (Khail, I.K. 2009, 'TNSM warns against further military action', *The Nation*, 5 May <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news->

newspaper-daily-english-online/print/Politics/05-May-2009/TNSM-warns-against-further-military-action – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 11).

On 8 May 2009 the Brazilian journalist Pepe Escobar published a piece in the *Asia Times* which argued that the conflict could be much better understood as a class struggle than as an exercise in irrational religious terror.

The Swat class struggle

In this complex neo-colonial scenario Pakistan's "Talibanization" – the current craze in Washington – looks and feels more like a diversionary scare tactic. (Please see *The Myth of Talibanistan*, *Asia Times Online*, May 1, 2009.) On the same topic, a report on the Pakistani daily *Dawn* about the specter of Talibanization of Karachi shows it has more to do with ethnic turbulence between Pashtuns and the Urdu-speaking, Indian-origin majority than about Karachi Pashtuns embracing the Taliban way.

The original Obama administration AfPak strategy, as everyone remembers, was essentially a drone war in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) coupled with a surge in Afghanistan. But the best and the brightest in Washington did not factor in an opportunist Taliban counter-surge.

The wily Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM – Movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Law), led by Sufi Muhammad, managed to regiment Swat valley landless peasants to fight for their rights and "economic redistribution" against the usual wealthy, greedy, feudal landlords who happened to double as local politicians and government officials.

It's as if the very parochial Taliban had been paying attention to what goes on across South America ... Essentially, it was the appropriation of good old class struggle that led to the Taliban getting the upper hand. Islamabad was finally forced to agree on establishing Nizam-e-Adl (Islamic jurisprudence) in the Swat valley.

So what happened in Swat is that it moved beyond a – corrupt – state, and neo-colonial control. Washington's enemy suddenly swelled to part of the 1.3 million people in the area whose only means of protection are armed militias – what the West bundles up as "Taliban".

It's always crucial to remember that the "Taliban" have all sorts of agendas, from armed resistance to US occupation in Afghanistan to armed resistance to Pakistani army incursions. What they all want is basically the end of Washington's drone war, the end of Pakistan's support for the "war on terror" in AfPak, or at least for the inept, corrupt Pakistani state to leave them alone.

It's true that over the past few weeks Pakistani public opinion as a whole shot up to around 95% against the Taliban because Sufi Muhammad said democracy is an infidel thing; and because videos of Taliban floggings for the first time were all over Pakistani media.

But the solution is obviously not a war in Swat. It would be, for instance, a concerted, long-term government policy to defuse the network of at least 45,000 madrassas (seminaries) with nearly 2 million students all over the country. And to defuse anti-democratic, sectarian outfits like Lashkar-e Toiba and Sipah-e Sahaba.

It won't happen. And Washington does not care. What matters for the Pentagon is that the minute any sectarian outfit or bandit gang decides to collude with the Pentagon, it's not "Taliban" anymore; it magically morphs into a "Concerned Local Citizens" outfit. By the same token any form of resistance to foreign interference or Predator hell from above bombing is inevitably branded "Taliban".

Left to its own devices, the Pentagon solution for Swat would probably be some form of ethnic cleansing. Predictably, what Obama and the Pentagon are in fact doing – part of their cozying up with the Pakistani army – is to side with the feudal landlords and force a return to the classic Pakistani status quo of immense social inequality. Thus virtually every local who has not become a refugee (as many as 5000,000 already did, leading to a huge humanitarian crisis) has been duly branded a “terrorist”. Locals are caught between a rock (the Taliban) and a hard place (the US-supported Pakistani military) (Escobar, P. 2009, ‘Rebranding The Long War, Part 1’, *Asia Times*, 8 May http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/KE08Df02.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 21).

An 18 May 2009 *Terrorism Monitor* article reported on the decision of the Pakistan government to renew its military offensive against the TNSM in the Malakand region. The report argues that the renewed offensive was driven by a number of factors including the strategic importance of the Malakand regions and the sense that the TNSM/TTP domination of Swat had begun to attempt to extend itself into the surrounding Malakand Districts.

In the wake of a controversial deal that allowed the implementation of Islamic law in Pakistan’s Swat region and the establishment of what appeared to be a de facto Taliban state, Islamabad has responded with force after the Swat-based militants appeared determined to spread their presence beyond the Swat valley. The result has been some of the most serious fighting yet seen in Pakistan’s North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). The government offensive has come, in part, in response to international demands for Pakistan to contain the spread of an arc of political instability through Central Asia.

On February 16, 2009, the government of the NWFP and the proscribed Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi (TNSM) signed a peace agreement to enforce Shari’a Nizam-e-Adl (Islamic System of Justice) in the Malakand Division and the Kohistan district of Hazara Division (Dawn [Karachi], February 17). The deal raised eyebrows within a large segment of Pakistani society and the international community, who believed that the agreement signified the defeat of the Pakistani State and a victory for the Taliban, who are dictating to the former at gun point. While the NWFP government continues to defend the peace deal, it has grave strategic and security implications that will not only imperil the domestic security of Pakistan, but also jeopardize the security of northern Afghanistan, Central Asia and China.

Strategic Importance of Malakand Division

Malakand Division comprises one third of the NWFP, and forms the northern part of Pakistan. It is spread over an area of nearly 30,000 sq. km and has a population of 5.52 million. The Division consists of seven districts – Malakand, Buner, Swat, Shangla, Upper Dir, Lower Dir and Chitral. It borders Afghanistan’s Badakshan and Nuristan Provinces in the north and northwest. In the southwest, Malakand Division shares a border with the Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies of Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). In the east, Malakand Division shares a border in its Chitral and Swat districts with the strategically important Federally Administered Northern Areas (FANA) of Pakistan (corresponding to Pakistani-controlled Kashmir), which in turn is contiguous with China’s Uyghur-inhabited Xinjiang Province in the north. In the south, Malakand shares a border with densely-inhabited Charsadda-Peshawar, Mardan and Swabi districts of the NWFP. A cursory look at the conflict-ridden Swat district reveals that it forms the core of the Malakand Division, and shares borders with all the other districts of the Division. With the exception of Chitral, which is inhabited by the Indo-Iranian Dardic language-speaking Khowar and Kalash tribes, the Malakand Division is inhabited largely by Pashtun tribes, mainly the Yousafzai. [1]

Security Ramifications of the Talibanization of Malakand

After the February 2009 peace agreement, the TTP-Swat started to expand to the adjoining districts of Buner, Shangla, and Lower and Upper Dir under the pretext of enforcing Nizam-e-Adl. The TTP-Swat's earlier efforts in 2007 and 2008 to penetrate the adjoining districts were effectively foiled by the joint efforts of the government and the local people.

The Swat Taliban initiated a drive to recruit locals in Swat, Buner and Shangla in an attempt to create self-sustaining local Taliban structures in these districts (Daily Times [Lahore], April 14; The News, April 16). The TNSM, which seem to be acting as a political wing of the TTP-Swat, even attempted to enter Chitral to promote its agenda of Talibanization under the garb of Nizam-e-Adl in April. However, a local peace committee of Chitral requested TNSM leader Sufi Muhammad to postpone his visit, saying it could "create law and order problems in the area" (The News, April 17).

The expansion of the Taliban in Malakand Division is a source of grave concern. There are visible concerns within the Pakistani establishment and society that the Taliban have reached within 100 miles of the capital, Islamabad, and may seek to capture it (The News, April 20). Maulana Fazlur Rehman of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazal (JUI-F) expressed his concerns in parliament on April 22, 2009, when he said, "If the Taliban continue to move at this pace, they will soon be knocking at the doors of Islamabad" (The News, April 23). More threatening is the presence of a significant number of non-local and foreign militants in Swat that pose a serious threat to northern Afghanistan, Central Asia and China's Xinjiang Province. [2]

The non-local militants within the Swat Taliban include the Waziristani Taliban. Similarly, Central Asian militants belonging to Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) and East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) form the bulk of foreign militants within the TTP-Swat (Daily Times, November 7). The IMU, while maintaining a working relationship with al-Qaeda, does not subscribe to the latter's ideology of global jihad, preferring to wage a local struggle in Central Asia to overthrow the ex-communist regimes in these countries. [3] These Central Asian militants maintain strong bonds with elements of the TTP but are opposed by others, most notably the faction led by Ahmed Nazir, the Amir of the South Waziristan Taliban (Asian News International, August 16, 2008). According to Pakistani security officials, "a large number of [Baitullah] Mahsud's men from Waziristan... have joined the militant forces in Swat and some 6,000 to 8,000 highly trained and well-armed militants are engaged in fighting the government forces" (Newline [Karachi], February 2009). In the recent takeover of Buner by the Taliban, locals reported the presence of "Afghan Tajiks" within the ranks of the Pakistani Taliban. These militants could not speak Pashtu and used interpreters to communicate with locals while forcibly taking over their properties (The News, April 22).

Given the unique geostrategic significance of Malakand Division, if the Taliban and the foreign militants are able to strengthen themselves in the region, it could negatively affect the neighboring countries. Dir and Chitral districts border Afghanistan's comparatively stable non-Pashtun provinces in the north and the militants may try to destabilize them in the long term. The Taliban could attack the supply routes which the United States and NATO have recently negotiated with the Central Asian countries to ship supplies through Tajikistan and Uzbekistan to their troops stationed in Afghanistan (Geo TV, April 21; see also Eurasia Daily Monitor, April 7) (Sulaiman, S., Adnan, S. & Bukhari, A.S. 2009, 'The Swat Conflict: An Arc of Instability Spreading from Afghanistan to Central Asia and Xinjiang', *Terrorism Monitor*, vol.7: no.13, 18 May

http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35005&tx_tne ws%5BbackPid%5D=13&cHash=5771d274bd – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 55).

On 24 May 2009 *Dawn* addressed the on the ongoing efforts of the Pakistan military to clear the Swat valley of “Taliban” militants, reporting the comments of Major General Sajjad Ghani. While the military commander gives the impression that the militants have been defeated, and estimates that it will “take ‘two to three months’ to clear the area and welcome back civilians who fled their homes”, the *Dawn* report appears to suggest that Pakistan’s army may have simply have forced a temporary withdrawal, cautiously offering the view that: “The rugged terrain makes it easy to hide, Swat is also densely populated – estimated at 1.7 million – making it easy to melt into the crowd”. Extracts follow:

‘I see the upper Swat area returning to normalcy pretty soon,’ Ghani told reporters back at base in Khawazakhela, estimating it would take ‘two to three months’ to clear the area and welcome back civilians who fled their homes.

He added it was ‘just a question of time’ before the core militant leadership are eliminated, though Swat Taliban commander Mullah Fazlullah has already slipped through the net at least once.

As the generals were eager to point out, there are no discernible signs of urban destruction but Human Rights Watch has accused military strikes of causing heavy civilian casualties.

From the air, Khawazakhela and Matta look like ghost towns.

But for all their bluster about securing this town and taking that ridge, there is also a strong sense that the militants will be no pushover.

One brigadier said militants were bringing in reinforcements to replace the fallen, while the enemy never seemed to run out of ammunition.

‘There are no quick fixes,’ he said. ‘How long were the British in Northern Ireland... the Americans in Vietnam?’

The rugged terrain makes it easy to hide, Swat is also densely populated – estimated at 1.7 million – making it easy to melt into the crowd.

Officers talk about a ‘faceless’ enemy – a man who picks up a gun becomes a ‘miscreant’ but reverts to being a civilian the moment he puts it down.

Many see the Taliban as a social uprising, similar in some sense to class warfare between the haves and the have-nots – requiring a ‘civilian surge’ and development well beyond the scope of military victory (‘Blankets, bullets, a pneumatic drill – a Taliban HQ’ 2009, *Dawn*, 24 May <http://www.dawn.com/wps/wcm/connect/dawn-content-library/dawn/news/pakistan/provinces/04-blankets-bullets-a-pneumatic-drill-qs-02> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 25).

On 26 May 2009 a report by Mukhtar A. Khan in the *Terrorism Monitor* provided a perspective on the manner in which TNSM leader, Maulana Fazlullah, has used FM radio broadcasts to win support for his cause and to disseminate political “terror” by announcing that certain persons were to be “flogged or beheaded”. Extracts follow:

The scenic Swat valley is thundering with both aerial bombardments and fiery Taliban FM radio sermons. In a large-scale military operation dubbed Operation Rah-e-Raast (Operation Straight Path), the Pakistani army is hitting Taliban targets with gunship helicopters while the Taliban respond with AK-47s and their powerful propaganda radio broadcasts. More than a million people have fled the scene of battle and millions more are trapped inside the valley.

While the government has asked the local people to help the military in identifying Taliban hideouts, the Taliban have been broadcasting warnings against supporting the military. Through their pirate FM transmitters, the Taliban have demanded that local parliamentarians, security forces and other government officials resign from their positions as a mark of protest against the military operations; otherwise they should be prepared for a jihad directed against them. The Taliban radio broadcasters, popularly known as “FM Mullahs,” continuously transmit anti-American and anti-government sermons, calling democracy “un-Islamic” and those practicing it “infidels.” In their fiery radio speeches, the Taliban preachers have demanded that the non-Muslim minorities of Malakand pay jizya (protection tax) or face jihad. In the same tone, they have issued warnings to local NGOs, musicians and anybody else involved in “un-Islamic” activities. Those defying their orders are butchered, and daily announcements of the details of their deaths are broadcast on FM channels.

The Original FM Mullah

It was the Swat Taliban leader, Maulana Fazlullah, who first gained international attention through his FM radio broadcasts and earned the nickname “FM Mullah.” However, the use of pirate radio stations in the region began in the Khyber Tribal Agency. It was Haji Namdar, leader of Tanzim Amr bil Maroof wa Nehi Anil Munkir (Suppression of Vice and the Promotion of Virtue), who established a local extremist FM radio station in December 2003 (Dawn [Karachi], December 2, 2004). Haji Namdar hired a firebrand Deobandi Sunni cleric, Mufti Munir Shakir, who preached a strict version of Islam on his radio which infuriated Muslims belonging to the Barelvi Sufi order. Consequently, the Sufis opened up a rival FM channel headed by Pir Saifur Rahman. The opposing views on rival channels resulted in violent clashes in the Bara Tehsil (county) of the Khyber tribal agency in early 2006. The war of words in the air culminated into a battle on the ground in which scores of people were killed and hundreds of others were displaced (The News [Islamabad], October 25, 2006). The fighting compelled the local people and government authorities to expel both varieties of FM Mullahs from the region.

...It was Maulana Fazlullah, however, who excelled in the effective use of radio and ruled over the Swat valley from his station in Mamdheri (also known as Imam Dheri). In late 2005, he started his FM service and within the short span of one year, Fazlullah was a household name throughout the Swat valley. He was extremely popular amongst the local women, who donated cash and jewelry for his madrassa in Mamdheri (Newsline [Karachi], August 2007). The common people of the area looked to him for guidance and sought his resolution of their long-standing disputes. The tide turned when he asked the people and the government to consider his FM sermons as the only and final authority on important questions. Maulana Fazlullah politicized his broadcasts in order to gain maximum power and influence in the area. Fighters were recruited and organized by receiving instructions on the radio. Fazlullah sent a wave of terror through opposing politicians and government functionaries and listening to his broadcasts became mandatory for the local public. If someone missed a broadcast, they often felt the need to ask others what the FM Mullah had said that particular day. Who is to be flogged or beheaded next? Who was forgiven and who was punished today? (Khan, M.A. 2009, ‘The FM Mullahs and the Taliban’s Propaganda War in Pakistan’, *Terrorism Monitor*, Jamestown Foundation website, vol.7: no.14, 26 May http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=35033&tx_tne ws%5BbackPid%5D=412&no_cache=1 – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 57).

It is worth noting that in recent months a number of reports have appeared which have related that Maulana Fazlullah, or other related broadcasters in the Malakand area (including Maulana Shah Doran and Maulana Mohammad Alam), have reportedly been prominent in issuing declarations and threats against specific persons. Previous research on this issue is also supplied as Attachment 87 (Yusufzai, R. 2009, ‘Taliban rule the roost in Swat through

FM radio’, *The News*, 5 January http://www.thenews.com.pk/top_story_detail.asp?Id=19403 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 84; ‘Mullah Radio’ 2009, Thoughtlines website, source: *Himal Southasian*, April <http://thoughtlines.wordpress.com/2009/05/01/mullah-radio/> – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 85; ‘Fazlullah FM heard in the Swat Valley of Pakistan with Taleban messages’ 2009, Shortwave Central, 27 May <http://mt-shortwave.blogspot.com/2009/05/fazlullah-fm-heard-in-swat-valley-of.html> – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 86; RRT Country Research 2007, *Research Response PAK32745*, 27 May – Attachment 87).

On 26 May 2009 an extensive report on the situation in the Malakand region appeared in *Foreign Policy Journal*. The report features comments from a number of powerful identities in the region and may give some indication of the various issues in play in the recent conflict. Some pertinent extracts follow:

Prince Mian Gul Aurangzeb, widower of Begum Nasim, lives happily in No. 6 on Street No. 90, Sector G/6-4, Islamabad. His old structured house depicts symbols of royalty. Despite his years, he is still mentally alert and a very jolly fellow. When I first spoke with him, he invited me to come the next day at 6 pm. “I have invited a few regular friends for my Bridge session,” he said.

...After Sufi Muhammad was arrested in 2002, his son-in-law Maulana Fazlullah assumed the group’s leadership, and he formed an alliance with the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), led by Baitullah Mehsud.

In 2007, TNSM took over much of Swat. Sufi Muhammad was released in 2008 after renouncing violence, and brokered the deal between the Pakistani government and TNSM that has collapsed after the militants tried to push also into the district of Buner, resulting in Pakistan’s military offensive.

I wanted to know more of the story behind the peace deal and its collapse.

“Please tell me exactly what Shariah Muhammadi is, which remains a demand of Sufi Muhammad since the mid ‘90’s, and with the present insurgency he has mobilized a lot of militants favoring this legal system. And do you approve or disapprove of the Talibanization of Swat?” I asked him.

He answered quickly, “I neither approve it nor disapprove it.” This was perhaps a reflection of his uncertainty about the success of the current military operation and a nurtured fear of the Taliban.

“When I was the governor of Baluchistan,” he recalled, “I had asked Sufi Muhammad, Sufi Sahib [a title of respect], ‘What exactly do you want? What kind of Shariah is your main demand?’”

After a pause, the Prince continued. “You will not believe Sufi Muhammad too was making a bleak demand. He answered me, ‘My Tehrik-e-Nifaz-e-Shariah Muhammadi want what your grandfather Mian Gul Shahzada Abdul Wadud practiced.’”

Asked what this meant, he replied, “A legal system based on Islam coupled with Pashtun customs.”

He continued, “Though my family is no more a ruling family of Swat. But just imagine. We’re popular. During 1970 polls my brother Amirzeb was elected from Swat.

...He went on to speak on voting trends. “The Mullahs of Muttehida Majlise Amal swept polls in the 2002 vote as a reaction to the Afghan war. There was a lot of corruption and they were rejected by people during the February 2008 vote, and there came a liberal party, Awami National Party, which could not face Taliban. Most of its deputies are either in Peshawar or in Islamabad. Why do they not come here to protect their electorate?”

I was anxious to know how the militant Taliban spread their influence, forced the retreat of police forces, and established a rule of their own in the entire Malakand Division. Prince Aurangzeb anticipated the question.

...When I commented that it is general knowledge that the son-in-law of Sufi Muhammad, Maulana Fazlullah, is allied with Baitullah Mehsud’s Tehrik-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan, Aurangzeb expressed uncertainty. “I do not know,” he said.

I asked him how he saw the present insurgency. He replied, “Tell me how long Americans fought in Vietnam, how long Charles de Gaulle fought in Algeria.”

I interrupted to observe that he was suggesting the current military operation would be a long, drawn out affair

...Lala Afzal Khan, who was elected to the National Assembly from his nationalist Pakhtun Awami Party and joined Benazir Bhutto’s cabinet, has remained in Swat during all these days of anarchy. He has been awarded with one of the highest civil gallantry awards.

Lala Afzal Khan told me, “The Taliban movement is not an ideological movement. All the men of Sufi Muhammad and Maulana Fazlullah are loyal to Baitullah Mehsud. In fact, all the Taliban are loyal to Mullah Omar and most of them are criminals, looters, bandits, car snatchers, absconders and drug runners. He is the center of gravity both for Pakistani and Afghan Taliban.”

He said, “In class struggle between haves and have-nots, you do not become a criminal. You do not harm innocent people, snatch vehicles, dump arms and ammunition; you get popular through the force of ideology and not force. Taliban are terrorists and have no ideology.”

Having nationalist and left-leaning views, Lala Afzal Khan was critical of the Swat peace deal; not only the recent one, but also the 1994 peace deal. The federal government signed both deals from a position of weakness and not from a position of strength.

...Pakistan’s military operation in Swat has created yet another divide between Pashtuns and both the Sindh National Front and the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM), an Urdu speaking community of Karachi and historical rivals of Pashtuns there. With over a million and a half people displaced by the fighting in Swat, the influx of Pashtuns to Karachi in Sindh Province is already sending alarming signals of further destabilization of the country (Masood, A. 2009, ‘How Green Was My Valley’, *Foreign Policy Journal*, 26 May <http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2009/05/26/how-green-was-my-valley/> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 24).

2. Are there reports of homes being destroyed in September 2008, or thereabouts, in Tehsil Kabal of Swat District?

According to numerous reports, the Swat tehsil of Kabal was the scene of intense military operations against the insurgency during September 2008. Reports suggest that a large number of Kabal residences were destroyed in September 2008 when the Pakistan military employed mortars, and other forms of artillery, to clear Kabal buildings of insurgent fighters. Details of Kabal civilians being killed, injured, and having their houses and local

infrastructure destroyed in such actions, were widely reported (Khankhel, E. 2008, '4 of a family killed by mortar shell', *The Nation*, 22 September <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Politics/22-Sep-2008/4-of-a-family-killed-by-mortar-shell> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 26; 'Pak security forces gun down 16 Taliban in Bajaur' 2008, *Thaindian*, source: *Asia News International*, 21 September http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/south-asia/pak-security-forces-gun-down-16-taliban-in-bajaur_10098104.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 27; 'Three security personnel killed in Pakistan's Swat valley' 2008, *Press Trust of India*, 17 September – Attachment 28; 'Three children killed as shells land on house in Swat' 2008, *Baluchistan Times*, 22 September – Attachment 29; 'Four militants said killed in Pakistan army operation in Swat' 2008, *BBC Monitoring South Asia*, source: *Associated Press of Pakistan* (31 October 2008), 1 November – Attachment 30; 'Four women, including two girls killed in shelling' 2008, *Baluchistan Times*, 3 September – Attachment 31).

On 25 September 2008 Kabal also made the news when it was reported that "Heavily armed Taliban fighters brought...blindfolded butchers to a crowded market in Kabal sub-district and flogged them before a crowd of about 200 people". According to the report: the "Taliban fighters publicly flogged two butchers for allegedly selling the flesh of dead animals" ('Pakistani Taliban flog butchers in Swat' 2008, *Press Trust of India*, 25 September – Attachment 32).

3. Given that relocation to Karachi might be a possibility, please provide information on: the general situation of Karachi's Pashtun community (in relation to security and livelihoods); the effectiveness of local law enforcement in Karachi (including attitude towards militant Islamist networks); and whether there have been any reports of Pashtuns from the NWFP being pursued by NWFP or FATA based militant networks.

Introductory summary

While no reports could be located of persons being pursued by the TNSM, or other similar NWFP based militant groups, in Karachi, a number of news articles have reported claims of the presence of "Taliban" militants in Karachi. The issue of "Talibanization", as it is often referred to in the press, has been an ongoing issue in Karachi politics. Reports vary in the extent to which credence is given to such claims. Some reports suggest that such claims are exaggerated and that the MQM party is attempting to generate political support from Karachi's Urdu speakers (often referred to as ethnic Mohajirs) via a scare campaign which targets Karachi's Pashtun communities. The arrival of large numbers of Pashtuns fleeing the conflict in the north has reportedly added to tensions ('Talibanization of Karachi: Fear or Fact?' 2009, Center for Research and Security Studies website, 23 November <http://crss.pk/wpager08/we23Nov08.pdf> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 33; 'ANP, JUI blame MQM for Karachi riots, MQM denies' 2009, *The News*, 2 May <http://www.thenews.com.pk/print3.asp?id=21871> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 40; 'ANP, JUI blame MQM for Karachi riots, MQM denies' 2009, *PakTribune*, 2 May <http://www.paktribune.com/news/index.php?id=214396> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 41; 'NA-MQM comes harsh on Sufis statement against parliament, judiciary' 2009, *Pakistan Press International*, 21 April – Attachment 49; for Pashtun IDPs facing resentment, see: Siddique, A. 2009, 'Pakistani Civilians Flee Fighting, Not Difficulties', *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, 26 May http://www.rferl.org/content/Pakistani_Civilians_Flee_Fighting_Not_Difficulties/1740229.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 43; for reports of militants in Karachi, see: Shahzad, A. 2009, 'Pakistani army may face bloody urban fight', *Associated Press*, 18 May –

Attachment 45; Siddiqi, K. 2009, 'Taliban retreat from Buner', *Yahoo News*, 25 April <http://in.news.yahoo.com/32/20090425/1067/twl-taliban-retreat-from-buner.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 46; 'Karachi getting out of hand?' 2009, *Daily Times*, 12 May http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009\05\12\story_12-5-2009_pg3_1 – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 44).

The communal troubles have erupted in violence on two recent occasions, in December 2008 and April 2009. Of the December 2008 violence, *Reuters* reports that "At least 40 people have been killed in Karachi since Saturday [29 November 2008] in clashes between activists from the city's majority community of Urdu-speakers and ethnic Pashtuns from northwest Pakistan". According to *BBC News* police sources: "The violence began...following the killing of a Pashtun tea-stall owner in an MQM-dominated neighbourhood in the north of the city". By 2 December 2008 it was reported that: "Life in the southern Pakistani city of Karachi is returning to normal following three days of violence which killed at least 35 people". Violence broke out again in April 2009. According to a *Guardian* report the trouble began after several MQM supporters were shot. Reports vary in the number of persons subsequently killed in reprisal attacks at anywhere between 28 and 32. Anatol Lieven of King's College London has reported that: "32 people were killed – the great majority of them Pashtuns". Security forces were deployed to quell the violence ('Taliban ready to defend Pakistan against India', *Reuters*, 2 December <http://blogs.reuters.com/pakistan/2008/12/02/taliban-ready-to-defend-pakistan-against-india/> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 34; 'Tense Karachi returns to normal' 2009, *BBC News*, 2 December http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7759980.stm – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 35; 'Arrests in Pakistan following Karachi riots – Sonia Randhawa interviews Dr Christopher Sneddon, Jamil Yusuf, and Babar Khan Ghouri' 2008, *ABC Radio – Connect Asia*, 3 December <http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/connectasia/stories/200812/s2436381.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 36; Walsh, W. 2009, 'Spate of shootings kill 29 in Karachi', *The Guardian*, 30 April <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/30/karachi-shootings-pakistan/print> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 37; Lieven, A. 2009, 'Mistrust of the West is stronger in Pakistan than fear of the Taleban', *The Times*, 5 May http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article6221874.ece – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 42; 'Karachi tense after fatal clashes' 2009, *BBC News*, 30 April http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8026215.stm – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 38; 'Troops Patrol Pakistan's Karachi After Clashes Kill 24' 2009, *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, 30 April http://www.rferl.org/content/Troops_Patrol_Pakistans_Karachi_After_Clashes_Kill_24/1618852.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 39).

On 29 May 2009 the Research Service conducted an interview by telephone with Dr Aneela Babar of the Monash Asia Institute. One of the issues discussed was the question of whether any persons targeted by the TNSM in Swat had ever been pursued to Karachi. The advice is recommended in its entirety and is supplied as Attachment 88 (RRT Research & Information 2009, *Record of Conversation with Dr Aneela Babar of the Monash University Monash Asia Institute on 29 May 2009*, 29 May – Attachment 88; completed as: RRT Research & Information 2009, *Research Response PAK35068*, 18 June – Attachment 89).

Also: while much of the source information above appears to suggest that there is little evidence of persons from the NWFP being pursued by militant groups from Swat, or the NWFP more generally, it may be of interest that there is information to indicate that Pashtun families living in Karachi often have close contact with relatives living in the NWFP and that such relationship may facilitate information flows as to the whereabouts of a given individual. Research on this issue was completed under Question 3 of *Research Response PAK32205* in August 2007 and is supplied in Attachment 81 (RRT Research & Information 2007, *Research Response PAK32205*, 29 August – Attachment 81).

Source information overview

An overview follows of the range of reportage which has appeared on the relating issues of Pashtuns in Karachi, TNSM/TTP and the conflict in Swat, and the debate over “Talibanisation”. The overview proceeds, for the most part, in chronological order: presenting examples from the range of reports which have appeared over the last six months.

On 23 November 2008 Pakistan’s Centre for Research & Security Studies published commentary on the question of whether Karachi was experiencing “Talibanization” or whether Karachi political actors like the MQM were fostering a myth for political purposes.

Mutihidda Qaumi Movement (MQM) is the political party that dominates Karachi, Pakistan’s largest metropolis. Hyderabad, the Sind province’s 2nd largest city, is also under MQM’s political domain. MQM draws its strength from working class and lower/middle strata of the society and prides itself for being an antifeudal and a secular party. Karachi is among the most literate cities of Pakistan and is dominated by two ethnicities, Urdu speaking Mohajirs and Pashto speaking Pashtuns. In fact, Karachi has more Pashtuns than does Peshawar, the provincial capital of NWFP. Addressing a large gathering of Karachites via telephone in early November, the Quaid (supreme leader) of MQM, Altaf Hussain warned the “Sufi-loving people of Sindh” and “peaceful people of Karachi” that a systematic campaign was underway to “Talibanize Karachi.”

He pointed that the areas of Pakhtoon Abad and Sultan Abad were particularly of great concern to both the MQM and the government of Sindh. “Now, Baitullah Mehsud is sending his people to Karachi and many cable operators, CD shop owners and girls schools have been asked to shut down their operation because they are un-Islamic,” Altaf said. He alleged that the Taliban elements have “collected nearly 2 billion rupees” in ransom over the past two years and there were nearly “5 million small arms in the city.” He urged the MQM activists to “be ready to defend themselves and get training in self defense and get arms’ licenses.” Altaf criticized the sluggish response and flawed intelligence of the government and announced that every party worker of MQM will defend their city and “you should be able to keep waking up in the night to check such miscreants.”

Altaf also added that MQM wanted to see Karachi and Pakistan free from all arms but “cannot ignore the fact that religious extremists supported by religious political parties were eyeing to take over Karachi by force.” We will not let this happen, he announced.

This was not the first time that MQM had suspected that Pashtun Taliban were trying to create social and political unrest as a bigger game plan of their narrow minded agenda (after getting hard-hit by Pakistan military in the tribal areas of Pakistan). Despite his warnings, the Sindh government did not agree with his assessment and the provincial Home Minister, Dr. Zulfiqar Mirza, responded that there was no danger of Talibanization of Karachi. Altaf reportedly spoke with him on phone and said that “Talibanization was not as simple a process as the government thinks it is.”

To be certain, over the immediate past, nearly 100 new seminaries have sprouted in and around Karachi's Pashtun majority areas. Serious observers now contend that Altaf's fears may indeed be valid.

In Karachi, Pashtun and Mohajir communities live under a delicate socio-political peace and there have been many incidents of ethnic violence at various places in the city. After Altaf's address, the provincial leadership of Pashtun nationalist Awami National Party (ANP) called on the governor of Sindh and reported that the increase in population in Pashtun dominated areas was not a systematic support for Taliban but "these are the people who have left their homes in Swat and Bajaur where Pakistan army is operating against extremists and militants." Both sides agreed to evolve a mechanism that any new arrival from these areas should be reported to the local community leaders who should in turn report such arrivals to the relevant police stations. ANP conveyed to the governor that this influx of the Pashtuns must not become a reason of any governmental operation in Pashtun dominated areas.

Pakistani observers and commentators have urged the government to pay attention to Altaf's apprehensions and have demanded a high-level inquiry. There are strong fears that if the government would sit idle and keep on watching the tensions grow between both the communities, Karachi will have another bloodbath like 1986 and 1994 when hundreds of ordinary citizens were killed every month.

All political and religious groups in Karachi are armed. They in fact are better equipped and in situations better trained and motivated than the law enforcement agencies. According to media reports, nearly 40 political workers of various political, religious and ethnic groups have been killed since September 2008. Overall, political violence in Karachi spiked through October and November 2008.

The Federal and Provincial governments must ensure that Karachi remains peaceful and the government's writ is strongly enforced. A chaotic Karachi will be the last thing that an economically endangered Pakistan could afford ('Talibanization of Karachi: Fear or Fact?' 2009, Center for Research and Security Studies website, 23 November <http://crss.pk/wpager08/we23Nov08.pdf> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 33).

On 3 December 2008 the November 2008 clashes in Karachi were a topic of discussion on *ABC Radio's Connect Asia* program:

SONIA RANDHAWA: Pakistan's largest city and financial capital Karachi descended into violent clashes at the weekend, with running battles between the city's majority Urdu speakers and minority Pashtuns, a significant proportion of whom are from Afghanistan. Going back to Afghanistan's war with the former Soviet Union, Karachi has attracted thousands of Afghan refugees. Many Pashtuns – both those born in Karachi and those from outside – work in the transport industry, and it's believed the recent riots erupted after a lethal road altercation between Pashtun and Urdu speakers. But Pakistan analyst Dr Christopher Sneddon from Deakin University in Australia says there are deeper causes.

DR CHRISTOPHER SNEDDON: Karachi is the largest Pashtun speaking city in the world, even though the capital of the Pashtuns is really Oshawa. A lot of both Afghans and people from the frontier have moved to Karachi to work. And Karachi, in a sense, is a microcosm of Pakistan, it's got large numbers of ethnic people from each of the four provinces, plus these Muhajirs, these refugees and their descendents from India, who came across in 1947 who speak Urdu. And the Pashtuns are significant because they control the transport, the Muhajirs are significant because they control a lot the politics and some of the finance, and there's a bit of power struggle between them. The other issue is, that some of the people in Karachi are saying that the city is being "Talibanised" by these Pashtuns who bring in their

religious ideology as well. And they feel that they need now to defend themselves against the Taliban.

SONIA RANDHAWA: Karachi is the capital of Sindh province, which is governed by the Muttahida Qaumi Movement. It represents Urdu speakers, and blames the violence of recent days on increasing crime by the Pashtun minority. According to local media, MQM officials have also claimed there are links between Pashtuns and the Taliban, and the instigators of the weekend riots came to Karachi from the Afghan border. Senator Babar Khan Ghauri of the MQM.

BABAR KHAN GHOURI: The forces that are involved in these attacks are those who are doing the similar attacks in Afghanistan, in the North West Frontier Province and in northern areas of the country. Now the same forces are active in Karachi. This peoples' power would fight against them and will not be afraid of them. Pakistan will not be weakened, and we will not allow our city to be weakened either. I appeal to all people to keep an eye on miscreants.

SONIA RANDHAWA: But the Awami National Party, which represents Pashtuns, argues the MQM is ignoring growing repression and victimisation of Karachi's Pashtun community. Jamil Yusuf is the founder of the Citizen Police Liaison Committee for the restoration of law and order in Karachi. He says the Urdu community might be looking to convince the provincial government to send all Karachi's Pashtun speakers to Afghanistan but says it's an untenable proposition.

JAMIL YUSUF: I'm not talking of repatriation of the Pashtuns. They have all the right to live in Karachi. They are the citizens of this country, they have a right. We need to straighten out the transport system, which ignites – you've got to go to the root cause of this thing. It does not take much for residents. Those coming later on from the northern areas, they go on opening encroachments. They open tea shops, they encroach on the properties of the residents or the locals, or the government land and all that.

SONIA RANDHAWA: Mr Yusuf says he wants the Sindh government to seek a viable local solution to the Pashtun-Urdu conflict.

JAMIL YUSUF: This situation concerns enough for the provincial government to handle. And I think the Chief Minister and MQM and AMP, which is a part of the coalition government, a strong group, and they've got some very important ministries, like the labour ministry, which all the industry – there are a lot of Pashtuns working in that. They need to do a really good civil, brainstorming thing and resolve this issue on a very local level ('Arrests in Pakistan following Karachi riots – Sonia Randhawa interviews Dr Christopher Sneddon, Jamil Yusuf, and Babar Khan Ghauri' 2008, *ABC Radio – Connect Asia*, 3 December <http://www.radioaustralia.net.au/connectasia/stories/200812/s2436381.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 36).

30 April 2009 *The Guardian* reports on the death of 29 persons in gun clashes between “between ethnic mohajirs and Pashtuns”.

It started yesterday when two supporters of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), which represents ethnic Mohajirs, were shot in a northern suburb. The killings triggered a slew of reprisal shootings of ethnic Pashtuns, mostly in teeming slum areas (Walsh, W. 2009, 'Spate of shootings kill 29 in Karachi', *The Guardian*, 30 April <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/30/karachi-shootings-pakistan/print> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 37)

Also on 30 April 2009 *BBC News* reports: “Paramilitary troops are out in force in the Pakistani city of Karachi, with tension high a day after ethnic clashes killed at least 32 people” (‘Karachi tense after fatal clashes’ 2009, *BBC News*, 30 April http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8026215.stm – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 38).

A 30 April 2009 *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* report relates that “Pakistani paramilitary troops are patrolling Karachi, with orders to “shoot on sight” violent troublemakers a day after at least 24 people were killed in ethnic clashes in the country’s financial capital” (‘Troops Patrol Pakistan’s Karachi After Clashes Kill 24’ 2009, *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, 30 April http://www.rferl.org/content/Troops_Patrol_Pakistans_Karachi_After_Clashes_Kill_24/1618852.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 39).

The Awami National Party (ANP) and the Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam (JUI-F) have alleged that the MQM is using the myth of the Talibanization of Karachi as a means of wedging Pashtuns (‘ANP, JUI blame MQM for Karachi riots, MQM denies’ 2009, *The News*, 2 May <http://www.thenews.com.pk/print3.asp?id=21871> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 40; ‘ANP, JUI blame MQM for Karachi riots, MQM denies’ 2009, *PakTribune*, 2 May <http://www.paktribune.com/news/index.php?id=214396> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 41; ‘NA-MQM comes harsh on Sufis statement against parliament, judiciary’ 2009, *Pakistan Press International*, 21 April – Attachment 49).

On 5 May 2009 Anatol Lieven of King’s College London expressed the view in an article in *The Times* that: “a small degree of Taleban infiltration has helped to reignite simmering tensions between the Pashtuns and the Mohajir majority”. Extracts follow:

In Karachi, Pakistan’s greatest city by far, the situation is more complicated. The vast majority of Karachi’s Pashtuns support the Awami National Party (ANP), the moderate secular nationalist party now ruling in the North West Frontier Province. However, a small degree of Taleban infiltration has helped to reignite simmering tensions between the Pashtuns and the Mohajir majority, made up of people whose families migrated from India at the time of independence, who are represented by the Muttahida Quami Movement (MQM) party.

In clashes between the MQM and Pashtuns last week 32 people were killed – the great majority of them Pashtuns. The city fears that a return of inter-ethnic rivalry could cause great economic disruption and tie down yet more Pakistani soldiers who are desperately needed to fight the Taleban in the north.

The danger to Pakistan is not of a Taleban revolution, but rather of creeping destabilisation and terrorism, making any Pakistani help to the US against the Afghan Taleban even less likely than it is at present (Lieven, A. 2009, ‘Mistrust of the West is stronger in Pakistan than fear of the Taleban’, *The Times*, 5 May http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article6221874.ece – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 42).

On 9 May 2009 an article in Pakistan’s *The Nation* makes a number of complaints about the manner in which Karachi has also become a scene of security concern but for reasons which appear to be set apart from the situation in “Swat, Balochistan and the Tribal belt” and have more to do with struggles being fought by “land mafia” groups in “major urban centres like Karachi, Lahore, adjoining areas of Islamabad and other cities and towns”. Extracts follow:

Pakistan's peace and tranquility has been eroded by unchecked weaponisation, land mafia, drugs and abuse of power by individuals and institutions. The dominance of political and religious parties by these elements along with a weak judiciary and failure of the state and its institutions to eradicate this scourge today threatens our national security. Our major urban centres like Karachi have been subjected to turf control battles, while Swat, Balochistan and the Tribal belt suffer turmoil. Insurgency and rebellion breeds on deprivation, injustices, exploitation and discrimination. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah wanted to create a welfare state for the Muslims, instead it has become a country riddled with ethnic strife, rising street crimes and insurgencies by misguided religious bigots like Maulvi Fazlullah or through the sense of deprivation in Balochistan, because the state has failed to cater to its primary functions of welfare of the most deprived sections of our society. Pakistan's security is today threatened from within by self-seeking adventurers, with their insatiable greed to acquire wealth, irrespective of its cost to our national security. Our state institutions must be confined to work in accordance with their defined roles laid down in the constitution. Most of the benefactors of this loot and plunder consider Pakistan only worthy of being a transit stopover, having sought immigration in other countries and moved their assets to so-called safer havens.

From the time of our inception as an independent country in 1947, we have been a victim of this cancerous scourge of illegal land grabbing, a product of the huge evacuee property left behind by the massive immigration of affluent Hindu and Sikh minority in the areas that comprise Pakistan. It is also a fact that but for few individual cases, the vast majority of Muslims in undivided India were economically deprived, which was a major factor that motivated our founding fathers to seek for the Muslims a separate homeland, where they could live in peace with dignity and basic human rights for themselves and other minorities. The massive pilferage of Evacuee Property by falsified claims gave rise to a new breed of neo rich families and with that came political power and the need to seek dominance. Unfortunately this gave rise to powerful groups with political power, who had contempt for rule of law, and even after over 60 years do not feel any wrong in occupying state and private lands through connivance, or through intimidation of widows and other lesser powerful members of our society. So powerfully entrenched are the benefactors of this land mafia that it is no longer considered a crime, nor is it considered to be theft, since hardly anybody of significance, has ever been held accountable before the law. There have been no social taboos against the land mafia. The cause for this scourge to spread unchecked is a weak judiciary and an executive dominated by greed and corruption. Today it is has been institutionalised, with powerful members of the establishment having joined the bandwagon.

This unchecked scourge which afflicted our rural centres, today has assumed an alarming threat in our major urban centres like Karachi, Lahore, adjoining areas of Islamabad and other cities and towns. In Karachi public utility parks are up for grabs by the land mafia, because of the failure of the citizens to protect their rights through coordinated efforts, having been divided on ethnic and sectarian divides. Be it the illegal grab of land in Islamabad by the Lal Masjid mullahs, or the occupation of Karachi's Kidney Hill, or Lahore's Doongi Ground or the forceful occupation of land belonging to Haris in Sindh, the state and the superior judiciary must discharge their obligations to protect private and public land, irrespective of the political affiliations of these criminals. If Madoff can face prosecution and possible life sentence and freeze of all his assets for robbing the public in USA, why cannot we do likewise in Pakistan and hold all these criminals accountable for their crimes (Ali, M.T. 2009, 'Scourge of land mafia', *The Nation*, 9 May <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Opinions/Columns/09-May-2009/Scourge-of-land-mafia> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 47)

On 12 May 2009 a *Daily News* editorial considered the view the MQM had sought to create an ethno-political wedge by demanding that action be taken “against the ANP for ‘supporting and protecting the Taliban in Karachi’”. The same article notes of the PPP’s difficulties with these demands that “There is no doubt that it has reports from the police about the infiltration of ‘Taliban-type’ Pashtuns into the city. There have been encounters in the Pashtun-dominated areas where such elements have been arrested too” (‘Karachi getting out of hand?’ 2009, *Daily Times*, 12 May http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2009\05\12\story_12-5-2009_pg3_1 – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 44).

On 18 May 2009 the *Associated Press* reported on the ongoing campaign against the TNSM relating that: “Troops were making gains in remote Piochar area, the rear base of Swat Taliban leader Maulana Fazlullah”. At the conclusion of the article it is reported that: “In Pakistan’s southern city of Karachi, meanwhile, police said a tip off led them to arrest four alleged militants of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, a banned outfit linked to both the Taliban and al-Qaida”. The report relates police claims that the alleged Lashkar-e-Jhangvi “men are suspected of planning attacks on high-value targets in Karachi”. No mention of any TNSM activity in the south is noted by the report (Shahzad, A. 2009, ‘Pakistani army may face bloody urban fight’, *Associated Press*, 18 May – Attachment 45).

On 26 May 2009 *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty* reported on the plight of Pashtuns fleeing the conflict in the north for the safety of Karachi. The report notes the claims of one such displaced Pashtun who claims to have been prevented from travelling south by a road block which turned Pashtuns away, accusing them of being Taliban. The report also warns that communal tensions in Karachi are growing worse.

Thousands have already traveled as far as the southern seaport city of Karachi – a 1,000-kilometer road journey through fertile plains and sweltering desolate deserts.

Rahman, upon reaching Mardan, sold his daughter’s jewelry so his family could make the trip to Karachi in brightly colored buses and cargo trucks.

But even before he got to the southern seaport, Rahman discovered he was wrong to think that the journey would bring safety and comfort. Midway through the trip, armed men blocked their entire convoy.

“They told us that ‘because you are Pashtuns, you cannot go to Karachi.’ They told us, ‘You are the Taliban and you are terrorists,’” Rahman says. “We were traveling with our children and women; how could we engage in terrorism? We told them that they should search our vehicles and if they caught somebody even with a knife they should hold them. But they told us: ‘You cannot go any farther because our leaders have told us to stop you.’ We were really terrified because all of them were armed. It was hot and we were in the middle of deserted woods.”

Rahman says the men who stopped them relented after they pleaded with them for hours, and he and his family eventually reached their destination.

Ethnic Tension

Once in Karachi, Pakistan’s biggest metropolis, many among the city’s estimated 3 million ethnic Pashtuns stepped up to help. Rahman tells RFE/RL that his family and others now live in tiny apartments paid for by Karachi’s Pashtun diaspora, and they survive on handouts from the Pashtun nationalist Awami National Party.

But the arrival of Pashtuns in Karachi and other cities has also reignited traditional ethnic rivalries.

Businesses in Karachi and other areas of Sindh Province were closed on May 25 after ethnic Sindhi political parties staged a strike to protest against the arrival of Pashtuns from the northwestern regions. A similar strike on May 23 had paralyzed businesses across Sindh.

With Pakistani government and aid agencies overwhelmed by those already displaced, such problems are likely to mount as displaced persons grow weary of their untenable situations, and fresh fighting brings new waves of civilians (Siddique, A. 2009, 'Pakistani Civilians Flee Fighting, Not Difficulties', *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, 26 May http://www.rferl.org/content/Pakistani_Civilians_Flee_Fighting_Not_Difficulties/1740229.html – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 43).

A 28 May 2009 *Yahoo News* report on the ongoing conflict in north appears to express concern that groups like the TNSM might be able to relocate their operations to metropolitan centres like Karachi: "On Friday, Taliban spokesman Muslim Khan said that the militia was withdrawing voluntarily and not under any pressure or agreement. 'We will go to Karachi or any other part of Pakistan if invited,' said Muslim Khan in a chilling reminder of the growing influence of the militia in Pakistan". Extracts follow:

The Taliban militia started pulling out of Buner town, located in the troubled North West Frontier Province, on Friday after Moulvi Sufi Mohommad of the Tehreek-Nifaz-Shariat-Mohammadi visited the area and appealed for their withdrawal.

The move comes amidst rumours of a military operation against the Taliban in the near future. However, the Taliban have said that they were not withdrawing under any pressure.

...On Friday, Taliban spokesman Muslim Khan said that the militia was withdrawing voluntarily and not under any pressure or agreement. "We will go to Karachi or any other part of Pakistan if invited," said Muslim Khan in a chilling reminder of the growing influence of the militia in Pakistan.

Earlier in the day, TNSM chief Moulvi Sufi Mohommad assured that the militants were abiding by the agreement with the government. He also said that the agreement which his organisation had signed with the government for the imposition of Islamic rule did not extend to Buner, which was located outside the Malakand division, which falls under the agreement.

Observers say that the relations between the government and the TNSM had reached a breaking point with the continued activities of the Taliban in Swat and adjoining areas. (Siddiqi, K. 2009, 'Taliban retreat from Buner', *Yahoo News*, 25 April <http://in.news.yahoo.com/32/20090425/1067/twl-taliban-retreat-from-buner.html> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 46).

4. What information is available on an NGO known as the Malakand Development Authority (or Malakand Division Authority) in Swat and its relationship with the TNSM? If no information is available, please provide any information available on the relationship between the TNSM and NGOs generally?

Malakand Development Authority (or Malakand Division Authority)

The role of the Malakand Development Authority is discussed on the website of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP). The relevant extract follows:

In Pakistan, development planning related to the environment, local government and rural development is coordinated by the Ministry of Environment, and by housing, physical planning, environment and local government at the provincial level. At the local level the Municipal Corporation/Town Committees in urban civil areas and the Cantonment Board in military areas are the basic units of urban administration and management. Divisional headquarters development authorities like PDA, Mardan Development Authority, Malakand Development Authority-Saidusharif, Abbottabad Development Authority, Kohat Development Authority and D. I. K. Development Authority have also been created to undertake development work in a comprehensive and systematic manner. Local units of a number of nation-building provincial line departments are directly responsible to their headquarters at the district/divisional and provincial levels ('II. Environmental Implications of Unsustainable Development' (undated), UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific website

<http://www.unescap.org/drpad/publication/integra/volume2/pakistan/2pk02e.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 49).

A study of fresh water resources in Malakand refers to the Malakand Division Development Authority (MDDA) in passing but provides no further information on the institution (World Wide Fund for Nature Pakistan 2009, *Strengthening Community Participation in Protecting the Fresh Water Network in Malakand Civil Division*

http://www.wfpak.org/sgp/pdf/freshwater/2_strengthening_community_participation.pdf – Accessed 30 May 2009 – Attachment 51).

No information could be located which referred to the relationship between the TNSM (or TTP or Taliban) and the Malakand Development Authority, the Malakand Development Authority-Saidusharif or the Malakand Division Development Authority (MDDA). It would appear from the information above, however that the Malakand Development Authority is a local government authority and not an NGO.

It may be of interest that, in July 2007, it was reported that the Pakistan Army had taken over the office “Malakand Development Authority in the Kanju town” in order to fight the insurgency (Ali, Z. 2007, ‘NWFP govt urges army to vacate buildings’, *Dawn*, 20 July <http://www.dawn.com/2007/07/20/nat7.htm> – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 50).

The TNSM and Non Government Organisations

During the recent period in which the TNSM/TTP exercised control, or influence, over a number of areas in Swat, the TNSM/TTP is reported to have placing restrictions on NGOs whose activities it considers un-Islamic. Some such NGOs were reportedly told to leave the Swat area in March 2009 and in some instances had their offices and resources confiscated by the TNSM. According to a *Rediff* report of 23 March 2009 the TNSM was most opposed to those NGOs which employed women or which encouraged values seen as western. The report relates that: “There were about 10 NGOs currently active in Swat valley”; and that now:

“Among international NGOs, only humanitarian medical organisations – including Medecins Sans Frontieres and the International Committee of the Red Cross – are reportedly allowed to function in the region”. On 22 April 2009 *Dawn* reported that militants from Swat had raided NGO offices in Swat’s neighbouring Buner District, forcing NGOs to move still further south (Laskar, R.H. 2009, ‘Pakistani Taliban asks NGOs to leave Swat’, *Rediff*, 23 March

<http://www.rediff.com/news/2009/mar/23pakistani-taliban-asks-ngos-to-leave-swat.htm> –

Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 53; ‘Taliban ask NGOs to get out from Swat’ 2009, *Thaindian*, source: *Asia News International*, 23 March

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Further to this, according to “Dir-based IDPs” interviewed by the International Crisis Group on 20 May 2009: “Local criminals have helped the militants to identify, confront and detain members of the public who oppose the Taliban’s agenda, including local NGO workers, activists and journalists” in the Malakand region. The extract follows:

The breakdown of governance and law and order in Malakand Division, particularly in Swat, has enabled non-jihadi criminal gangs to proliferate and partner with Pakistani Taliban groups. Local criminals have helped the militants to identify, confront and detain members of the public who oppose the Taliban’s agenda, including local NGO workers, activists and journalists (International Crisis Group 2009, *Pakistan’s IDP Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities*, Asia Briefing no.93, 3 June, p.12, n.94 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/asia/south_asia/b93_pakistans_idp_crisis_challenges_and_opportunities.pdf – Accessed 18 June 2009 – Attachment 56).

And, as is noted above, in response to Question 1, several reports have alleged that Swat based Taliban militants were responsible for the murder of “District Council member and child rights activist Bakht Zeba in Mulakabad area of Mingora on Tuesday (November 25 [2008]) for advocating education for children in Swat” (for the murder of Bakht Zeba, see: Achakzai, J. 2008, ‘Child rights activist killed in Mingora’, *Daily Times*, 28 November http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=2008%5C11%5C28%5Cstory_28-11-2008_pg7_23 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 82; ‘Taliban new dictum: Marry daughters to militants’ 2009, *Express India*, 2 January http://www.expressindia.com/story_print.php?storyId=405824 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 83).

It should also be noted that there have, over recent years, been regular reports of NGO activists associated with women’s rights activism being threatened in the Malakand region and across the NWFP more generally; though such reports have not always elaborated on the question of whether the identities of the persons or groups making the threats are made known. Perhaps the most significant incident to have occurred in this regard relates to the July 2005 murder of “Zubaida Begum (40) and her 17-year-old daughter Shumaila”. According to a *Daily Times* report of 8 July 2005: “Zubaida Begum and her daughter were killed because of her (Zubaida’s) association with a non-government organisation (NGO)...the Aurat Foundation [which] was actively campaigning for women’s rights in Upper Dir”. According to a *OneWorld South Asia* report: “Zubaida Begum was the manager of the NGO Aurat Foundation’s resource centre in Upper Dir district”. She was also: “A retired teacher and elected councillor of the Darora union council and public safety, she had worked tirelessly to raise the level of women’s awareness about their rights”. It would appear from the available subsequent reporting that at least one man was arrested for the murders and that five persons were suspected to have been involved. It would not appear from the available reports that the alleged killers were part of a specific network. According to *Daily Times* one of the arrested men “told police that he had been ‘incited’ at a local mosque to kill the woman as she was ‘involved in immoral things’” (for an illustration of the kind of reporting available, see: ‘NGOs bear brunt of growing “Talibanisation”’ 2007, *Dawn* website, 4 April <http://www.dawn.com/2007/04/05/nat8.htm> – Accessed 14 May 2007 – Attachment 79; Yusufzai, A. 2006, ‘Pakistan: Fatwa Bans Women Working With NGOs’, *OneWorld*

South Asia website, 7 August <http://southasia.oneworld.net/article/view/137466/1/1893> – Accessed 6 November 2006 – Attachment 80; for the Zubaida Begum incident, see: Jan, Z. 2005, ‘Man arrested for murdering NGO worker, her daughter’, *Daily Times*, 8 July http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_8-7-2005_pg7_4 – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 77; ‘Lady councillor’s killer arrested, claims DPO’ 2005, KarachiPage.com website, source: *Dawn*, 8 July http://www.karachipage.com/news/Jul_05/070805.html – Accessed 7 July 2009 – Attachment 78).

The RRT Research Service has, over previous years, completed a number of Research Responses which address the issue of the TNSM relationship with NGOs, and the situation in the NWFP for women’s rights groups generally. An overview of this information is provided in *Research Response PAK31685* supplied as Attachment 59 (RRT Country Research 2007, *Research Response PAK31685*, 19 May – Attachment 59).

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Asian Human Rights Commission <http://www.ahrchk.net>

Amnesty International <http://www.amnesty.org>

Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org>

Research Groups

International Crisis Group <http://www.satp.org>

Jamestown Foundation <http://www.jamestown.org>

South Asia Analysis Group <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org>

South Asia Terrorism Portal <http://www.satp.org>

Regional News Services

Asia Times Online <http://www.atimes.com>

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Geo TV News <http://www.geo.tv>

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Al Jazeera <http://english.aljazeera.net>

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International Herald Tribune <http://www.ihf.com>

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Google search engine <http://www.google.com>

Internet Archive search engine <http://www.archive.org>

Staggregation Google API Proximity Search search engine
<http://www.staggregation.com/cgi-bin/gaps.cgi>

Databases:

FACTIVA (news database)
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