



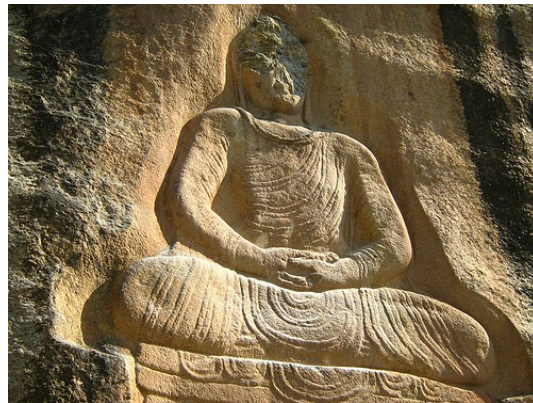
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## **Swat**

### **A Chronology since 2006**



**Urvashi J Kumar**

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# SWAT

## A CHRONOLOGY SINCE 2006

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### **An Overview**

The pace with which change descended into the Swat Valley was relentless and unforgiving. A geographical location seldom-mentioned for anything except its breathtaking beauty went from the status of being an inside page news item to headline news not just in Pakistan but across the globe in the span of a year-and-a-half; roughly the time span between the first reports in various media forums of Taliban presence in Swat till attacks in the restive valley became a norm and the steady outflow of displaced people choked relief camps in Islamabad, Peshawar, Nowshera and elsewhere.

Today the Taliban has established its writ in the Valley and fears are rife that Peshawar and Quetta will face the fall next, a development that will seriously endanger Pakistan's power centre – Islamabad. Despite claims and counter-claims about the utility and futility of this deal, Swat is far from peaceful yet. Understandably, such a ravaged place will take time to recover. But, as latest reports suggest, many native Swatis are afraid to return to what they fear will be an oppressive and regressive rule of law.

Interestingly, Swat in the last week itself has slipped dramatically off the news-map. Much like in 2006, when Maulana Fazlullah had a free run in the valley and there was very limited reportage about his activities or those of his loyalists.

In the following pages events that took place in Swat between January 1, 2006 and March 6, 2009 have been chronicled. It is interesting to note that the most systematic destruction of infrastructure and social law and took place between the

second quarter of 2007 till mid 2008. The Maximum numbers of schools, barber shops, music shops, power grids, and bridges were destroyed within this time frame. As on date, of the 558 girls' schools, over 180 have been destroyed by the Taliban, and despite government assurances that female education will resume, nothing in the press suggests that any such moves have been made since the latest truce was signed. Also, the Gandhara Buddhas find little or no mention despite their extreme historic and cultural importance.

The following pages provide an overview of the events as they took place in the Swat Valley in Pakistan between January 2006 till early March 2009, when President Zardari concluded a peace deal with Suif Muhammed, the chief of the banned TNSM and Maulana Fazlullah, his estranged son-in-law and the head of the Taliban in Swat.

While it remains to be seen if this deal survives, most experts have already consigned it to its grave citing examples of previous such deals that had been struck, but collapsed. The following pages do not provide an analysis of the events of the last three years, but do provide a ready reference about what happened and when it happened

### **2006**

**January 19** – A day after Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz declares that Pakistan has been working hard to stem extremism in the past six years, six suspected militants, four of them Afghans, are arrested by security forces from Matta Tehsil of Swat Valley. The six were suspected of having links with the Al Qaeda and officials

played down the significance of these arrests.<sup>1</sup>

**February 1** – American news reports claim that Al Qaeda and its leadership are headquartered in NWFP's Dir and Swat districts, and possibly Malakand. The reports are also published in the Pakistan Press.<sup>2</sup>

**April 28** – Musharraf makes an important statement, the significance of which will become apparent over a year later. "Extremism in a Talibanised form is what people are now going for. Mullah Omar and the Taliban have influence in Waziristan and it's spilling over into our settled areas." Swat Valley was considered a settled area. This also makes clear the fact that the government was aware of the growing restiveness of the Valley.<sup>3</sup>

**May 6** – US counter-terrorism officials state Pakistan not doing enough to root out Taliban, which have found a safe haven in Pakistan's tribal areas.<sup>4</sup>

**May 19** – Close to the heels of the statement by the US officials, senior UK military officials accuse Pakistan of sheltering Taliban in Quetta. Pakistani officials dismiss these remarks and the ones made by the US officials as absurd.<sup>5</sup>

**June 5** – The then Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf calls a meeting of the National Security Council to take stock of the increasing tensions in tribal areas.<sup>6</sup>

Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam chief, Fazlur Rehman, is also invited.

**July 9** – Mingora policeman admits that the banned Tehrik-e-Nifaz Shariah Muhammadi was using FM stations to incite the public to rise up against the "un-Islamic" system in the Swat Valley. This is part of a larger report about how over a 100 seminaries, with those operated by Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam in the lead, run 115 "illegal" FM radio stations across the volatile North West Frontier Province, many inciting sectarian hatred. This is the first such report about the hate-broadcasts on radio in Swat.<sup>7</sup>

**July 19** – Reports state that 156 FM stations have been closed down, in the past six months, by government officials across semi-autonomous tribal areas, most Pakistan, notably in Pashtun areas near the Afghan border "to stop the spread of extremism." Pakistan Electronic Media Regulating Authority officials admit that tribal militants and clerics sympathetic to the Taliban and Al Qaeda have also been making anti-government broadcasts, often using mobile units that broadcast over an area of up to 15 km.<sup>8</sup>

**August 8** – Fears expressed by PEMRA officials become all too real as people in Swat burn CDs, VCDs and even their televisions in a bonfire sponsored by the banned Tehrik Nifaz Shariah Muhammadi (TNSM) on instructions of Maulana Fazlullah, broadcast through his illegal FM radio station.<sup>9</sup>

**August 17** – In wake of the rising tensions in Swat, the banned TNSM and the NWFP government come to a compromise over TNSM's campaign against televisions, VCDs and CDs. The TNSM promises to ease its campaign if its activists are released and

<sup>1</sup> "Six militants arrested in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 20, 2006

<sup>2</sup> Khalid Hasan, "Qaeda in Dir, Swat or Malakand", *The Daily Times*, February 02, 2006

<sup>3</sup> "My popularity has gone down", *The Daily Times*, April 29, 2006

<sup>4</sup> "Pakistan not doing much of terror: US", *The Daily Times*, May 7, 2006

<sup>5</sup> "Pakistan sheltering Taliban: UK official", *The Daily Times*, May 20, 2006

<sup>6</sup> Mohammad Imran, "NSC meeting on 15<sup>th</sup> to discuss tribal tensions", *The Daily Times*, July 6, 2006

<sup>7</sup> "'Illegal' FM radio stations in NWFP", *The Daily Times*, July 10, 2006

<sup>8</sup> Govt shuts 156 FM radio stations, *The Daily Times*, July 20, 2006

<sup>9</sup> Iqbal Khattak, "Swatis torch TVs under TNSM spell", *The Daily Times*, August 9, 2009

gets permission to keep running its 'illegal' FM radio station from the NWFP government.<sup>10</sup>

**September 27** – Three members of a family, including a woman and a six-year-old child die in a blast in Matta Tehsil of Swat when an explosive device planted on their roof explodes.<sup>11</sup>

**October 30** – At least 80 people are killed in an airstrike by the Army on a madrassa, allegedly being used as a training camp for militants, in Bajaur Agency. Maulvi Liaqat, a deputy commander of the banned TNSM and head of the madrassa, and his three sons are among the dead.<sup>12</sup>

**November 2** – An Afghan national is stabbed to death in Swat.<sup>13</sup>

**November 12** – The PEMRA closes down another 66 illegal radio stations, since July, in two phases,<sup>14</sup> across the NWFP and 22 more are identified for closure.

**November 23** – The government reopens cases against activists of the banned TNSM, including its acting chief Maulana Alam, Maulana Fazlullah and Maulvi Haq, after their involvement in the suicide attack in Dargai in Malakand Agency is discovered. The suspected TNSM activists are directed through newspaper advertisements to appear in court and face charges filed against them under anti-terrorism laws.<sup>15</sup>

## 2007

<sup>10</sup> TVs and VCDs: TNSM and Government 'compromise', *The Daily Times*, August 18, 2006

<sup>11</sup> "Swat blast kills three of a family", *The Daily Times*, September 28, 2006

<sup>12</sup> "80 killed in madrassa raid", *The Daily Times*, October 31, 2006

<sup>13</sup> "3 Afghans killed in Dir and Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 3, 2006

<sup>14</sup> "66 illegal FM radio stations closed in NWFP", *The Daily Times*, November 13, 2006

<sup>15</sup> "Govt reopens TNSM cases", *The Daily Times*, November 24, 2006

**February 14** - President Pervez Musharraf says that the government will not allow the Talibanisation of Pakistani society, nor allow the Taliban to impede development and prosperity.<sup>16</sup>

**March 25** - The banned TNSM sets a 72-hour deadline for the release of former TNSM chief Maulana Sufi Muhammad. TNSM workers participate in a public meeting at Matta's Mela Ground after forcing their way through several roadblocks set up by the administration. TNSM leaders Maulana Abdul Haq, Maulana Dost Muhammad and Maulana Safiullah warn that 100 suicide bombers are ready to hit various targets across Pakistan if Sufi Muhammad is not freed.<sup>17</sup>

**April 23** - Over 2,000 TNSM activists demand that the government immediately release founding leader Maulana Sufi Muhammad and enforce Sharia. Sufi Muhammad has been in jail for the last six years following his return from Afghanistan. He is alleged to have taken thousands of people to the country to fight the US-led allied forces, which led to the 2002 banning of TNSM and the imprisonment of himself and many of his followers. Remaining activists hold a public meeting at Darora and pass a resolution demanding implementation of Sharia and calling for a boycott of courts being run under "infidel laws". A heavy police contingent is deployed at the site of the meeting while TNSM supporters wearing black turbans, wielding batons, and waving black flags shout slogans against the government and the US. The TNSM warn that if the government does not enforce Sharia and release Sufi Muhammad immediately, they will sacrifice their own lives.<sup>18</sup>

**May 13** - Heavy contingents of police and Frontier Corps (FC) are deployed to

<sup>16</sup> 'Talibanisation won't be allowed', *The Daily Times*, February 15, 2007

<sup>17</sup> 'Release Sufi in 72 hours: TNSM', *The Daily Times*, March 26, 2007

<sup>18</sup> 'TNSM demands Sharia', *The Daily Times*, April 24, 2007

various locations in Swat in a crackdown against banned groups.

The police and FC are deployed at the Shor and Venai areas of Matta tehsil and Chiral and post checkpoints throughout the region. The people of the area express concern over the impending possibility of violence. City DSP Akbar Ali Khan says that the police deployment is routine and the FC has been called in to maintain law and order during a public TNSM rally.<sup>19</sup>

**May 14** - The arrival of a large paramilitary force and police for a reported crackdown on TNSM sees hundreds of police and paramilitary force jawans occupying school buildings, as the authorities negotiate to postpone a rally proposed for May 20. Law enforcement agencies round up dozens of TNSM workers from Swat and Dir districts and there are claims that police and FC jawans have taken up positions on hilltops in Kabal tehsil and also at Saidu Sharif airport. Police use tear-gas, batons and fired shots in the air to disperse TNSM supporters in Kabal.<sup>20</sup>

**May 22** - The Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal provincial government confirms a nine-point peace agreement with Maulana Fazlullah, the powerful TNSM cleric, who after his campaign against TVs, VCDs and CDs has led a campaign through an unlicensed FM radio station against polio vaccinations and education for girls in Swat district. In exchange for allowing the FM radio station to continue broadcasts, Maulana Fazlullah (the son-in-law of jailed TNSM founder Maulana Sufi Muhammad) agrees to support the polio vaccination campaign and education for girls, as well as government efforts to establish law and order. In front of a 100 people jirga, he also agrees to terminate all training facilities for militants and weapon production, and to support the district

administration in any operation against anti-state elements.<sup>21</sup>

**June 20** - Anti-polio teams in Swat district reportedly fail to provide vaccines to around 8,000 children. It is alleged that on the second day of the ongoing anti-polio campaign, few children are vaccinated due to inappropriate arrangements. Health Ministry officials say that announcements will be made at mosques and madrassas in order to involve the community.<sup>22</sup>

**July 03** - Britain intends to outlaw both TNSM and Jammat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh, making it a criminal offence for anyone to belong to or encourage support for the groups. TNSM is accused of providing direct support to Al Qaeda and the Taliban, while The Home Office said that Jammat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh had claimed responsibility for bomb attacks across Bangladesh, including a 2005 suicide bombing.<sup>23</sup>

**July 04** - A policeman and four civilians are killed by a bomb blast targeting a police vehicle in the northwestern region of Swat. A district police chief and his driver are also wounded in the blast, which is thought to be either a grenade or a roadside bomb. Earlier a rocket is fired into a police station, killing a constable and injuring two others. The blast follows Maulana Fazlullah's calls, through his radio broadcasts, to launch jihad against the government in retaliation to the Lal Masjid operation.<sup>24</sup>

**July 12** - A suicide bomber kills three policemen including a sub-inspector, in Swat in what seems to be an attempt to attack an Army Convoy. Another roadside bomb goes off in the Hazra area but there

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<sup>19</sup> 'FC in Swat to raid banned outfits', *The Daily Times*, May 13, 2007

<sup>20</sup> 'Tensions high as govt prepares for crackdown in Swat district', *The Daily Times*, May 15, 2007

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<sup>21</sup> 'Polio vaccination, girls education in Swat: Govt signs peace deal with TNSM', *The Daily Times*, May 23, 2007

<sup>22</sup> '8,000 Swat children await vaccine', *The Daily Times*, June 21, 2007

<sup>23</sup> 'Britain intends to ban TNSM', *The Daily Times*, July 4, 2007

<sup>24</sup> 'Five killed in Swat blast', *The Daily Times*, July 5, 2007

are no casualties.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, TNSM's Maulana Fazlullah issues a call for Jihad even as security is beefed up in Swat and forces take position outside his under-construction madrassa.<sup>26</sup>

**July 13** – President Parvez Musharraf orders a crackdown on religious extremism fearing a large-scale backlash in wake of the Lal Masjid operation. Cautions security personnel from wearing uniforms publicly and approves a plan to deploy paramilitary forces in Swat to crush growing militancy. Troops are positioned in Swat.<sup>27</sup>

**July 15** – Lal Masjid backlash grips NWFP leaving a total of 45 dead and 108 injured. In Swat alone, 13 paramilitary personnel and six civilians, including three children, are killed and more than 50 people injured in Matta when two suicide bombers ram two cars packed with explosives into an army convoy.<sup>28</sup>

**July 31** – Four policemen are injured in Swat when militants target a police van using a remote-controlled bomb at Alabad Gul Bagh in Khwazakhel tehsil. In a separate incident, militants hurl a hand grenade at former nazim Shaida Khan's house at Kuza Banda in Kabal tehsil. The blast partially damages the roof of the house, but causes no casualties.<sup>29</sup>

**August 13** – Five people are killed and as many injured in a bomb blast in a tourist area in Swat.<sup>30</sup>

**August 19** – The Swat peace committee ends its jirga, with a decision that suicide attacks, especially those targeting police and security forces, are "haram" (forbidden). The jirga also passes a resolution demanding President Pervez Musharraf step down after "failing to control law and order" and through another resolution, demands that non-government organisations (NGOs) immediately stop employing women in the district.<sup>31</sup>

**August 22** – Amidst fears of attacks on aid agencies, similar to the ones being carried out across NWFP, Swat District Coordination Officer Syed Mohammad Javed stops NGOs from working in the district after they receive threatening letters from suspected militants. Offices of two NGO's near the DCO's office are sealed.<sup>32</sup>

**August 25** – Video shops in Swat receive threatening letters that ask them to pack up business in 15 days. Similar letters are issued to vehicle owners carrying girls to educational institutions, asking them to install purdahs (curtain) on their vehicles. Veils are made mandatory for all women.<sup>33</sup>

**August 26** – A suicide attacker driving an explosive-laden jeep rams his vehicle into a police van, killing four policemen and injuring two in Mingora.<sup>34</sup>

**August 29** – Seven security forces' personnel are killed as militants attack a checkpoint in Swat. Owners of video centres and barber's shops again receive

<sup>25</sup> "7 including 3 cops killed in NWFP attacks, blasts", *The Daily Times*, July 13, 2007

<sup>26</sup> Iqbal Khattak, "Another standoff brews in Swat", *The Daily Times*, July 13, 2007

<sup>27</sup> "Musharraf orders crackdown on religious extremism", *The Daily Times*, July 14, 2007

<sup>28</sup> Zakir Hassnain and Manzoor Ali Shah, "45 dead and 108 injured in suicide bombings in Swat and DI Khan: Religious extremists carry out revenge attacks", *The Daily Times*, July 16, 2007

<sup>29</sup> "Four cops injured in Swat blast", *The Daily Times*, August 1, 2007

<sup>30</sup> "Eight killed in Swat and Waziristan", *The Daily Times*, August 14, 2007

<sup>31</sup> Saleem Athar, "Swat Jirga says suicide attacks 'haram'", *The Daily Times*, August 20, 2007

<sup>32</sup> "NGOs stopped from working in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 23, 2007

<sup>33</sup> Saleem Athar, "Swat video shops receive threatening letters", *The Daily Times*, August 26, 2007

<sup>34</sup> "4 cops killed, 2 injured in Swat suicide attack", *The Daily Times*, August 27, 2007

threatening letters with the words “Taliban Zindabad” written on them.<sup>35</sup>

**August 31** – Two security personnel are killed and six others injured when militants attack a checkpoint in the Gali Bagh area of Swat.<sup>36</sup>

**September 1** – Public transporters in Swat district receive threatening letters asking them to remove “obscene” photographs and stop playing music in their vehicles or their vehicles would be blown up. Letters are also distributed in Khawaza Khela Bazaar in Swat warning women not to shop in the market fearing which the market would be bombed.<sup>37</sup>

**September 19** – Militants ransack and then blow up a hotel in Chota Kalaam, Swat because women customers come there to eat, a “un-islamic” practice.<sup>38</sup>

**September 20** – A policeman is killed and four security personnel injured when a bomb explodes near Paithom Hotel in the Gali Bagh area of Swat. Meanwhile, Maulana Fazalullah urges his supporters to attack government officials after a demand to release three militants held after the Chota Kalaam hotel bombing incident is rejected by the authorities.<sup>39</sup>

**September 21** – Unidentified attackers open indiscriminate fire on former federal minister and Awami National Party (ANP) leader Muhammad Afzal Khan Lala, killing his driver and gunman, wounding him, his nephew and two servants.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> “Video shops closing in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, August 30, 2007

<sup>36</sup> “2 security men killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, September 1, 2007

<sup>37</sup> “Taliban vigilantes on the prowl in Swat: Public transporters asked to stop music in buses”, *The Daily Times*, September 2, 2007

<sup>38</sup> “Militants blow up hotel in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, September 20, 2007

<sup>39</sup> “Blast kills cop, injures four in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, September 21, 2007

<sup>40</sup> “Ex-minister hurt in Swat attack”, *The Daily Times*, September 22, 2007

**September 30** – Militants blow up a girls’ school in Kabal, Swat to enforce veils. A nearby mosque is also damaged.<sup>41</sup>

**October 3** – Attendance of students and female teachers declines over 25 per cent within two days across Swat in wake of the Kabal bombing and subsequent threatening letters issue to other girls’ schools.<sup>42</sup>

**October 8** – 23-foot high Buddha of Jenanabad, one of the finest examples of Gandharan art, is defaced using dynamite.<sup>43</sup>

**October 13** – Taliban vigilante gun down four alleged criminals in Matta tehsil, less than 24 hours after they publicly lash three alleged kidnappers after a verdict given by clerics.<sup>44</sup>

**October 18** – The increasing influence of Taliban in Swat prompts the government to move an additional 15,000 troops to the area. Speculation is rife that the Army is preparing for a military operation. TNSM’s Maulana Fazlullah calls on his men to fight the Army till the end.<sup>45</sup>

**October 19** – Fazlullah warns the government against military action and admits that he has established shariat courts in Swat.<sup>46</sup>

**October 23** – The army take positions on the hilltops across Swat Valley.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> “Militants bomb girls’ school in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 1, 2007

<sup>42</sup> “Attendance at Swat girls’ schools plummets after bombing, threats”, *The Daily Times*, October 4, 2007

<sup>43</sup> Gary Leupp, “Killing the budha in Pakistan’s Swat Valley”, *Dissident Voice*, November 21, 2007

<sup>44</sup> “Unidentified gunmen kill four ‘criminals’ in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 14, 2007

<sup>45</sup> “Government moves additional army contingents to Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 19, 2007

<sup>46</sup> “Fazlullah warns government against military action in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 20, 2007

<sup>47</sup> “Army moves to Swat hilltops”, *The Daily Times*, October 24, 2007



**October 24** – As the army further reinforces its positions, TNSM’s Maulana Fazlullah vows to retaliate. Additional Frontier Corps troops are deployed in Mingora and 2,500 troops sent to Swat Valley.<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, NWFP Home Secretary Badshah Gul Wazir admits that Fazlullah is trying to establish a parallel government in Swat and has a private force called Shaheen Force consisting of more than 500-armed men. Also, the 59 villages in Matta sub division, Fazlullah’s stronghold, have challenged the government’s writ.<sup>49</sup>

**October 25** - 20 people including 18 troops die and 35 others are injured in a suspected suicide blast aimed at a vehicle carrying Frontier Constabulary (FC) personnel, at Nawan Killi.<sup>50</sup>

**October 26** – Army launches its operations against supporters of Maulana Fazlullah. One militant dies and three others are injured while decapitated bodies of four abducted soldiers are found by the roadside.<sup>51</sup>

**October 27** – Militants behead two security personnel and seven civilians in Mingora and take over police checkpost at Char Bagh.<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, the government also postpones the polio campaign in Swat in wake of the deteriorating security situation.<sup>53</sup>

**October 28** – Ten militants and a girl are killed in the ongoing faceoff between the army and TNSM supporters while 12

civilians, including two journalists, sustain injuries.<sup>54</sup>

**October 29** – Militants announce a temporary ceasefire through Maulana Fazlullah’s FM radio to facilitate both sides to collect bodies of their compatriots. Officials say 60 militants have been killed in the recent fighting. Residents continue to flee their homes.<sup>55</sup> Swat is ‘calm’ but tense.

**October 31** – The fragile ceasefire collapses and fighting resumes; 15 militants, including Maulana Fazlullah’s aide are killed in clashes. A bomb explodes near Saidu Sharif Police Lines but there are no casualties. Military uses gunship helicopters to target militant positions.<sup>56</sup>

**November 1** – About 600 militants attack security personnel near Deri Bagh. Government claims that 70 of these militants have lost their lives in the ensuing clash. Eleven civilians are injured in the crossfire. Militants claim they have surrounded 40 security personnel and hold two NATO soldiers captive.<sup>57</sup> Residents continue to flee to Mardan, Nowshera and Peshawar to escape the fighting.<sup>58</sup>

**November 2** –Maulana Fazlullah loyal militants parade 48 men in Charbagh. These men are said to be paramilitary troops who surrendered during the preceding week’s clashes. The freed soldiers are given Rs 500 each and made to vow they won’t fight Muslim ‘brothers’.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile Maulana Fazlullah says he will negotiate with the government only if it agrees to withdraw security forces from

<sup>48</sup> Athar Saleem, “Fazlullah vows retaliation as army mobilised in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 25, 2007

<sup>49</sup> “Maulana Fazullah establishing parallel govt in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 25, 2007

<sup>50</sup> “18 troops dead in Swat blast”, *The Daily Times*, October 26, 2007

<sup>51</sup> Saleem Athar and Manzoor Ali Shah, “Hundreds flee as ‘operation’ launched in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 27, 2007

<sup>52</sup> “More beheadings in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 28, 2007

<sup>53</sup> Manzoor Ali Shah, “Polio campaign postponed in Swat for security reasons”, *The Daily Times*, October 28, 2007

<sup>54</sup> “10 militants killed in Swat clashes”, *The Daily Times*, October 29, 2007

<sup>55</sup> Saleem Athar, “‘Temporary ceasefire’ in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 30, 2007

<sup>56</sup> “Swat truce collapses”, *The Daily Times*, November 1, 2007

<sup>57</sup> “Around 70 militants killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 2, 2007

<sup>58</sup> “Swat residents continue to move to safer places”, *The Daily Times*, November 2, 2007

<sup>59</sup> “Militants parade 48 captured soldiers”, *The Daily Times*, November 3, 2007

Swat, enforce Sharia and drop all cases against his followers.<sup>60</sup>

**November 3** – Militants free another 120 troops captured during the fighting after they vow not to fight against militants, as they are all ‘Muslim’ brothers. Government says it is willing to negotiate on Maulana Fazlullah’s conditions if the militants surrender.<sup>61</sup>

**November 4** – Militants take over two abandoned police stations and seize weapons and armoured personal carriers and take control of Matta tehsil and Khwazakhela. They set another 160 ‘surrendered’ soldiers free.<sup>62</sup>

**November 6** – Fighters from Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Waziristan join the ranks of Maulana Fazlullah’s armed supporters to fight security forces in Swat.<sup>63</sup>

**November 7** – Maulana Fazlullah’s supporters take control of a police station, paramilitary force camp and other government buildings in Kalam over six out of the eight tehsils in Swat. The militants now control Kabal, Matta, Khawazakhela, Charbagh, Maydan and Kalam.<sup>64</sup>

**November 8** – Sixty Frontier Constabulary (FC) personnel from Drushkhela camp surrender to Taliban militants in the Matta tehsil and hand over their weapons.<sup>65</sup>

**November 10** – Militants abduct seven security officers including a major, a captain, two lance-naiks and three soldiers and also take their vehicle, from Kabal

Bazaar.<sup>66</sup>

**November 12** – Army uses helicopters to target militant hideouts injuring three and subsequently arresting one of the accused in the case of security personnel beheadings. The arrested man is suspected to be a key weapons supplier for Maulana Fazlullah’s men.<sup>67</sup>

**November 14** – Thirty-three militants, two soldiers and five civilians are killed as army helicopters continue targeting Taliban positions in various areas of Swat for the third consecutive day. In another incident 8 military personnel are injured when their convoy is targeted with a bomb. Swat is under curfew.<sup>68</sup>

**November 15** – Fighting continues and 20 militants are reportedly killed by the Army in the ongoing operation.<sup>69</sup>

**November 16** – Army claims to have “cleared” certain areas of Swat from militant control. Another 40 militants are killed bringing their toll to 100 in the last three days. Curfew continues in some parts of Swat.<sup>70</sup>

**November 17** – The army calls for reinforcements with a view to step-up the offensive. More troops, tanks, armoured vehicles and other heavy weaponry reach Swat district.<sup>71</sup>

**November 18** – The death toll of militants crosses 120. Meanwhile, four civilians are also killed in the crossfire and dozens more are injured and several houses are

<sup>60</sup> “Fazlullah sets three conditions for talks”, *The Daily Times*, November 3, 2007

<sup>61</sup> “Swat militants free 120 troops”, *The Daily Times*, November 4, 2007

<sup>62</sup> “Action inevitable as Swat militants seize police stations”, *The Daily Times*, November 5, 2007

<sup>63</sup> “Foreign militants join Fazlullah in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 7, 2007

<sup>64</sup> Saleem Athar, “Fazlullah’s militants take Kalam”, *The Daily Times*, November 8, 2007

<sup>65</sup> “60 Fc men surrender in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 9, 2007

<sup>66</sup> Saleem Athar, “Swat militants ‘abduct’ 7 soldiers”, *The Daily Times*, November 11, 2007

<sup>67</sup> Saleem Athar and Daud Khattak, “Army takes charge of Swat operation”, *The Daily Times*, November 13, 2007

<sup>68</sup> “33 militants, 2 soldiers killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 15, 2007

<sup>69</sup> “Troops strike back in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 16, 2007

<sup>70</sup> “40 militants killed as gunships pound Swat and Shangla”, *The Daily Times*, November 17, 2007

<sup>71</sup> “Army masses for operation in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 18, 2007

destroyed. A peace jirga begins talks on resolving the Swat crisis peacefully.<sup>72</sup>

**November 19** – Army asks people of three villages - Akhund, Dagai and Kabal Khas - to evacuate. There is no let up in clashes between the security forces and militants, killing 18 people, including 12 militants.<sup>73</sup>

**November 20** – Army steps up its offensive, killing 20 more militants. Mass exodus of Swat residents after army issues warnings over loudspeakers.<sup>74</sup>

**November 25** – Army launches its ground offensive. Two soldiers and 35 militants die in the fighting even as the government also launches its own FM radio station to counter the one being run by Maulana Fazlullah.<sup>75</sup>

**November 26** – Local administration announces relaxation of curfew for four-hour period. Army uses artillery and gunship helicopters killing 40 militants, including two commanders, and losing four soldiers.<sup>76</sup>

**November 27** – Militants vacate their trenches on hilltops in Dherai, Kooza Bandai, Bara Bandai, Nangolai, Charbagh, Khwazakhela and Pir Kalay areas and disappear.<sup>77</sup> Over 500,000 of Swat's 1.8 million people are reported to have fled the area.

**November 30** – Authorities relax curfew in Mingora city and adjoining areas while 11 militants arrested in Kanju.<sup>78</sup>

**December 3** – Army takes control of area between Kanjoo and Baryam Chowk and destroys a petrol and ammunitions depot used by militants with heavy artillery fire.<sup>79</sup>

**December 8** – Army claims to have almost cleared Swat of militants after killing 290 rebels and arresting another 143 in recent weeks. Maulana Fazlullah is still free. Army fears militants might regroup and adds that it will take at least 3-4 months for the region to stabilise again if peace prevails.<sup>80</sup>

**December 9** – Three policemen and seven civilians, including two children, die in a suicide car bombing at Ningolai checkpoint in Kabal tehsil. Administration imposes indefinite curfew.<sup>81</sup>

**December 10** – Five people are killed and two others injured when stray shells land on houses in Chaparyal area. Meanwhile, seven army men, including a major and a captain, who were kidnapped by local Taliban in Kabal, are freed.<sup>82</sup>

**December 11** - Troops launch artillery barrages on suspected militant hideouts in the northwestern Swat valley, killing 20 rebels and injuring up to 15.<sup>83</sup>

**December 12** – Army arrests 16 and kills Maulana Fazlullah's key commander Ibne

<sup>72</sup> "Heavy militant casualties in Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 19, 2007

<sup>73</sup> "3 Swat villages' residents asked to leave", *The Daily Times*, November 20, 2007

<sup>74</sup> Saleem Athar and Daud Khattak, "20 dead as thousands flee Swat fighting", *The Daily Times*, November 21, 2007

<sup>75</sup> "Troops start ground offensive in Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 26, 2007

<sup>76</sup> Saleem Athar and Daud Khattak, "40 militants, four soldiers dead in Swat clashes", *The Daily Times*, November 27, 2007

<sup>77</sup> "Militants vacate trenches in several areas of Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 28, 2007

<sup>78</sup> "Operation against Swat militants continues", *The Daily Times*, December 1, 2007

<sup>79</sup> "Troops destroy militant's fuel and ammunition depot in Swat Valley", *The Daily Times*, December 4, 2007

<sup>80</sup> "Swat cleared of militants: army", *The Daily Times*, December 9, 2007

<sup>81</sup> "10 killed in Swat suicide attack", *The Daily Times*, December 10, 2007

<sup>82</sup> "5 killed in rocket attacks in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 11, 2007

<sup>83</sup> "20 militants killed in Swat clashes: army", *The Daily Times*, December 12, 2007

Amin and several others in an overnight bombing.<sup>84</sup>

**December 14** – A Woman is killed and 2 other civilians injured in shelling. Maulana Fazlullah's close aide Maulvi Bashir is among the 14 militants arrested by the army.<sup>85</sup>

**December 16** – Security forces arrest 11 miscreants, including Maulana Fazlullah's uncle and a cousin.<sup>86</sup>

**December 17** – 30 more militants are arrested while trenches and communications systems of militants are also destroyed by security forces.<sup>87</sup>

**December 19** – Eight more militants are arrested. Security forces continue to destroy militant hideouts.<sup>88</sup>

**December 23** – Seven people, including a soldier and six civilians, are killed and another 23 wounded as a suicide bomber targets an army convoy near Mingora. The blast also damages 14 shops.<sup>89</sup>

## 2008

**January 1** – Curfew is imposed for an indefinite period as 27 more suspects, four close aides of Maulana Fazlullah, are held.<sup>90</sup>

**January 3** – A man trying to plant a bomb at an ANP leader's house is arrested. Security forces also arrest 70 suspected

militants, including three local militant commanders, in a crackdown in Shakardara, Matta tehsil.<sup>91</sup>

**January 8** – Rumours that Maulana Fazlullah has been killed in an army operation surface. These are later denied by the man himself.<sup>92</sup>

**January 17** – The NWFP Health Department cancels the third phase of the polio immunisation campaign, scheduled to start on January 22. Officials say anti-immunisation propaganda by clerics 'major problem'.<sup>93</sup>

**January 23** – Gen Kayani visits forward posts in Swat.<sup>94</sup> The government says it will release TNSM Chief Sufi Muhammad after the implementation of its proposed Shar'i Nizam-e-Adl Regulation of 2008 in Malakand division.<sup>95</sup>

**January 27** – Jirga blames government for Swat unrest. Meanwhile the government announces conditional amnesty for the militants in Swat if they agreed to lay down their arms. 70 more are arrested.<sup>96</sup>

**February 2** – Interior Ministry report says 104 suicide, bomb and rocket attacks took place in valley since January 1, 2007. Report also says that the majority of militants were hiding in Kabal, Khawanza Khola, Matta, and Minogra.<sup>97</sup>

**February 6** – Taliban declare unilateral ceasefire in Swat. However, the military

<sup>84</sup> "Key Fazlullah commander killed in Swat offensive", *The Daily Times*, December 13, 2007

<sup>85</sup> "14 militants including Fazlullah's aide held", *The Daily Times*, December 15, 2007

<sup>86</sup> "Fazlullah's uncle and cousin arrested", *The Daily Times*, December 17, 2007

<sup>87</sup> "30 suspected pro-Taliban militants arrested in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 18, 2007

<sup>88</sup> "Eight 'militants' arrested in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 20, 2007

<sup>89</sup> "Mingora suicide blast kills seven", *The Daily Times*, December 24, 2007

<sup>90</sup> "27 suspects held in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 2, 2008

<sup>91</sup> "3 militant commanders among 70 held in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 4, 2008

<sup>92</sup> "Fazlullah killed?", *The Daily Times*, January 9, 2008

<sup>93</sup> "Polio drive suspended in Swat, Waziristan", *The Daily Times*, January 18, 2008

<sup>94</sup> "Gen Kayani visits forward posts in Swat: Army operations only means to an end: COAS", *The Daily Times*, January 24, 2008

<sup>95</sup> "Government links Sufi's release to new Sharia law in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 24, 2008

<sup>96</sup> "Govt announces conditional amnesty for Swat militants", *The Daily Times*, January 28, 2008

<sup>97</sup> "18 militant hideouts in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 3, 2008

says that operations against militants would continue.<sup>98</sup>

**February 14** – At least 20 militants including four commanders surrender to the security forces in Kabal tehsil.<sup>99</sup>

**February 17** – Police deputy superintendents of Kabal and Matta tehsils escape two remote-controlled bomb blasts while inspecting the Bara Bandai area regarding security arrangements for the elections. Political party leaders decide to bar women from casting their votes during elections.<sup>100</sup>

**February 20** – Security forces detain 69 suspected militants from various areas of Charbagh. Limited curfew is still in place.<sup>101</sup>

**February 23** – A suspected militant and a security personnel are killed in a shootout while five people are arrested for their alleged involvement in a suicide bombing.<sup>102</sup>

**February 29** – Thirty-eight people are killed and 50 wounded when a suicide bomber blows himself up during the funeral of DSP Javed Iqbal, who was killed along with three of his men earlier in the day, in Mingora. Nearly 1,000 people were attending the funeral.<sup>103</sup>

**March 1** – Local Taliban behead a 22-year-old man, Mian Jan, in Kabal tehsil on charges of leaking information to security forces.<sup>104</sup>

**March 9** – Caretaker Interior Minister Lt Gen (r) Hamid Nawaz Khan claims that around 200 militants have so far surrendered to the authorities.<sup>105</sup>

**March 11** – Security forces seize a cache of arms and ammunition from abandoned houses during a search operation conducted in Matta tehsil.<sup>106</sup>

**March 15** – Security forces arrest 43 militants, including five key aides of Maulana Fazlullah, during a daylong search operation.<sup>107</sup>

**March 20** – The illegal radio station of Maulana Fazlullah resumes broadcasts, after being closed for three months.<sup>108</sup>

**March 23** – Nine Swat teenagers are kidnapped by suspected militants, reportedly “to be trained as suicide bombers”.<sup>109</sup>

**March 25** – Unidentified gunmen kill three people including a woman in Matta tehsil. Security forces arrest four suspected militants including a militant commander closely linked to Maulana Fazlullah.<sup>110</sup>

**March 29** – Security forces arrest a top militant, Mian Syed, after raiding a house in Saidu Sharif on a tip-off.<sup>111</sup>

**March 31** – Three policemen and a civilian are injured in a roadside bomb blast in Ningolai.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>98</sup> “Taliban declare ceasefire in S Waziristan, Swat”, *The Daily Times*, February 7, 2008

<sup>99</sup> “20 more militants surrender to Swat authorities”, *The Daily Times*, February 15, 2008

<sup>100</sup> “Two officials escape blasts in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, February 18, 2008

<sup>101</sup> “69 suspects held in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, February 21, 2008

<sup>102</sup> “Troop, ‘militant’ killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, February 24, 2008

<sup>103</sup> Manzoor Ali Shah, “Bomb kills DSP, suicide bomber kills 30 at funeral”, *The Daily Times*, March 1, 2008

<sup>104</sup> “Local Taliban behead ‘informant’”, *The Daily Times*, March 2, 2008

<sup>105</sup> “200 militants surrendered in Swat: Hamid”, *The Daily Times*, March 10, 2008

<sup>106</sup> “Arms, ammunition found in abandoned Swat houses”, *The Daily Times*, March 12, 2008

<sup>107</sup> “43 militants arrested in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, March 15, 2008

<sup>108</sup> “Fazlullah’s FM station resumes broadcast”, *The Daily Times*, March 21, 2008

<sup>109</sup> Saleem Athar, “Nine Swat teenagers kidnapped ‘for suicide attack training’”, *The Daily Times*, March 24, 2008

<sup>110</sup> “Three killed in Swat, Fazlullah aide arrested”, *The Daily Times*, March 26, 2008

<sup>111</sup> “Top militant arrested in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, March 30, 2008

<sup>112</sup> “Three policemen injured in Swat roadside blast”, *The Daily Times*, April 1, 2008

**April 9** – Armed supporters of Maulana Fazlullah reappear in Swat and in a show of strength march through Matta tehsil.<sup>113</sup>

**April 17** – Two children, a sub-inspector and constable of the Kanju police station are injured when unidentified assailants open fire on them.<sup>114</sup>

**April 21** – The NWFP government releases Maulana Sufi Muhammad, the chief of the banned militant organisation TNSM, under a peace deal to restore normalcy to Swat and its adjoining areas. Government says suicide bombings and the killing of innocent people necessitated the accord. Under the agreement, TNSM will continue to pursue a peaceful struggle for the enforcement of Shariah, while respecting the law and condemning those who commit violence, say officials.<sup>115</sup>

**April 30** - In a speech broadcast on his illegal FM radio station, Mullah Fazlullah says he is ready for talks with the government.<sup>116</sup>

**May 4** – Suspected militants torched nine rooms of a Government Girls High School in Charbagh after holding the watchman captive and collecting copies of all religious texts from the premises.<sup>117</sup>

**May 9** – The coalition government in the NWFP reaches a “ceasefire agreement” with pro-Taliban rebel cleric Mullah Fazlullah after the bloody campaign for the implementation of the Shariah. Under the agreement, the militants agree to neither attack security forces nor set girls’ schools or state installations on fire. The government agrees not carry out search

operations against militants and to withdraw from Swat.<sup>118</sup>

**May 14** – Reports about the use of child militants by Maulana Fazlullah and his aides surface.<sup>119</sup>

**May 20** – Authorities refuse to withdraw from Swat completely till the situation normalizes.<sup>120</sup>

**May 21** – The NWFP government inks a 15-point peace accord with Swat-based militants. Under the deal, Taliban prisoners will be freed in two weeks and militants will relinquish control of Imam Dheri. The Army says it will not oppose the peace deal.<sup>121</sup> On the same day, militants attack Matta police station and houses of several police personnel, leaving one dead and three injured.<sup>122</sup> Militants also torch two schools in Nangolay and Koza Bandai area of Kabal tehsil.<sup>123</sup>

**May 31** - Key militant leaders remain in Piochar, a small remote village surrounded by mountains in Swat valley, notwithstanding the May 21 peace deal between the NWFP government and militants.<sup>124</sup>

**June 9** – Despite the peace deal there is no let up in incidents of violence. The government scraps its peace deal.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>113</sup> “Taliban reappear in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, April 10, 2008

<sup>114</sup> “Two children, two police officials shot in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, April 18, 2008

<sup>115</sup> Iqbal Khattak, “TNSM chief Sufi Muhammed freed”, *The Daily Times*, April 22, 2008

<sup>116</sup> “Fazlullah says he is ready to talk”, *The Daily Times*, May 1, 2008

<sup>117</sup> “Militants torch girls school in Swat”, *The News*, May 5, 2008

<sup>118</sup> “Government, Fazlullah agree on ceasefire in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, May 10, 2008

<sup>119</sup> “30 madrassa students arrested for child militancy in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, May 15, 2008

<sup>120</sup> “Army to remain in Swat, Tribal Areas, say Rehman Malik”, *The Daily Times*, May 21, 2008

<sup>121</sup> Daud Khattak, “Govt, Swat Taliban sign peace deal”, *The Daily Times*, May 22, 2008

<sup>122</sup> “Militants launch offensive in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, May 22, 2008

<sup>123</sup> “Policeman killed, 2 girls schools bombed in Swat”, *The News*, May 22, 2008

<sup>124</sup> Daud Khattak, “Swat village still militant den”, *The Daily Times*, June 1, 2008

<sup>125</sup> “Peace deal with Swat militants scrapped”, *The Daily Times*, June 10, 2008

**June 22** – Swat-based Taliban boycott negotiation with the Awami National Party-led NWFP government.<sup>126</sup>

**June 24** – Three Swat-based Taliban are killed and another four wounded in a clash with security forces. Government claims taking control of strategic Sambat Mountain.<sup>127</sup> Two more girls schools in Matta tehsil are destroyed.<sup>128</sup>

**June 25** – A soldier is killed and two Frontier Corps personnel seriously injured in a spate of violent attacks across Swat. Miscreants also set on fire 11 girls' schools in various parts of the restive valley.<sup>129</sup>

**June 28** – Twelve unidentified gunmen kill four people in Imam Dheri area. Three powerful bombs are defused in Matta tehsil.<sup>130</sup>

**June 29** - Seven people, including two security personnel, are killed when a roadside bomb explodes.<sup>131</sup>

**June 30** – The Tehreek-e-Taliban of Swat refuse an invitation to attend peace negotiations that had been extended to them by the NWFP government.<sup>132</sup>

**July 1** – Two people are killed and another three injured when unidentified gunmen fire on a car in the Bara Bandai area of Kabal tehsil, while the body of a young man is recovered from a river.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>126</sup> “Swat Taliban to boycott today’s peace talks”, *The Daily Times*, June 20, 2008

<sup>127</sup> “Soldier, three Taliban killed in Swat clash”, *The Daily Times*, June 25, 2008

<sup>128</sup> “Two schools torched in Swat”, *The News*, June 25, 2008

<sup>129</sup> “Soldier killed; 11 girls’ schools torched”, *The News*, June 26, 2008

<sup>130</sup> “Four more killed in Swat violence”, *The Daily Times*, June 29, 2008

<sup>131</sup> “2 soldiers killed in Swat attack”, *The Daily Times*, June 30, 2008

<sup>132</sup> “Swat Taliban reject peace negotiations”, *The Daily Times*, July 1, 2008

<sup>133</sup> “Four killed in fresh Swat violence”, *The Daily Times*, July 2, 2008

**July 7** – The NWFP government and the Swat Taliban hold peace talks in the Saidu Sharif town and reach a consensus on three major points. The parties agree to form a committee for the implementation of Shariah in the Malakand division, to remove unnecessary security checkposts and to a ban on carrying weapons in Swat.<sup>134</sup>

**July 14** – The Tehreek-e-Taliban Swat establishes a Mohtasib Shura Committee in Manglor for the “provision of easy justice to locals.”<sup>135</sup>

**July 20** – Two militants are killed in an exchange of fire with security forces in Swat’s Matta tehsil after a security post comes under attack.<sup>136</sup>

**July 23** – Three people including two women are killed and six others injured when unidentified men open fire at a car in Kabal tehsil.<sup>137</sup>

**July 25** – A girls’ school and 13 shops are blown up in a fresh wave of bombings. in Kabal tehsil.<sup>138</sup>

**July 26** – Two barber shops are blown up in Charbagh tehsil. A five kg bomb is diffused in Matta tehsil.<sup>139</sup>

**July 29** – Security forces re-launch an operation in Swat after Taliban militants kidnapped 30 security forces personnel from a checkpost, a day after killing three intelligence officials. Militants warn of suicide attacks across the country.<sup>140</sup> Despite the peace deal, attacks on shops,

<sup>134</sup> “Swat Taliban, government reach 3-point consensus”, *The Daily Times*, July 8, 2008

<sup>135</sup> “Swat Taliban form Mohtasib Shura”, *The Daily Times*, July 15, 2008

<sup>136</sup> “2 militants killed in Swat clash”, *The Daily Times*, July 21, 2008

<sup>137</sup> “Three killed, six injured in Swat shooting”, *The Daily Times*, July 24, 2008

<sup>138</sup> “Girls’ school, shops blown up in Swat”, *Dwan*, July 26, 2008

<sup>139</sup> “Two barber shopsblown up in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, July 27, 2008

<sup>140</sup> “Swat operation re-launched”, *The Daily Times*, July 30, 2008

schools and government establishments have not ceased.

**July 30** – Twenty-five Taliban militants and five soldiers are killed in a fierce clash near Mingora.<sup>141</sup> Meanwhile, militants warned the members of the national and provincial assemblies from the district to resign from their seats or face attacks.<sup>142</sup>

**July 31** – Fresh fighting between security forces and Taliban militants leaves 13 civilians and around 20 militants dead.<sup>143</sup>

**August 5** – Militants burned a girls' high school in Tahirabad in Mingora, a girls' middle school in Shakradara in Matta and a girls' primary school in Zangi, Charbagh tehsil. A child is killed and another injured as a mortar shell lands near a house in Koray Cham area of Kabal tehsil.<sup>144</sup>

**August 7** – Taliban behead a man for allegedly spying and gun down three more. They further say that they will not negotiate with the government till the forces leave the valley.<sup>145</sup>

**August 9** – Militants gun down eight policemen when they attack a police checkpost in Buner. Unidentified militants also blow up a bridge in Sinpora in Matta tehsil, disconnecting the road network between Matta and Chitral. Fresh troops reach Swat.<sup>146</sup>

**August 10** - Militants blew up three bridges in the Sech Ban, Nazarabad and Khwazakhela Bandai areas. Taliban spokesman Muslim Khan says they are targeting official buildings and schools in

retaliation for the destruction of Taliban houses by security forces.<sup>147</sup>

**August 14** - Three persons, including a woman and her nephew, are killed in crossfire between the security forces and militants in Kabal tehsil. Another man is killed on charges of spreading propaganda against the Taliban.<sup>148</sup>

**August 17** – Four civilians including a woman are killed as security forces continue an operation against militants. Two of the dead are shot dead for violating curfew in Manglor.<sup>149</sup>

**August 28** – Militants kill four people they suspected of spying. The Army kills 23 militants in three separate clashes.<sup>150</sup>

**August 29** – Twenty-five militants, including two Taliban commanders, are killed in an airstrike. A private jail and an ammunition depot of militants are among the airstrike targets.<sup>151</sup>

**August 30** – Army kills 40 more militants including two senior commanders loyal to Maulana Fazlullah, in an airstrike.<sup>152</sup>

**September 4** – Troops backed by helicopter gunships kill 17 militants in the Kooza Bandai area. The wife of a Jamaat-e-Islami leader and his three children are killed when a mortar shell hits their house during the operation.<sup>153</sup>

**September 21** – Unidentified men blow up a grid station in the Rahimabad area in

<sup>141</sup> "Five soldiers, 25 militants killed in Swat clash", *The Daily Times*, July 31, 2008

<sup>142</sup> "Taliban warn Mps from Swat to quit", *The Daily Times*, July 31, 2008

<sup>143</sup> "33 more killed as Swat operation continues", *The Daily Times*, August 1, 2008

<sup>144</sup> "Mortar kills child in Swat, three more girls' schools torched", *The Daily Times*, August 6, 2008

<sup>145</sup> "Taliban announce all-out war in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 8, 2008

<sup>146</sup> "Militants kills eight policemen near Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 10, 2008

<sup>147</sup> "Taliban blow up 3 bridges in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 11, 2008

<sup>148</sup> "3 killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 15, 2008

<sup>149</sup> "Four civilians die in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 18, 2008

<sup>150</sup> "Army kills 23 militants, four 'spies' slaughtered", *The Daily Times*, August 29, 2008

<sup>151</sup> "Airstrike kills 25 militants in Swat", *The Daily Times*, August 30, 2008

<sup>152</sup> "Fazlullah commanders among 40 killed in Swat airstrike", *The Daily Times*, August 31, 2008

<sup>153</sup> "17 militants killed in Swat action", *The Daily Times*, September 5, 2008



Mingora, disrupting power supply to Swat and Shangla districts and leading to a loss worth one billion rupees.<sup>154</sup>

**September 24** –Taliban torch a private bank and two schools in Charbagh tehsil. A security forces personnel is killed in a blast in Kot area of the tehsil. Six security forces personnel are wounded when unidentified men open fire on their convoy in Mingora.<sup>155</sup>

**September 26** – Taliban publicly execute a man after finding him ‘guilty’ of charges of murder, robbery and theft in Swat’s Speenpura area. An Islamic court hands down the verdict and hundreds witness the execution.<sup>156</sup>

**October 7** – Taliban blew up two private girls’ colleges in Sangota area of Swat.<sup>157</sup>

**October 10** – Taliban kidnap Swat naib nazim, Malik Siddique Ahmed. The Taliban also blow up two girls’ schools in Ali Grama and Sirsenai areas of Kabal tehsil and also shoot dead the personal secretary to Member of the National Assembly Syed Alauddin.<sup>158</sup>

**October 16** – A suicide bomber rams a vehicle packed with explosives into the Mingora Police Station, killing four security personnel, injuring 27 including 2 civilians and destroying the building.<sup>159</sup>

**October 19** – Fighter jets bomb a Taliban hideout killing two commanders and 25 other Taliban. An arms dump is also destroyed in airstrike.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>154</sup> “Grid station blown up in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, September 22, 2008

<sup>155</sup> “Three killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, September 25, 2008

<sup>156</sup> “Taliban execute Swat ‘criminal’”, *The Daily Times*, September 27, 2008

<sup>157</sup> “Taliban blow up 2 girls’ colleges in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 8, 2008

<sup>158</sup> Saleem Athar, “Taliban kidnap Swat naib nizam”, *The Daily Times*, October 11, 2008

<sup>159</sup> “Suicide bomber destroys police station in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 17, 2008

<sup>160</sup> “27 killed as fighter jets destroy Taliban den in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 20, 2008

**October 27** – Ten Taliban are killed in a clash with troops in Sarsanai village of Matta tehsil.<sup>161</sup>

**November 2** – Thirteen Taliban are killed and nine critically injured, while two security personnel are killed in various clashes across Swat.<sup>162</sup>

**November 6** – Two soldiers are killed when a suicide bomber ploughs his explosives-laden car into a Frontier Corps (FC) camp in Mingora.<sup>163</sup>

**November 11** – Eleven Taliban are killed in gunfights with troops across Swat valley. A girl is killed in the Muhammad Beg area of Kabal in crossfire.<sup>164</sup>

**November 12** – Eight Taliban and a soldier are killed in an exchange of fire in Kabal tehsil. Taliban blow up a boys’ high school in Drushkhela area of Matta tehsil.<sup>165</sup>

**November 15** – Nine Taliban including a commander are killed in clashes with security forces in Swat. An FC soldier is also killed in clashes.<sup>166</sup>

**November 19** – Taliban blow up a boys’ primary school in Bara Bandai area of Kabal tehsil taking the total figure of destroyed schools to 123. Five Taliban are killed in military operations. Four people – two women in Khwazakhela and two men in Kabal – are killed and seven injured as mortar shells hit their houses.<sup>167</sup>

<sup>161</sup> “10 Taliban killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, October 28, 2008

<sup>162</sup> “13 Taliban killed, 4 cops abducted in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 3, 2008

<sup>163</sup> “2 FC men dead in Mingora attack”, *The Daily Times*, November 7, 2008

<sup>164</sup> “11 Taliban killed in Swat, 7 in Bajaur”, *The Daily Times*, November 12, 2008

<sup>165</sup> “Eight Taliban, soldier killed in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 13, 2008

<sup>166</sup> “9 Taliban killed in Swat, 6 in Bajaur”, *The Daily Times*, November 16, 2008

<sup>167</sup> “5 Taliban killed in Bajaur, 5 in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, November 20, 2008

**November 22** – Taliban flog four in Kabal and Charbagh. Meanwhile, a CD and video shop is set on fire in Mingora.<sup>168</sup>

**November 28** – Six of a family, including two women, are killed by unidentified men in Kabal tehsil.<sup>169</sup>

**November 30** – Unidentified men set a CD shop on fire. The blaze engulfs an adjacent store as well in Mohallah Darusalam.<sup>170</sup>

**December 6** – Thirteen Taliban were killed in two clashes in Swat district.<sup>171</sup>

**December 12** – Unidentified assailants blow up Awami National Party (ANP) MNA Muzaffarul Mulk Khan's house near Mingora city. The Taliban also blow up another public school for boys in Swat's Qambar area. A nearby girls school was also damaged.<sup>172</sup>

**December 14** – Taliban kill an anti-Taliban cleric, Pir Samiullah, and his eight followers, torch his house and kidnap 25 of his followers.<sup>173</sup>

**December 21** – Unidentified gunmen kill a general councillor and his son and also torch their house and a shop.<sup>174</sup>

**December 22** – The army gun down 15 more Taliban in Shakar Dara area and also destroy their command control and communication centre there.<sup>175</sup>

**December 23** – Four people are killed in separate incidents of firing and violence in Swat, as the Taliban blow up a link bridge in Khawazakhela area, affecting the land link between the Charbagh and Khawazakhela tehsils.<sup>176</sup>

**December 24** – Taliban in Swat district imposed a ban on female education and warned teachers of 'severe consequences' if any girl is seen heading for school after a 15-day deadline ends. The announcement is made by a spokesman of Maulana Fazlullah. They also banned women from visiting markets.<sup>177</sup>

## 2009

**January 3** – Eight bodies were recovered from different parts of Swat. Officials say the dead are victims of targeted killings.<sup>178</sup>

**January 4** – Five people, including police personnel, are killed in separate incidents of violence. Traders and shopkeepers close businesses fearing further violence. Two slaughtered bodies were found in parts of Mingora while unidentified armed men kill three people in Matta tehsil.<sup>179</sup>

**January 5** – Taliban shoot dead two people in Swat including a female dancer who did not heed the Taliban's warnings to abandon her profession. The bodies are found dumped in Mingora.<sup>180</sup>

**January 10** – Taliban are running over 70 parallel courts in several areas of Swat

<sup>168</sup> "Army takes control of Kabal in Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 23, 2008

<sup>169</sup> "Six of a family killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, November 29, 2008

<sup>170</sup> "CD shop torched in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 1, 2008

<sup>171</sup> "13 Taliban killed in Swat clashes", *The Daily Times*, December 7, 2008

<sup>172</sup> "MNA's house, school blown up in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 13, 2008

<sup>173</sup> "Taliban kill rival cleric, eight followers in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 15, 2008

<sup>174</sup> "Councillor, son killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 22, 2008

<sup>175</sup> "15 Taliban killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, December 23, 2008

<sup>176</sup> "Violence claims 4 lives in Swat, Khawazakhela bridge blown up", *The Daily Times*, December 24, 2008

<sup>177</sup> "Taliban ban female education in Swat district", *The Daily Times*, December 25, 2008

<sup>178</sup> "Eight bodies found in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 4, 2009

<sup>179</sup> "Violence claims five lives in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 5, 2009

<sup>180</sup> "To killed, journalist's house blown up in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 6, 2009

district to provide what they call 'speedy and easy justice' to people.<sup>181</sup>

**January 16** – Around 80,000 female students face a year without classes, as government and private schools across Swat are unlikely to reopen after winter vacations end after a Taliban directive.<sup>182</sup>

**January 18** – Three people, including a Frontier Constabulary (FC) official, are killed and two others injured fresh violence.<sup>183</sup>

**January 19** – Military operations are not a solution to all the problems in the Tribal Areas and Swat, Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani tells the National Assembly and vows to come up with a 'political strategy' to deal with the situation soon.<sup>184</sup> Meanwhile, Taliban blow up five boys' and a girls' school in Swat.<sup>185</sup>

**January 20** – President Asif Ali Zardari and Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani task ally Fazlur Rehman to aid talks between the government and the Swat Taliban.<sup>186</sup>

**January 22** – Eleven Taliban are killed and nine others injured in separate military assaults in Swat.<sup>187</sup>

**January 23** – Two security force personnel are killed and 25 others injured when a suicide bomber drives his explosives-laden vehicle into a security checkpoint. Five members of a family including women,

children are killed when their house is shelled.<sup>188</sup>

**January 24** – Eight Taliban, including their commander, are killed in Swat, as security forces take control of schools.<sup>189</sup>

**January 25** – Swat Taliban release a list of 43 people – including former and incumbent ministers – who they have declared 'wanted' and liable to punishment under the Taliban sharia. The 'wanted' men include former and current members of the national and provincial assemblies, district and local nazims, officials of political parties, local elders and other influential residents. The announcement that the leaders were liable to punishment and must appear in Taliban courts is made by rebel cleric Mullah Fazlullah on his FM radio channel.<sup>190</sup> The terror of Fazlullah's radio grows unabated.

**January 26** – The NWFP government has lost its writ in the volatile Swat valley, the ruling ANP admits in the Senate.<sup>191</sup> Meanwhile four civilians lose their lives in the ongoing military operations against the Taliban in Swat.

**January 27** – Authorities impose an indefinite curfew in the main city of Swat as troops launch fresh operations against the Taliban. Five civilians lose their lives.<sup>192</sup> Authorities say they are helpless against destruction of schools.<sup>193</sup>

**January 28** – Kayani says that the army will defeat the Taliban and establish the

<sup>181</sup> "Taliban running parallel courts in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 11, 2009

<sup>182</sup> "80,000 female students bear brunt of Taliban ban in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 17, 2008

<sup>183</sup> "FC official, 2 others killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 19, 2009

<sup>184</sup> Zulfiqar Ghuman, "Military action not only solution to Swat: PM", *The Daily Times*, January 20, 2009

<sup>185</sup> "Taliban blow up 6 schools in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 20, 2009

<sup>186</sup> "President tasks Fazl to hold talks with Swat Taliban", *The Daily Times*, January 21, 2009

<sup>187</sup> "11 Taliban killed in military offensive in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 23, 2009

<sup>188</sup> "12 killed in Swat bombs, mortars", *The Daily Times*, January 24, 2009

<sup>189</sup> "8 Taliban killed in Swat as forces take control of schools", *The Daily Times*, January 25, 2009

<sup>190</sup> "Swat Taliban summon politicians to Sharia court", *The Daily Times*, January 26, 2009

<sup>191</sup> "ANP admits govt has lost its writ in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 27, 2009

<sup>192</sup> Saleem Athar, "Troops launch fresh operation in Swat", *The Daily Times*, January 28, 2009

<sup>193</sup> "School burnings in Swat can't be stopped, says minister", *The Daily Times*, January 28, 2009

rule of law in Swat again after meeting Pashtun leader Afzal Lala.<sup>194</sup>

**January 29** – Military troops advance further into the Swat Valley. A civilian is killed in the crossfire and the office of the DIG is damaged in a rocket attack.<sup>195</sup> Officials say it's a matter of days before the Taliban are ousted from Swat.

**January 31** – Nine people, including three security personnel, are killed in fresh incidents of violence.<sup>196</sup>

**February 1** – Sixteen Taliban are killed and five captured and in Swat operations. Twenty eight unidentified bodies are found.<sup>197</sup>

**February 2** – Seventy Taliban are killed as troops pound Taliban hideouts in Swat, prompting another wave of migration from the Valley to safer locations.<sup>198</sup>

**February 3** – Fifteen Taliban and three security personnel are killed as fighting continues in Swat, bringing to 50 the total number of Taliban killed in the last 24 hours.<sup>199</sup>

**February 4** – The Taliban release 25 security personnel who were taken hostage after an attack on a security post in Swat. A Taliban spokesman claims the men have pledged not to fight the group. Authorities confirm the presence of foreign militants in Swat.<sup>200</sup> Meanwhile, the increasing

numbers of displaced Swatis become cause for urgent governmental attention.<sup>201</sup>

**February 7** – The situation in Swat continues to be tense as three more unidentified bodies, dressed in Army fatigues, are found in Aligrama area of Kabal tehsil.<sup>202</sup>

**February 8** – The United Nations (UN) relief organisations have begin their relief activities for the people affected by the ongoing military operation in Swat.<sup>203</sup>

**February 10** – Suspected Taliban torch a boys' school and a Basic Health Unit (BHU) in Matta tehsil, while a bridge is blown up in Kaladand area near Mingora city. The total number of destroyed schools in Swat has now reached 190, of which 122 are boys' schools and 68 are girls' schools.<sup>204</sup>

**February 13** – At least five Taliban are killed, and six injured, in clashes with security forces near Matta and Aligrama areas of Swat. The security forces also kill two people who violated a curfew in the district's Kanjoo area.<sup>205</sup>

**February 14** – The NWFP government and TNSM leader Maulana Sufi Muhammad agree to implement sharia in the Malakand division of Swat.<sup>206</sup>

**February 15** – Taliban declare a 10-day ceasefire after the agreement is signed.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>194</sup> "Army will restore writ in Swat: COAS", *The Daily Times*, January 29, 2009

<sup>195</sup> "Troops advance as gunships pound Swat Taliban positions", *The Daily Times*, January 30, 2009

<sup>196</sup> "3 security personnel among 9 killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 1, 2009

<sup>197</sup> "16 Taliban killed in Swat operation", *The Daily Times*, February 2, 2009

<sup>198</sup> "70 killed as troops pound Taliban hideouts in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 3, 2009

<sup>199</sup> "15 Taliban killed in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 4, 2009

<sup>200</sup> "Taliban free 25 security men in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 5, 2009

<sup>201</sup> "Swat, IDPs tops priority: PM", *The Daily Times*, February 5, 2009

<sup>202</sup> "Three bodies in army fatigues found in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 8, 2009

<sup>203</sup> "UN begins relief work for people from Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 9, 2009

<sup>204</sup> "Taliban torch boys school in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 10, 2009

<sup>205</sup> Saleem Athar, "Five Taliban killed, six others injured in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 14, 2009

<sup>206</sup> "Government and TNSM agree on Sharia enforcement in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 15, 2009

<sup>207</sup> Daud Khattak, "Govt, TNSM agree on Nizam-e-Adl in Malakand", *The Daily Times*, February 16, 2009

Meanwhile another boys school was blown up by the Taliban in Charbagh tehsil.

**February 16** – The NWFP government formally announces the implementation of the Nizam-e-Adl Regulations 2009 in Malakand division to placate the TNSM and Swat-based Taliban. The federal government is yet to finalise the agreement. Troops stay put for the time being.<sup>208</sup> The international community reacts sharply to this development.

**February 17** – TNSM chief Sufi Muhammad says he would urge the Taliban to lay down their weapons and admits he wants Islamic rule worldwide.<sup>209</sup>

**February 18** – TNSM chief Sufi Mohammad leads hundreds of supporters and activists in a march to plead peace with the leadership of the Swat-based Taliban. Before leaving for Matta tehsil, they march through Mingora.<sup>210</sup> A journalist, Musa Khankhel, covering this march is shot dead. Even as the international community expresses fears about Taliban establishing their writ in Swat, JUI (F) chief Fazlur Rehman says that the agreement has President Zardari's green signal.<sup>211</sup>

**February 19** – Swat Taliban chief Mullah Fazlullah discusses with TNSM chief Sufi Muhammad the Swat peace deal in a meeting at an undisclosed location in the Matta tehsil. Sufi tries to convince the Taliban to lay down their arms. Fazlullah seeks one day to consult his shura.<sup>212</sup> Meanwhile, the foreign office dismisses sharp world reactions towards the deal as speculative.<sup>213</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Daud Khattak, "NWFP govt unveils Nizam-e-Adl", *The Daily Times*, February 17, 2009

<sup>209</sup> "Sufi in Swat for talks with Taliban", *The Daily Times*, February 18, 2009

<sup>210</sup> "TNSM leader leads 'peace march' to Matta", *The Daily Times*, February 19, 2009

<sup>211</sup> "Deal with President, PM consent: Fazl", *The Daily Times*, February 19, 2009

<sup>212</sup> "Sufi, Maulana Fazlullah discuss peace in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 20, 2009

<sup>213</sup> "World reaction on Swat deal mostly speculative", *The Daily Times*, February 20, 2009

**February 20** – Swat peace talks 'almost successful' as Fazlullah's spokesman says good news in one or two days and Sufi's spokesman says peace would be restored to Swat first and sharia enforcement will follow.<sup>214</sup>

**February 21** – A 'permanent ceasefire' is announced in Swat following successful negotiations between TSNM chief Maulana Sufi Muhammad and his son-in-law and Taliban commander Maulana Fazlullah. Speaking on his illegal FM radio channel, Fazlullah declares the ceasefire and says the Taliban would not abstain from rendering any sacrifice for the sake of Islam. He said there were no foreign fighters in Swat, adding that they would continue their struggle until they defeat the United States in Afghanistan. Girls schools will open from tomorrow, he says.<sup>215</sup>

**February 22** - Taliban release Swat DCO and six guards in a swap and gets two of its men free in exchange. A third man will be released soon.<sup>216</sup>

**February 23** – Sufi Muhammad, chief of the banned TNSM, announces a 10-point peace plan for Swat in a press conference. Sufi asks the Taliban to remove all their checkpoints and not to display arms in the Swat valley. He asks the government to withdraw troops from schools and other buildings and stop all military operations immediately.<sup>217</sup> The military ceases operations in Swat. Government says Swat returnees will get assistance and compensation for losses.

**February 24** – Maulana Fazlullah too declares indefinite ceasefire and asks his men to stop displaying weapons and to end attacks on military vehicles. He also

<sup>214</sup> Ghulam Farooq, "Swat peace talks 'almost successful'", *The Daily Times*, February 21, 2009

<sup>215</sup> "'Permanent' ceasefire announced in Swat", *The Daily Times*, February 22, 2009

<sup>216</sup> "Taliban release Swat DCO and six guards in swap", *The Daily Times*, February 23, 2009

<sup>217</sup> "Sufi's 10-point Swat peace plan", *The Daily Times*, February 24, 2009

warns the authorities against fresh troop deployment and orders all NGOs out of Swat.<sup>218</sup>

**February 25** – Taliban disband most checkpoints and stop carrying weapons in public a day after announcing an indefinite ceasefire in the Swat valley. Say all checkpoints will be removed only after complete army withdrawal.<sup>219</sup>

**February 28** – The NWFP government annuls its decision about distributing weapons among villagers to tackle the Taliban.<sup>220</sup>

**March 1** – Swat cleric Sufi Muhammad, who has promised peace in the troubled Swat valley if the government implanted the sharia law, warns that he wants Islamic courts set up in two weeks. He says he was not happy over the fact that there had been no tangible progress since February 16 when the NWFP government agreed to implement the Shari Nizam-e-Adl.<sup>221</sup> Meanwhile, a Frontier Corps commander and his four guards were abducted in Kamar area.<sup>222</sup>

**March 2** – NWFP chief minister says girls' schools will resume but they will have to wear veils as per the local rule.<sup>223</sup>

**March 3** – Suspected Taliban ambush a security vehicle, killing two troops and injuring an officer. They own responsibility for the attack saying that the military is violating the true agreement by making movements in the area without prior information, forcing hem to defend themselves. TNSM chief, Sufi Muhammed

too accuses the government of violating the truce and threatens to abandon the peace agreement.<sup>224</sup>

**March 4** – The NWFP government strikes a 17-point deal with the banned TNSM in the Swat valley. As per the deal, music too has been banned in Swat.<sup>225</sup>

**March 5** –TNSM chief Sufi Muhammad and Swat Taliban chief Maulana Fazlullah meet at an undisclosed location to discuss the implementation of the Swat peace deal with the government. Sufi urges Fazlullah to get his men to lay down their arms.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> “Fazlullah declares indefinite ceasefire”, *The Daily Times*, February 25, 2009

<sup>219</sup> “Taliban remove checkpoints in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, February 26, 2009

<sup>220</sup> “NWFP govt reverses weapon distribution decision in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, March 1, 2009

<sup>221</sup> “Sufi seats deadline for Nizam-e-Adal implementation”, *The Daily Times*, March 2, 2009

<sup>222</sup> “Five FC personnel kidnapped in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, March 2, 2009

<sup>223</sup> “hoti promises girls’ education in Swat”, *The Daily Times*, March 3, 2009

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<sup>224</sup> “Sufi threatens to abandon ‘peace mission’”, *The Daily Times*, March 4, 2009

<sup>225</sup> “Security forces and TNSM strike 17-point accord”, *The Daily Times*, March 5, 2009

<sup>226</sup> “Sufi meets Fazlullah, asks Taliban to lay down arms”, *The Daily Times*, March 6, 2009