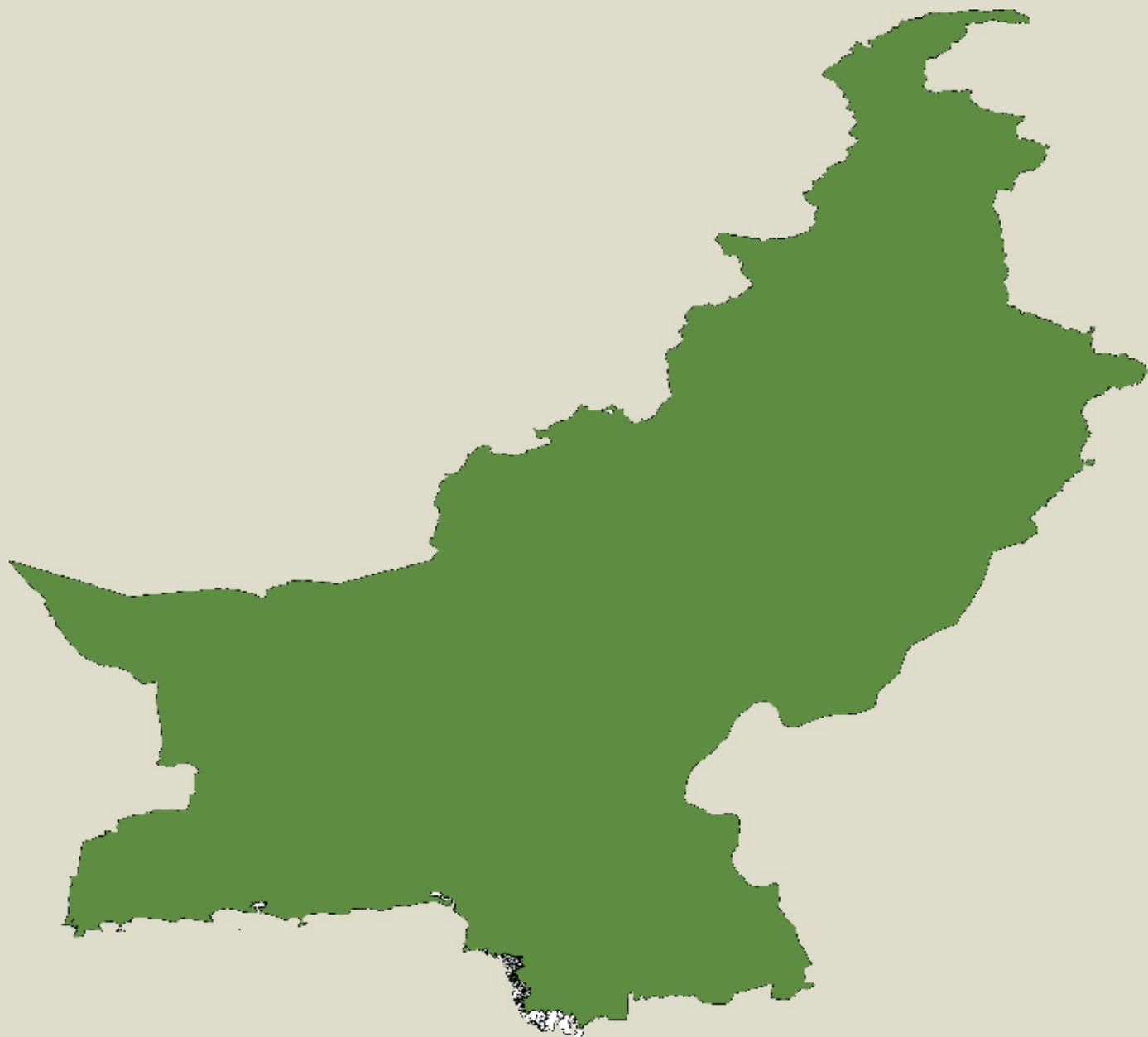


December 2014

PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST

*A Selected Summary of News, Views and Trends
from Pakistani Media*



*Prepared by
YaqoobulHassan
and Shreyas Deshmukh
(Interns, Pakistan Project, IDSA)*

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
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रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE STUDIES AND ANALYSES

1-Development Enclave, Near USI
Delhi Cantonment, New Delhi-110010

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ABBREVATIONS

ANP: Awami National Party
APC: All Parties Conference
APCC: Annual Plan Coordination Committee
BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party
BNP: Baluchistan National Party
CEC: Chief Election Commissioner
CPEC: China- Pakistan Economic Corridor
CR20G: China Railway 20 Bureau Group
CRCC: China Railway Construction Corporation
EAD: Economic Affairs Division
ECP: Election Commission of Pakistan
ETIM: East Turkistan Islamic Movement
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
IDEAS: International Defence Exhibition and Seminar
IDPs: Internally Displaced Persons
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IMU: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRGC: Iranian Elite Revolutionary Guards Corps
ISGC: Inter State Gas System
ISI: Inter-Services Intelligence
ISPR: Inter Services Public Relations
JEC: Joint Economic Commission
JI: Jamaat-i-Islami
JMC: Joint Ministerial Commission
JSMM: Jiye Sindh Muttahida Mahaz
JuD: Jamat-ud- Dawa
JUI-S: Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam-Sami
KP: Khyber Pakhthunkhwa
MQM: Muttahida Qaumi Movement
Nacta: National Anti-Terrorism Act
NADRA- National Database and Registration Authority
NAPC: National Action Plan Committee
NFC- National finance Commission
NIOC : National Iranian Oil Company
NTDCL: National Transmission and Dispatch Company Limited
PAT: Pakistan Awami Tehareek
PEMRA- Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority
PkMAP: Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party
PML-N: Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz
PML-Q: Pakistan Muslim League Quaid
PPAF: Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund

PPP: Pakistan People's Party
PTI: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
RG: Revolutionary Guard
SNGPL: Sui Northern Gas Pipelines Limited
TCC: Tethyan Copper Company
TORs: Terms of Reference
TTP: Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan
WB: World Bank

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

PROVINCIAL POLITICS

Zardari sees black sheep within PPP, *The Nation*, December 1¹

In a startling revelation on the occasion of PPP's 47th foundation day, party's de facto chairman and former President Asif Ali Zardari on November 30 warned the party men against presence of black sheep within the party who he said are trying to hijack the party command from the actual heir to the political legacy of Bhuttos. *"This is not for the first time that some friends from within the party, intentionally or unintentionally, have tried to change the leadership. But it is because of you people (workers) that they have never been successful to expel us from the party,"* he said. Addressing a small gathering of charged party workers at Bilawal House Lahore amid slogans of 'Aik Zardari sab pe bhhari' (One Zardari can outsmart all), the PPP chief said: *"My friends, we will have to keep the party politics safe from our 'own men' as well as others!"*

Anti-PPP alliance vows to overthrow 'corrupt' rulers, *The News*, December 1²

An anti-PPP alliance, comprising 79 tribes and political parties, at a huge gathering here on November 30 vowed to overthrow what they said *"the corrupt rulers"*. Liaquat Jatoi of the Awami Ittehad Party, Sardar Ghulam Mustafa Khaskheli, the chief of Rajoni Ittehad, former MPA Sultan Khuhawar, Sardar Khadim Solangi, Mohammed Farooq, chief of Junagadh community Karachi, Ameer Ali Patiwala, Syed Zaffar Shah, Serai Niaz Hussain, Gulam Murtaza and others addressed the public meeting. The speakers accused the Sindh government of promoting corruption, destroying democratic institutions and blackmailing political rivals. The alliance claims to have the backing of four former chief ministers, Arbab Ghulam Rahim, Mumtaz Bhutto, Ghous Ali Shah and Elahi Bakhsh Soomro.

Pakhtuns suffering due to govt-PTI tussle, *The News*, December 1³

Former chief minister and provincial president of the ANP Ameer Haider Hoti on November 30 said that the Pakhtuns were suffering due to the power struggle between the government and PTI. Speaking at a workers' convention at the Wadoodia Hall here, the former chief minister said Imran Khan was eyeing the slot of premiership while Nawaz Sharif was trying to defend his

¹ <http://nation.com.pk/national/01-Dec-2014/zardari-sees-black-sheep-within-ppp>

² <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-287540-Anti-PPP-alliance-vows-to-overthrow-corrupt-rulers>

³ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-287541-Pakhtuns-suffering-due-to-govt-PTI-tussle-says-Hoti>

rule. "Pakhtuns are suffering in the power struggle between the two parties as PTI was utilising the resources of Khyber Pakhtunkwa for realising the dream of Imran Khan to oust the government and become the prime minister of Pakistan," he alleged. He said the ANP-led provincial government defeated terrorists in Swat and repatriated thousands of displaced families to their homes while the IDPs from tribal areas were being humiliated for several months.

Baloch leaders not ready for talks, Dawn, December 4⁴

Balochistan Chief Minister Dr Abdul Malik Baloch has admitted that there has been no progress in his efforts to initiate talks with Baloch leaders living abroad. Talking to newsmen at the residence of his Adviser on Education Sardar Raza Mohammad Bareach who survived a bomb attack on December 3, he said the self-exiled Baloch leaders were not willing to engage in dialogue. Dr Malik said he had a mandate from the federal government and major political parties for initiating the dialogue, but he could do it only if other party was also ready for that. But he vowed to persevere in his efforts. He said he would not rule out the involvement of a foreign hand in the law and order situation in Balochistan. The foreigners were using local people for fulfilling their nefarious designs, he added. "We have to revisit our foreign policy to restore peace in the region," he said.

Bilawal asked to stay put, Dawn, December 8⁵

In less than two months of his formal launch into the political arena, PPP chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari has been advised to "tread cautiously and have a temporary break from active politics". The advice has come from none other than his father, Asif Ali Zardari. The former president and co-chairman of the PPP had told a group of his party men during his stay at Bilawal House here that the party's relations with the MQM soured because of Bilawal's indiscreet statements and that he had advised his son to have a temporary break from politics. The PPP had launched 26-year-old Bilawal into politics in its Oct 18 rally in Karachi. Prior to that he had asked MQM chief Altaf Hussain to rein in his "namaloom afraad" (unidentified men) otherwise there would be serious consequences if anything happened to PPP workers. "Uncle Altaf, if my workers get a single scratch, forget the London police; I will make your life miserable." The MQM reacted strongly and parted ways from the Sindh coalition government.

No deal struck on Reko Diq: Balochistan CM, Dawn, December 11⁶

Chief Minister Balochistan Dr Malik Baloch has dispelled the impression of striking a deal with any company with regard to Reko Diq gold-cum-copper

⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148432/baloch-leaders-not-ready-for-talks-cm>

⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149497/bilawal-asked-to-stay-put>

⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150189/no-deal-struck-on-reko-diq-balochistan-cm>

mine project, "*I will not sell a stone of Balochistan, Reko Diq is something very big,*" Dr Baloch told a crowded press conference at Chief Minister's Secretariat in Quetta on December 11. The chief minister's remarks came after opposition parties in Balochistan Assembly leveled serious allegations against the province's nationalist-led government. Opposition parties had claimed that Reko Diq gold and copper reservoirs were being sold to foreign companies. The Chief Minister rejected the reports of again granting contract to TCC of Reko Diq.

Balochistan: In a big province, an even bigger push to fix a schooling crisis, The Express Tribune, December 11⁷

If you have a chief minister who also runs the education department, you can be guaranteed Balochistan will give this area a big push, and rightly so. Spending on primary schools alone will be Rs29 billion this financial year—even more than law and order—out of the 215-billion-rupee budget, according to the provincial secretary for education, Abdul Saboor Khan. The province has steadily been giving education higher priority. "*Our government is negotiating with international donors and the government of Punjab for funding to meet our needs for primary and higher education,*" says the chief minister's education advisor, Raza Muhammad Khan Barrech. This year's budget gives salary increases to teachers across the board, favouring the more qualified. There is more investment in training institutes. In the works is also a policy to rope in private schools, seminaries and mosque-schools.

Unjust' distribution of funds challenged in PHC, Dawn, December 16⁸

Members of the combined opposition in the KP Assembly on December 15 challenged before the Peshawar High Court the 'unjust' distribution of funds by the provincial government for launching development schemes, alleging the chief minister had allocated billions of rupees worth of funds to his 'blue-eyed' people, including unelected people. The petitioners, Nighat Orakzai of PPP, Syed Jaffar Shah of ANP, Malik Riaz Khan of JUI-F, and Barrister Sultan Mohammad Khan and Mohammad Sheraz Khan of QWP, alleged that the provincial government had even released funds to members of the National Assembly and unelected people like PTI provincial chief Azam Swathi in an act of great injustice to the people of the province.

⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/805088/balochistan-in-a-big-province-an-even-bigger-push-to-fix-a-schooling-crisis/>

⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151168/unjust-distribution-of-funds-challenged-in-phc>

Start repatriation of Afghan refugees, KP CM asks Centre, *The News*, December 22⁹

The chief minister said Afghan refugees were burden on the economy of the province and were responsible for the poor law and order situation. The chief minister said the government should not wait for December 2015 after the KP cabinet approved the repatriation of Afghan refugees and suggested that the government should change the repatriation's timeframe to send them much earlier. The chief minister demanded inclusion of the Afghan refugees issue in the National Action Plan as more than two million refugees were living in the province. He said some elements in the Afghan refugees were playing the role of facilitators for the cross -border terror incidents. Pervez Khattak said the US did not take country-wide security measures but deputed extra personnel at the airports and tightened the security apparatus at the airports.

Imran makes useful proposals for strengthening KP administration, *The News*, December 23¹⁰

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Chairman Imran Khan has made more than half a dozen useful proposals and recommendations, focusing on KP that his party rules, staying away from political wrangling. All his suggestions and requests to the federal government are exclusively meant for strengthening the KP administration in different areas to brace it up for the fight against terrorism in an effective manner. The PTI chief demanded funds for the KP government to foot the bill of burden of the IDPs from Waziristan, equipment for the KP police for intelligence gathering, return of Frontier Constabulary to the KP, strict regulation of movement of Afghan nationals across the Torkham border, recruitment of 5,000 tribesmen in police by the federal government for deployment in KP, making use of illegal cell phone SIMs an offence, integration of the tribal areas in Pakistan, sending illegal Afghan refugees back to their homeland etc.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Sharif, Shah Meet to finalise name for CEC, *Dawn*, December 1¹¹

A much-awaited meeting between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and Leader of Opposition in the National Assembly Khurshid Ahmed Shah on the issue of the appointment of CEC is scheduled to be held on December 1. The two leaders had set the date for their meeting during a telephonic conversation on Friday. The meeting will coincide with the fourth deadline set by the Supreme

⁹ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-291587-Start-repatriation-of-Afghan-refugees-KP-CM-asks-Centre>

¹⁰ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-291812-Imran-makes-useful-proposals-for-strengthening-KP-administration>

¹¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148064/sharif-shah-meet-today-to-finalise-name-for-cec>

Court to fill the key constitutional office which has been lying vacant for over 16 months. When asked what new names he had to propose, Mr Shah said he would like to disclose them only during the meeting with the prime minister. He said both sides were facing a great difficulty in finding a suitable candidate because of a constitutional bar that the CEC must be a retired judge of higher judiciary. "Now we will have to look for a young 78-year-old man for the post," he said in a lighter vein.

Justice Sardar Raza Khan named CEC, Dawn, December 4¹²

A day ahead of the apex court's deadline, the parliamentary committee for the appointment of the chief election commissioner has agreed on the name of Justice Sardar Mohammad Raza Khan as the new CEC. Senator Rafiq Rajwana of the Pakistan PML-N who heads the committee made the announcement at a press conference in Islamabad. During today's meeting of the parliamentary committee, ANP, MQM, PPP and PML-N agreed on the name of Justice Sardar Raza. PPP's Islamuddin Shaikh proposed the name of Justice Raza for the post and Senator Haji Adeel of the ANP seconded it. MQM's Farooq Sattar also agreed with the name along with committee members belonging to the PML-N, which led to the unanimous selection of Justice Sardar Raza.

Changes in China corridor opposed, Dawn, December 9¹³

Members of the Senate standing committee on communications opposed on December 8 the changes proposed in the route of Pak-China Economic Corridor and warned that they would take the matter to the Senate and resign if backward areas of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa were not included in the plan. The chairman of the committee, Mr Daud Khan Achakzai, said, "The original route of the Pak-China Economic Corridor passes through Gwadar, Quetta, Zhob and Dera Ismail Khan." If the alignment was changed, he said, the matter would be taken to the Senate. Members of the committee urged the government to remove doubts regarding the project and inform the nation about it.

Govt should quit if unable to maintain peace: LHC, Dawn, December 10¹⁴

The Lahore High Court advised the federal government on December 9 to quit in the wake of its failure to maintain public peace, particularly for the past four months. It even asked the government to give others a chance to serve if it could not deliver. A full bench of the court, headed by Justice Khalid Mahmood Khan and comprising Justice Shahid Hameed Dar and Justice Mohammad Anwarul Haq, is hearing a number of petitions against prolonged protests by opposition parties, especially thePTI. The petitioners sought the arrest of PAT chief Dr

¹² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148760/justice-sardar-raza-khan-named-cec>

¹³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149698/changes-in-china-corridor-opposed>

¹⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149925/govt-should-quit-if-unable-to-maintain-peace-lhc>

Tahirul Qadri because he had yet to obtain bail in at least 40 cases registered against him in different cities of Punjab.

Uplift projects: Our plan-D is development, not destruction, says PM Nawaz, *The Express Tribune*, December 16¹⁵

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said on December 15 that demonstrations and negotiations cannot go hand-in-hand and no one would be allowed to create hurdles in the way of progress and development of the country. He expressed these views while addressing a foundation stone-laying ceremony for the renovation of the 357km-long Islamabad-Lahore M-2 Motorway. As Imran Khan's PTI has already announced its Plan-D to shut down the entire country on December 18, PM Nawaz has come up with his own version of Plan-D and dubbed it 'development'. He said the word 'D' can mean both: development or destruction. However, he believes in development unlike those who are bent upon 'destruction'. No one would be allowed to create any hurdle in the way of progress and development of Pakistan, the prime minister maintained as he unveiled his development plans including construction of roads, infrastructure and end to power crisis.

PM chairs parliamentary parties meeting in Peshawar, *The News*, December 17¹⁶

Leaders of almost all the top political parties are attending a meeting convened by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif December 17 to discuss the situation that emerged after the deadly attack at a school in Peshawar where militants killed almost 141 people including 132 children. PM Nawaz, who described the Peshawar school attack as a "*national tragedy unleashed by savages*", is chairing a meeting of political parties in Peshawar to discuss a response to the tragedy, but the crucial announcement came ahead of the moot. Earlier today, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif December 16 revoked the ban on capital punishment in terrorism cases following which the terrorists facing death penalty could be executed.

Peshawar massacre: Shahbaz calls for national unity, *Daily Times*, December 17¹⁷

Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif on December 16 urged all political and religious parties to set aside petty issues and show complete national unity. Speaking to the media at the PML-N Model Town Secretariat, the chief minister

¹⁵<http://tribune.com.pk/story/807505/uplift-projects-our-plan-d-is-development-not-destruction-says-pm-nawaz/>

¹⁶ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168929-PM-chairs-parliamentary-parties-meeting-in-Peshawar>

¹⁷ <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/punjab/17-Dec-2014/peshawar-massacre-shahbaz-calls-for-national-unity>

condemned the Peshawar Army School attack and said it was a biggest national tragedy. He said every Pakistani was shocked and sad over the barbaric act which had aired a wave of sorrow across the country. Shabaz Sharif said the incident of terrorism in a school of Peshawar was the worst in history of the world in which a number of people, including innocent children, had lost their lives. He said every Pakistani from Peshawar to Karachi was grieved over the tragic incident and those brutal murderers who killed innocent children should be awarded an exemplary punishment.

Army to be withdrawn from 3 provinces if Article 245 not invoked, Dawn, December 24¹⁸

Federal Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan on December 24 told the governments of Sindh, KP and Balochistan that army troops stationed to assist security forces would be withdrawn from the provinces if requisitions were not made for deployment, under Article 245 of the Constitution. Nisar was addressing a meeting of parliamentary leaders held at the Prime Minister House under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The meeting is aimed at building a national action plan to counter terrorism and extremism in the country. *"After the initiation of Zarb-i-Azb, the government realised that the police is neither equipped nor trained and would require time to tackle the current law and order crisis,"* Nisar said.

History will not forgive us if we don't take action against terrorists, The Express Tribune, December 24¹⁹

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on December 23 said history would not forgive us if we don't take concrete steps to end the scourge of terrorism in Pakistan, while addressing parliamentary leaders gathered to discuss the national action plan in the wake of Peshawar school attack. The country witnessed one of the worst terrorist attacks on December 16 when TTP gunmen stormed Army Public School and massacred 150 people, mostly school children in a revenge attack for ongoing military operation *Zarb-e-Azb* in North Waziristan. The civil-military leadership, in shock after the butchery, vowed to take strict action against the militants. Leaders met today in Islamabad to discuss the progress made so far in chalking out the national action plan against terrorism. Addressing the participants, the premier said the nation was looking towards the political and military leadership for strong measures against those who killed the future of Pakistan. *"We are in an extraordinary situation and we need to take extraordinary actions; this nation and history will not forgive us if we don't do*

¹⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152892/army-to-be-withdrawn-from-3-provinces-if-article-245-not-invoked-nisar>

¹⁹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/811460/pm-to-take-parliamentary-leaders-into-confidence-over-action-plan-against-terror/>

anything now," he said, adding that the people of Pakistan will not be satisfied with weak actions.

National Action Plan: PM convenes review meeting, Dawn, December 26²⁰

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has convened a review meeting for implementation on his announcement, he made during televised speech on December 24. On December 25, the prime minister held a meeting with his political and legal advisors and issued directives for immediate implementation of the announcements. Giving 20 points of the plan of action during his televised speech, he said that no militant groups would be allowed to work or be established; the Nacta would be strengthened further and be made fully operational; no literature or journal would be allowed to be published which disseminated sectarian hatred and preached terrorism; the funding for terrorists would be choked; no outlawed organisation would be allowed to work under a new name; a new anti-terror task force is being established; the madrassas will be brought under the government's discipline so that they cannot be used for spreading extremism. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced the constitution of special courts for two years under military officers to try terrorists.

Govt may amend 'basis of constitution', Dawn, December 29²¹

The government's legal advisers are weighing the option of amending Article 8 (1) and Article 212-A and B of the constitution in order to establish military courts in the country, officials privy to discussions on the issue. The proposed constitutional amendments currently under consideration will be introduced in these two articles. Article 8 is titled '*Laws inconsistent with or in derogation of Fundamental Rights to be void*', while Article 212 deals with administrative courts and tribunals. If the amendments are carried out, changes will be made accordingly in the Army Act 1952 to set up special trial courts to try terror suspects. Under the proposed constitutional amendment, the military courts will cease to function after a period of two years.

Senators make no secret of opposition to military courts, Dawn, December 30²²

Just days after all parliamentary political parties reached a consensus over the establishment of military courts to try terrorists, voices of concern rang out in the Senate over the proposal. PPP leader Mian Raza Rabbani was most blunt in his opposition to the idea, candidly observing that parliament had no

²⁰ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-169811-National-Action-Plan:-PM-convenes-review-meeting>

²¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1153757/govt-may-amend-basis-of-constitution>

²² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1153932/senators-make-no-secret-of-opposition-to-military-courts>

justification for setting up military courts at a time when the army has already been called out in aid of civilian administration in different parts of the country. Recounting the history of military courts, he said that they were declared unconstitutional by courts of law whenever they were established – in 1977 and in 1998. The lesson to be learnt from history was that in both cases, the prime ministers had subsequently been removed from office. There was no mention of military courts in the Constitution and any amendment to create a room for them would strike at the basic structure of the document, he said, adding that such logic would give way to the impression that the civilian-led democratic polity had failed and should be replaced.

PTI, PPP rethink support for military courts, Dawn, December 31²³

Confronted with stiff opposition from different quarters to the decision to establish military courts, the two main opposition parties, which had earlier endorsed the move, now appear to be having second thoughts to the commitments they had made during the APC on Dec 24. There were a few murmurs earlier and strong remarks by PPP leader Raza Rabbani in the Senate on December 30, but the whispers have now turned into an outburst. PPP stalwart and Leader of the Opposition in the Senate Aitzaz Ahsan categorically stated that he had opposed the idea of amending the constitution for establishing military courts, which were mentioned in the document made public after the APC. *"We can still achieve the mandate of the Dec 24 APC through a simple amendment to the law, instead of amending the constitution,"* he said while talking to reporters outside the Parliament House. *"This will also help keep the constitution alive without curbing the fundamental rights available to the citizens in the constitution or changing its basic features,"* he said.

AZADI MARCH

Govt to confront Imran, The Nation, December 1²⁴

Terming the PTI demonstration at D-Chowk a complete flop show, PLMN grilled Imran Khan for adopting a course of violence after seeing the failure of his ongoing protest. Federal Minister for Information Pervaiz Rashid, while giving his reaction on what he termed a flop show of PTI, said that after failure of his 'A' and 'B' plans Imran Khan has come up with 'C' plan to seize the major cities, and in a way pushing his party workers into a direct conflict with the law enforcement agencies. He advised the PTI chief to shun the politics of disruption and resolve the issues through available negotiations forum of Parliament. Interestingly, the PML-N spokesman much before the start of the PTI rally had declared it a flop show saying that Imran Khan kept on waiting for his supporters and activists to come since afternoon.

²³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1154114/pti-ppp-rethink-support-for-military-courts>

²⁴ <http://nation.com.pk/national/01-Dec-2014/govt-to-confront-imran-says-pervaiz>

Imran's Plan C: Paralyse major cities, paralyse Pakistan, Dawn, December 1²⁵

Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf Chairman Imran Khan threw down yet another gauntlet for the PML-N led government on 30 November, announcing the party's plan to paralyse major cities – and eventually "shut down" the entire country by December 16. Addressing a crowd of thousands assembled at D-Chowk, Imran unveiled "Plan C" "On December 4, "I will go to Lahore and shut it down. On December 8, I will shut down Faisalabad; on December 12 I will go to Karachi and shut it down. By December 16 I will close down all of Pakistan." The PTI rally and the announcement of "Plan C" was a critical next-step for the party, which had lost political mileage and steam since the massive anti-government movement launched in August.

PM Nawaz agrees to resume talks with PTI on Khursheed advice, The News, December 2²⁶

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has agreed to resume dialogue with PTI on the advice of Opposition leader in the National Assembly Syed Khursheed Shah. Khursheed Shah called on the Prime Minister here at PM House and convinced the latter to reengage the Imran Khan-led PTI in talks. The Premier on the occasion directed Finance Minister Ishaq Dar to take steps towards breaking the ice and resuming the stalled negotiations with the PTI. PM Sharif said protest can be staged but no one has vigour to shut down Pakistan.

Imran hopes for elections before Eid, Dawn, December 4²⁷

Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf chief Imran Khan, on December 3, expressed the hope that the next elections would be held before Eid and said that his party would sweep those polls. Speaking to his followers from atop his container at D-Chowk on December 3 evening, he said that he had several plans in the pipeline to put pressure on the government to accept his party's demands for a fair probe into last year's general elections. He also appreciated his supporters' commitment, who had stayed with him for over 100 days now, saying, "You people have laid the foundation of Naya Pakistan."

Govt-PTI talks — so near yet so far, Dawn, December 6²⁸

The chief negotiators from the government and the protesting PTI hoped on December 5 that both sides would soon meet on the negotiating table, but were sceptical about the outcome of such an exercise. Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, who led the government side before talks with the PTI were stalled following

²⁵<http://www.dawn.com/news/1147893/imrans-plan-c-paralyse-major-cities-paralyse-pakistan>

²⁶ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-167373-PM-Nawaz-agrees-to-resume-talks-with-PTI-on-Khursheed-advice>

²⁷ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148471/imran-hopes-for-elections-before-eid>

²⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149113/govt-pti-talks-so-near-yet-so-far>

violence against protesters on Constitution Avenue on Aug 30, said, "The prime minister will return to the country on Sunday morning and talks can restart from Sunday evening." The PM's right-hand man also signalled that the party should not expect too much from this round of talks. He also called upon Imran Khan to fully empower his team before sending them in for negotiations so that meaningful dialogue could be held between the two sides.

Faisalabad lockdown updates: Shots fired, one PTI supporter dies, *The Express Tribune*, December 8²⁹

As Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf's plan to shutdown Faisalabad in protest against alleged rigging unfolds, party supporters gather in different parts of the city and block roads, Express News reported on December 8. PTI chief Imran Khan had called for the constitution of a judicial commission and a joint investigation team to investigate allegations of massive rigging in the 2013 elections. He had threatened to shut down Faisalabad, Lahore and Karachi followed by a nationwide strike if his demands were not met.

Imran, Rashid booked under terrorism charges, *Dawn*, December 10³⁰

Police have booked PTI Chairman Imran Khan, Pakistan Muslim League Awami chief Sheikh Rashid, PTI leaders Shah Mehmood Qureshi, Arif Alvi and Asad Umer on charges of terrorism for inciting people to attack the residence of Punjab's former law minister Rana Sanaullah here on December 8. At least 500 PTI activists have also been named in the case registered by Saman-abad on a complaint of Mr Sanaullah. Cases have also been registered by Factory Area and D-Type Colony police against another 500 PTI workers for obstructing the police force in performing their duty, hampering people's movement and causing injuries to people. They have been booked under Section 7 of the Anti-Terrorism Act and sections 148, 149, 186, 324, 341, 353 and 427 of the PPC.

Nawaz to consult PML-N leaders, political parties before resuming talks with PTI, *The Express Tribune*, December 10³¹

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will on December 9 deliberate with senior leadership of his party and heads of various political parties on setting an agenda for talks with the protesting PTI. Federal Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, while addressing a ceremony in Islamabad on Tuesday, confirmed that PML-N leadership will discuss the issue of talks with PTI on December 9. Dar said that PTI Chairman Imran Khan's statement, where he claims that he will not

²⁹<http://tribune.com.pk/story/803497/alleged-pti-activists-burn-tyres-ahead-of-faisalabad-shutdown/>

³⁰ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149928/imran-rashid-booked-under-terrorism-charges>

³¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/804315/nawaz-to-consult-pml-n-leaders-political-parties-before-resuming-talks-with-pti/>

accept a Judicial Commission's judgement that goes against his will, had forced the government to check before resuming talks. The finance minister said that the entire exercise of negotiations with PTI would be useless, if the PTI chief wants to see a result of judicial commission as per his wishes. However, Dar added that if the judicial commission fails to find any rigging in the May 2013 elections, then Imran will have to issue an apology.

PTI hails govt offer for talks, *The News*, December 11³²

The Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf has welcomed government offer for unconditional talks to end the political stalemate. PTI spokesperson, Shireen Mazarai on December 10 said "*We welcome government's announcement but talks should be unconditional and resumed right from the point they were suspended*". Earlier, Senator Ishaq Dar announced at a press conference that the government was ready for unconditional talks with the PTI.

Will not allow Karachi shutdown: Manzoor Wassan, *Dawn*, December 11³³

Provincial Deputy General Secretary of the PPP Manzoor Wassan on December 10 said no one will be allowed to forcefully shut down Karachi on December 12. Speaking to media representatives, Wassan, who is also Sindh's anti-corruption minister, further said that he is ready to assist MQM chief Altaf Hussain in the investigation of his workers' killings. He said discussions were under way and by tomorrow, the situation will improve. In light of the recent shutdown call announced by PTI Chairman Imran Khan, the ruling PML-N on December 10 extended an unconditional offer to the former for resumption of dialogue.

Govt, PTI engage in talks about talks, *Dawn*, December 12³⁴

Representatives of the government and the protesting PTI finally met face to face on December 11, breaking the deadlock that had persisted ever since the two sides discontinued talks in September. Under the glare of TV cameras, PTI legislator Asad Umar met Planning and Development Minister Ahsan Iqbal at the latter's residence for what is believed to be a preliminary session before the formal resumption of negotiations. In the talks, Finance Minister Ishaq Dar will be leading the government side which will include Mr Iqbal, while PTI will be represented by Vice Chairman Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Mr Umar.

³² <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168341-PTI-hails-govt-offer-for-talks->

³³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150188/will-not-allow-forceful-karachi-shutdown-manzoor-wassan>

³⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150355/govt-pti-engage-in-talks-about-talks>

NA-125 constituency: NADRA report shows 280 out of 1,254 votes fake, *The Express Tribune*, December 14³⁵

Over 20 per cent of the votes cast in Lahore's NA-125 constituency were "bogus", according to a NADRA report. The vote verification report – spread over 125 pages – was submitted to the election tribunal on December 13. NADRA checked a total of 1,254 votes and declared 280 bogus. The said votes were rejected for want of verification of thumbprint and CNIC numbers, whereas at some instances, one person had cast multiple votes, the report said. The NA-125 seat was won by Railways Minister Khawaja Saad Rafique. The runner-up was PTI candidate Hamid Khan, who challenged the results in the Election Tribunal seeking vote verification by NADRA.

PTI, govt exchange papers for formal talks, *Dawn*, December 15³⁶

Members of the PML-N and PTI negotiations teams met 'informally' on December 14 and exchanged documents that both sides hoped would make this round of talks more result-oriented than earlier attempts. Earlier, at a press conference held at his Bani Gala residence, PTI chief Imran Khan announced that his party had come up with a Memorandum of Understanding that would be tabled before the government before the formal resumption of talks. Later on Sunday night, PTI General Secretary Jahangir Tareen hosted federal ministers Ishaq Dar and Ahsan Iqbal at his residence, alongside party MNA Asad Umar. After the meeting, Mr Ishaq Dar said he had also handed over a document to the PTI leadership and would sit with them on Tuesday to discuss the matter in some detail. "We have exchanged documents and it has been decided — in principle — that contents of our meetings will not be made public to avoid speculation," he said.

PTI hopeful of early agreement on TORs, *Dawn*, December 23³⁷

Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf leaders are hopeful of an agreement on the TORs for the proposed judicial commission – mandated to investigate rigging allegations in the 2013 general elections – and say that the upcoming round of talks may be a decisive one. "We hope that Tuesday's meeting will be the final one," PTI MNA Asad Umar, who is part of the PTI team negotiating with the government, told. Both sides were supposed to meet on Monday, but the meeting was rescheduled because of other engagements and would now be held on December 23. Mr Umar said most of the controversial points had been settled and both sides would focus on finalising the commission's TORs.

³⁵ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/806621/na-125-constituency-nadra-report-shows-280-out-of-1254-votes-fake/>

³⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150989/pti-govt-exchange-papers-for-formal-talks>

³⁷ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152600/pti-hopeful-of-early-agreement-on-tors>

FOREIGN POLICY

US-Pak defence group to review post-2014 strategy, *Dawn*, December 1³⁸

The post-2014 US military strategy for the Pak-Afghan region and the *Zarb-i-Azb* Operation will be reviewed carefully at the next meeting of the US-Pakistan Defence Consultative Group, official sources said. The group meets in Washington in the second week of December. The Pakistani delegation is expected to give a detailed review of the operation launched earlier this year to eliminate militant hideouts from North Waziristan. The US delegation will give a presentation on post-2014 US and Nato military strategy for the Pak-Afghan region. This will be the 23rd meeting of the US-Pakistan Defence Consultative Group, which was founded to devise joint strategies for combating militancy in the Pak-Afghan area. The forum also allows both sides to exchange views and coordinate defence policy *"with the goal of strengthening defence cooperation to support each country's security interests"*, said a Pentagon press statement.

Kerry to meet PM in London, *Dawn*, December 2³⁹

US Secretary of State John Kerry, who met Army Chief Gen Raheel Sharif at his office on November 30 night, will meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in London later this week. At a news briefing in Washington, the State Department named only two world leaders Mr Kerry would meet during the London conference on Afghanistan, PM Sharif and Afghan President Ashraf Ghani. The conference begins on Dec 4. At his hour-long meeting with Gen Sharif, Secretary Kerry called the Pakistani military *"a truly binding force"*, said a tweet by the army's press office.

PTI softens tone after government offers talks, *Dawn*, December 3⁴⁰

After the government signalled that it could be open to talks with the protesting PTI, the latter cautiously reciprocated on Tuesday, saying that if both sides could sit across the table, the party would consider deferring its call for shutdowns in major urban centres. That this exchange of positive gestures came from the chief negotiators on both sides makes it even more significant. In an interview on a private TV channel, PTI Vice Chairman Shah Mehmood Qureshi said that if talks resumed by Dec 6, *"I can personally request party chairman Imran Khan to postpone his call to blockade Faisa-labad on Dec 8"*.

³⁸<http://www.dawn.com/news/1148062/us-pakistan-defence-group-to-review-post-2014-strategy>

³⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148205/kerry-to-meet-pm-in-london>

⁴⁰ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148438/pti-softens-tone-after-government-offers-talks>

No hidden motive behind army chief's extended visit, Dawn, December 3⁴¹

The US State Department rejected on December 2 the suggestion that Army Chief Gen Raheel Sharif's long stay in the United States had any hidden motive. The department's Deputy Spokesperson Marie Harf told a briefing in Washington that since US Secretary of State John Kerry was out of the country when Gen Sharif first came to Washington two weeks ago, the two sides decided to have the meeting on Nov 30. She noted that Secretary Kerry was travelling in Europe when the army chief came. When a reporter asked why should the army chief stay away for so long from a country which faced a serious security problem, she said: "I do not have any analysis to do that for you."

Pak anti-terror efforts must be recognised, Nawaz, Dawn, December 5⁴²

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif December 4 said Pakistan's intensive anti-terrorism cooperation and efforts for regional peace and security need to be better recognised by the international community. He was talking to the US Secretary of State John Kerry on the sidelines of the London Conference on Afghanistan. The premier was accompanied by his Adviser on Foreign Affairs and National Security Sartaj Aziz and Special Assistant Tariq Fatemi. The prime minister also discussed the regional situation with Kerry as well as the ongoing Operation *Zarb-i-Azb*. He said 80 per cent of the area had been cleared of militants, adding that the operation would continue until the complete elimination of militants. Sharif said a stable, prosperous and democratic Afghanistan was in Pakistan's best interest, adding that Pakistan looked forward to having a good working relationship with the new Afghan government.

Sharif wants close ties with new Afghan govt, Dawn, December 6⁴³

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said on December 5 that his country looked forward to forging cooperative relations with the Afghan national unity government because a stable, prosperous and democratic Afghanistan was in the interest of Pakistan. He was speaking at a breakfast meeting with British Prime Minister David Cameron. They discussed Pakistan-UK relations, the regional situation and other issues of mutual interest. Mr Sharif appreciated UK's assistance for Pakistan's health, education and other sectors, and invited British entrepreneurs to invest in the energy sector. Prime Minister Cameron praised sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in the fight against terrorism and acknowledged that it had suffered more than any other country in the battle.

⁴¹<http://www.dawn.com/news/1148416/no-hidden-motive-behind-army-chiefs-extended-visit-us>

⁴² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148952/pakistans-anti-terrorism-efforts-must-be-recognised-nawaz-tells-kerry>

⁴³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149116/sharif-wants-close-ties-with-new-afghan-govt>

He pledged his government's support for Pakistan's efforts to root out the menace of terrorism.

Pakistan-US talks on defence resume, Dawn, December 8⁴⁴

The United States and Pakistan resume their defence consultation on December 8 as relations between the two allies enter a new phase of renewed cooperation. A Pakistani delegation, headed by Secretary Defence retired Lt Gen Alam Khattak, was to reach Washington on Sunday night for the talks. This will be the 23rd meeting of the US-Pakistan Defence Consultative Group, which was founded to devise joint strategies for combating militancy in the Pak-Afghan area. The talks are held amid new signs of improvement in relations between the defence establishments of the two countries. "*Tensions of the recent past are being removed and a new consensus is emerging,*" said a senior Pakistani diplomat while commenting on the talks. "*Now there are more convergences than differences.*" The talks will focus on the post-2014 US military strategy for the Pak-Afghan region and on Pakistan's campaign to eradicate terrorism.

China lauds successes in Zarb-i-Azb operation, Dawn, December 8⁴⁵

The State Councilor and Minister for Public Security, People's Republic of China, Guo Shengkekun, called on Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif in his office on December 7. According to a press release of the Inter Services Public Relations, issues of mutual interest, regional security and measures to enhance bilateral defence and security collaboration were discussed during the meeting. Mr Guo and other members of the Chinese delegation were briefed about the situation prevailing in the region. The Chinese dignitaries acknowledged Pakistan's efforts in fight against terrorism and towards regional stability. They appreciated the successes achieved in Operation *Zarb-i-Azb* being carried out by the military against militants in North Waziristan.

US-Pakistan increase cooperation on Afghanistan, Dawn, December 10⁴⁶

Recent battlefield successes point to renewed willingness by the United States to work with Pakistan on curbing militancy, but a promise Islamabad made in return — to bring insurgents to the negotiating table — looks a distant prospect. Closer ties between Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States are key to defeating the Taliban and Al Qaeda holed up on the Afghan-Pakistan border, especially as most foreign troops withdraw from Afghanistan by the end of the month. The three nations are still suspicious of each other, but in the past week, cooperation brought some success. A former top Pakistani Taliban commander,

⁴⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149468/pakistan-us-talks-on-defence-resume-today>

⁴⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149470/china-lauds-successes-achieved-in-zarb-i-azb-operation>

⁴⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149970/us-pakistan-increase-cooperation-in-faint-hope-of-afghan-peace>

arrested by US forces in Afghanistan last year, was repatriated to Pakistan. Two Al Qaeda leaders were reportedly killed in Pakistan.

US acknowledges N Waziristan operation success, Dawn, December 11⁴⁷

The United States affirmed on December 10, Pakistan's claim that the military operation in North Waziristan had disrupted militants. At the 23rd meeting of the US-Pakistan Defence Consultative Group, the two countries also stressed the need for creating a mechanism for reimbursing Pakistan after the expiry of the Coalition Support Fund. The fund expired this year. *"Both delegations affirmed the significance of the Pakistan military's ongoing North Waziristan operation, which the US side affirmed has disrupted militants,"* said a joint statement issued after the meeting. The two sides also agreed to *"continue providing Pakistan's counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency requirements which will inform the provision of security assistance"*. The United States and Pakistan also *"discussed the importance of a mechanism to reimburse Pakistan for operational expenses after Coalition Support Funds expire at the end of fiscal year 2015,"* the statement said.

Peace with Taliban: Kabul wants visible role by Pakistan, The Express Tribune, December 15⁴⁸

Afghanistan has asked Pakistan to play a more 'visible' role in persuading the Afghan Taliban to come to the negotiation table in a move suggesting that Kabul continues to believe that Islamabad still holds the key for an elusive peace deal. The request for Pakistan's proactive role in a possible peace deal comes from the new administration in Afghanistan led by President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive Officer Dr Abdullah Abdullah. The change of government in Kabul, after a decade of rule by former president Hamid Karzai, is seen as a new beginning for both neighbours to move away from an acrimonious relationship of mistrust to one built on mutual cooperation.

US times strategic dialogue with Obama's India visit, Dawn, December 16⁴⁹

The United States plans to hold the next round of strategic dialogue with Pakistan around the time President Barack Obama will visit New Delhi. US Secretary of State John Kerry is expected to arrive in Islamabad in late January for the next session of the US-Pakistan Strategic Dialogue. The dialogue, which provides a platform for focused discussions on key issues, re-started in January this year after a gap of 18 months during which relations between the two countries reached a record low. *"I know the secretary is eager to get there in 2015."*

⁴⁷<http://www.dawn.com/news/1150108/us-acknowledges-n-waziristan-operation-has-disrupted-militants>

⁴⁸<http://tribune.com.pk/story/807009/peace-with-taliban-kabul-wants-islamabad-to-play-visible-role/>

⁴⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151178/us-times-strategic-dialogue-with-obamas-india-visit>

So hopefully, we'll have something to announce in the coming weeks," said US State Department Spokes-person Jen Psaki, when asked if the two sides would be holding the strategic dialogue in Islamabad next month. President Obama plans to visit New Delhi in the last week of January to attend the Indian Republic Day on Jan 26. At a recent Congressional hearing, Principal Deputy Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Jarrett Blanc confirmed that the two countries were *"planning for a strategic dialogue ministerial session early in 2015."*

Chinese president to visit Pak in Feb, *The Express Tribune*, December 22⁵⁰

China's President Xi Jinping is to visit Pakistan in February 2015 along with the heads of dozens of companies, members of a Chinese delegation told the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz at a meeting on December 21. The delegation, led by Vice Minister of the International Department of the Committee of the Communist Party Chen Fengxiang, has called on Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Punjab Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif and MNA Hamza Shahbaz Sharif in Islamabad and Lahore, respectively. They said that the Chinese delegates expressed satisfaction over PTI's decision to call off its protracted Islamabad sit-ins. A strategy has been devised on how to benefit from this situation and convince Chinese companies to come to Pakistan and carry out various projects.

MILITARY AFFAIRS

Kerry terms Pak Army a 'truly binding force, *Dawn*, December 1⁵¹

Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif met with US Secretary of State John Kerry on Sunday at the US Department of State, according to a Twitter update by Director General of the ISPR Major General Asim Bajwa. During the meeting General Raheel Sharif presented Pakistan's perspective on regional security issues. US Secretary of State John Kerry acknowledged Pakistan's role in fighting terror and the sacrifices rendered by the country. He also praised the professionalism of Pakistan Army and termed the institution a 'truly binding force'. Kerry also welcomed progress on improved ties between Pakistan and Afghanistan as a step towards regional stability and assured the UNited States' full support in this regard.

⁵⁰ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/810518/welcome-move-chinese-president-to-visit-pakistan-in-feb/>

⁵¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148066/meeting-coas-john-kerry-terms-pak-army-a-truly-binding-force-dg-ispr>

PM Nawaz to inaugurate IDEAS 2014, *The News*, December 1⁵²

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif will inaugurate IDEAS 2014 at Expo Center Karachi on December 1. The exhibition will showcase exhibits including tanks, aircraft, APCs ammunition, ship building and communications related equipment of 232 defence companies of the world. China has the biggest pavilion at the exhibition followed by Turkey. After inauguration, the Prime Minister will also visit various stalls and meet key delegates.

Army Chief urges resolution of Kashmir, Palestine, *Dawn*, December 4⁵³

Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, while speaking to the eighth the IDEAS on December 3, said that unresolved issues need to be addressed in order to ensure security in the entire region. *"Sometimes security of the whole region can be threatened by a single unresolved issue such as Palestine and Kashmir and obviously necessitating a regional approach to conflict resolution,"* he said. General Raheel further added that the meaning of security has evolved into a larger context over time, and more happens now in a decade than it used to in centuries in the past. Hence, making predictions about the future is needs careful thought. *"In a nutshell, the word security has already transformed into a much larger context that would not have made sense only 20 years ago,"* the army chief added. In the world today, security does not only apply to borders, but securing our cultures and way of life are also seen as primary security concerns.

US extends CSF for Pakistan with new restrictions, *Dawn*, December 5⁵⁴

The US Congress has extended the Coalition Support Fund for Pakistan for a year but has also included some new conditions in its final budget proposals. The fund reimburses US allies for the efforts they make in the war against terror. The final budget proposal, however, clarifies that Pakistan cannot receive more than a billion dollars in a year from this fund. Pakistan received \$370 million from this fund in October this year. The annual imbursements are made in four instalments. The final text, issued by the US Senate Armed Services Committee, shows that the support fund for Pakistan has been extended till US fiscal year 2015. The text includes both old and new restrictions.

Enemy 'lives within us and looks like us': Army chief, *Dawn*, December 5⁵⁵

Chief of the Army Staff Gen Raheel Sharif has said that security does not refer only to external threats but is a concern in terms of politics, human rights,

⁵² <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-167333-PM-Nawaz-to-inaugurate-IDEAS-2014-today>

⁵³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148757/army-chief-urges-resolution-of-kashmir-palestine-issues>

⁵⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148889/us-extends-csf-for-pakistan-with-new-restrictions>

⁵⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148898/enemy-lives-within-us-and-looks-like-us-says-army-chief>

economy, water security, terrorism and insurgency. Gen Sharif, who was the chief guest at a conference (Industry Summit) organised by the South Asian Strategic Stability Institute in a hotel here on December 4, also spoke about the Palestine and Kashmir issues and said there must be conflict resolution in these areas because security could not be achieved by securing borders alone, but also by protecting ways of life, culture, ideas and sensitivities. The army chief, who earlier visited the Ideas-2014, said at the outset that he had been pleased by the success of the exhibition. He said Pakistan's current enemy "*lives within us and looks like us*", adding that the definition of security had changed with the passage of time.

Won't rest until elimination of all terrorists, *Daily Times*, December 17⁵⁶

Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif on December 16 slammed the terrorists as 'inhuman beasts' and reiterated his vow to eliminate them, saying that the nation's resolve could not be diminished by the cowardly act of terrorism. "*They have hit at the heart of the nation, but let me reiterate they can't in any way diminish the will of this great nation,*" ISPR Major General Asim Saleem Bajwa quoted the army chief as having said, on social media. The strong-worded reaction came against the deadly terror attack on school children in Peshawar that left 141 people dead (mostly children) and injured over 140 people. TTP claimed responsibility of the attack that coincided with the date of Fall of Dhaka (December 16) — a day regarded as the darkest chapter in Pakistan's history. "*This ghastly act of cowardice of killing innocents clearly indicate they are not only enemies of Pak but enemies of humanity—Extremely saddened, our resolve has taken new height. Will cont (continue) go (going) after inhuman beasts, their facilitators, till their final elimination—They have hit at the heart of the nation, but let me reiterate they can't in any way diminish the will of this great nation,*" the army chief said on Twitter. He also shared that several operations were launched (in connection with Peshawar attack) including 10 air strikes in Khyber Agency based on actionable intelligence.

Nawaz, COAS to discuss internal security situation, *The Express Tribune*, December 19⁵⁷

Accompanied by Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited General Headquarters in Rawalpindi to meet Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif. The premier will reportedly be briefed about the prevailing internal security situation in the country during his visit. The military and political leadership came together to chalk out a plan to eliminate

⁵⁶ <http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/islamabad/17-Dec-2014/army-won-t-rest-until-elimination-of-inhuman-beasts-facilitators>

⁵⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/809293/pm-nawaz-meets-coas-to-discuss-internal-security-situation/>

terrorists after Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan gunmen stormed a school in Peshawar on December 16 and killed 148 people, mostly students, in cold blood.

Army chief signs death warrants of six convicts, Dawn, December 19⁵⁸

Army Chief Gen Raheel Sharif approved on December 18 the execution of six terrorists sentenced to death by military courts. "Chief of Army Staff today signed death warrants of 6 hardcore terrorists (pending execution) convicted by Field General Court Martial in accordance with law," the ISPR, Maj Gen Asim Bajwa, said in a late-night twitter posting. The announcement came a day after Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said that moratorium on execution had been lifted. The army withheld the names of the convicts, whose execution has been approved by the army chief, on security grounds. The army, a source claimed, decided to notify the names once the executions have taken place. "The six cases cleared for execution had legal procedures completed," a military spokesman said. Convicts in cases relating to the GHQ attack, Jhanda Chichi, Pervez Musharraf attack and attack on a military camp near River Chenab (Gujrat) have received death sentences by the Field General Court Martial under the Army Act.

GHQ attack: Dr Usman to be executed, Dawn, December 19⁵⁹

Preparations to execute Aqeel alias Dr Usman, a former soldier of the army's medical corps, in relation to an attack on the headquarters of the Pakistan Army in 2009 in Rawalpindi are complete, a senior security source told Dawn, adding that the execution will be carried out in the next 24 hours. Dr Usman's meeting has been arranged with his brother, who will be taking his body after the execution at Faisalabad's Central Prison, the source said. The black warrant for Dr Usman was signed by Army Chief General Raheel Sharif late on December 18 night, two days after Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif lifted the moratorium on capital punishment. The premier lifted the moratorium a day after terrorists attacked Peshawar's Army Public School, killing 141 people, most of them children.

Terrorism, extremism to be rooted out: Gen Raheel, The News, December 26⁶⁰

Chief of the Army Staff General Raheel Sharif on December 25 expressed the resolve that terrorism and extremism would be rooted out from the country. He paid rich tributes to the political leadership of the country for their spirit and unwavering resolve to rid Pakistan of the menace of terrorism through reforms and administrative measures, says an ISPR press release. He expressed

⁵⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151763/army-chief-signs-death-warrants-of-six-convicts>

⁵⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151849/ghq-attack-preparations-complete-to-execute-dr-usman>

⁶⁰ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-13-34901-Terrorism-extremism-to-be-rooted-out-says-Gen-Raheel>

these views while chairing a high-level security meeting. General Sharif reiterated his resolve in unequivocal terms to root out the menace of extremism and terrorism from the country. He also reviewed all the activities to be undertaken by the army and intelligence agencies as part of the National Action Plan and directed all concerned to initiate actions on an urgent basis for its speedy and effective implementation.

Kerry-Lugar Act: \$532m aid for Pakistan, *The Express Tribune*, December 30⁶¹

The United States is to disburse \$532 million to Pakistan under the Kerry-Lugar assistance package and Islamabad hopes to use half of the amount for the rehabilitation of tens of thousands of tribesmen displaced by the ongoing military operation in North Waziristan. US Ambassador to Pakistan Richard Olson informed Finance Minister Ishaq Dar in a meeting on December 29 that the US Congress has notified the Obama administration to release \$532 million to Pakistan, according to the finance ministry. Olson also discussed the agenda for the scheduled visit of US Secretary of State John Kerry to Pakistan in January 2015. The ministry didn't clarify when the money will be disbursed nor did it explain the sectoral breakup of the financial assistance. It said the money would be given under the civilian assistance package, Kerry Lugar Act of 2010 which expired in September this year.

EDITORIALS AND OPINIONS

Troubled Balochistan, Editorial, *Dawn*, December 3⁶²

FOLLOWING close on the heels of a similar weapons haul made public some weeks ago, authorities in Balochistan claimed on Monday to have once more seized arms, ammunition and some 5,000kg of explosives in raids over the past month or so. Considering that the province is home to various strands of militancy and terrorism, the news is both welcome and alarming. There is, it seems, a greater effort by intelligence units to intercept these deadly consignments, while the mere thought of the consequences of not detecting and seizing the weapons and explosives is chilling. Once again, the finger of blame has pointed towards Afghan and Indian agencies who have been accused by the provincial home minister, Mir Sarfaraz Ahmed Bugti, of indulging in 'subversive actions' in Balochistan. [...] To top it all, the state has also been accused of turning a blind eye to religious extremists who have added a new dimension to fear in the province. Extreme poverty combined with ethnic cleansing, religious terrorism and intimidatory tactics by the security agencies are fast narrowing all options for salvaging the situation. In this combustible

⁶¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/814408/kerry-lugar-act-congress-notifies-532m-aid-for-pakistan-olson-tells-dar/>

⁶² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148374/troubled-balochistan>

situation, which enemy agent, foreign or local, would not determinedly push on with its agenda? The state has only itself to blame.

Options for Nawaz Sharif, Zahid Hussain, *Dawn*, December 3⁶³

IMRAN Khan has thrown down the gauntlet yet again by announcing his plan to shut down the major cities one by one, eventually paralysing the entire country. If that does not work, he has promised to launch Plan D, which according to him would make it impossible for the Sharif government to bear the situation. We are not sure what his next step will be, but the message itself is clear: it is a battle to the finish. This change of strategy — from holding public rallies, to taking to the streets — has brought the confrontation to a head. Imran Khan did not give any details of how the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf plans to try and shut down major cities, but it is clear that his strategy is now to bring down the government through street power. So, what are the options for the beleaguered prime minister? Concede or fight it out? Neither choice is easy; each has its own pitfalls. [...] Although he has still not completely lost the battle, the situation is fast slipping out of Mr Sharif's control, leaving him with limited options to salvage the situation. The onus is squarely on the government to find some solution to end the crisis. There is still time for the prime minister to come out of his inertia and take the initiative. The government cannot afford to be in a constant state of crisis. It needs to open substantive negotiations with the PTI as Imran Khan has already backed down from the demand for the prime minister's resignation. Some progress seemed to have been made in the earlier negotiations and the government can pick up the thread from there. Will Mr Sharif do so before it is too late? The choice is his.

Paradigm Shift? Editorial, *Dawn*, December 4⁶⁴

IN a speech at a seminar in Karachi, as part of the arms expo held in the provincial metropolis this week, chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee Gen Rashad Mahmood touched on the changing threat environment in the world today, a result of both changes in technologies and cracks in the old order. In essence, the general argued that the old paradigm of strategic stability has to be amended to deal with present-day threats that cannot simply be fought physically with weapons and ammunition, and claimed that a state's security institutions have seen their mandate widened to include achieving domestic peace and internal harmony. [...] There is more. For all the talk of the end of any notion of good Taliban/bad Taliban and making no distinction between so-called soft, pro-state militants and anti-state militants, there is also the reality of what is happening far away from Fata and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Kashmir-centric groups, the militants focused on India, the so-called welfare

⁶³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148377/options-for-nawaz-sharif>

⁶⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148612/paradigm-shift>

organisations with vast networks across the country — can anyone really say that they are regarded now as entities that have to be rolled back and whose cadres must be disbanded and reintegrated into society? Instead, all that seems to be apparent at the moment is the old, half-hearted attempts to mainstream such groups politically and hope that the electoral process smoothes their roughest edges. It is a vain hope, in all probability. So even if paradigms need to be discarded, where is the new policy for a new age?

Introspection everyone?, Babar Sattar, *Dawn*, December 8⁶⁵

IS it enough to feel pangs of shame for the manner in which we treat the vulnerable in our society or heap scorn on the rulers to absolve ourselves? The blind being beaten up by the Punjab police while demanding their due is a new low one must admit. The visuals might have made us angry. But are we surprised? Do we not expect our state (and society) to maul those who are weak or struck by misfortune, whether it is minorities, women or the poor? Our society seems afflicted by a combination of sadism and apathy. Do psychiatrists have a term for this condition? Power is of interest because it can be abused. (Even family and friends deride those who stumble upon power but don't flaunt it.) And those on the receiving end are infected by apathy and tolerance for the abuse. [...] But isn't Sharif the best performing chief minister amongst all chief ministers, according to public surveys? He too is omnipresent: wading through floodwaters; running hands-on anti-dengue campaigns; building Metros and bridges; pledging to drag the corrupt through dirt etc. Why is none of this pushing us forward? Could it be because the strongman-magically-fixing-all-ills-afflicting-us might be an ineffective model for sustainable change? his dangerously simplistic solutions. We were told on Nov 30 that only if votes are counted honestly, educated middle classes would rule parliament. Taking big money out of politics is the most complex challenge democracies face. Legal equality doesn't translate into social/political equality. There are 101 theories on campaign finance reform and why it doesn't work. Khan must put forth reform plans instead of feeding tales to gullible people. We could do with introspection all around: a PML-N able to reimagine itself; a PTI able to realise that ends don't justify means. To take Pakistan forward both parties need to create policy space to accommodate divergent interests without compromising on principles.

Policy paralysis, Editorial, *Dawn*, December 8⁶⁶

A trend appears to be in the making. The government is increasingly caving in to a wide variety of special interests, from agriculture to industry. It remains to be seen to what extent this will become a defining trend, but thus far the

⁶⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149417/introspection-everyone>

⁶⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149422/policy-paralysis>

government appears somewhat pusillanimous before a surging groundswell of vested interests. Take as an example the agricultural sector, which is demanding a hike in the procurement price of wheat, the controlled price of sugar, and abolition of the general sales tax on agricultural inputs. Last week, parliament witnessed a furore as the Standing Committee on National Food Security and Research debated a proposal to abolish the GST on agricultural inputs. As the debate unfolded, demands materialised to the effect that the committee should also recommend a hike in the support price of wheat and the controlled price of sugar.

What should Pakistan want in Afghanistan, Najmuddin A Shaikh, *The Express Tribune*, December 8⁶⁷

[...] The London Conference communique talks of the new Afghan government implementing “sustained realistic strategies to root out corruption, combat terrorism and strengthen good governance and rule of law”. Will this be possible? Afghanistan has 850,000 persons on its payroll. What do they do? In the province of Ghor, an education department survey showed that of the 740 schools, 80 per cent were non-operational and one can, therefore, assume that 80 per cent of the 4,000 teachers are ghost employees. President Ghani has said that he was told that Afghanistan had 60,000 teachers but feared that a survey may show that only 6,000 of them were working. Perhaps the National Unity Government is capable of the harsh administrative measures needed to correct this situation but clearly this will not happen while the insurgency continues. More importantly, from Pakistan’s perspective, if these ghost workers join the ranks of the 40 per cent deemed to be unemployed or under-employed, there will be a fresh exodus of economic refugees across the porous Pak-Afghan border adding to the five million refugees we are already hosting. [...] When one sees the situation in Pakistan, Chaman seems to be more a Taliban city than a Pakistani one. The Quetta districts of Pushtunabad and Khrotabad and the refugee camps in the vicinity are off-limits to Pakistani authorities. Sectarian attacks against the Hazaras unite the Taliban and the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. It is imperative that if we wish to re-establish the writ of the state, we create conditions in which Taliban fighters no longer have a place on our soil. This is the moment of truth for us. [...] survey shows that one-third of Afghans still sympathise with the Taliban — by giving them such non-elected offices as district and provincial governorships and then let them participate in the next round of elections.

⁶⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/803241/what-should-pakistan-want-in-afghanistan-2/>

A collapsing system, Rasul Bakhsh Rais, *The Express Tribune*, December 10⁶⁸

Going by what happened in Faisalabad on December 9 and how the political confrontation is taking a new shape, it is clear that the country is losing political stability, social order and peace. Some might argue that if we had these qualities in some measure, we lost them a long time back. The calm on the surface could never tell what has been boiling inside the social and political framework of the country. The more you visit the local communities away from the urban centres of power and wealth, the more you become convinced about the institutional collapse of what the Pakistani state used to be. [...] This is absolutely an unnatural state of affairs for any society, especially for a country like Pakistan, with an exploding youthful population and a rising gap between the popular expectations and what the dysfunctional system can possibly deliver. This cannot last for too long, as it never has in similar circumstances anywhere in the world.

At the grassroots level, I see a revolution of rising frustrations with the system from the precincts of Karachi to the furthest points in Gilgit-Baltistan. This is the reason why people are falling back on narrow identities, like sect, tribe and caste to survive or access power. It is also a reason for militancy, extremism and political violence. A public and youth in general, driven by anger and hopelessness, may have no or very little commitment to any system — they may rather pull it down, sooner than later. Tailpiece: This is a preface to polarised society, agitation and violence.

Bleeding Sindh, Ayesha Siddiq, *The Express Tribune*, December 11⁶⁹

As Imran Khan and the PTI vociferously protest the death of their worker in Faisalabad, many mothers elsewhere in the country must be sitting lamenting their sons and wondering who will lock down the country and force the state to answer why their sons will not return. While we all got used to missing persons and tortured bodies in Balochistan, it's odd to find Sindh becoming part of the same tragic cycle. Death and dead bodies are not new to Sindh. Every decade since the 1980s, the province has bled for one reason or the other. But this current spate of killings seems to be a new pattern. It is almost as if Sindhi nationalism is being woken up. Interestingly, the six dead bodies found recently did not belong to violent nationalists. In fact, five out of the six were men who had moved on in life. Notwithstanding old associations with the JSMM, these people were not actively involved in any 'anti-state' activity or even in party politics. [...] one really wonders why it was felt that there was a need to light a fire in Sindh. Such killings can only provoke anger and resentment, especially amongst the youth who are abandoned both by the state

⁶⁸ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/804303/a-collapsing-system>

⁶⁹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/804861/bleeding-sindh/>

and the political governments. The stories of poor governance, corruption and neglect of the people are far too gory for anyone to claim that the PPP and its leadership are not to blame. As a political party, the PPP is both a perpetrator and victim of the wave of violence. It is responsible for not crying out loud against what is happening in the province it claims to control. The collusion between its key leaders and the security apparatus denoted by joint exploitation of resources makes its behaviour questionable. Yet, it is a party that will find itself in a deeper mess if the violence doesn't stop. It would be even more tragic if it has to become party to the greater intrusion of the security apparatus that will step in under the pretext of securing the place against 'violent nationalism'. [...]Sindh has had a legacy of great history and traditions. While we can all think of demons that can be held responsible for the current mayhem, there is no time to waste if we want to stop the bleeding. The state must be held accountable and made to stop this bloodshed.

Death for terrorism, Editorial, *Dawn*, December 19⁷⁰

The atrocities unleashed by the banned TTP in Peshawar on December 16 have illustrated, horribly, that decisive and cohesive action is required against the monster of militancy. But while there is justified anger against the perpetrators of the attack on the Army Public School, government action should not take its cue from populist demands that are based more on emotions than reason. It is in this context that we must see Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision to rescind the de facto moratorium on capital punishment vis-à-vis convicts in terror-related cases. First, consider how ineffective capital punishment would be in the case of those militants who resort to suicide bombing as their primary weapon of death and destruction. Indoctrinated to the point where the perpetrator does not expect to emerge from the attack alive, how can the death penalty be expected to deter others of his ilk? [...]Their numbers include those representing banned radical groups, from the Lashkar-e-Taiba to the Sipah-i-Sahaba Pakistan, that are openly operating under new names. Without clamping down on such leaders and groups, no policy can remove their poisonous discourse that is encouraging public opinion to subscribe to conspiracy theories and to turn a blind eye to the enemy within.

Pakistan's terror sitcom, Ayesha Siddiqi, *The Express Tribune*, December 18⁷¹

All those bright and shining faces lost in the darkness of blood and violence. But will this be treated as Pakistan's 9/11? Is this the moment when, after losing 132 children, we have recognised that we will have to fight this battle for our survival so that our children can live their lives peacefully and schools don't have to close to mourn the death of the innocent? People seem to be in a state

⁷⁰ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151692/death-for-terrorism>

⁷¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/808422/pakistans-terror-sitcom/>

of shock. But there is also the likelihood that all of this may ultimately turn out to be a sitcom that we have played for the last so many years. Painful as it may sound we are likely to mourn for a couple of days until someone will talk about this being a security lapse. People are already asking — as they probably did at the time of the Osama bin Laden operation — how could terror happen in a high security zone. How did these men walk through all the checkpoints carrying weapons and suicide jackets? Very uncomfortable questions indeed, which will provoke a battery of military apologists to point fingers at the sitting government and how it is so inefficient in handling the crisis. Former dictator Pervez Musharraf and his lackeys in the media have indeed started to raise the issue of why the need for the All-Parties Conference. It doesn't matter to them that it is necessary to get a commitment even from a provincial government, whose leader took so long in condemning the Taliban. In this comedy of errors, it doesn't matter that the Taliban have indeed admitted to their involvement. [...]Lest we forget, the majority of the 141 who died in Peshawar were downright honest believers. They didn't challenge faith or blaspheme but they were still killed. And yet, we don't have the strength to agree not to allow any group or network the freedom to market terror, inside or outside the country. While some moan about the continued absence of organisational structures like Nacta, they can have a good laugh at the fact that we don't even have an agreement to take on the enemy. The attack may just be another curtain-raiser on our comedy of errors.

Not on their watch, Cyril Almeida, *Dawn*, December 21⁷²

Sometimes anecdotes suffice. Late last year, after a wave of terror attacks in KP had forced the government to think about militancy, the prime minister held a round of consultations with the usual suspects from the media, the analyst community, civil society and the like. At one of those meetings, the prime minister said he was simply there to listen, invited everyone he had gathered to speak their minds and patiently held a pencil in his hand, occasionally jotting something down. For hours, folk you read and hear and watch if you're interested in politics and security talked exhaustively about militancy and terrorism and what they individually thought needed to be done. Many talked about the counter-insurgency in Fata. Afghanistan was debated. The US was discussed. India was mentioned. Civil-military was analysed. Lack of resources, how to find those resources, how to build on existing resources, it was all parsed. Collating all the thoughts and opinions voiced that afternoon it amounted to a fairly comprehensive and impressive action plan — if the state were ever to get serious about fighting the militants who are fighting it. [...]Perhaps propriety dictated that, given the host that afternoon is the king of Punjab. But the topic was terrorism and how to make Pakistan safe and the host

⁷² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152145/not-on-their-watch>

had urged a frank discussion. So, at the end, after everyone had spoken and no one had mentioned Punjab, I asked the prime minister about his province. What's the point in talking about militancy if the debate is limited to the fires that are already raging; what about Punjab, where everyone knows there's a militancy presence bigger than Fata and KP combined and where the PML-N is known to be in bed with at least some militants? That was the only time in those several hours that Nawaz became animated. He quickly and flatly denied any links between his party and Punjab-based militants and denied that Punjab has an outsize militancy problem. He didn't need to. The few ministers in attendance leapt to their boss and their province's defence. Not true. No terrorism in Punjab. No such thing. No understanding with any militant groups. It's all a lie. Everyone else at that table knew they were lying, possibly to themselves, certainly to us.[...] Better then to keep Aziz onside, especially since he is willing to remain on the right side. Like so many in Punjab. So it's fear then? Weak leadership and a broken state? Not entirely. Because you always have to wonder, of the men deployed to track Abdul Aziz's ugly threats, how many are there to keep an eye on Aziz and how many to stand in prayer behind him?

Security threat, Editorial, *Dawn*, December 22⁷³

THE lifting of the moratorium on the death penalty in response to the Peshawar carnage has triggered a serious threat: terrorist attacks to avenge the executions by the state. Already, intelligence agencies are issuing all manner of warnings to possible targets, especially state institutions and security installations across the country, and many educational institutes, including in the federal capital, have closed their campuses indefinitely ahead of the scheduled winter break. Pakistan is bracing for a backlash. This is the moment in which the performance and capabilities of the intelligence and law-enforcement apparatus across the country will be assessed. Failure could have catastrophic consequences, not just in terms of lives lost and individuals injured but also in terms of the state's very ability to fight terrorism and militancy in all its manifestations. [...] What is the government doing about the militant supporters and sympathisers within the state machinery? Time and again, the infiltration by militant groups into law-enforcement agencies and even the intelligence apparatus briefly emerges as a topic of debate at the national level before being quietly pushed into the background again. Beyond that, where is the public investigation into lapses that have made militant attacks possible and where is the accountability of those who are found to have failed in their jobs? No system anywhere can improve if there is no transparency and accountability. In essence, it is about disrupting the militants' tactics and plans. Studying past attacks and disseminating knowledge within the security apparatus about how attacks are

⁷³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152306/security-threat>

carried out help prevent future attacks — but only if the state is willing to adapt and learn itself.

Lessons from the Peshawar, Najmuddin A Shaikh, *The Express Tribune*, December 22⁷⁴

Peshawar is a traumatised city. Every neighbourhood in Peshawar had grim funeral processions led by distraught weeping parents to bury the 148 children and school staff that perished at the hands of the marauding killers of the TTP whose leaders proudly claimed responsibility for the carnage and promised many more such attacks. Even this proud resilient city, inured to decades of terrorist attacks, has perhaps reached the limits of its endurance.

Pakistan is a traumatised nation. Civil society's candlelight vigils, special prayers and an outpouring of sympathy for the victims and their families and a display of unity in the face of adversity could not entirely disguise the fears and apprehensions of parents who now fear that any school in any city can become the target of the next attack. An all-pervading sense of insecurity, engendered by the record of terrorist attacks that have become almost the norm in Pakistan and reinforced by the Peshawar carnage has brought the people of Pakistan, too, to the limits of their endurance. [...] According to the State Department Terrorism Report, Pakistan was, after Iraq, the country that suffered the most terrorist attacks in 2013 (1,920 as against 2,495 in Iraq and 1,144 in Afghanistan). These attacks represented a 36 per cent increase over the attacks in 2012. Let us be clear as we wage the required campaign, there will be a price to be paid. The price we pay today will, however, be far lower than the one we will pay later when the monster will have grown further. Mistakes will be made. Innocent people will suffer but they are also suffering now as the plight of the IDPs from the tribal areas can testify; but there is no real alternative if we are to survive as the nation that our forefathers had struggled for. This is the national interest. Our leadership can be resolute pursuing it because the civil society, aroused by Peshawar, will provide the needed public support.

Outsourcing policy, Zahid Hussain, *Dawn*, December 24⁷⁵

BENEATH the rare show of unity over the Peshawar school tragedy the divide is more than apparent. While seemingly united in grief over the ghastly massacre, there is still no clear national narrative about how to deal with those responsible for this heinous crime. It is not just the matter of six killers who slaughtered innocent children, but also the apologists for militant groups that continue to operate with impunity. It is a pity that it took the death of over 130 schoolchildren for the government to wake up to the need for a coherent

⁷⁴ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/810247/lessons-from-the-peshawar-tragedy/>

⁷⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152765/outsourcing-policy>

counterterrorism strategy and even for that the task has been assigned to a multiparty committee. Even a tragedy of such proportions has failed to shake the prime minister fully out of his inertia and get him to adopt a more proactive role. [...]The National Counter-Terrorism Authority (Nacta) has remained dormant resulting in the complete breakdown of coordination among various intelligence and law-enforcement agencies which is critical to monitor the activities of the extremist groups operating in different regions. Many of the terrorist attacks could have been prevented by activating Nacta. These are the issues that have to be addressed in order to deal with the menace of terrorism and militancy more effectively. Though both civilian and military leadership have pledged to fight militants of all hues, there is no indication of any action taken against those openly preaching jihad against other countries. Mere condemnation of the Peshawar incident does not make them acceptable. The Peshawar school massacre could certainly become a turning point in the country's struggle against militancy and terrorism — but only if our political and military leaders sincerely adhere to their pledges. The tragedy has united the nation as never before; even those who had refused to accept it as our own war now seem to have had a change of heart. One hopes that this unity does not dissipate with the passage of time as we have seen on so many occasions in the past.

Military courts, Editorial, *Dawn* 26⁷⁶

That these are trying times was fully evidenced by the presence on Wednesday of all the political parties around the table for an emergency discussion on the ways to deal with the monster of terrorism. Ultimately, it seems, they were required to be there to endorse the setting up of special courts to be headed by military officials. Some of the parties present agreed with the idea readily. Others took their time, but in the end were made to see 'reason' and agree to a controversial mode of 'speedy justice'. True, the civilian justice system is flawed and tardy in the dispensation of justice. But what will military courts achieve, given the increasing possibility of miscarriage of justice that experience has shown they bring with them? They not only encroach on the civilian domain of justice, they often render it redundant. [...]A few politicians at the meeting in which the consensus on setting up the special courts was reached did express their reservations, but apparently that was more out of ritual. It was clear that the army leadership which was also present was not going to settle for anything less than military courts.. The politicians were there not in the interest of the parties, but to give their feedback on how the superimposing of the military over the civilian will by and large affect the system that they have a responsibility to run and improve. Back in the comfort

⁷⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1153145/military-courts>

of their camps, they should be asking themselves whether they fulfilled this responsibility.

Military courts, Gul Bukhari, *The Nation*, December 28⁷⁷

The agencies are not interested in convictions of extremist guys." Every week, the prosecutors would get a visit from ISI and military intelligence officers to discuss the terrorism cases, to find out how many were being tried, how many pending. "And always they'd say, 'Why are you going after good Muslims?' or 'What is the case against [Lashkar-e-Janghvi leader] Akram Lahori? He is working for Islam. Why are you working against him?'" – Buriro, prosecutor of Sindh ATC to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) on prosecuting terrorists. [...]CPJ's full report on the roots of impunity in Pakistan is a horrifying, heart-stopping indictment of primarily the military and its intelligence agencies. Political parties and governments, in particular the MQM, are not spared either, but the clear illustration of how intelligence agencies perpetrate atrocities and prevent justice through civilian law enforcement and courts is petrifying. The blood runs cold reading how journalist Mukarram Khan Aatif reporting on a Taliban hideout being only two kilometers from the Salala Checkpost on the Pak-Afghan border was murdered. Mukarram's reports on Deewa Radio were pointing to the possible reason the Americans attacked the Salala checkpost killing 24 Pakistan Army soldiers. His reports came too close to exposing the military-militant nexus, and the military's double games. The people of the country were rightly angry the Americans had killed innocent soldiers of the Pakistan Army, unprovoked. However, the people of Pakistan were to be prevented from understanding what actually led to the accident. [...]How does killing an innocent person, already a terrible victim of the broken justice system of this country, serve the purpose of fighting terrorism? What is really required is to provide training to police in forensics, evidence preservation, framing of charges etc.; provision of foolproof protection to judges, lawyers, prosecutors and witnesses; depoliticizing and making independent the police service. Yes, these are long term measures, but the Prime Minister's plan does not even mention this as a long-term goal. Instead, it delegitimizes and disenfranchises the civilian setup further by ceding all control to the military. The important issue here is that even if the decision is now done, the parliament must debate very carefully and at length the issue of military courts and civilian oversight and ultimate authority over these courts.[...]

⁷⁷ <http://nation.com.pk/columns/28-Dec-2014/military-courts>

Tackling militancy in Punjab, Zahid Hussain, *Dawn*, December 31⁷⁸

Finally we seem to have a national counterterrorism plan and it is now time for the government to fight the battle against militancy. Notwithstanding the controversy over the decision to set up military courts and the resumption of executions, overall the plan does provide a coherent framework for action. But the plan by itself may not suffice. Have we not had some tough anti-terrorism laws operating already? So the real question is how effective can the government be in its actions. What we have seen thus far is the prime minister doing more of the mundane: he has been busy setting up committees, more committees and sub-committees. There's no sign of urgency. The foremost challenge for Mr Sharif will be how he deals with the problem of militancy and religious extremism in his home province of Punjab. For long, counterterrorism efforts have been focused entirely on the tribal areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the state has conveniently shut its eyes to militant activities in the country's most powerful province. This inaction cannot be dismissed as just a state of denial, and has more to do with expediency. [...] It is an open secret that the prime minister stopped the execution of two LeJ militants convicted for sectarian killings after threats from Asmatullah Muawiya, the self-styled chief of the Punjabi Taliban. He was also believed to be the commander of one of several Al Qaeda military cells operating in Punjab. Interestingly, a few months later Muawiya announced the end of the group's armed struggle against Pakistani security forces, limiting its activities to fighting US-led coalition forces in Afghanistan. Many believe the truce was the result of a deal. Radical madressah networks in Punjab lie at the heart of Pakistan's militancy problem. Most of the Punjabi Taliban leaders received their ideological training in those hardline seminaries, nurtured and expanded under state patronage in the 1980s. Many of these madressahs are also linked with LeJ, a group closely connected with Al Qaeda. Rightly described as the epicentre of sectarian militancy, the province has also been the main venue of attacks on religious minority groups such as Ahmadis and Christians. The rise of religious extremism in the province is mainly linked to the growth of foreign-funded Salafi seminaries and the failure of the state to check their activities. Then there is the question about organisations, which may not be engaged in fighting at home, but are deeply involved in terrorist activities in neighbouring countries. Will people like Hafiz Saeed and Maulana Masood Azhar still be allowed to operate freely under the new counterterrorism action plan? It is not clear yet whether our security agencies have finally cut the umbilical cord with their former clients. Acceptance of militant organisations under any pretext will defeat the entire counterterrorism effort. It is Punjab where the real battle against violent extremism will have to be fought to reclaim the country's original identity of a progressive Muslim state. Reluctance to tackle the

⁷⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1154166/tackling-militancy-in-punjab>

militancy and sectarian problem in the province raises serious doubt about the country winning this battle.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

FISCAL ISSUES

Budget deficit will be cut to 4pc of GDP, claims Dar, Dawn, December 8⁷⁹

Finance Minister Ishaq Dar said on December 7 the government planned to reduce budget deficit to 4 per cent of GDP by exercising strict financial discipline. The budget deficit, he said, had already been reduced from 8.8 to 5.2 per cent by increasing the revenue by 16 per cent, cutting expenses of the Prime Minister's House by Rs40 million and abolishing unaudited secret funds of 34 departments, except those of the Inter-Services Intelligence and the Intelligence Bureau. Steps were being taken to reduce it further to four per cent. "We launched Sukuk bond in the international market, conducted road shows in the Middle East and other countries and were offered \$2.3bn." "We will try to take foreign exchange reserves to \$15bn by Dec 31 so that the country becomes eligible for easy loans from international financial institutions."

Poverty alleviation: No World Bank funds for PPAF, for now, The Express Tribune, December 12⁸⁰

Pakistan has decided to avail loans from WB for critical mega-development projects but not for the next phase of poverty alleviation as the current phase of the programme faces delays. The finance ministry has, for now, turned down a request from the PPAF for initiating dialogue with WB for PPAF-IV, senior officials told The Express Tribune on December 11. They said the government has decided to give priority to mega development projects only due to WB's limited financing envelope. The decision is in line with the recommendations of development sector experts who have been urging the government to avail foreign loans against only those projects which promise a high return on investment.

IMF predicts 5% growth for Pakistan, reduction in inflation, Dawn, December 24⁸¹

The International Monetary Fund has predicted five per cent growth for Pakistan in the medium-term and easing of inflation to below 8 per cent in fiscal

⁷⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149467/budget-deficit-will-be-cut-to-4pc-of-gdp-claims-dar>

⁸⁰ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/805570/poverty-alleviation-no-world-bank-funds-for-ppaf-for-now/>

⁸¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152848/imf-predicts-5-growth-for-pakistan-reduction-in-inflation>

2014-15. In a detailed report on the country's economic performance, released on Tuesday evening, the IMF warns that political and security conditions in the country continued to pose a serious challenge to the national economy. The report predicts that in the medium-term, the growth is expected to rise to around 5pc, due mainly to easing fiscal adjustment and improvements in structural bottlenecks in the energy sector, public enterprises, and the investment climate. Average inflation is expected to ease to below 8pc in fiscal year 2014-15 and fall further thereafter, as inflation expectations will be anchored by tight monetary policy and sustainable fiscal policy. Foreign exchange reserves are expected to exceed \$14 billion by end-June 2015 — a coverage ratio of over three months of imports.

TRADE

Five MoUs signed with Iran to boost trade, *Dawn*, December 10⁸²

Pakistan and Iran on December 9 signed five MoUs to boost cooperation in the field of investment, economic and technical assistance, small and medium enterprises, ports and handicraft. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif witnessed the signing of MoUs on December 9 evening at the 19th session of Pakistan-Iran JEC. Minister for Economic Affairs and Finance Dr Ali Tayyebnia headed the Iranian delegation to the meeting. Ahead of the signing ceremony, the visiting minister called on the prime minister and discussed Pakistan-Iran bilateral relations, with particular reference to economic dimension. Both the sides underscored the importance of deep bilateral relations for increased trade and economic cooperation. The Premier expressed the hope that the session would open new avenues of cooperation while fortifying the existing initiatives that the two brotherly countries have engaged in so far. The meeting agreed to increase mutual investment and bilateral trade between the two countries.

ENERGY

Power consumers to pay Rs117bn more due to govt's mismanagement, *Dawn*, December 1⁸³

Each electricity unit has become costlier by Rs1.30 as the federal government started charging two recently introduced taxes in fresh bills, transferring a cumulative burden of around Rs117 billion to consumers this year. The November bills include the Universal Obligation Fund at the rate of Re1 per unit for those falling between 301 and 700 units and 50 paise for consumers over 700 units. Similarly, a debt servicing surcharge of 30 paise per unit has

⁸² <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149878/five-mous-signed-with-iran-to-boost-trade>

⁸³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1147865/power-consumers-to-pay-rs117bn-more-due-to-govts-mismanagement>

also been included in the bills. Both the surcharges are over and above 30 paisa per unit monthly fuel adjustment charges for August and another 51 paisa per unit for September. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had withdrawn the September fuel charges, but they are still part of November bills. "The sector sells around 90 billion units every year," explains a former head of the Central Power Purchase Agency. By raising tax on each unit by Rs1.30, the government has transferred an additional burden of Rs117 billion to consumers – a killing figure by any stretch of imagination.

Energy cooperation: Pakistan, Iran to discuss how to push ahead, *The Express Tribune*, December 5⁸⁴

With hopes high for a settlement of the nuclear dispute between Iran and global powers, Islamabad and Tehran will meet next week to steer the way towards power and gas supply deals stalled since long due to economic sanctions on the Gulf state. Officials of Pakistan and Iran will meet in Islamabad on December 8 and 9 in a meeting of the JMC, say officials. Key issues that will come up for discussion include gas and power supply deals and breaking the deadlock with the US over Iran's nuclear programme to pave the way for implementing the agreements.

CASA-1000 agreement inked in Istanbul, *The Express Tribune*, December 5⁸⁵

A hydel energy agreement between Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan was signed in Istanbul on December 3. The project, known as the Central Asia South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000), will help export 1,000 MW of clean energy to Pakistan at a price of 9.35 cents including all the charges. Minister for Water and Power Khawaja Muhammad Asif led the Pakistani delegation while Tajikistan delegation was led by Deputy Prime Minister and Afghan and Kyrgyz delegations were led by their respective energy ministers.

Balochistan seeks bigger share in imported LNG, *Dawn*, December 8⁸⁶

Balochistan has sought from the centre a bigger share in proposed imported LNG at reduced rate as a partial compensation for decades of cheap 'Sui gas' consumed across the country. The provincial government has also requested the relevant federal ministries to share detailed concept papers of Gwadar being developed into an LNG hub and its transportation through pipelines to Sindh and upcountry so that it could formally take up the matter with the country's political leadership at appropriate forums, official record suggests.

⁸⁴<http://tribune.com.pk/story/801900/energy-cooperation-pakistan-iran-to-discuss-how-to-push-ahead/>

⁸⁵<http://tribune.com.pk/story/801897/solid-step-casa-1000-agreement-inked-in-istanbul/>

⁸⁶<http://www.dawn.com/news/1149478/balochistan-seeks-bigger-share-in-imported-lng>

The projects include Gwadar LNG terminal, Gwadar-Nawabshah coastal gas pipeline and related infrastructure. The Balochistan government considers enhanced gas supplies at cheap rate a critical tool for political mainstreaming of the neglected province.

Neelum Jhelum plant faces \$475m funding black hole, *The Express Tribune*, December 16⁸⁷

Despite the government's promise to complete the 969-megawatt plant in the next two years as part of its strategy to end load-shedding ahead of next general elections, the Neelum Jhelum hydropower project still faces a \$475-million financing gap, threatening its timely execution. "It is very unfortunate that there is no financial close and the project is still facing a financing gap," said Water and Power Development Authority Chairman Zafar Mahmood in a testimony to the National Assembly Standing Committee on Planning and Development. Mahmood was called by the parliamentary body on Monday to give a briefing about the present status of the project. The new secretary in-charge of the Ministry of Water and Power, Younus Dhaga, in line with the PM, said that he would end load-shedding by December 2016. His plan included an additional 5,000MW – included with the 969MW from the NJ project.

Pakistan, Russia ink \$1.7b energy deal, *The Express Tribune*, December 23⁸⁸

Pakistan and Russia signed a most sought-after energy deal of \$1.7 billion for laying a LNG pipeline from Karachi to Lahore. The supply of LNG is expected before March next year. It is for the first time Islamabad and Moscow have signed an energy pact decades after their defence deal. The energy agreement was signed during the visit of the Russian defence minister. Moreover, Islamabad and Moscow also signed a defence and military cooperation deal, a move seen by economic experts as ushering in a gradual improvement in ties between the two countries. Before Gen Ziaul Haq's military regime, Russia had helped Pakistan set up the Karachi Steel Mills and also supported the Oil and Gas Development Company Limited, which is still using old Russian machinery in exploring oil and gas.

Pakistan, Iran reach accord on gas pipeline, *The News*, December 29⁸⁹

Pakistan Petroleum Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi has said that Islamabad and Tehran have reached some agreement on the gas pipeline project. Talking to Iranian official IRNA news agency, Abbasi said that some officials from Iran's NIOC would visit Islamabad in few days to meet ISGS people to discuss

⁸⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/807353/in-jeopardy-neelum-jhelum-plant-faces-475m-funding-black-hole/>

⁸⁸ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/810996/ties-triumph-pakistan-russia-ink-1-7b-energy-deal/>

⁸⁹ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-293019-Pakistan-Iran-reach-accord-on-gas-pipeline-Khaqan>

the way to implement the project and talk about the remaining issues. He further added that the exact date for NIOC-ISGS meeting would be announced soon. Regarding a recent interview with the Financial Times, he totally rejected some remarks attributed to him that he "Pakistan has convinced Iran to step back from demanding \$200m a month from January 01 to compensate for Islamabad's failure to begin receiving gas from Iran". Abbassi reiterated that he had never said such a statement in his recent interview with the Financial Times.

REMITTANCES

5MFY15: Remittances clock in at \$7.398b, *The Express Tribune*, December 12⁹⁰

Overseas Pakistani workers remitted \$7,398.4 million in the first five months of 2014-15, showing an increase of 15.5% over the \$6,407.5 million received during the same period of 2013-14. According to the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP), the inflow of workers' remittances during November amounted to \$1,320.6 million, which is 4.5% lower than those recorded in the preceding month. However, last month's remittances were 16.8% higher than the remittances received in the same month of 2013. The country-wise details for November shows that inflows from Saudi Arabia, UAE, US, UK, GCC countries (including Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and Oman) and EU countries amounted to \$429.1 million, \$271.2 million, \$178.8 million, \$156.7 million, \$150.5 million and \$24.3 million, respectively. Remittances received from Norway, Switzerland, Australia, Canada, Japan and other countries during November amounted to \$110.2 million together as opposed to \$71.76 million received in November 2013.

INVESTMENT

Foreign investors repatriate \$405m profits, *Dawn*, December 1⁹¹

The first four months of this fiscal year saw repatriation of \$405 million in profits and dividends on foreign investments (including portfolio investment) compared to \$408m the same period last fiscal year. A latest report of the State Bank showed that during July-October 2014-15, the repatriation of profits and dividends on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) was \$344m. In the same period of previous fiscal year, the FDI inflows were \$288m while the outflows of profits and dividends were \$354m, suggesting the situation has improved this fiscal year. The major change appeared in communications sector. The inflows in this sector jumped to \$110m in July-October while it witnessed net outflow of \$96m in the corresponding period last year. The FDI in telecommunications during the period under review were \$109.3m while it was negative \$101m last year. The repatriation of profits and dividends on foreign investments in this sector stood at \$23.9m in July-October 2014-15 compared to \$17.3m in the same period last year. The power sector FDI inflows were \$25.3m while outflows of

⁹⁰ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/805510/5mfy15-remittances-clock-in-at-7-398b/>

⁹¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1147808/foreign-investors-repatriate-405m-profits>

profit and dividends were \$40.7m in July-October 2014-15. This was much strange as the sector received just \$6.7m FDI in the same period last year, but paid profits and dividends of \$65.4m.

Chinese keen to invest some more, *The Express Tribune*, December 10⁹²

Chinese businesses have shown keen interest in getting mega projects in construction, energy and power generation sectors across Pakistan. A business delegation, headed by CR20G Board Director and Vice President Li Lingxuan, met Iftikhar Babar, Board of Investment secretary, to discuss investments in mega projects. CR20G is a subsidiary of CRCC, which is included in the world's top 500 companies. Babar said that the investments will provide significant benefits to the industry and generate employment opportunities. Additionally, Babar highlighted various incentives and facilities available for foreign investors in Pakistan. The CR20G is committed to avail investment opportunities available in Pakistan specifically in the field of wind power installation and hydro power projects.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Chinese Minister for public security, *Dawn*, December 8⁹³

China has assured that it is ready to work with Pakistan to implement the consensus reached by the leaders of both countries, steadily promote the construction of the CPEC and continuously enhance the Pakistan-China Strategic Cooperative Partnership. "*The assurance was given by Chinese State Councillor Guo Shengkun during his meetings with President Mamnoon Hussain, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and other leaders,*" Foreign Office spokesperson said in a statement on December 8. During the three-day visit, State Councillor Guo Shengkun called on Pakistani leadership and conveyed cordial greetings and good wishes from Chinese President Xi Jinping and Premier Li Keqiang to their respective counterparts.

Pak indigenous defence production reaches \$1.5bn, *Dawn*, December 16⁹⁴

The country's indigenous defence production has reached \$1.5 billion per annum, according to a report published in the *Jane's Defence Weekly*. The journal quoted an unnamed Pakistani official as saying: "*We have substituted imported defence equipment worth \$1.5bn [per year], which for us is a huge bonus.*" The defence industry has often been criticised for being inefficient and low tech because of which the cost of its products has been higher than that of

⁹² <http://tribune.com.pk/story/804453/chinese-interest-keen-to-invest-some-more/>

⁹³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149555/chinese-minister-for-public-security-meets-pakistani-leadership>

⁹⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151174/pakistans-indigenous-defence-production-reaches-15bn>

comparable items in the international market. But, the government's decision to grant first right of refusal to the local industry, which is state-controlled, helped the ailing industry in boosting its sales. The right of refusal has not been fully accorded as Sindh province is yet to comply. Under the first right of refusal, local buyers have to accord preference to local industry for their procurements. The Minister for Defence Production Rana, Tanvir Hussain, was quoted by the *Jane's* as saying: "*We have achieved self-sufficiency in several areas of defence production. We cannot lower our guard against the threat from our adversaries.*"

EDITORIALS AND OPINIONS

Good and the bad in the economy, Dr Muhammad Yaqub, *The News*, December 5⁹⁵

There have been several economic developments in the recent past that have provided some breathing space to the PML-N government amid the suffocation of the cumulative impact of poor economic management of both the PPP-led and PML-N governments. International oil prices have nosedived in the recent past and all over the world petroleum product prices have come down. The PML-N government has also lowered those prices but not to the same extent as the fall in world oil prices. Thus, stealthily, a part of the fall in world oil prices is being used by the government to generate windfall revenue as a substitute for taxation of the rich and powerful. A fuller pass through of the fall in world oil prices would have provided more relief to consumers. However, the public, being sick of the steady stream of bad economic news, is happy on even the less than required reduction in petroleum product prices. [...]The second outwardly positive development is the actual and potential increase in foreign exchange reserves of the State Bank of Pakistan and stability in the nominal exchange rate. This reflects a lower dollar cost of oil imports, rising home remittances and larger foreign borrowings and not any improvement in the fundamentals of the economy. The rising home remittances reflect a complex set of factors including diversion of dollars earned in underground operations to the channel of remittances that is exempted from taxation and legally protected by a 'no-question-asked policy' with regard to the source of income of the remitters, enabling the underground operators to whiten their black money. [...]The need for borrowing arises from the inability/unwillingness of the federal and provincial governments to mount an effort for tax reforms to bring into the tax net the rich and powerful and raise the low tax-to-GDP ratio. Instead, the government is meeting the IMF conditionality of lowering the budget deficit by cutting down federal development expenditure, forcing the

⁹⁵<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-288298-The-good-and-the-bad-in-the-economy>

provinces to generate budget surpluses in spite of their low spending on health, education and other social sectors and by messaging the fiscal accounts. [...]

Economy of failure, Muhammad Yaqub, *The Express Tribune*, December 12⁹⁶

In the last quarter of a century several civilian and military governments have come into power, blamed their predecessors for mismanaging the economy and promised to make a new beginning by using a different economic management approach. At the end of the day, each of them did exactly the same that was done by its predecessors and left the economy in a worse shape than before. During this entire period, the IMF has remained engaged with almost all the governments; its reports show that it patted each government on the back for doing a good economic management job while the economy actually continued to accumulate structural imbalances. Our successive governments opted for quick-fixes and easy patchwork and were never really serious about adopting durable structural policy reforms. The IMF endorsed phony economic programmes of various governments to enter into formal lending arrangements and then gave waivers and accepted fudged data to keep those programmes operational. [...] The second economic priority should be to create fiscal space and monetary stability in the country, both to accelerate private investment and keep the rate of inflation in low single digits for a sustained period. The prerequisite for the achievement of a low rate of inflation and a high rate of private investment is that the consolidated deficit of all layers of the government, including public sector enterprises, should remain below four percent of GDP over a sustained period of time, and monetary expansion is contained within safe limits. It should be obvious that monetary stability cannot be achieved by the SBP as long as it remains in a state of slavery to the Ministry of Finance. [...] Export-led economic growth is not possible without the resolution of issues of availability and pricing of the various sources of energy, improvement in the law and order situation and appropriate use of the exchange rate policy to maintain the competitiveness of the economy. The obsession of the PML-N government with the stability of the nominal exchange rate must be replaced by a commitment to maintain the stability of the real effective exchange rate. The government's fascination for mega projects should be replaced by more productive public-sector spending. It is clear that the government has to abandon the present approach to economic management and put its fiscal, monetary, exchange rate and debt management policies on the right path to achieve a high rate of economic growth, relative price stability and equilibrium in the balance of payments. Without a drastic change in its approach to economic management, the PML-N government will produce no better results than its predecessors.

⁹⁶ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-289651-Economy-of-failure>

SECURITY SITUATION

TERRORISM

US hands over senior Taliban leader, Latifullah Mehsud, detained in Afghanistan to Pakistan, *Dawn*, December 7⁹⁷

The United States handed over a senior TTP leader, Latifullah Mehsud to Pakistan, US officials said on December 7, hours after Pakistani official sources confirmed the handover of the key Taliban commander. Latifullah had served as the deputy of the TTP chief Hakimullah Mehsud until his arrest last year. Hakimullah, who was killed in a US drone strike in North Waziristan in November last year, had appointed Latifullah as his deputy after replacing Khan Said alias Sajna from the position. "We can confirm that the United States repatriated three Pakistanis held in US custody in Afghanistan following consultations between the United States and Pakistan and after receiving appropriate assurances regarding humane treatment," the US Embassy spokesperson said. "We cannot comment on the identity of the detainees," the embassy spokesperson added. Official sources earlier said that Afghanistan had handed over Latifullah and two other TTP men to Pakistan on Saturday.

Militants joining IS, says Punjab govt, *Dawn*, December 11⁹⁸

The Punjab home department is reported to have warned the provincial police force that some Chechen and Uzbek militants who left Waziristan in the wake of the *Zarb-i-Azb* military operation are trying to join the Islamic State militant group in the country. In a letter to divisional police chiefs, intelligence agencies and the counter-terrorism department of Punjab, the home department said there were reports that some militant groups of Pakistan were joining the IS, also known as 'Daish', because of its anti-Shia policies. But it also revealed that there were groups which were resisting the IS. The letter said there were some intelligence reports that the 'Salafi' groups were inclined towards 'Daish' which might be seeking support from jihadi outfits and militant groups. The home department has directed law-enforcement agencies to keep an eye on individuals associated with banned outfits and their activities.

Five militants of 'Al Qaeda India' held, *Dawn*, December 12⁹⁹

Police clai-med on December 11 to have arrested five militants belonging to the newly formed Al Qaeda India (AQI) group allegedly involved in the terrorist attack on Navy's dockyard in September. They were arrested during a raid in

⁹⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/803129/senior-taliban-leader-latifullah-mehsud-handed-over-to-pakistan/>

⁹⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150128/militants-joining-is-says-punjab-govt>

⁹⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150353/five-militants-of-al-qaeda-india-held>

old Haji Camp, Napier, by personnel of the CID's anti-extremism cell. Police said 10 kilograms of explosive material, two rifles, three pistols and some ammunition had been recovered from their possession. The suspects were identified as Qari Shahid Usman, Asad Khan, Fawad Khan, Shahid Ansari and Usman, aka Islam. A CID official said Qari Shahid Usman was chief of AQI in Karachi. The group's country head is Asim Umer. The official claimed that the suspects had planned and funded the attack on the dockyard in which several attackers and Navy personnel were killed. He also claimed that they were plotting another attack on the dockyard.

Committee on terror plans to meet, Dawn December 19¹⁰⁰

A committee consisting of representatives of political parties – headed by Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan – will meet here on December 19 to thrash out a '*national action plan*' to counter terrorism. But ahead of this all-important meeting, there does not seem to be much optimism among some of the parties involved in the process, who say there is little chance of a major shift in the government's approach towards the issue of militancy. Almost all political parties represented in parliament have nominated members to send to the committee, which was announced by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif at the conclusion of the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) held in Peshawar on Wednesday, a day after a savage Taliban attack on the Army Public School left over 140 dead and hundreds more injured.

US may not target Mullah Omar after this year, Dawn, December 22¹⁰¹

The United States has said that after Jan 2, US forces in Afghanistan will not target Mullah Omar and other Taliban leaders unless they posed a direct threat to the US. "*Being a member of the Taliban doesn't mean that the United States is going to prosecute operations against you for that reason alone,*" Pentagon spokesman Rear Admiral John Kirby told a recent news briefing in Washington. But he also drew a line between combatant and non-combatant Taliban, saying that those who continued to fight would not be spared. "*We've also concurred that a member of the Taliban who undertakes missions against us or our Afghan partners — by that act alone, renders himself vulnerable and liable to US action,*" Rear Admiral Kirby said.

TTP threatens media of dire consequences, The News, December 23¹⁰²

Spokesman of proscribed TTP Mohammad Khurasani on December 22 claimed that 120 militants of his organization were murdered in past 2 days. According to a statement issued here, TTP spokesman Muhammad Khurasani blamed

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151783/committee-on-terror-plans-to-meet-today>

¹⁰¹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1152382/us-may-not-target-mullah-omar-after-this-year>

¹⁰² <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-169486-TTP-threatens-media-of-dire-consequences>

media and intellectuals for, what they said, insensitively ignoring the killings of TTP men. *"Media will have to face dire consequences for backing the security forces"*, he threatened.

Lashkar-i-Jhangvi chief to be set free, *The Express Tribune*, December 23¹⁰³

A three-member review board of the Lahore High Court dismissed the provincial government's application on Monday seeking an extension of Lashkar-i-Jhangvi leader Malik Ishaq's detention. Ishaq has been detained for the past six months. The Home Department detained him on July 4 under the maintenance of public order law for inciting violence through hate speech. After 90 days the provincial government produced Ishaq before the LHC's review board and asked for an extension of 90 days. As the extension is about to expire, the government once again produced him before the review board on December 22 requesting an extension. The request was denied as the government failed to provide reasonable justification for the extension of detention. On May 28, due to lack of evidence, an anti-terrorism court in Rawalpindi had acquitted Ishaq of charges of inciting violence.

'2nd Zarb-e-Azb': PM vows no mercy for terrorists, *The Express Tribune*, December 23¹⁰⁴

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced on December 22 that his government would launch an offensive against militants in rural and urban areas of the country in a bid to dismantle sleeper cells of terrorists in our midst. *"While one Operation Zarb-e-Azb has been ongoing in the tribal areas, another will be launched against the enemy hiding in our cities and villages,"* he said while chairing a high-level meeting at the Prime Minister House. He was referring to the military operation launched against the Taliban and their foreign cohorts in North Waziristan Agency in mid-June. According to an official statement, the meeting was convened to review the recommendations of a working group on a national counter-terrorism plan. Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, Finance Minister Ishaq Dar, SAFRON Minister Lt Gen (ret'd) Abdul Quadir Baloch, Attorney General for Pakistan Salman Aslam Butt, as well as PM's special assistants Khawaja Zaheer Ahmed and Barrister Zafarullah attended the meeting.

¹⁰³<http://tribune.com.pk/story/810879/under-review-lashkar-i-jhangvi-chief-to-be-set-free-soon/>

¹⁰⁴ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/810949/2nd-zarb-e-azb-pm-vows-no-mercy-for-terrorists/>

KHYBER PAKHTUNKHWA AND FATA

Ransom money being used by militants: IGP, Dawn, December 2¹⁰⁵

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa inspector general of police Nasir Khan Durrani on Monday claimed the ransom and extortion money collected in the province was being used for militant activities. He was speaking at a special ceremony organised at the central police office here to distribute cash and commendation certificates to Karak and Tank police personnel over the recovery of three schoolchildren kidnapped in Bannu lately. The IGP praised the 'professionalism, valour, strategy and timely action' on the policemen, who recovered students, and said he hoped that they would continue with the excellent performance. He said kidnappings for ransom and targeted killings were major issues facing the province.

Commanders of Gul Bahadur group killed, Dawn, December 8¹⁰⁶

Conflicting reports suggest that air strikes conducted in Datakhel tehsil of North Waziristan Agency have killed key commanders of the Hafiz Gul Bahadur group. The dead are reported to include Gul Bahadur, Sadiq Noor and Akhtar Muhammad along with 30 other militants of the group. Some sources are saying that at least seven key commanders of the Hafiz Gul Bahadur group have died in the strikes. Pakistani F16 jet fighters targeted the militants' compound and a vehicle in Seen Tanga area of Datakhel tehsil of the agency. Military sources say that the strikes have been carried out against the militants in the area but their identity and the causality figure is yet to be confirmed.

Peshawar school carnage: 141 martyred, 124 injured, The News, December 17¹⁰⁷

The death toll from December 16 terrorist attack on Army Public School has mounted to 141, 132 of them students, while more than 124 others sustained wounds. According to DG ISPR, 132 children and 9 school staff members were martyred while 7 soldiers including two officers were injured in the attack. The proscribed TTP claimed credit of one of the deadliest attack in Pakistan's history. Giving account of the harrowing attack, an eye witness said the terrorists set to fire the vehicle in which they had arrived before they stormed the school building. Later, police said, the bloody raid by the Taliban on the army-run school ended, with all six attackers dead.

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148259/ransom-money-being-used-by-militants-igp>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149403/key-commanders-of-gul-bahadur-group-killed-in-datakhel-strikes-reports>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168831-Peshawar-school-carnage:-141-martyred,-124-injured>

Mullah Fazlullah group claims responsibility for Peshawar carnage, *The News*, December 17¹⁰⁸

Mullah Fazlullah Group, also involved in an attack on Malala Yousafzai, has claimed responsibility for the massacre at a school where militants killed 141 people including 132 children. The TTP calls for an end to a military offensive in North Waziristan that was launched June this year. The militant organization says the school attack was a revenge for the military operation in the tribal belt.

Afghan Taliban condemn Peshawar school attack, *Dawn*, December 17¹⁰⁹

The Afghan Taliban have condemned a raid on a school in Peshawar that left 141 dead in the country's bloodiest ever terror attack, saying killing innocent children was against Islam. Survivors said militants gunned down children as young as 12 during the eight-hour onslaught in Peshawar, which the TTP said was revenge for the on-going North Waziristan operation. *"The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan has always condemned the killing of children and innocent people at every juncture,"* the Afghan Taliban, which often target civilians, said in a statement released late December 16. *"The intentional killing of innocent people, women and children goes against the principles of Islam and every Islamic government and movement must adhere to this fundamental essence."* *"The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan (the official name of the Taliban) expresses its condolences over the incident and mourns with the families of killed children."*

BALUCHISTAN

Truck entering Quetta with 5,000kg explosives seized, *Dawn*, December 1¹¹⁰

Security forces on Monday seized a truck carrying around 5,000 kilogrammes of explosives as it was attempting to enter Quetta, the provincial capital of Balochistan. They also recovered a large number of weapons during raids and searches conducted in Quetta, Panjgur and Zhob areas of the province. Weapons seized during the raids include landmines, improvised explosives devices, rocket launchers, mortar bombs and a large number of AK-47 rifles along with thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Iran fires 42 mortar shells in Balochistan, *The Express Tribune*, December 30¹¹¹

Iranian border guards fired 42 mortar shells into Zamuran, a town in Turbat district of Balochistan bordering Iran in the early hours of December 29. At least four Pakistani citizens sustained minor injuries and two pickup cars were

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168914-Mullah-Fazlullah-group-claims-responsibility-for-Peshawar-carnage->

¹⁰⁹ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151407/afghan-taliban-condemn-peshawar-school-attack>

¹¹⁰ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148068/truck-entering-quetta-with-5000kg-explosives-seized>

¹¹¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/813988/retaliatory-action-iran-fires-42-mortar-shells-into-balochistan/>

partially damaged in the explosions which took place at the Jalgi area of Buleda tehsil, an official of Turbat Levies. The attack was carried out soon after three IRGC, sent to reinforce border police, were killed in an attack in the southeast of Iran near Pakistan, according to Iranian media reports. Armed "bandits" killed the IRGC members on Sunday near the city Saravan in the Sistan-Balochistan region, according to a RG statement, carried by Fars news agency. "At least 42 mortar shells fired from Iranian side had landed and exploded in the bordering area in Pakistan's Zamuran where transporters were present," the official said. The back-to-back explosions caused panic and fear in the area. "The explosions were heard several kilometres away, causing fear and panic," the official said, adding, "At least four Pakistani transporters or drivers sustained minor wounds."

164 bodies found in Balochistan this year, *The Express Tribune*, December 31¹¹²

Three bullet-riddled bodies were found dumped in an uninhabited place in the Mand area of Turbat district on December 30, taking the number of such bodies found in the volatile province this year to 164. Levies personnel shifted the bodies to a state-run hospital in Turbat where a medic said that "the victims were shot multiple times in the head, chest and face." He added that the victims were shot about 12 hours ago, probably late Monday night. He identified two of the victims as Waleed Chakar, a resident of Mand, and Muhammad Raheem Shahmurad, a resident of Dasht. Since 2004, a low-key separatist insurgency has been ongoing in Balochistan, which has become a cauldron of sectarian, militant and political violence. Several separatist groups have been targeting security forces, law enforcers and political opponents triggering frequent clampdowns. According to a home department report, at least 164 bullet-riddled bodies have been found in Balochistan during the last 12 months. Of them, 80 were found in Quetta, 41 in Kalat division – comprising Khuzdar and Mastung districts – 41 in Makran division – comprising Panjgur, Gwadar and Turbat districts – six in Nasirabad division, 13 in Zhob district and eight in Sibi Division, says the report, a copy of which is available with *The Express Tribune*.

SINDH

Footprints: 'Kill and dump' in Sindh, *The Express Tribune*, December 14¹¹³

Sarwech Ali Pirzado's grave stands out in the ancestral Pirzado graveyard in Balhrejji, Larkana district. A red JSMM flag is spread over the grave. Another party flag flutters beside it. Known as 'little Moscow', Balhrejji has seen many socialist and communist movements, evidence of which is found on the main entrance to the street where the graveyard is located. There is a plaque here in memory of "social reformer Muhib Hussain Pirzado". The area has been in the

¹¹² <http://tribune.com.pk/story/814993/164-bodies-found-in-balochistan-this-year-report/>

¹¹³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150769/footprints-kill-and-dump-in-sindh>

spotlight in recent weeks, as the venue where families from across Sindh receive the tortured bodies of their relatives — activists of Sindh's nationalist parties who hailed largely from Larkana district.

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

National Action Plan: 'New criminal justice system' proposed, *The Express Tribune*, December 23¹¹⁴

Anti-terrorism experts on December 22 pored over several spanking new proposals including the formation of a "national council for the prevention of terrorism" in the country and introducing a "new criminal justice system" to deal with terrorism-related cases. These experts represent more than a dozen security and intelligence outfits. On December 22, they presented their recommendations to the NAPC who will discuss the proposals on its 23 December meeting. "We recommended formation of a 'national council for prevention of terrorism', 'new criminal justice system' and creation of some two dozen new 'anti-terrorism courts' for speedy trial of terrorists," a member of the group, requesting not to be named. The experts also suggested that the national council in coordination with the National Counter Terrorism Authority should brief the prime minister on terrorism-related issues every week. To clean up madrassas by reviewing their literature perhaps under fresh legislation was another proposal floated to the NAPC, he added.

RELATIONS WITH INDIA

No breakthrough expected in resumption of dialogue with India : FO, *Dawn*, December 4¹¹⁵

Pakistan's Foreign Office on there is no immediate breakthrough expected in resumption of bilateral dialogue with India. Responding to queries by media representatives at a weekly news briefing in Islamabad, Foreign Office spokesperson Tasneem Aslam said Pakistan believes that peace and stability in the region is important for development. However, there is no immediate breakthrough expected in resumption of bilateral dialogue with India. She further said that Pakistan acted in good faith and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif accepted invitation from India to attend oath taking ceremony of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

¹¹⁴<http://tribune.com.pk/story/811001/national-action-plan-new-criminal-justice-system-proposed/>

¹¹⁵<http://www.dawn.com/news/1148771/no-breakthrough-expected-in-resumption-of-dialogue-with-india-fo>

JuD call to arms to help Kashmiris, Dawn, December 6¹¹⁶

Jamaatud Dawah emir Hafiz Muhammad Saeed asserts that militants have right to enter held Kashmir to help liberate the Kashmiris from Indian yoke. He also counseled 'Daish' and other militant outfits to target Israel instead of pitching the Muslims against the Muslims. *"If India can send its troops to Afghanistan, it cannot say that Mujahideen cannot enter Kashmir to win freedom for the oppressed Muslim brothers,"* he argued while speaking at the concluding session of the two-day congregation of his outfit at the Minar-i-Pakistan grounds here on December 5. Lauding Prime Minister Sharif's stance in the recent speech in the UN General Assembly and in Muzaffarabad (AJK), he advised him to hold a frank talk with his Indian counterpart on solving the Kashmir dispute under the UN resolutions *"and if the latter refuses, then Mr Sharif must side with the Kashmiris in their struggle for freedom."*

Pakistan detains 58 Indian fishermen: police, The News, December 11¹¹⁷

Pakistani marine forces on December 10 arrested 58 Indian fishermen for allegedly violating territorial waters in the Arabian Sea, police said. *"The Maritime Security Agency arrested 58 Indian fishermen,"* senior police officer Shiraz Nazir told, adding that the authorities also seized 11 boats. *"They (Indian fishermen) have been handed over to police,"* he said. The agency had arrested 61 Indian fishermen for allegedly violating territorial waters in November. Such arrests are frequently carried out by both countries, as the maritime border in the Arabian Sea is poorly defined and many fishing boats lack the technology needed to be certain of their precise location. The fishermen often languish in jail even after serving prison terms, as poor diplomatic ties between the two arch-rivals mean fulfilling official requirements can take a long time.

Indian allegations, provocative statements not conducive to peace: FO, December 14¹¹⁸

After Indian defence minister warned Pakistan of a *"strong response"* for alleged cross-border terrorism, the Foreign Office on December 13 responded by saying that unfounded allegations and provocative statements were not conducive to the peace in the region. Following a week where 11 security personnel were killed in attacks in Indian Kashmir, for which Indian Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar had blamed Pakistan, Times of India reported.

"I feel that there has to be some strong response which will once and for all reduce these blatant attempts. It's an open secret that they (militants) came from Pakistan." In response, the FO spokesperson in statement on Saturday

¹¹⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1149107/jud-call-to-arms-to-help-kashmiris>

¹¹⁷ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168393-Pakistan-detains-58-Indian-fishermen:-police>

¹¹⁸ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/806314/indian-allegations-provocative-statements-not-conducive-to-peace-fo/>

said that these “unfounded allegations and provocative statements are not conducive to peace in the region.” “There must not be any miscalculation about Pakistan’s resolve to defend itself and thwart any aggression.”

Pak to challenge bail for Mumbai attacks suspect, Dawn, December 24¹¹⁹

A government prosecutor said that he would file a petition next week challenging an order granting bail to the alleged mastermind of the 2008 terror attacks in Mumbai. A judge in an anti-terror court last week granted bail to Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi, accused over the siege in India’s commercial capital that left 166 people dead and was blamed on the banned militant group LeT. The bail decision triggered a furious response from New Delhi and Pakistani prosecutors swiftly announced they would appeal against it. “We will file a petition in the Islamabad High Court next week,” prosecutor Mohammad Azhar Chaudhry told.

2nd FIR registered under pressure from India: Lakhvi, Dawn, December 31¹²⁰

Zakiur Rehman Lakhvi — the alleged mastermind of the 2008 Mumbai attacks — has challenged his two-day physical remand in a kidnapping case in a district and sessions court in Islamabad. Earlier on December 30, a local court in Islamabad had remanded Lakhvi in police custody for two days in a kidnapping case, a day after the Islamabad High Court court approved his release. The remand came in the wake of a FIR lodged against the alleged mastermind at the Golra Police Station in Islamabad. According to the FIR, Lakhvi was said to be involved in the abduction of a man named Anwar six and a half years ago.

EDITORIALS AND OPINIONS

Gordian knots, Editorial, The Express Tribune, December 4¹²¹

There are conflicts that seem immutable, untouched by modern science, impervious to logic or reason, and fly in the face of all that is rational. There are two that stand out: the one between Palestinians and the Israelis, and the other between Indians and the Pakistanis. Much has been made of the brief interaction between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and his Indian counterpart Narendra Modi at the Saarc summit, but the balloon has been pricked by Sartaj Aziz, the senior foreign policy adviser to the prime minister. On December 2, he said that there was little or no chance of constructive dialogue with India in the foreseeable future. He blamed India directly for this sorry state of affairs. It

¹¹⁹<http://www.dawn.com/news/1152893/pakistan-to-challenge-bail-for-mumbai-attacks-suspect-next-week>

¹²⁰<http://www.dawn.com/news/1154243/second-fir-registered-under-pressure-from-india-lakhvi-petitions>

¹²¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/801268/gordian-knots/>

seems that neither can ever get out of the starting blocks, or if they do, it is only to step back into them again as ripples appear on the path ahead. [...] This conflict is one of the great tragedies of the modern era. It was born of colonial downsizing in a bloody division that is still within living memory for some. The Gordian Knot was cut by Alexander — but there are no Alexanders today and India and Pakistan remain trapped in a sterile marriage of inconvenience. Expect no early change.

Reading the runes, Editorial, *The Express Tribune*, December 22¹²²

The interpretation of symbols, be they written or temporal, is how we make sense of the world around us, the foundation of understanding — or misunderstanding. Making sense of the multiple symbolic messages that have passed between Pakistan and India in the last week is fraught with pitfalls, but the underlying tonalities appear to be positive, even if that positivity may take some time to seep into formal diplomatic processes. The attack on Army Public School in Peshawar prompted an almost immediate reaction from Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi — and it was roundly condemnatory. He used Twitter to let the world know his position, and consolidated it by ordering a two-minute silence in the Indian parliament as well as every school in the country. The morning of December 17 saw the world's media awash with images of Indian schoolchildren paying dignified condolence to a deeply traumatised Pakistan. Bollywood celebrities similarly shared their sorrow at the dreadful events and there was, if briefly, a sense of engagement at the purely human level between India and Pakistan. Parlaying raw emotion into hard-nosed political reality is a difficult task rarely accomplished. It is possible that in coming weeks and months the rulers of India and Pakistan will listen to their myriad peoples and heed what they hear; but only possible rather than a certainty. [...] That said, the wheels of justice in the Mumbai case are grinding exceedingly slow, and both the courts and successive governments have been accused of foot-dragging and not just by India. As ever, the quality of evidence in the cases of all those under trial has been challenged, and police procedures in Pakistan are notoriously flawed — a reality that undermines countless cases that come before the anti-terrorism courts and which leave the courts little option in law but to dismiss the cases. The failure to resolve the multiple issues that surround the Mumbai attacks is, Kashmir aside, the single greatest impediment to a real lessening of tensions between India and Pakistan. The war on the Siachen glacier is another, but like Kashmir that is not susceptible to early resolution. If Pakistan truly wanted to make a gesture to India that was incontrovertibly pacific, then the expeditious disposal of the cases linked to the Mumbai attacks would go a very long way towards reducing tension. This is within the bounds of 'doable' and were it accomplished may unlock other

¹²² <http://tribune.com.pk/story/810240/reading-the-runes/>

doors as well. Reading runes is an imprecise art, understanding — correctly — what they say a matter often of luck rather than judgment.

Modi and his 'family', Aijaz Zaka Syed, *The News*, December 26¹²³

I have a confession to make. I cannot help but hopelessly admire what Narendra Modi has just managed to accomplish in Jammu and Kashmir. Venturing into an almost virgin territory and capturing 25 seats in the 87-member assembly to emerge as the second largest party (ahead of the National Conference and Congress) is nothing short of a coup for the PM's party. The performance is even more remarkable considering this is a Muslim majority state and, as everyone knows, the BJP has a thing for all things Muslim. This is a state over which India and Pakistan have fought three bitter wars. And the Kashmiris, at least a substantial chunk of the population, have long dreamed of going their own separate way. It may be a bit of a stretch but this is Modi's own 'audacity of hope', if you will, rushing in where angels fear to tread. [...] Yet all those who cheered and voted for Modi the messiah, including the faithful in media and big business, cannot bring themselves to believe that the Parivar fun and games could be happening with the tacit understanding, if not blessings, of the PM. After all, in the face of strident opposition protests in parliament and growing alarm and uneasiness in the country, Modi hasn't uttered a word to condemn or distance himself from these saffron shenanigans. His silence is deafening. And more dangerous than the forced conversions, communal conflagrations and violence being orchestrated across the country is the silent and insidious war on India's very identity and character as a secular, multicultural and democratic nation. From rewriting history to saffronising textbooks and from lionising Gandhi's killer to demanding minorities to fall in line or leave, the Hindutva project reveals itself in so many fascinating ways. As Praful Bidwai notes, what's scary is not that all this distracts attention from the BJP's 'development' agenda but that shifting political goalposts through violent communalism has become its main agenda. Whether or not all this is happening with Modi's acquiescence, one thing is for sure. Progress and Parivar's regressive ways cannot go together. Investments are notoriously allergic to instability and uncertainty. Investors are the first to flee at the first sign of trouble. The choice before Modi and India is stark: Rein in the crazies now or say goodbye to the future – and all the progress and development that it promises. You cannot have your cake and eat it too. In the Hollywood classic, *The Godfather*, Don Corleone warns: "*Don't ever take sides with anyone against the Family.*" In this case though, Modi must confront his 'family' before it destroys everything in its path.

¹²³ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-9-292437-Modi-and-his-family>

EXCERPTS FROM URDU MEDIA

Translations by Bhagwandas Ahuja, Yaqoob-ul-Hassan, and Ashok Behuria

By ignoring India's barbaric acts on border, Nawaz has betrayed Pakistan, Editorial, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 1 Dec 2012.¹²⁴

When Mian Nawaz Sharif left for SAARC Forum at Kathmandu, he had adopted strong stance against India's repeated ceasefire violations on the LoC. He had also promised to vent his grievances and highlight India's barbarity on Pak border and danger to the sovereignty and security of the country. *But he failed miserably in his efforts.....* Now that Mian Sahib is back from Kathmandu, we must ask him whether it was useful for him to attend the SAARC meet. The fact remains that he was cold-shouldered by Modi. *He should now focus on highlighting the issue of Indian barbarity and ceasefire violations in international forums. He should otherwise explain the reasons for softening his attitude towards India.*

Indian leaders spewing venom against Pakistan, Editorial, *Daily Express*, 1 December 2014.¹²⁵

Indian leaders have once again lodged heaps of accusations and plethora of protests against Pakistan. Among them are: Home Minister Raj Nath Singh, Indian Chief of Air Staff Arup Raha, and Chief of I.B. Asaf Ibrahim. All of them have claimed that Pakistan posed a real threat to India.... Indian Air Chief has said that India has to face both Chinese barbarity and Pakistan's intermittent violation of international border. He also argued that that withdrawal of international forces from Afghanistan could complicate the security scenario for India...*He mentioned that India did not have expansionist policies except for recovering the territories that the country had lost to its neighbours in the past. This statement encapsulates India's vision of Akhand Bharat. It only makes it clear that from the very inception of Pakistan, Indians have not been able to reconcile to the fact of its existence.....*

The boundary line between Bharat and China is called Mc Mohan Line, which runs along the Tibetan border. *One area adjacent to this line has been grabbed by Indian authorities and has been named as "Arunachal Pradesh" after its forcible annexation with India. This high-handedness, on part of India, has been the "bone of contention" between the two big countries. To maintain control over this area, there has also been war between the two counties, wherein India faced defeat.*

¹²⁴ <http://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=1102553765&Issue=NP-ISB&Date=20141201>.

¹²⁵ <http://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=1102553765&Issue=NP-ISB&Date=20141201>.

To further cite its anti-China stance, Bharat has also granted 'asylum' to Dalai Lama, the spiritual and political leader of the Tibetan people. India does not have normal relationship with both Pakistan and China. Despite all this, China has made huge commercial investments in India.

Bharat should take initiative for dialogue, Editorial, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, 4 Dec 2014¹²⁶

By making flimsy accusation of terrorist attacks from Pakistan, India wants to sweep the Kashmir problem under the carpet. Since the dialogue was cancelled by India, it is now for India to initiate the dialogue and ask for fresh meetings..... It is also true that from the time Modi's aggressive team has taken over the reins of administration, there has been malicious propaganda with regard to violations on the Line of Control constantly accusing Pakistan for encouraging infiltration into Kashmir and thus creating confusion and tension inside India.....

The Foreign Secretary level meeting was cancelled by India. So the ball is now in India's court and it is required of India to initiate the dialogue.Pakistan Foreign Secretary has rightly said that *Pakistan would henceforth emphasise on resolution of the Kashmir issue according to the UN Resolutions* and would exert all its energies in this direction in international fora. ...*Trade and commerce have nothing to do with this problem. Peace will not descend upon the region unless the Kashmir issue is resolved.*

Bharati media and Pak-Bharat relations, Agha Masood Hussain, *Daily Dunya*, 5 Dec 2014¹²⁷

.....It is clear that Pakistan has been dealing with the Mumbai attack in its own way and Pakistani courts have been paying due attention to this issue. Meanwhile, one court in Mumbai has, in its recent judgment, set Hafiz Saeed free of all the charges. But the Indian media has been making lot of hue and cry about this decision. As a result, there has been no improvement in India-Pak relations. God forbid, if this remains to the attitude of Indian media, then there are very slim chances of any improvement in the bilateral relations in coming days. As a matter of fact, 'Indian media' has proved to be a great impediment in the Bharat-Pak relations.....On the other hand, it has been observed that the Pakistani media has always maintained a soft corner and soft attitude towards Bharat. Rather Pakistani media has been very anxious to have good neighborly relations in the real terms. As a matter of fact, Indian media has been hand in glove with BJP and is thus serving as its mouth piece. By virtue of this, they have been trying to dominate over the South Asian

¹²⁶ <http://e.dunya.com.pk/detail.php??date=2014-12-04&ediion=LHR&id=1424869-31038727>

¹²⁷ <http://e.dunya.com.pk/detail.php?date=2014-12-04&edition=LHR&id=1424869-31038727>, and <http://www.awaztoday.tv/singlecolumn/19622/Agha-Masood-Hussain/Bharti-Media-Aur-Pak-Bharat-Taulqaat.aspx>

region. For spreading such news (without any evidence), RSS Chief Mohan Bhagwat is playing a big role. After visiting several states, he has been inciting militant Hindu elements against Pakistan. All this is done with the concurrence of the aggressive BJP comrades of Narendra Modi. There is a strong opinion circulated in India that "war is inevitable with Pakistan!".....

There is another great concern faced by Pakistan that India's intelligence agency "RAW" has been collaborating with fanatic elements in our country and encouraging them to rebel. They have been aiding and abetting various anti-Pak elements in Balochistan. The incident that took place at Quetta was the brainchild of RAW. Similarly, its agents have been trying to sabotage Pak efforts in carrying out Zarb-e-Azb.

Militants will be defeated soon, Editorial, *Daily Express*, 12 Dec 2014¹²⁸

Our brave soldiers have, for the last one decade, been fighting terrorism and they will not rest till the last militant is wiped out from the Pakistani soil. For the last so many months, Pak army has launched operation "Zarb-e-Azb" in North Waziristan, which has been exceptionally successful and one finds significant decline in suicide bomb attacks, bomb blasts and other military activities. ..

While analyzing this issue, we find that *the problems which we are facing today are basically due to (a) the wrong policies adopted by our leaders in the past and (b) growing activities of anti-national elements in the country.* This is the reason that "terrorism" has become a cancer in the body politic of our country. And the only cure for this is a major "operation".

Zarb-e-Azb operation, Editorial, *Daily Dunya*, 7 Dec 2014.¹²⁹

While conducting military operation in South Waziristan, *Pakistan army killed one most-wanted terrorist by the US– Adnan Lashkari, along with his two accomplices, while five others were arrested. ... They have achieved success while the U.S. forces, its military, Seals and drones could not succeed. For the last 12-13 years, due to wrong steps taken by Taliban and al Qaeda militants, serious damage has been caused to Islam and Pakistan. At least 52,000-53,000 innocent Pakistani nationals and more than 5000 soldiers have been killed. Zarb-e-Azb was initiated on 15th June. Obviously, the military operation was a difficult venture due to the treacherous mountainous terrains. This is the area where Britain, despite being equipped with the most sophisticated military gadgets and devices had to face stark defeat.*

US double standards on Kashmir, Editorial, *Daily Ummat*, 6 Dec 2014.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ <http://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=1102557632&Issue=NP-ISB&Date=20141204>.

¹²⁹ <http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/columns/07-Dec-2014/345700>

¹³⁰ <http://ummat.net/2014/12/08/news.php?p=idr1.gif>

By expressing grave concern over militant activity taking place in Kashmir (Indian side) in the past, the US has proved its double standards on Kashmir and has continued admonishing Pakistan. *It has to be proved to the US that the Kashmiri mjahideen could also undertake militant activities inside Kashmir* and that the Indian security forces have, in retaliation, resorted to harsh and ruthless measures to quell these Kashmiri nationalist elements.....By merely saying that purposeful dialogue was the responsibility of Bharat and Pakistan, it does not absolve itself of the responsibility as a super power!

Kashmir dispute & US obligations, Editorial, *Daily Express*, 8 Dec 2014.¹³¹

Uncle Sam has expressed its deep concern over any violence or terrorist activity in the occupied Kashmir in the past. *But of late, the US has rejected any Pakistani connection in such incidents.* US deputy spokesperson Marie Harf, while responding to a query (for details of her interaction see <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2014/12/234712.htm>) with regard to possible Pakistani involvement in the recent attack in occupied Kashmir (conducted by militants), *rejected any kind of Pakistani involvement.....* No doubt, this statement emanating from U.S. spokesperson was quite encouraging.....*It was per chance that the Pak Army Chief Raheel Shareef was visiting US during this time and managed to change the scenario in US. That his efforts have succeeded was proved by Harf's statement the very next day.* She rejected any possible Pakistani connection in this attack.

By merely conducting fake elections (in Kashmir) India wants to give this impression to the world that the Kashmiri people, by casting their votes, want to vote in favour of India; this is totally wrong. As a matter of fact, by conducting such polls, the Indian government wants to completely absorb Kashmir and deprive Kashmiris of their distinct identity, which is constitutionally enshrined in the Indian Constitution. They want to include Kashmir as one more province of India.

POST-PESHAWAR INCIDENT

Pakistan stands united against terror, Editorial, *Daily Express*, 18 Dec 2014.¹³²

..British newspaper *Financial Times* said that *it was the darkest day in the history of Pakistan. All political parties and the civil society of Pakistan came together and said that it was no time of "playing politics",* but instead, we should work out a formula by which these terrorists would be given maximum punishments for wiping out the innocent young flowers of this country. *..We will have to close all the avenues which make terrorism feasible....The perpetrators of such crimes should be*

¹³¹ <http://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspxewsID=1102564850&Issue=NP-ISB&Date=20141208>

¹³² <http://www.express.com.pk/epaper/PoPupwindow.aspx?newsID=110258832&Issue=NP-ISB&Date=20141218>

given to understand that the whole nation is standing on one platform to face them and if any such incident if repeated again they would be completely wiped out from the face of earth.

Zia-ul-Haq's dream accomplished? Rauf Klasara, *Daily Dunya*, 22 Dec 2014.¹³³ Whatever has happened now was inevitable. Granted that we had no such prior intelligence, *but for that also the fault lies with us. When we allowed all sympathizers of these murderers (Taliban) a free license to come out publicly with their explanations (in print media and TV shows) to support the cause of these murderers, who have by now taken more than 50,000 innocent lives, there is no reason why we should be weeping over the split milk.* We should recall the past when Sufi Mohammad & Muslim Khan had frightened our national Parliament with threats and *we succumbed to their pressure and agreed to create almost a new State carved out in Malakand.* Then, why are we repenting now? ... Was this Gen. Zia's philosophy or his utopian dream? Now we see that *Gen Zia died 26 years ago, but until now we could not even control Afghanistan.* And in this process, our country has become a quagmire of blood. We have lost more than 50,000 innocent lives including those of women and children. Who is accountable for all this? Today, we have again lost 140 innocent children, whose bodies were riddled with bullets and bombs. They are resting in peace with pieces of bombs pierced in their chests! *So this is how the dream of General Zia ul Haq is being accomplished.*

Move with strong and careful steps, Amir Haashmi, Editorial, *Daily Dunya*, 22 Dec 2014¹³⁴

It seems very strange that 'moderation' in Islam is considered to be a sign of weakness... We should bear it in mind that our centuries-old traditional, conservative, die-hard religious thinking has now enabled the jihadi tanzeems and their hardcore orthodox ideology... Let us not forget that there dwell in Pakistan numerous schools of thoughts with contrasting worldviews. There are several traditional as well as hardcore religious groups..... But they do not necessarily spread radical/extremist thinking! But those nurturing extremist thinking must be isolated and boycotted. But their Islamic religious outlook should not be ridiculed.

Why save Musharraf?, Editorial, *Daily Ummat*, 22 Dec 2014¹³⁵

The practice of executions has been resumed... The reports confirm that up till now only 6 persons have been hanged – one was involved in an attack upon the GHQ, while 5 others were involved in a plot to assassinate Gen. Musharraf. *Unfortunately no arrests or execution has so far been made for several hundreds of*

¹³³ <http://el.dunya.com.pk/detail.php?date=2014-12-19&edition=LHR&id=1449589-15142975>

¹³⁴ <http://e.dunya.com/pk/detail.php?date=2014-12-22&edition=LHR&id=1454505-74588785>

¹³⁵ <http://ummat.net/2014/12/22/news.php?p=idr1.gif>.

persons killed in city of Karachi... Musharraf cannot be absolved of his responsibility to extend full support in men and material to US Forces in Afghanistan. Instead of being punished for all these anti-national acts, now he wants to endear himself to Pakistani civil society and has given interviews to TV channels spewing anti-India venom. He is trying to emphasise his non-involvement in above mentioned cases. There is a strong view among the people even now that Pakistan is continuing to dance to the US tunes.

Sinister designs to derail our national unity, Editorial , Daily Ummat, 22 Dec 2014

Maulana Abdul Aziz, Imam of Lal Masjid has come out with a statement that statement against Pak army's campaign against militants in North Waziristan in the wake of the killing of 150 students in the militant attack on the Army School in Peshawar..... On the one hand, MQM has registered FIR against Maulana Abdul Aziz, while on the other, Shaida Foundation of Lal Masjid has condemned the statement of Altaf Hussain as 'irreligious and unholy' and a law suit has been filed against him. Shaida Foundation has taken a stand that Lal Masjid is not the personal property of Abdul Aziz and it is the 'House of Allah"! We would therefore urge people not to issue such confusing statements. Solidarity is badly required to maintain integrity, stability of our country!

Bharat cannot be our friend, Editorial , Daily Ummat, 22 Dec 2014.¹³⁶

Bharat's enmity with Pakistan is a perennial feature of its foreign policy. Even in the game of Kabaddi it displayed such enmity by not only defeating Pakistan (by bad umpiring) but also treating the captain of our team very badly. .. Our players started weeping and consoling each other. In future, we should not play Kabbadi with India and should agree to play only under an impartial umpire. *If Bharat cannot digest Pakistani victory in Kabbadi, then it should be borne in mind that we cannot have any cultural or economic cooperation with India. Bharat cannot and will not be our friend in any manner.*

Fear of military courts looming large, Editorial, Daily Ummat, 29 Dec 2014.¹³⁷

....After telephone conversation between Nawaz and Ban Ki-moon, Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman said that...these decisions were taken under exceptionally challenging conditions and in no way it violates any international norm. Let us not forget that in Britain and United States execution is given to those who are dangerous offenders. **Statistics reveals that due to fear of capital punishment in Saudi Arabia and Iran, there is considerably less crime.** Now Pakistan, due to the peculiar circumstances it is in, wants to move in this direction. But **it is beyond comprehension as to why the world leaders are**

¹³⁶ <http://ummat.net/2014/12/22/news.php?p=idrl.gif>

¹³⁷ <http://ummat.net/2014/12/29/news.php?p=idrl.gif>

extending sympathies to the murderers, when our 140 families have lost their young children. It is really lamentable that no one is speaking about it.

Safeguards against military courts, Editorial, *Daily Dunya*, Dec 2014¹³⁸

Former President Zardari has said that the proposed military courts were badly required for meeting the new challenges for militants, *but cautioned that there should also be proper safeguards so that they would not be misused. Zardari's apprehensions are not out of place.* In the past, Defence of Pakistan Act brought some laws and established special courts which were used to (i) harass the political opponents and (ii) they restricted Journalists' basic rights to express their views. *Hence, due care has to be taken so that the same thing is not repeated.*

Chinese investments in Pakistan, Ehsan-ullah-Ehsan, *Ihya-e-Khilafat*, November 2014, monthly journal by Jamaat-ul Ahrar, split-away faction of TTP.

The Chinese President during his visit to Pakistan gave utmost importance to this country and has expressed his interest in the welfare and progress of this country. This perception is coloured by desire of Pakistan's rulers for progress and thus they are inclined to accept any rising sun as their 'allah'. *But we Muslims have our own way of attaining economic progress which we are required to follow.Let us not forget that China is emerging at present as the greatest enemy of Islam.* At present, some letters have exposed this fact. If we correctly analyse Chinese behaviour towards Muslims and Islam, it will not be an exaggeration to call China the greatest enemy of Islam in the world. For quite some years now, the women of Sinkiang (Xinjiang) province have been banned from wearing purdah and men have been asked not to keep their beard. Many of them have been sent to jail for violating these laws.....

In such suffocating environs, the Pakistan government has been publicising news about China providing an aid of \$34 billion on different projects. ***But it has never brought the above mentioned reality before the common man nor has it ever expressed its concerns about the atrocities committed upon the Muslims brethren living in China.*** In clear contrast, Western political analysts and Western media have not kept these realities away from their public and highlighted the stories of Chinese investments in Pakistan. *This is in no way an investment by China; rather, it is a clever plot (against Muslims). We appeal to the innocent people of Pakistan to come forward and help us in cleansing this dirty government and save our Muslim brethren from "kufr" (disbelief and irreligion).*

It is our holy duty to fight Pak military, TTP– Mehsud Group, Amir Khalid Saeed Hafza's Statement.

¹³⁸ <http://dunya.com.pk/detail.php?date=2014-12-29&edition=LHR&id=14666522-22736812>.

...Today our whole nation is the victim of tyranny and violence perpetrated by the slaves of falsehood. *From Iraq and Syria, to every corner of the world, Muslims, if they are real Momins and follow the commandments of Allah, then they are fighting against tyranny perpetrated by their rulers.....Today, the puppet government of Pakistan functioning under the orders of Uncle Sam has perpetrated excessive tyranny and violence upon the people in the qabayali region.Pak Military has claimed to have killed thousands of Mujahideen. But the fact remains that out of these the number of mujahideen might have been only fifty.* Through false propaganda in media they have tried to prove that the Operation is progressing in the right direction.

...I appeal to all Muslims dwelling in North Waziristan to follow the right path and support the truth. *Be patient and suffer the agony caused by the tyrant and have faith that Allah is no doubt with us.* After so much of violence and tyranny there is no point in relying on Uncle Sam for any kind of assistance given to us as alms (*bheekh!*). *We should be contented with our limited means and suffer the miseries thrust upon us with patience, during this phase of Hijrat.* Allah the Great would surely shower happiness upon us at the end.

.....Let us not forget that before the inception of Pakistan, *several learned persons had given supreme sacrifices in the name of Islam. Now these sacrifices have borne fruits. Our youngsters are offering their blood while following the footsteps of our forefathers and attaining 'martyrdom'.* Such efforts are destined to bring an end to our sufferings. Let us not forget that the Pakistani government and its military are hostile to Islam and it is the duty of the youth of Pakistan to defend Islam. No doubt, Pakistan is a strong fortress of Islam and sooner or later all these atheists and secular sections of society will succumb to the pressures of Jihadis.

Now is the time to resume fight, Ustad Ahmed Farooq, *Nawai Afghan Jihad*, December 2014.

One day, Hazrat Salma bin Nafeel was sitting with Prophet Mohammad and told him that some man had narrated to her that his people were becoming relaxed because they felt that jihad had come to an end and war was over. The Prophet called them liars. *He went on to say that one section of his community would continue its fight even if some people, by the will of Allah, might turn against them. This group will finally receive Allah's blessings and continue to fight till the final Day of Judgment (Qayamat tak).....*

.....Nawaz Sharif government had resumed military operations in Karachi with the sole objective of terrorizing the mujahideen, religious jamaats and our Islamic madrasas there. The official reports suggest that during period September-December 2013 there were 9000 raids, wherein 13,000 arrests were made. *This government also initiated crack-down and raids in the heart of the country,*

in Punjab. Such dictatorial action has no parallel in history. By indiscriminate arrests, the authorities crossed all limits of decency and democratic norms. During raids they kidnapped our women-folk and infants (milk-fed babies). In this operation they dumped our sisters and wives into dungeons (police secret cells) where there was no ray of light. Our ladies were molested and their raped.

.....Now there are special Thanas (police stations) and special jails to arrest and incarcerate whosoever talks about Shariat laws and their implementation or utters anything against US domination. *Anybody who sings praises of Kalma (anywhere in the world) can be specifically targeted by this Ordinance. PPO has tagged all lovers of Islam as "Enemy Aliens". They could be arrested even before a crime is proved against them. It is lamentable that these courts and jails are much worse than the rules followed in Guantanamo Bay.*

Shaikh Ayman-al-Zawahri's message, *Nawai Afghan Jihad*, December 2014

Shaikh Ayman-al-Zawahri has prepared one useful and important document for Jihadi movement in Pakistan. He says that the American have carried out attacks in Pakistan only as a supplement to the US war in Afghanistan. *But we should try our best to have one safe and secure and well-guarded place for the Mujahideen in Pakistan. This should be our sole objective so that Pakistan would function as a "citadel" for Mujahideen and implementation of Shariah laws. Our sole aim is that we should have an Islamic regime in Pakistan.*

India has to be paid back in the right coin, *Daily Ummat*, Editorial, 02 January 2015¹³⁹

Indian army called for flag officers' meeting, and when Pakistani rangers sent two representatives they were fired upon resulting in their death....It may be recalled that because of indiscriminate firing from Indian side, we have lost (i) scores of lives (ii) thousands of our cattle and (iii) loss of properties worth millions of rupees. *Ironically, Bharat has always reiterated that the firing was started by Pakistan. But the reality is that until the resolution of the Kashmir problem, such firings and allegations and counter-allegations would continue.* The trade and commerce and cultural agencies of Pakistan and Bharat should be given to understand that Pakistan's desire for having sustainable peace should not be mistaken as our weakness and no undue advantage be taken by Indian government Pakistan knows how to retaliate blow for blow!

Bharat-America-Israel alliance, Khaled H. Lodhi, *Daily Jasarat*, 07 Jan 2015¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ <http://ummat.net/20150102/news.php?p=idrl.gif>

¹⁴⁰ <http://www.jasarat.com/news.php?date=07-01-2015&news=01&category=columns>

Mr. Modi, while taking over the reins of the country as Prime Minister appointed Ajit Doval, former Director of Indian Intelligence Bureau (IB) as his National Security Advisor. *Doval has also worked for 6 years as a diplomat in Indian High Commission, Islamabad and as a minister in the Indian High Commission at London.* Mr. Doval is the 6th appointee to the post of National Security Advisor.... After his appointment, Mr. Doval has visited Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan along with other high ranking officers of RAW. *It has since been revealed that several religious groups who have joined the armed struggle in Syria and Iraq have gone underground and maintained strong rapport with RAW.* After secret meetings with these groups, the militants were brought to Afghanistan.

In the process, they have been issued passports bearing different names and different visas in their travel documents. While imparting military training to these militants they have also been taught local languages in Afghanistan. *As we know, one special cell of RAW is working in Afghanistan and all these activities are going on under the supervision of Indian Ambassador in Kabul.* After withdrawal of Nato forces from Afghanistan, *Bharat government has been entrusted with the responsibility of following the US agenda.*

Power of speech & power of the gun, Editorial, *Daily Ummat*, 7 Jan 2015¹⁴¹

...Hindus always nurture Anti-Pakistani sentiments. But since the coming of BJP, a militant *tanzeem* under Narendra Modi, one finds that the minorities especially the *Muslims have not been feeling secure in the country.* *Hundreds of Muslims are being converted to Hindu religion.* The treatment meted out to Muslims in Muzzafar Nagar is worse than the treatment meted to animals.Since Bharat only knows the language of gun, when it comes to powerful China, it behaves like a small cat before the Chinese giant. As we know, from 1980 till date, the two countries have had a strained relationship and Bharat has succumbed to Chinese pressure.....It is no secret that Bharat has been involved in militant incidents inside Pakistan. Ironically, despite all this, they are engaged in unprovoked firing on the border and killing our jawans and then putting the whole blame on Pakistan. ***They have been publicizing these incidents to the world as if Pakistan was at fault and India was engaged in self-defence.*** If Pakistan were to deal with India like China, these daily Indian violations would stop and peace and tranquility shall prevail on the border.

History of India reveals that it has not been a straight forward nation. Woh laton ke bhoot hain, jo baton se man ne wale naheen hai! India is such an enemy which feels it right to attack from the front as well as from the back. This is their religious duty.....*So in this scenario, we should also collect all such evidences and open a new front against India in the international forums....*We should act with

¹⁴¹ <http://ummat.net/2015/01/07/news.php?p=idr1.gif>

resolution so that our enemy's unholy objectives are thrown to dust. *If Bharat is not paid back in the right coin, it will further boost its morale to do something unholy (na-paak) against our country.*

What are the objectives of India?, Editorial, *Daily Dunya*, 07 Jan 2015¹⁴²

Last year, after Narendra Modi came to power, there has been a sudden increase in the border violations by Indian security forces.....This situation has caused anguish and unrest amongst the minds of people living in border villagesApart from these activities, *India has also spread its agents in every nook and corner of the country, who are active in performing their extremist activities— blowing of railway tracks, blowing of gas pipelines etc.* They have been fanning the feelings of anti-Pakistani elements and separatists. *The Indian Consulates stationed in Afghanistan have no other job to do hut to subvert Pakistan.* They are encouraging militants to resume extremist activities in Pakistan. The fact remains that India is determined to reduce Pakistan to a "failed" state.....

Let us not forget that *it is a stark reality that if Bharat stops interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan, all the terrorist elements, separatists and all those who are spreading unrest and turmoil in Karachi and elsewhere would surrender and terrorism will come to an end in Pakistan.*

STATISTICS

BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES

(Select incidents culled out from the Pakistan media)

Place	Date	Description	Killed	Injured
Balochistan				
Gwadar ¹⁴³	1/12/2014	FC soldier killed in blast.	2	3
Gwadar ¹⁴⁴	4/12/2014	School headmaster gunned down in Gwadar.	1	0
Sibbi ¹⁴⁵	12/12/2014	Bomb blast in Sibi leaves 10 injured.	0	10
Quetta ¹⁴⁶	14/12/2014		1	2

¹⁴² http://e.dunya.com.pk/detail.php?date=015-01-07&edition=1480566_18131885

¹⁴³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148056/fc-soldier-killed-in-blast>

¹⁴⁴ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1148769/school-headmaster-gunned-down-in-gwadar>

¹⁴⁵ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150215/bomb-blast-in-sibi-leaves-10-injured>

¹⁴⁶ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150635/militants-kill-policeman-in-khuzdar-police-targeted-in-quetta>

Quetta ¹⁴⁷	31/12/2014	Militants kill policeman in Khuzdar, police targeted in Quetta. Father, son shot dead in Quetta.	2	0
Punjab				
Multan ¹⁴⁸	14/12//2014	Police claim killing four Taliban fighters near Muzaffargarh.	4	2
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa				
Peshawar ¹⁴⁹	18/12/2014	Peshawar school carnage: 141 martyred, 124 injured,	141	124
Sindh				
Karachi ¹⁵⁰	2/12/2014	Karachi violence claims another doctor's life.	1	0
Karachi ¹⁵¹	19/12/2014	TTP commander Abid Muchar, three militants killed in Karachi.	4	1
Karachi ¹⁵²	23/12/2014	13 terrorists killed in Karachi.	13	0

DRONE STRIKES

Place	Date	Description	Casualties
Khyber Agency ¹⁵³	3/7/2014	Drone strike kills eight militants on Khyber Agency border.	17

¹⁴⁷ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/815057/2-killed-in-quetta-firing-incident/>

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1150630/police-claim-killing-four-taliban-fighters-near-muzaffargarh>

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-168831-Peshawar-school-carnage:-141-martyred,-124-injured>

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-167398-Karachi-violence-claims-another-doctors-life>

¹⁵¹ <http://tribune.com.pk/story/809291/ttp-commander-abid-muchar-three-militants-killed-in-karachi/>

¹⁵² <http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-169483-13-terrorists-killed-in-Karachi->

¹⁵³ <http://www.dawn.com/news/1151855/drone-strike-kills-eight-militants-on-khyber-agency-border>