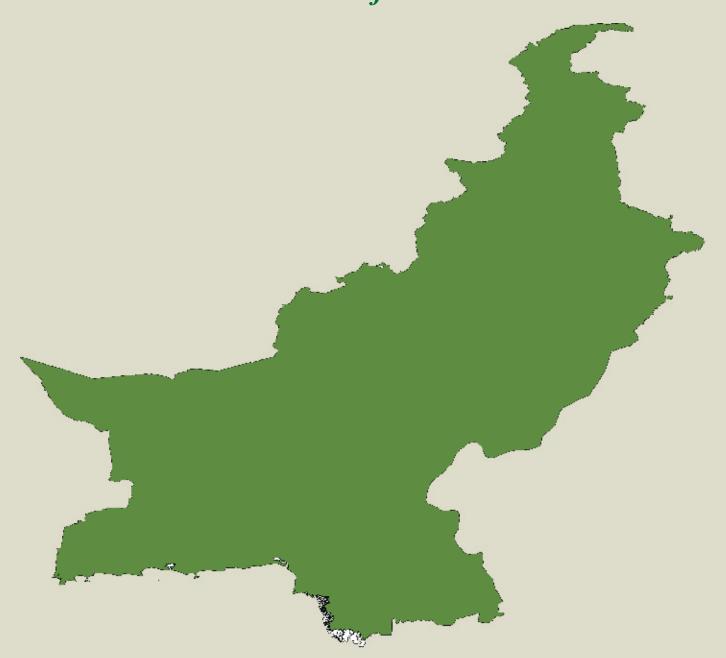
PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST

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



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EDITORIAL

The most awaited Supreme Court's verdict on 'Panama leaks' involving the Prime Minster of Pakistan triggered political controversy and tension with a 3-2 divided judgment after two months of deliberations. The judgment suggested that both the accused and petitioners failed to prove their respective cases and there was a need for further investigation through a joint *investigation team (JIT).* Although both sides celebrated the judgment as a sign of victory, a look at the verdict suggests that future of Nawaz Sharif and his family is still steeped in controversy. The judgment stated, "There was sufficient prima facie evidence to conclude that the PM and his two sons may be guilty and, therefore, a joint investigation team should compile conclusive evidence of guilt or innocence". The argument now has spilled over to the credentials, credibility and ability of the IIT to deliver a fair result within 60 days. Many political observers in Pakistan have raised their doubts about the composition of the JIT.

Another major development in Pakistan was the award of death sentence to alleged Indian spy Kulbhushan Jadhav by the military court. India reacted as its citizen was being prosecuted and termed the death sentence a 'premeditated murder'. Pakistani media discussed matters like 'why he should be kept alive' or 'how he can be used as the bargaining chip' with India on the negotiation table. In yet another international development, Pakistani government endorsed ex-army chief Raheel Sharif's appointment as the head of the Saudiled Islamic military alliance. The joint-alliance of 33 nations is supposedly aimed to fight the menace of terrorism with Pakistan at the helm of affairs.

Despite the Pakistani Army's oft-repeated reiteration of the commitment to strike at the roots of terrorism, there was no let-up in terror attacks. Pakistan witnessed a cycle of terrorist incidents this month. The border town of Parachinar was once again rocked by militant attack leaving 23 dead and injuring 57. It has to be noted that the attacks was sectarian in nature, targeting the Shias. Reports suggest that th Parachinar attack occurred despite several security checkpoints established in the area as well as on the Pakistan-Afghan border. Therefore, the ease with which militants have struck this town twice in two months raises doubts about the capabilities of the military's anti*insurgency operations*, bringing into light the long-debated question of security lapses in Pakistan.

In another incident of minority oppression, Christians facing trial in the Youhanabad lynching case were asked to renounce their faith and convert to Islam in exchange for their acquittal. A retired professor belonging to the minority Ahmadi community was shot dead in broad day light because of his faith. The attack on the minorities in the name of faith is proliferating in Pakistan. Although the government and other responsible agencies know about their sufferings, they hardly act to address the concerns of the minorities. Mashal Khan, a student of Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan, was lynched by a mob within the premises of the University for allegedly posting blasphemous contents online. This horrific incident sent alarm bells ringing across Pakistan with the PM condemning the gruesome act of violence. Such events are a grim reminder of the shrinking space for liberal thinking in Pakistan and a ghastly punishment to suppress critical thinking and rational discourse, specifically in matters of belief, under the cover of the notorious blasphemy law.

A videotaped confession of Ehsanullah Ehsan, former spokesman of the TTPaffiliated Jamat-ul-Ahrar, was made public by the ISPR in which he alleged that in recent years, Afghan and Indian intelligence services were supporting and financing the TTP with a motive to carry out attacks in Pakistan. This confession coming from a terrorist who had previously claimed responsibility on behalf of Jamat-ul-Ahrar for some of the worst militant attacks in Pakistan, including the Peshawar school attack had few takers in Pakistan as well as outside. Against this backdrop of deteriorating India-Pakistan relations, a backchannel diplomacy opened in the hills of Murree when an Indian business tycoon visited Pakistan to meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. As soon as the Pakistani media carried this news, there were fresh speculations of a possible meeting between the leaders of the two nations in the foreseeable future, amid strong criticism of the Nawaz Sharif government for its needless softening of posture vis-à-vis India, from the opposition.

Zainab Akhter

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Warming to Russia, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 1 April¹

The foreign relationships engaged in by Pakistan are undergoing some fundamental shifts, and those [are] very much in line with the geopolitics of the world more generally. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is going to be one of the defining national activities for the next quartercentury, and the evolving relationship with Russia, particularly as Russia has entered the search for peace in Afghanistan, is taking on a fresh aspect. Engagement with Russia at a military level has now extended to hosting a military delegation to visit the administrative headquarters of North Waziristan Agency... For Pakistan internal threats may be parlayed into external opportunities, and we are in the fortunate position of, unusually, being seen as part of the solution rather than part of the problem. The Kashmir issue is nowhere close to a resolution and needs to be boxed off in order that more pressing matters in the short to medium term can be addressed. It would be useful to have a foreign secretary managing the multifarious and multiplying strands of our foreign policy — but that would appear too much to ask of the current government.

Afghan parliamentarian backs Durand Line, The Express Tribune, 2 April²

An Afghan parliamentarian has urged his government to set aside its differences with Pakistan and accept Durand Line as its border as it is already an 'internationally accepted border'. Abdul Latif Pedram, ..., said his party recognises Durand Line as the official border and most of the tension between the two countries is rooted in Kabul's failure to publicly acknowledge this, according to social media reports. "Solving problems with Pakistan will help bring peace to Afghanistan," said Pedram. He claimed that the government "quietly accepts the Durand Line as the border but is not honest in its recognition with the public." He challenged the government to approach the United Nations if it does not recognise the Durand Line. ... During Karzai's government a Russian expert on Central Asia, Alexander Knyazev, had told the media in Kabul that "the Afghan government had prepared a document on recognising the 'line' as the final border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. But this issue will not be resolved by Karzai because it will evoke

¹ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1371075/warming-to-russia/

² https://tribune.com.pk/story/1372213/durand-line-internationally-recognised-border-afghanmp/

negative reactions from nationalist Pashtuns who want to annex the tribal Pashtunistan region to Afghanistan." ...

Completing the census, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 7 April³

... Why it is so vital to complete the census by September is that the inevitable boundary changes that are going to flow from it are going to take at least six months according to sources within the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), which takes the process very close to the due date of the next *General Election.* Also significant is that the census is reducing the chances of a snap election, a notion much beloved of Opposition parties, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf in particular, for which the outcome of the Panama Papers case is of great import. The PML-N is going to tough it out whatever the verdict, and the PM will stay where he is his potential health issues notwithstanding. It is reasonable to assume that there has been some succession planning in the background and there will be a Plan A in the event

Pakistan able to lead Muslim-Ummah, The Frontier Post, 10 April⁴

Imam e Kaaba Sheikh Saleh bin Mohammad bin Talib Sunday said that the Muslims of the world are looking towards Pakistan with hope and confidence that it has the capacity to defend Harmain Sharifain. The Imam Saheb said they fully understand the difficulties Ummah is passing but the unshakable commitment and stance of Pakistan for the defence of Harmain Sharifain is praise worthy and he thanked Islamabad for this support. ... He said the Ulema of Islam are spreading the message of Islam and keeping the Muslims away from terrorism. ... He condemned those who want to spread terrorism emphasising that terrorist acts weaken the society and the country. He said the Muslims are standing on one platform against terrorism.

A pre-election review of Pakistani politics, D Asghar, Daily Times, 10 April⁵

In the heart of hearts, even the PPP knows that it has a nuisance value and the *most it will do is divide the vote of both rivals.* If it is successful, the chances are that it may hurt the PTI more than the PML-N.....Hence, in the end, even if there is a fall back of the Panama verdict, the odds are still in favour of the incumbents. If the PPP's presence weakens the lead of the PTI, the beneficiaries will be the seasoned players of this game. The former skipper may be in for yet another rude but brutal surprise. His entire game and strategy hinges on the possibility of a disqualified PM and a tainted PML-N. If the verdict does not

³ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1376539/completing-the-census/

https://thefrontierpost.com/articleprint/80441/pakistan-able-lead-muslim-ummah-saysimam-e-kaaba

⁵ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/10-Apr-17/a-pre-election-review-of-pakistani-politics

come as expected, the net loser will be the former Captain and his Movement for Justice.

Wanted: Common sense in foreign policy, Mohammad Shehzad, Daily Times, 11 April⁶

...This precisely is the dilemma of our foreign policy i.e. we antagonise neighbours who can be most useful in our hour of need and fawn over goodfor-nothing 'brothers'. Ironically, this has been the mainstay of our foreign policy since day one....The jihadis are the blue-eyed boys and strategic assets of our establishment (mainly the Army) that makes Pakistan's foreign policy. Interestingly, these right-wing elements are also among the detractors of the US. The establishment takes pride in presenting Pakistan as an important ally of the US in its war on terror, but its protégés keep demonising the US in their rallies and statements and articles in the press. However, the establishment has also realised that the US is never a 'friend-in-need'. Former military dictator Ayub Khan's disappointment with the US showed in his autobiography, 'Friends Not Masters'. Still, all his successors including civilian leaders have kept on hobnobbing with the US. The joke is still popular in the country: Pakistan is run by three A's - Allah, Army and America!

Pakistan needs a narrative of peace and coexistence, Zulfiquar Rao, Daily Times, 12 April⁷

Certainly, the menace of sectarian and religiously motivated terrorism won't end with just sweat and blood from our law enforcement agencies. These terrorists that our forces have to fight out physically have adopted a particular set of beliefs that convinces them to wage a war against not only innocent civilians but also the state as they find the very concept of nation-state heretic.... Of course, it's then that particular religious interpretation and narrative produces jingoistic champions who believe in this narrative intensely enough to massacre others on the basis of their skewed beliefs. So, weeding out these groups through successful military action has provided us with only a symptomatic relief.

Pak must remain neutral in Middle East, JK Wali, Daily Times, 13 April 8

As things stand the sole US interest in Syria is tackling Russian influence, and with Islamabad's budding energy and military agreements with Moscow, coupled with continued alienation by Washington, it would not be in Pakistan's best interests to team up....But for Pakistan to play the role of a leader whether in the Muslim world, South Asia or among pro-democracy

⁶ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/11-Apr-17/wanted-common-sense-in-our-foreign-policy

http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/12-Apr-17/pakistan-needs-a-narrative-of-peace-andcoexistence

⁸ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/13-Apr-17/pakistan-must-remain-neutral-in-middle-east

forces it would first need to ensure that it is strong enough to cope with challenges at home. When we've overcome these major hurdles especially on the terror front we would be in prime condition to guide others in successfully dealing with jihadist groups....Till then Pakistan should uncompromisingly focus on its national interests, before joining any ideological allies...Selective approach, Owen Bennett Jones, Dawn, 13 April⁹

....In the minds of some of Pakistan's military strategists the protection offered to senior Afghan Taliban leaders and their families serves Pakistan's national interest. The international community, the argument goes, will be unable to get a peace deal Afghanistan without going through Pakistan....Similarly, the links with India-facing groups are plain for all to see. The idea that Pakistan can rely can on the indigenous movement in Kashmir may be gaining ground in some official circles but as long as Modi is in power the Pakistani militants are going, at the very least, to be held in reserve....Which leaves the sectarian groups. Even for the most hard-bitten supporter of the state's use of jihadi proxies, support or toleration of the sectarian groups is very hard to understand....There are other reasons to believe that various types of militant groups active outside the northwest will not be touched. The civilian government has still failed to adopt a clear position on militancy.

Trading priorities, Khurram Husain, *Dawn*, 13 April ¹⁰

...The figures are now rising to alarming levels. *The justification offered by the* government, and echoed by the State Bank, is that the trade deficit owes itself to the imports of machinery and infrastructure equipment, which will not only support future growth but will also help plug Pakistan's energy shortages. The argument is partially valid, but it is disingenuous to rely on it beyond a certain point....But Pakistan's economic ties with three of its four neighbours are grossly underdeveloped, despite strong affinities. Many imported products can be substituted for cheaper alternatives from India if trade can be normalised, although in the present climate this is difficult to imagine. That window was open a few years ago, but shut at the moment.

Rising dragon, wounded eagle, Munir Akram, Dawn, 16 April 11

China shares the US aim of denuclearising North Korea, and is deeply angered by Kim Jong-un's provocative nuclear and missile tests and indifference to China's wider interests. China is likely to support intensified Security Council sanctions against North Korea, including an embargo on oil sales, if it continues its tests. Yet, China is unlikely to intensify pressure to the extent of triggering

⁹ https://www.dawn.com/news/1326544/selective-approach

¹⁰ https://www.dawn.com/news/1326542/trading-priorities

¹¹ https://www.dawn.com/news/1327278/rising-dragon-wounded-eagle

the collapse of the North Korean economy or the Pyongyang regime. This could lead to war, massive refugee flows into China and possible absorption of North Korea by the South, bringing US troops to China's border....Under the circumstances, the best option may be a resumption of the five plus one (US, China, Russia, Japan and South Korea plus North Korea) dialogue; a de facto 'acceptance' of North Korea's nuclear capabilities; and a freeze on its nuclear and missile development in exchange for economic aid and assurances of regime survival. Even this outcome will be difficult to negotiate.

Citizen led movement to fix society, Dr. Nadeem Omar Tarar, Daily Times, 20 April¹²

To date, no death sentence has ever been implemented under the blasphemy law, including in the high profile case of Aasia Bibi, in whose defence late Salman Taseer had raised his voice and paid the price for that with his life. Aasia Bibi's case is still pending a hearing at the SC. Notwithstanding the possible lacunas in Pakistan's blasphemy laws, the perilous social consequences that follow a blasphemy accusation far outweigh the harsh penalties prescribed in the laws....A person who is accused of blasphemy suffers from active victimisation by state institutions. S/he survives under a real threat to life, in extreme social isolation, and with very low chances of getting a fair trial or a post-trial life free of risk. The threat and menace of blasphemy is so unforgiving that no competent lawyers are willing to take the risk of defending the accused, given the backlash from lawyers' wings of banned organisations or extremist outfits. Fewer judges even at the high court level are willing to acquit the accused, even when they see that the accused is not guilty of charges.

Solutions to our power crisis, B.J.Sadiq, Daily Times, 22 April 13

Energy shortages are once again front page news. In all honesty, the Sharifs don't give a fig about the emergent situation. The ace politician has been too busy, of late, defending his money stashed at the May Fair, London. However, excessive load shedding may knock the Sharifs off their perch. In their last election campaign, the PML-N had rallied the public behind its slogans of "zero load shedding". The energy crisis was as threatening back then as it seems to have become now. A lot of compulsive chatter, coupled with faithful acolytes, had yielded them a victory in the 2013 general elections. However, if the present misery caused by incessant power tripping lingers on, they are sure to lose their way into another term in government in 2018. Load shedding has once again infested Pakistan like a plague, devastating economic life across the country....The power sector remains as cash starved as it was in the beginning of the N-league tenure. The circular debt has ballooned to a nerve racking level

¹² http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/20-Apr-17/a-citizen-led-movement-needed-to-fix-society

¹³ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/22-Apr-17/solutions-to-our-power-crisis

of over Rs 500 billion. What leads to circular debt is hardly a puzzle anymore. Pakistan's power distribution utilities periodically determine their tariffs.

Silence or death: no third option, Yasser Latif Hamdani, Daily Times, 24 April¹⁴

Too bad for us the entire fabric of society comes crashing down every time an opinion critical of religion is expressed. For the average Pakistani Muslim, almost every view contrary to his or her opinion is heresy. Indeed if one were to collate these heresies, there may be more heretics living in Pakistan than Muslims. Consider the barelyis who are thought to be the overwhelming majority amongst Pakistan's Muslims. They are the ones most concerned about blasphemy and heresy. However, for a significant section of the population they too are heretics, and vice versa. So we are soon going to come face to face with that awkward moment when a heretic kills another heretic for a heresy. Not that it has not already played itself out in our courts. Many blasphemy cases have been filed by Muslims against other Muslims....What we have seen over the last 30 years is the increasing weaponisation of the blasphemy issue. Make no mistake about it: anyone and everyone can be accused of blasphemy and in this there is no discrimination between an imam and an atheist. It does not matter anymore how good of a Muslim one is. That is immaterial. Facts are immaterial when it comes to blasphemy allegations.

Perils for census workers, Editorial, Dawn, 26 April¹⁵

The census exercise is a mammoth undertaking with numerous security concerns. One of them is on account of the militant elements still remaining in the country and who are, for obvious reasons, violently opposed to security *personnel*. The other aspect of security is linked with the political ramifications of the findings of the census. In a country where identity politics based on ethnicity has become particularly strong over the years, there are quarters who suspect that the exercise is a political tool whereby their place in the federation, and their claim on resources, will be diminished. While it is difficult to conclusively determine who were the targets in these attacks, whether the security personnel or the enumerators themselves - indeed the Kurram Agency deaths are possibly the result of the overall fragile security situation in the area, rather than a targeted attack — they do reinforce the perils involved in carrying out the census...

Clutching a lifeline, Zahid Hussain, Dawn, 26 April 16

The prime minister may have a sense of the gathering political storm, yet there is no sign of him giving up. While indicting him, the apex court has also thrown him a lifeline that he is now holding on to. The joint investigation team (JIT),

¹⁴ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/24-Apr-17/silence-or-death-no-third-option

¹⁵ https://www.dawn.com/news/1329193/perils-for-census-workers

¹⁶ https://www.dawn.com/news/1329196/clutching-a-lifeline

to be constituted for further probing the Panama Papers scandal, has already become controversial and has raised serious questions about the inquiry being conclusive....*Although both the main opposition parties* — *the PTI and the PPP* — *are united in demanding that the prime minister step down, there is no mass swell of support for the call.* Anyway, Pakistan is not South Korea or Iceland where millions of people come out on the streets to force leaders implicated in financial wrongdoing to resign. That may have given the wily leader the hope that he can stick it out.

Beijing's love letter, Imtiaz Gul, Daily Times, 27 April¹⁷

But this hawkish position overlooks a primary reality, the OBOR and the CPEC epitomise China's econo-diplomatic offensive. This offensive is rooted in a belief that trade and development alone can provide the much needed political stability in the region....Thus, the OBOR and the CPEC initiatives embody not only an inherent desire for staying politically relevant in global and regional matters but also a relentless pursuit of trade expansion and development through greater connectivity. The ambiguity surrounding these initiatives should be clarified...Thirdly, China seems ready to mediate between other countries, such as between India and Pakistan or Pakistan and Afghanistan, as long as these countries are willing to talk out their differences....respective of the Indian or US reservations and objections, China's stated objective has been to push for stability and development as much as possible. This is the sense one gets in Beijing and Shanghai... That is why despite India's hostile opposition to OBOR initiatives, Beijing is still keen to pursue friendship and cooperation with New Delhi. Chinese officials say they would be ready to nudge India into cooperation with Pakistan but the two countries need to decide among themselves how they want to shape their relationship. For Chinese officialdom, similar logic extends to Afghanistan and Pakistan relations.

KULBUSHAN JADHAV

Panamaleaks: to be continued, Najam Sethi, The Friday Times, 21 April¹⁸

The Supreme Court bench hearing the Panamaleaks case has finally announced a 3/2 decision after two months of deliberations over the matter of the "money trail" that led to the purchase by the Sharif family of various properties in London in the 1990s. Its conclusion: *further investigations are needed before arriving at definite decisions. The voluminous and time consuming judgment suggests that a consensus eluded the bench, with some judges inclined to clutch at the spirit of the law and others still reluctant to depart from the letter of the constitution*....the Chief Justice of Pakistan is now expected to constitute a separate bench to peruse the JIT report in July and determine the culpability of

¹⁷ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/27-Apr-17/beijings-love-letter

¹⁸ http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/panamaleaks-to-be-continued/

the accused. In other words, Nawaz Sharif is not yet off the hook even though the PMLN is crowing about a victory......Indeed, we should expect this theme to be a central plank in the opposition's agitation for the next two months because the heads of the SECP, NAB, FIA and SBP are appointed by the PM and questions have already been raised by the dissenting judges about the professional competence of both NAB and FIA and the impartiality of their heads.

Rising dragon, wounded eagle, Munir Akram, Dawn, 16 April

In the brutal world of politics, a damaged Prime Minister Sharif may be loath to give his arch rival, Imran Khan, anything resembling a victory, especially now that the SC itself has declined to act immediately against Mr Sharif. In that case, the prime minister has a second option: dissolve parliament, hand over power to a caretaker government and have the ECP hold a general election at the earliest. A fresh mandate from the people may be the only way for Mr Sharif to claim that he still has both political and legal legitimacy — a dual legitimacy that all elected representatives must seek. And if the PML-N loses, the people will have spoken, withdrawing the mandate they gave Mr Sharif and his party four years ago. The time for courageous decision-making is now...

Panama and our morality crisis, Imtiaz Gul, Daily Times, 23 April¹⁹

Pakistan's ruling elite is not known for drawing moral lessons from its experiences. The elite know that its money and muscle can help it find its way through the system with the help of highly-paid barristers on its side. When barristers represent tainted property tycoons only to please their political bosses or when they take up cases only to fatten their bank accounts, one can rest assured that there is little room in the country for principles and morality...So, we should neither be surprised nor shocked over events that have unfolded since April 20. The status quo refuses to give in. Yet, status quo forces will never be the same post-SC verdict. Inspired by the split decision, clouds of dissent and critique will grow and thicken as days go by. It will be interesting to see how the SC eventually closes this case based on the JIT investigation, though one should not be very excited about the prospects of the JIT investigation. The Panama Papers issue did not require a months-long litigation at the Supreme Court. It also did not need any JIT as ordered by the court itself. It should have been settled last year through a voluntary exit and an apology.

¹⁹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/23-Apr-17/panama-and-our-morality-crisis

Go Nawaz go...for an early election, Raza Rumi, Daily Time, 23 April²⁰

It is true that Sharif's legitimacy and moral authority to hold the highest public office has been dented. But the impact on the electoral process will not be as drastic as the TV screens wish us to believe.....The options for PM Sharif are clear. Ideally, he should step down and let an impartial inquiry exonerate him. Alternatively, he could move to an early election and seek a fresh mandate from the electorate to restore his moral right to govern. ... (His continuing) is going to result in increased pressure from the opposition and public opinion formed by media driven by notions of urban middle class morality and an active participant of Imran Khan's grand narrative of corruption as the problem numero uno....This is why PM Sharif and his kitchen cabinet need to ponder these choices as to what may cause the least damage to the party's credibility in the next election. A fresh election is not a bad option for the party as its opposition is both disunited and ill prepared to win the electoral game.

Who is celebrating what in Panama case? Shaukat Qadir, Daily Times, 25 April²¹

The judgment suggests that both parties — accused and petitioners — failed to prove their respective cases. But the following statement is no less than an indictment of the prime minister, "there was sufficient prima facie evidence to conclude that the PM and his two sons may be guilty and, therefore, a joint investigation team should compile conclusive evidence of guilt or innocence." That is certainly a landmark in our judicial history. Our Constitution has some absolutely amazing clauses, courtesy General Ziaul Haq. Articles 62 and 63 are among such clauses. These clauses can lead to disqualification of a parliamentarian found to be not of "good" character or "known to have violated Islamic injunctions". Those not "sagacious, righteous, sadiq or ameen" can also face the wrath of these clauses…

Politics and Law, Najam Sethi, Friday Times, 28 April²²

As expected, instead of settling the issue, a 3/2 judgment in the Panama Leaks case before the Supreme Court has triggered bitter political controversy and tension. Both the PMLN and PTI have celebrated their respective "victories" – one side says that all the judges agree that the Sharifs have lied about their money trail while the other says that a majority has not disqualified Nawaz Sharif. The argument has spilled over to the credentials, credibility and ability of the Joint Investigation Team to deliver a fair result in 60 days. Each side is also mulling the pros and cons of filing a review petition to swing the judgment in its favour conclusively. Meanwhile, most analysis of the judgment is

²⁰ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/23-Apr-17/go-nawaz-go-for-an-early-election

²¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/25-Apr-17/who-is-celebrating-what-in-panama-case

²² http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/politics-and-law/

coloured by the political prejudices of commentators.....The scene is now set for a further politicization of the matter. The PMLN is likely to resort to counter-pressure tactics to protect itself. This is bound to draw the military into the fray as arbitrator of the last resort. We have been through that route before and it is not good for Pakistan.

MINORITY POLITCS

The truth about Shia killings, Saad Rasool, The Nation, April 223

... There can be no denial of the fact that the State of Pakistan does not care about the lives or security of Shias. In fact, it would not be a stretch to say that our State and its institutions, are complicit in the killing of Shias. Despite thousands of innocent deaths, there has never been any action, suo moto or otherwise, by the Supreme Court of Pakistan against the killing of Shias. As coffins lay on the streets of Quetta and Parachinar, no judicial or political conscience was jolted into action. No sustainable military action was specifically initiated against Sunni militant outfits. ... A careful look at our national paradigm would reveal that Shias are not welcomed in the stratosphere of State's power. Despite almost 20% of Pakistan's population being Shia, a far smaller fraction finds itself in the national and provincial legislatures. Even lesser are inducted in the Cabinet. Fewer still are part of the bureaucratic and Khaki top-brass. And hardly any one is elevated to the honorable Supreme Court of Pakistan. ... And the few Shias who, from time to time, have made their mark in the fields of medicine, academia, or law, have (for the most part) been targeted through a systematic effort to eliminate their influence in our society. ...

Pakistan: a country for minorities? Nasir Saeed, Daily Times, 08 April²⁴

The recent news about Deputy District Prosecutor Syed Anees Shah asking Christians facing trial in the Youhanabad lynching case to renounce their faith and convert to Islam in exchange for their acquittal, has come across as a disappointment. Shah's act has raised several questions about the government's policies and our judicial system. These are defining moments for the prime minister's vision, and this is the mindset that needs to be defeated... There is no doubt that minorities are suffering in Pakistan for decades. The government, politicians, and even the judiciary all are aware of the situation, but their concerns are hardly addressed.... The misuse of the blasphemy laws against minorities is another important issue. Despite acknowledging that the law is being used as an excuse to attack churches, burn Christian town and villages,

²³ http://nation.com.pk/columns/02-Apr-2017/the-truth-about-shia-killings

²⁴ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/08-Apr-17/pakistan-a-country-for-minorities

and even burn innocent people alive, politicians have failed to start a meaningful debate on this issue in the parliament...

Ahmadi Professor shot dead in Lahore, Dawn, 8 April²⁵

A retired professor Dr Ashfaq Ahmad, 68, a nutritionist by profession and a retired professor of the Lahore University of Veterinary and Animal Sciences belonging to the Ahmadi community died in his car after being shot at close range by an assailant riding a motorcycle in Sabzazar here on Friday... This is the second targeted attack against the minority community in Punjab in 10 days. Soon afterwards, the Jamaat-i-Ahmadiya issued a press release saying that Dr Ahmad had been killed because of his faith. According to the statement, the professor was on his way to offer prayers in the afternoon when he was killed. On March 30, Malik Latif, a prominent lawyer belonging to the community, was shot dead in Nankana Sahib. A banned sectarian outfit, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, had claimed responsibility for the attack...

Let the minorities be free, Yasser Latif Hamdani, Daily Times, 10 April²⁶

...Post 18th Amendment, imprisoning Ahmadis for acts as simple as saying salaam, calling their places of worship 'mosque', reading Quran or publishing literature for their own community is a clear and unconscionable violation of the Constitution. Since they are recognized as a minority under Article 260 of the Constitution.....It is unfortunate that an 80-year-old book seller is rotting away in prison in Pakistan for the mere crime of publishing Ahmadi literature. While hate literature against Ahmadis is not proscribed, literature merely outlining Ahmadi religious beliefs is.....The trouble with Pakistan is that there is absolute lack of support for justice and fair play among our conservatives in the judiciary and media. In Pakistan, sadly, we have judges, who have not even bothered to pick up the Constitution they claim to implement through their courts.....

Reclaim Pakistan from extremists, Zulfiquar Rao, Daily Times, 15 April ²⁷

The lackluster attitude of the state reflects in the police and district administrations' approach to these cases. They are found routinely advising the vulnerable individual, family, and community to leave their abode. An oftrepeated excuse is that law enforcement agencies (LEAs) cannot maintain a continued presence in neighbourhoods for the protection of such individuals. What's almost always missing is the impetus for proactive action to nab masterminds of sectarian hatred, arrest peddlers of takfiri fatwas (edits that proclaim someone to be a blasphemer or an apostate), curb misuse of the

²⁵ https://www.dawn.com/news/1325613/ahmadi-professor-shot-dead-in-lahore

²⁶ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/10-Apr-17/let-the-minorities-be-free

²⁷ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/15-Apr-17/let-us-reclaim-pakistan-from-extremists

mosque pulpit for raising blasphemy allegations on mere hearsay, and follow provisions of criminal procedure codes without any pressure. ... We don't see migration of minorities from Pakistan for economic reasons. Instead, it mostly takes place because of religious, sectarian, and political reasons. For example, an MPA of Sindh Assembly, Ram Singh Sodho, who is an upper caste Hindu, had no economic reasons to flee along with his family to India.

Mapping intolerance, Safiya Aftab, Daily Times, 19 April²⁸

...Sectarian crime has a different pattern altogether. More often than not, it features strikes against a particular sect, the Shia community, where either a place of worship is attacked or prominent members of the community are targeted for assassination. It is rare for these strikes to develop into cross-community riots, although that has been known to happen, most notably in Gilgit-Baltistan. But for the most part, these are terrorist acts which do not lead to mob violence....Allegations of blasphemy almost always lead to the fear of mob mobilisation. Attacks on religious minorities, which in case of the Christian community in particular, are often based on blasphemy allegations, can also translate into mob violence very fast...

ECONOMIC ISSUES

CPEC

Mystery of CPEC payments, Khurram Hussain, Dawn, 06 April²⁹

....the level of Chinese foreign direct investment coming into the country appears to have fallen, even as the project's implementation is gathering pace and large-scale machinery imports are getting going. *Inflows from China as direct investment actually dropped this year by 54 per cent compared to last year, with the bulk of this decline in the power sector.* This is further evidence that we do not fully know how CPEC is really going to work once it gets going. If the government knew that this is how the procurement would work, it would have been a good idea to inform the State Bank in advance so they would not be taken by surprise in December of this year and have to launch a rather large reconciliation exercise.

CPEC: Future Objectives and Obstacles, Masood Jan, Pamir Times, 27 April 30

CPEC is a strong and great step of China towards its western development policy by connecting landlocked Xinjiang to Gwadar port. Also, it s a flagship

²⁸ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/19-Apr-17/mapping-intolerance

²⁹ https://www.dawn.com/news/1325124/mystery-of-cpec-payments

³⁰ http://pamirtimes.net/2017/04/25/china-pakistan-economic-corridor-future-objectives-and-obstacles/

project, time-saving alternate route for China Southern Sea problem, increase of influence in "Strait of Hormuz" and independent of "Strait of Malacca". CPEC will bring economic development, infrastructure development, increase employment, construction of Gwadar port, overcome energy crises in Pakistan....Gilgit-Baltistan region in Pakistan which is the starting point of game changer project, unfortunately, this region is still ignoring by both China and Pakistan. There is no big investment in Gilgit-Baltistan region from \$51 Billion CPEC project...By ensuring equitable distribution of resources, working transparently, creating consensus and engaging all segments of the nation, Pakistan can convert the CPEC into a game-changing opportunity for the national economy, as well as for the people of the remote and underdeveloped areas.

Checking into CPEC Hotel, Jazib Nelson, Daily Times, 29 April³¹

Despite popular belief, the process through which these gains are transferred from federal to provincial and regional level is not straightforward. It is determined by a host of factors all of which are not necessarily economic in nature. These factors constitute political, social and cultural realities and, in turn, shape the way institutions responsible for transferring economic gains operate. In case of G-B, the mix of these factors has shaped institutions such that they have adversely affected the transfer of economic gains from infrastructure development projects. In G-B, most such institutions fall either under the rubric of development sector or of public sector. The development sector is mostly supported by foreign aid. Projects that are being run with foreign money come across multiple pitfalls. This not only affects effectiveness of these projects but also subvert their distribution potential. One of these major pitfalls is that of moral hazard. Those in-charge of these projects routinely present inflated cost figures or intentionally under-provide a service to justify requests for additional grants from donors....But efforts to entrench democracy in G-B have been superficial at best. Locals routinely complain about the ineffectiveness of the legislative body.

SECURITY SITUATION

LYNCHING OF MASHAL KHAN

Blasphemer hunting must stop, Raza Rumi, Daily Times, 14 April³²

There are two particularly alarming aspects to this horrific episode. Firstly, there are some indications that the two students were targeted based on their

³¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/29-Apr-17/checking-into-cpec-hotel

³² http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/14-Apr-17/blasphemer-hunting-must-stop

dissenting views on religion and society. Secondly, amongst the rumours circulated was the idea that they were promoting the Ahmadi faith. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, blasphemy allegations go hand-in-hand with being identified as Ahmadi –with both resulting in terrifying violence....Sadly those in power have contributed to this unfortunate situation. Since January, the state authorities have been drumming up the campaign against blasphemy on social media. From the Prime Minister to the Parliament and from judges to legislators, high-sounding rhetoric has been aired to prove that the state is somehow guarding the faith. On social media, Pakistanis have been accepting challenges to prove their faith to fellow Muslims. In a country where 95 percent or more are Muslims, the fear-mongering over blasphemy is nothing but a deliberate ploy to invoke religious passions to achieve political ends...The primary objective has been to suppress dissenting views on religion, military and state policy

Problem of defining Pakistani identity, Raza Rumi, Daily Times, 16 April 33

...Sadly, the Pakistani state has encouraged such confusion by not forging a territorial, localised identity. Most Pakistanis, including the youth, view their country as an antidote to the persecution of Muslims by Hindus in a united India and as the extra-territorial guardian of the Ummah. It is a separate matter that most of the Ummah does not accord that leadership role to Pakistan, despite its nuclear prowess...It is difficult to generalise on the basis of small surveys but Mashal Khan's lynching and the disturbing scenes circulating on social media testify to a culture of intolerance, which has taken root in our social fabric. It is also a testament to the failure of the education system that is unable to distinguish between a secular humanist and an offensive 'blasphemer'. The Islamists' definition of 'secular' as ladeen (irreligious or non-believer) is widely accepted 70 years after the Islamic Republic was founded..

State should prevent shrinking of democratic spaces, Naumana Suleman, *Daily Times*, 18 April³⁴

....Such events are a direct outcome of continuously shrinking spaces in our society for dissent from the popular opinion and of a hostile environment that suppresses critical thinking and rational discourse, specifically in matters of belief...These incidents are two sides of the same coin of a blindfolded belief. In Sargodha, the victims were led to their deaths because of their blindfolded belief. The latter had led the mob to lynch the student in Mardan...Blindfolded belief nurtures alongside shrinking of spaces for rational discourse on sociopolitical issues and matters related to religion. Legitimate freedom of

³³ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/16-Apr-17/lets-accept-what-we-have-done-to-ourselves

 $^{^{34}\} http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/18-Apr-17/state-should-prevent-shrinking-of-democratic-spaces$

expression is discouraged in such a society... One of the root causes is our religiously biased education policy and syllabus taught at public institutions. It breeds intolerance. The material taught at education institutes translates into biased mindsets and results in radical behavior. Consequently, such an education limits space for freedom of religion or belief and expression.

Masahl Khan & state culpability, Ammar Rashid, Daily Times, 18 April³⁵

There has long been a widespread delusion in the Pakistani mainstream that extremist violence is an historical anomaly or external conspiracy. From the security establishment to prominent politicians to major media houses, the consistent narrative propagated about religious terror is one that sees it as external to the Pakistani state, an exogenously-induced irritant that the state is simply trying its best to repel..... This discourse is rampant in rightwing and ultra-nationalist spaces. ... The Pakistani state, on the other hand, is a paragon of selfless Islamic virtue, merely trying its best to protect the Pakistani people from these evil external enemies out to disrupt peace in the country. ... The fanaticism that fueled Mashal's lynching was not orchestrated by India or Israel – it was the culmination of a process that was organically created, nurtured and sustained over decades by the Pakistani state to protect its own interests.

The myth of silent majority, Hussain Nadim, The Express Tribune, April 1836

... Fast forward to current times, a year back in Murree while running a training session for National Assembly parliamentarians, we were notified about the large gathering for Mumtaz Qadri's funeral. On my way back what I witnessed changed my entire perspective on our 'silent majority'. ... The disturbing part is not that the funeral had over 100,000 people but that when you compare it to Salman Taseer's funeral or Mashal Khan's, you are hit with a reality that perhaps we are not the silent majority. ... It made a lot more sense then, as to why nobody took to the streets when a Christian colony was burnt in Lahore, or no rallies were taken out against the persecution of minorities, or for that matter why nobody even in the PPP could stand for Salmaan Taseer. The majority simply didn't have sympathy.

Silencing Mashal, Zahid Hussain, Dawn, 19 April 37

One example of how the murderers are glorified is the construction of the grand mausoleum of Mumtaz Qadri on the outskirts of Islamabad. *The murderer of the former Punjab governor Salmaan Taseer is being projected as a martyr of the faith and as a saint.* Thousands of devotees visit the shrine; among them retired judges and politicians. They come to pay homage to a

³⁵ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/18-Apr-17/mashal-khan-lets-not-ignore-state-culpability

³⁶ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1386325/myth-silent-majority/

³⁷ https://www.dawn.com/news/1327795/silencing-mashal

convicted murderer. The administration appears completely helpless in the face of this defiance of law and justice. This weakness of the state, or rather its complicity, has been a major factor in causing incidents like the Mardan lynching.....it is about the culture of impunity that legitimises killing merely on the accusation of blasphemy. Despite the public outrage over the savagery there are many clerics and members of Islamic parties who are not willing to condemn last week's incident. Is there any complicity or fear of annoying their conservative constituency.

The land of impure, Maha Shaqkat Khan, The Nation, April 1938

... Pakistan's Blasphemy laws don't just violate human rights but they also encourage these bloodthirsty people to take the law into their own hands. Lawyers, friends and relatives of these people are also at a very high risk since the threat of violence follows the accused blasphemers like wildfire. ... A majority of lawyers decline to take up such cases and represent people accused of blasphemy due to fear of abuse and even murder. A lawyer who dared to represent an alleged blasphemer was beaten black and blue in court until he promised to drop the case. Majority of the blasphemy cases are targeted towards minorities, novel cases like Khan's include a Muslim as the accused Blasphemer. ... Simply put if you are accused of blasphemy you are bound to die either at the hands of a crazy mob or by the law as it's not a pardonable offence and anybody disagreeing with the law is also at a risk of being labelled as a blasphemer. ...

Imran Khan's bold stance, Editorial, The Nation, April 2039

... Imran Khan's bold stance on Mashal is a refreshing change. It has the power to change things. ... Imran Khan's proactive position has not only mobilised the PTI-government in KP to pursue the matter with the right sense of purpose, but it has also triggered a positive chain reaction in the society. He visited Mashal's family in Swabi and stood with them. ... Imran Khan has said that the culprits will be punished even if they belonged to his party. In clear and simple words, he has described what was wrong with what happened in Mardan, and it is hard for anyone to refute his words. He has compelled the PML-N and other entrenched parties in the parliamentary circus to brush up their acts. Even the maulanas are coming forth to condemn the incident and concede that courts are the right forum to punish blasphemers. ... Sometimes, even one sincere act on part of a leader is enough to mobilise the society in a positive direction. Imran Khan's bold stance on Mashal is one such act.

³⁸ http://nation.com.pk/columns/19-Apr-2017/the-land-of-the-impure

³⁹ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1388240/the-limits-of-power/

Blasphemy: Where do we stand? Faisal Bari, Dawn, 22 April⁴⁰

The dominant narrative of Pakistan is power, and violence is its most naked and destructive form.....It is not just the spontaneous reaction of crowds that we are dealing with. The creation and unleashing of mobs has been used in a premeditated manner as well. ... These come under premeditated action and are not just the spontaneous behaviour of a mob...In some cases, the premeditation is not just about creating the frenzy and hoping that the crowd will then turn violent; it is, plain and simple, premeditated murder. Most recently, three women killed a person who was accused of blasphemy in 2004. These women waited 13 years for the person to return to Pakistan before they went to his house and shot him dead. If a person has committed blasphemy, we feel the law may or may not punish the person, so we have to respond individually. When these individual actions get coordinated in a crowd, a mob results. But the response is still individual and individuated.

No more ad hoc criminal justice, Maryam Khan, Daily Times, 30 April⁴¹

Mashal's tragic murder has opened up a sobering window (yet again) into the plight of the two pillars of our criminal legal system: the police and the courts. To my mind, there is no clearer indication of the acute failure of this system than the manner in which the legal process in the case has unfolded thus far. Consider for a moment: a murder-by-lynching – committed in broad daylight, in the presence of a horde of eye witnesses as well as police and other interveners, and under multiple camera lenses – is being investigated by a 'Joint Investigation Team' (does that ring a bell?) of police, FIA, and military and military intelligence personnel, and is likely to be subjected to a trial or triallike process in the apex court or at least under its direct and ongoing scrutiny. A lot is wrong here....The involvement of the military somewhat allays our concerns about abuse of evidence. The absurdity and irony of this even-more opaque process of 'military-policing' is perhaps not entirely lost on all of us, but we seem to have little choice in the matter, especially given that some police officers are also implicated as aiders and abettors, if not principal parties, to the crime.

ISLAMIC MILLITRY ALLINACE (Islamic NATO)

Dangerous path, Editorial, Daily Times, 01 April 42

Tactically, further alignment with Saudi Arabia may help Pakistan in the short run. Strategically, however, joining the 'Islamic NATO' would carry certain implications for Pakistani society and the state. Our society is divided along ethnic and sectarian lines. It is estimated that Shias constitute around 20

⁴⁰ https://www.dawn.com/news/1328387/where-we-stand

⁴¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/30-Apr-17/no-more-ad-hoc-criminal-justice

⁴² http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/01-Apr-17/dangerous-path

percent of the population....Despite the stated objective of fighting terrorism, this military alliance is being viewed as a Sunni response to counter Iran's tactical and strategic ventures in the Middle East. Once the alliance gets operationalized with Pakistan participating logistically, its spillovers have the potential to wreak havoc by providing the militant sectarian groups with further ideological and financial support to ignite sectarian violence.

Iran concerned over Raheel's appointment as head of Saudi-led military alliance: envoy, Dawn, 03 April⁴³

Iran has expressed its reservations regarding the appointment of the former army chief, retired Gen Raheel Sharif, as head of the Saudi-led 39-nation Islamic military alliance, saying it is not 'satisfied' with the coalition. We are concerned about this issue... that it may impact the unity of Islamic countries," Iran's Ambassador to Pakistan Mehdi Honardoost said.

Pakistan in Saudi alliance, Mohsin Raza Malik, The Nation, 5 April⁴⁴

... For a long time, Pakistan has been dilly-dallying over joining this ambiguous and controversial military in the Middle East. ... (When it announced to form an Islamic military alliance,) Strangely, the Saudi government did not even bother to specifically mention the name of Middle Eastern monster ISIS whose terrorist activities had become a matter of serious concern not only for the Muslim countries but also the entire world community. ... Presently the Saudiled military alliance is being projected as an anti-ISIS alliance. However, keeping in view the current strategic perspective in the Middle East, one can easily conclude that this alliance has nothing to do with the ISIS. In fact, the Saudi Arabia and the ISIS are strategically trying to achieve the same objective i.e. the containment of Iran and pro-Iran elements in the region. Moreover, it is also a fact that the kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the ISIS adhere to same religious ideology. ...

... (As) the ISIS activists are withdrawing from these areas. Therefore, at this stage, there is hardly any need to form such a multinational military alliance against the ISIS as it has already been defeated by its conventional opponents in the region. ... Pakistan's decision to become part of a Saudi military alliance is extremely deplorable. ... Regrettably, now these kinds of strategic and diplomatic blunders have become the hallmarks of our statecraft as well as external policy.

https://www.dawn.com/news/1324597/iran-concerned-over-raheels-appointment-as-head-of-saudi-led-military-alliance-envoy

⁴⁴ http://nation.com.pk/columns/05-Apr-2017/pakistan-in-saudi-alliance

The Iran that came out of the cold, Najmuddin A. Shaikh, *The Friday Times*, 07 April⁴⁵

The Saudi-proposed Islamic army has been dubbed a "phantom army". This is entirely accurate if we are thinking of the army as being an army with its own barracks and cantonments. But that is not what such alliances are about even when they are purely military. The two examples one can look at are NATO and the defunct Warsaw Pact. In both there was first a decision in principle and then through a relatively slow process each member country earmarked certain units (army, navy and air force) that could be called upon by the Pact leaders. In the case of NATO this was SACEUR-Supreme Allied Commander in Europe who had a multi-national staff in his headquarters but who had no troops at his immediate disposal at his headquarters.

Raheel-led Islamic alliance will help counter terrorism: Imam-e-Kaaba, Daily Times, 10 April⁴⁶

Imam-e-Kaaba Sheikh Saleh Bin Mohammad Al Talib said that terrorist elements were sabotaging peace of the world through their own interpretation of religion. "Islam is the only religion which adheres to the principles of morality and peace to lead the world and that is why it is the most popular religion of the world," he said. He said that defense of Haramain Sharifain (the two holy mosques) was the joint responsibility of Muslim Ummah. "In this regard, the unflinching support of Pakistan will always be honoured," he said. Shiekh Salih Bin Mohammad said that the enemy wanted to misguide the Muslims from the right path of Islam. "We should not give up the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him)," he said. He said that terrorism paralysed the economy and social structure of a country and religious seminaries must play their role in identifying such elements and thwarting their ideology.

Why the Saudis need Raheel Sharif, Obaid Pasha, Daily Times, 11 April 47

Trouble is slowly brewing around the Saudi dynasty as the Kingdom is increasingly confronted with multiple crises that threaten its continuity. Control over the minority Shia population of the Kingdom is getting harder to maintain, whereas ISIS and Al-Qaeda are gaining foothold within the younger generation... The Saudi military, on the other hand, remains much less competent to deal with such crises even after spending more than eight times what Pakistan spends on its defence. The Saudis, therefore, are seeking to take

⁴⁵ http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/the-iran-that-came-out-of-the-cold/

⁴⁶ http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/10-Apr-17/raheel-led-islamic-alliance-will-help-counter-terrorism-imam-e-kaaba

⁴⁷ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/11-Apr-17/why-the-saudis-need-raheel-sharif

advantage of the experience and professionalism of the recently retired officers of Pakistan Army to help protect the Kingdom and preserve its influence in the Middle East....While this move seems plausible on paper, it is deeply flawed and lacks an appreciation of institutional ethos. The achievements of Pakistan Army have more to do with the institutional structure of our military than the individuals occupying the leadership positions...the Pakistani officers of the proposed Islamic Alliance are likely to suffer from a lack of purpose, which will dampen their motivation to innovate and persist. War-making is a grim business with real consequences, and can only be administered successfully when the individuals fighting on your side have a sense of purpose high enough to risk their lives fighting on your behalf....

Saudi Military Alliance is continuation of American conspiracy against the unity of the World of Islam, Majlis Wahdat ul Muslimeen, 10 April 48

Leader of Majlis Wahdat Muslimeen Karachi division Allama Syed Mubashir Hassan said that *the consequences of joining the particular Islamic countries alliance will be worst than participating in the American war in Afghanistan*. Rulers have always sacrificed the country and nation for their personal interests. Today, once again Pakistan has been plunged into the quagmire by joining the 39 Muslim countries military alliance which is against the interests of country and nation....He said that leaders of political and religious parties of Pakistan should stop the way of pushing the nation in the quagmire of sectarian war of Middle-East. People at the helms of affairs should purge foreign policy from American interference.

A friendship fit for a king, Ayesha Siddiqa, Firday Times, 28 April⁴⁹

As Pakistan commits 5,000 operational troops to Saudi Arabia to become part of its 33-nation counter-terrorism coalition, some Pakistanis wonder why we couldn't just say 'no'. It is felt that had it not been for the prime minister's personal interests or our civil-military leadership's hankering for oil at concessional rates and the lure of military support, we may have not considered joining an arrangement that could encourage greater internal insecurity and spoil relations with neighbours such as Iran. These points of view are not, however, the correct lens through which we can decipher developments in a bilateral relationship that is as strategic as the one we have with China but that is rarely talked about in detail. There is no other country in the world whose defence minister has been taken on a visit of our uranium-

http://english.mwmpak.org/index.php/explore/sindh-news/item/2765-saudi-millitary-alliance-is-continuation-of-american-conspiracy-against-the-unity-of-the-world-of-islam-allama-mubashir-hassan

⁴⁹ http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/a-friendship-fit-for-a-king/

enrichment facility at Kahuta. But this was the case with Saudi Arabia's defence minister, Prince Sultan bin Abdelaziz al-Saud, in 1999.

TERRORISM

Parachinar lives matter, Editorial, Daily Times, 02 April 50

...reports suggest that Parachinar attack occurred despite several security checkpoints established in the area as well as on the Pak-Afghan border. How did terrorists bypass the security layers? Did we have prior intelligence of such an attack? The ease with which militants have struck this town twice in two months certainly brings into light the long-debated question of security lapses....To make matters worse, the security forces tried to quell protests organized by residents of Parachinar. The haunting images of those staging a daylong protest with bodies of victims on the road ought to have moved the national conscience and led to a firmer resolve to act against the extremists. Sadly, the patchy reporting by electronic media, use of force to disrupt protests and the culture of apathy made this tragedy even greater.

Sargodha massacre: more than terrorism, Editorial, Daily Times, 06 April⁵¹

The recent attack on a Sargodha shrine that left 20 devotees hacked to death is a tragic yet timely reminder that not every act of extreme violence can be filed away under 'terrorism'. Some problems run deeper. *Pakistan, from its very inception, has been marred by violence. Yet religious-fuelled and self-inflicted brutality is profoundly entrenched, thereby making it that much harder to stamp out.* The only positive to come out of the massacre is the coming forward of the wider community to disclose to the authorities about what had been long occurring in the name of spiritual cleansing. This is not to be underestimated. In most cases, victims' families remain reluctant to press criminal charges, considering it an act of sacrilegious betrayal against a revered Pir.

Lahore Attack, Editorial, Dawn, 06 April⁵²

....Also tucked in somewhere in the pile of official responses was an old clarification about how difficult, almost impossible, it was to thwart a suicide attack...A favourite measure to instil a sense of security in the citizens was once again on display as the explosion was initially projected as a cylinder blast. This refrain in the immediate aftermath of the explosion had just the opposite effect on the people — it made them angry as they saw it as a move by the government to conceal the facts. Such prevarication on the part of the

⁵⁰ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/02-Apr-17/parachinar-lives-matter

⁵¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/06-Apr-17/sargodha-massacre-more-than-terrorism

⁵² https://www.dawn.com/news/1325121/lahore-attack

authorities may well result in a trust deficit that could prove disastrous in these times.

Pulverising the roots of terrorism, M. Ziauddin, Daily Times, 07 April⁵³

The official rhetoric that follows such tragedies goes something like this: It was a suicide bombing planned in Afghanistan. The TTP trained perpetrator had travelled all the way from our war-torn neighbor to Lahore in Punjab or Sehwan in Sindh or wherever deep inside Pakistan (without having been apprehended on the way despite having been identified as a threat) with the relevant security agencies having been alerted to the possible terror threat being on the way and his general whereabouts well in time. This is too laughable, to say the least. *The purpose of this elaborate make-believe is clearly* to cover up the failure of those responsible for the eradication and elimination of the social and physical terror infrastructure that still exists intact inside Pakistan and which provides the wherewithal for carrying out such seemingly lone-wolf attacks.... it is this infrastructure that needs to be pulverized if Pakistan wants to get rid of the menace of terrorism for good. But then it is next to impossible to even make a dent in this infrastructure without first eliminating the mind-set that has over-taken a critical mass of our population...And this mind-set is not cultivated in the madrassas alone. Even our so-called public and private schools construct such a mind-set through not only the syllabus that is taught in these institutions but even most of the members of the faculty of these schools seem to have drunk from the same poisonous fountain.

Sharp shooting in the dark, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 9 April⁵⁴

At one level there is much to celebrate on the reports that 10 suspected militants of Jamaatul Ahrar, a potent Taliban faction, have died in an encounter with the Counter-Terrorism Department (CTD) of the Punjab police on the night of Friday 7th April. At a deeper level there is much that ought to be of concern to any one of us with an interest in the rule of law. ... The CTD were moving five arrested suspects, including Anwarul Haq to Manawan as part of an operation to seize weapons and explosives. They were attacked at around 1.15 am by up to nine terrorists that were able to spring Haq and then fled in the direction of the Ravi River. This in itself indicates that the terrorists were on an intelligence-led mission — they knew who was being moved and the route. Organising an attack was not rocket science. None of the questions that this 'encounter' begs are ever going to be answered, ... There has been no public presentation of evidence against any of the dead. ...

⁵³ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/07-Apr-17/pulverising-the-roots-of-terrorism

⁵⁴ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1378327/sharpshooting-in-the-dark/

Sluggish response to militancy, Editorial, Dawn, 10 April⁵⁵

But the militants have adapted too and found ways to survive, whether in the form of latent terror cells across the country or in sanctuaries in Afghanistan. It is in this area that the problem with the state's response lies — the evolution of the state's response to terrorism lags behind the evolution of the militants themselves. And one of the principal reasons for the lag appears to be an unwillingness or inability on the part of the state to empower institutions.... Counter-extremism in particular cannot be conceptualised and a policy road map drawn up or executed in a sporadic manner. Speeches by the prime minister and expressions of resolve by the military leadership do not amount to a counter-extremism policy....

Radicalisation problem begins at school, Raza Rumi, Daily Times, 09 April⁵⁶

There is an inordinate emphasis on the madrassas (religious seminaries) whenever we talk about radicalisation of Pakistani society. *The madrassas cater to less than 5 percent of the total school going children*. It is the public and private schools that shape young minds.... Curricula need revamping on an urgent basis... *The overemphasis on military and police action against 'terrorism' will not solve the endemic issue of extremism. Pakistan's deradicalisation project must start in public schools and universities.* We are already a few decades late in resetting our direction...

US recognises Pakistan's sacrifices in fight against terrorism: Pentagon, Anwar Iqbal, *Dawn*, 12 April⁵⁷

..The department recognises the significant sacrifices the Pakistan military has made in the fight against terrorism, and appreciates Pakistan's continued support for transit of material to coalition forces in Afghanistan," said Adam Stump, a US Defence Department spokesman..... Mr Stump pointed out that it was in the interest of Pakistan to "eliminate all safe havens and reduce the operational capacity of all militant organisations, particularly Al Qaeda, Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan, the Afghan Taliban, including the Haqqani network, Lashkar-e-Taiba". He noted that such other militant groups were a threat to both US and Pakistani interests and to regional stability.

Women held after encounter in Lahore went to Syria for training, Mohammad Hussain Khan, Imran Gabol, Dawn, 18 April ⁵⁸

⁵⁵ https://www.dawn.com/news/1325957/sluggish-response-to-militancy

 $^{^{56} \}qquad http://daily times.com.pk/opinion/09-Apr-17/pakistans-radicalisation-problem-begins-at-school$

https://www.dawn.com/news/1326390/us-recognises-pakistans-sacrifices-in-fight-against-terrorism-pentagon

https://www.dawn.com/news/1327453/woman-held-after-encounter-in-lahore-went-to-syria-for-training

A medical student from Hyderabad who was arrested after her husband was killed in an encounter in Lahore on Friday night had visited Syria after leaving her home in February to join the militant Islamic State (IS) group. According to sources, Naureen Leghari, a student of the Liaquat University of Medical and Health Sciences, who is being interrogated by law enforcement agencies, came to Lahore about three weeks ago and was being tracked by security personnel. She had also received training in Syria for using weapons, the sources said. She had reportedly been contacted by militants through social media. Ali Tariq of Bedian Road, Lahore, whom she had married after leaving her home and joining the militants, was killed in the encounter in the Punjab Housing Society. Four security personnel were injured during the shootout.

Building anti-terrorism narrative: President stresses role of educational institutions, *The Frontier Post*, 18 April⁵⁹

President Mamnoon Hussain Monday said that educational institutions and intellectuals had an important role to play in building a counter narrative against extremism and terrorism in the light of Islamic teachings. ... President Mamnoon stressed the need for coordination between IIUI and universities in Gulf countries and Central Asia which, he said, would be mutually beneficial for all. He also expressed the desire that IIUI (International Islamic University) should establish its campuses in other Muslim countries. ...

The Taliban mess, Editorial, Daily Times, 19 April⁶⁰

Time and again, Pakistani security forces have reiterated their commitment to strike at the root of the terrorist violence shaking the country since a decade or more. Nevertheless, claims have not always been equalled by action. The civilian government led by PM Nawaz Sharif seems to be at best a junior partner when it comes to framing security policy in the country. In Pakistan, it has become a common perception that the security agencies are handling foreign policy and taking action against militants on something of a 'pick-and-choose' basis..... Pakistan needs to continue the operation against all sorts of extremist groups. So far, Pakistan has been facing the accusation of indulging in proxy wars and carrying out a selective operation against militants. It is high time that the civil and military leaders addressed all these allegations in a satisfactory manner....We in Pakistan must ask ourselves, with the utmost urgency, what we have achieved by our use of armed Islamist proxies over the past few decades — especially considering the difficult strategic and security situation that it now leaves us in.

⁵⁹ http://thefrontierpost.com/articleprint/81223/president-stresses-role-educational-institutions

⁶⁰ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/19-Apr-17/the-taliban-mess

Militants' Profiles, Editorial, Dawn, 19 April⁶¹

...While Pakistan has been ravaged by militancy for many years, there have not been enough efforts, neither at the state level nor within academia, to discover what makes a militant. While blanket terms such as 'extremism', 'fundamentalism', etc have been employed to explain the triggers that drive people to commit violence against others, a more scientific approach is required to find out the causative factors behind militancy, and develop measures to address these......A one-size-fits-all approach to counterterrorism is not likely to stem the tide of militancy in Pakistan due to a variety of factors that drive people towards militancy....While some hard-core fighters are unlikely to want to join the mainstream, others could be prevented from walking down the path of militancy if the state makes a greater effort to address the factors contributing to it...

To fund war against terror, big companies set to pay super tax for another year, *The Express Tribune*, 20 April⁶²

The government is planning to extend Super Tax for yet another year, generating Rs30 billion for partially meeting security establishment's expenditures although more than 90 per cent of the population affected by the Operation Zarb-e-Azb returned to their homes. The authorities are clearly not in a mood to withdraw the Super Tax from next financial year 2017-18, set to start from July this year, said officials in the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR). They said that the FBR proposed that in addition to extending the tax into its third year, the government should also increase the rate of super tax to 5 per cent for banking companies. ...

Tracking extremism, Muhammad Amir Rana, Dawn, 23 April⁶³

...The little work on the subject done by local and international scholars indicates that the common man is becoming more sensitive about his religious and sectarian identity and affiliation. Even the expression of religion is becoming more sectarian, with different identities expressing themselves more vociferously, to the denial of others, facilitated by sectarian parties allying with mainstream parties, the presence of sect-based madressahs, and the changing geopolitical rivalry between Shia Iran and Wahabi Saudi Arabia. As old groups like the Pakistani Taliban decline, other groups like IS make inroads, relying on the resources of Pakistani Taliban militants....Almost all sects have their rituals or events marked publicly to show strength. In southern Punjab, for instance, shrines and Sufism were a form of religious expression that people

⁶¹ https://www.dawn.com/news/1327792/militants-profiles

https://tribune.com.pk/story/1388605/fund-war-terror-big-companies-set-pay-super-tax-another-year/

⁶³ https://www.dawn.com/news/1328630/tracking-extremism

took as cultural expression; but now, even in that 'city of saints', intolerance is rising, expressed in a narrow religious-social context. In this process of the transformation of religious expression, religious and sectarian minorities are suffering greatly.

Radicalised women, Huma Yusuf, Dawn, 24 April 64

...But there is another side to the story, embodied by women such as Aafia Siddiqui, Umme Hassan and now Leghari — the daughter of an academic, herself a medical student, radicalised online, married to a militant and willing to murder dozens...The ISPR released Leghari's confessional video, presumably to showcase the efficacy of the intelligence and security forces in preventing militant attacks. But what the clip — showing an articulate and self-possessed woman speaking matter-of-factly about a suicide attack — truly highlights is the degree to which Pakistani society has become vulnerable to radicalisation....The phenomenon of female radicalisation in Pakistan has not yet been seriously considered. Some scholarship aside, the Al Huda enthusiasm was perceived to be a joke or a nuisance. Many families welcomed the growing conservatism of their women, making them easier to control....This benign view assumes that women are not part of the same political and ideological landscape that men are; that they are not capable consumers of media and political discourse; that they cannot be moved to action.

Chinese militants wage war against Assad, Bassem Mroue & Gerry Shib, *The Frontier Post*, 25 April⁶⁵

Many don't speak Arabic and their role in Syria is little known to the outside world, but the Chinese fighters of the Turkistan Islamic Party in Syria are organised, battled-hardened and have been instrumental in ground offensives against President Bashar Al Assad's forces in the country's northern regions. Thousands of Chinese extremists have come to Syria since the country's civil war began in March 2011 to fight against government forces and their allies. Some have joined the Al-Qaeda's branch in the country previously known as Nusra Front. Others paid allegiance to Daesh and a smaller number joined factions such as the ultraconservative Ahrar Al Sham. But the majority of Chinese militants are with the Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP) in Syria, whose vast majority are Chinese Muslims, particularly those from the Turkic-speaking Uighur majority native to Xinjiang in China. ...

No let up in terror, Editorial, Daily Times, 27 April⁶⁶

It seems that in Pakistan we now have a cycle of blood-soaked tragedy. And it would appear the saddest part that the cycle has become all too familiar. *A*

⁶⁴ https://www.dawn.com/news/1328884/radicalised-women

⁶⁵ http://thefrontierpost.com/articleprint/82134/chinese-militants-wage-war-against-assad

⁶⁶ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/27-Apr-17/no-let-up-in-terror

horrific terrorist attack takes place, the atmosphere becomes sombre and the list of devastated families becomes longer. All regions of Pakistan suffer from this violence, but the people of FATA perhaps bear the heaviest burden of all, being a constant target for such atrocities. In an almost surreal landscape of horror, in many areas of Pakistan people now live in constant fear of bomb blasts and terrorist strikes, adding to their already deep psychological trauma...Although successive military operations have caused a considerable dent in the logistical networks and operational capacity of various terrorist groups, yet the fight is far from over. The terrorist groups have changed their operational patterns — switching to the use of scattered but deadlier attacks. T-o tackle the threat, security agencies cannot afford to be complacent.

Terror financing, Khurram Hussain, Dawn, 27 April 67

There are two problems that Pakistan faces in fighting terror financing. One is that groups and individuals designated by the United Nations as terrorists continue to roam freely and operate large organisations in the country, largely because they enjoy protection from high quarters. The kinds of operations that these groups run cannot function on cash alone. Banning these groups may not cause terrorism to disappear from Pakistan, but it will certainly complicate the groups' ability to operate on such a large scale because their transactions will then need to be done through benami accounts. It may not be difficult, but given the scale we are talking about, it would certainly hamper their operations.....In an environment as permissive as this, it is difficult, if not impossible, to clamp down on illicit financial flows, especially terror financing. I lay special emphasis on terror financing because the financial requirements of terrorism are not very large, not very complex, and easily transacted through intermediaries to mask the real beneficiaries.

Intolerance and brutality, Akhtar Ali, *Pamir Times*, 15 April⁶⁸

Pakistan may claim to be an Islamic state but its citizens seldom get any social justice. Justice is being provided in the streets by the mobs. Punishments are being awarded publicly in the form of burning lives, shooting, and stoning. Faith is being approved by so-called illiterate molvis at every mosque. Certificates for the heaven are being distributed at madrassah in retaliation to lynch the sacrilegious without taking it into court. These are shown because of the apathy and the failure of state's institution.... we see that even though our basic rights have been given to us by the constitution, implementation of law is faulty and biased. Only selective parts of constitution are implemented that what suit to the power elites. Protection of citizen, provision of justice, and

⁶⁷ https://www.dawn.com/news/1329393/terror-financing

⁶⁸ http://pamirtimes.net/2017/04/15/intolerance-and-brutality/

maintenance of equality among the masses are inviolable obligation of state. Failure to perform these responsibilities lead to the formation of lawlessness in society result is brutality, anarchy, barbarianism, savagery, and inequality...

Ehsanullah Ehsan's confession, Editorial, Dawn, 28 April⁶⁹

What is troubling, however, is the centrality that the so-called foreign hand claims have been given in the portions of the confession that have been broadcast. It has the potential to undermine the hard-won recognition in recent years that the fight against militancy is a local fight against local enemies who subscribe to an ideology that was locally developed. After years of reluctance, the security establishment has been in recent times more willing to acknowledge past mistakes and recognise that the war Pakistan has been plunged in is against militant networks that were once patronised by the state itself. Indeed, in former army chief Gen Raheel Sharif's and current army chief Gen Qamar Bajwa's unequivocal statements that both Pakistan and Afghanistan suffer from terrorism and that Pakistan will not tolerate militancy and terrorism of any stripe or hue, hopes were raised that a regional approach to fighting religiously inspired militancy with common ideological roots would take shape...

Re-integration: not this way, please!, Zulfiquar Rao, Daily Times, 29 April⁷⁰

While the incumbent government, military officials, and apologists of TTP in Pakistan's mainstream politics assured the public and the world beyond Pakistan of an imminent peace in the offing, each of those agreements proved to be eyewash and so often government and military had to launch a military offensive against almost all factions of TTP. If it wasn't so the current military operation Radd-ul-Fasad would not have been number eleventh in this sequel..... Initially hailed as a great success of current operation, the excitement turned sour when in the following days what Pakistan saw on media was no less than astonishing; that marauder was presented as if actually innocent and was just misled by some radical Islamists. ... The RAW and NDS part of his (Ehsan's) confession has, since then, been blown so intensely as if Pakistanis can forget that Ehsanullah's hands are stained with the blood of thousands of people and hundreds of school children such as those from APS Peshawar. Ironically, not once did he say anything remorsefully for being the part of TTP.

⁶⁹ https://www.dawn.com/news/1329682/ehsanullah-ehsans-confession

⁷⁰ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/29-Apr-17/re-integration-not-this-way-please

NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

Peace attempt in tatters, Khadim Hussain, Daily Times, 06 April⁷¹

The concept of Khilafat is nestled in the concept of Jihad while the concept of Jihad is, in turn, nestled in the concept of 'Shahadat'. This triangle, coupled with 'otherization', justifies a highly lethal approach in their war against the whole world. Militant organisations in Pakistan and elsewhere can, thus, be seen employing effective techniques to create 'human bombs' in the shape of suicide bombers....The IS still distinguishes itself for its severe sectarian bias, its proclivity to bring areas under its direct control and its substantial resourcefulness. JuA is said to be inspired by its tactics employed in Syria and Iraq....

Rangers in Sindh, Editorial, Daily Times, 24 April⁷²

The tussle between the federal and Sindh governments ended this weekend when the latter conceded and agreed to extend the powers of the Rangers in Karachi. It was agreed to request the assistance of Rangers within Karachi under section 4 (2) of ATA 1997 for a period of 90 days starting from April 16, 2017. These powers will enable the paramilitary force to continue conducting raids against target killers, armed religious extremists and other criminals who have been plaguing Karachi since long....It must be remembered, however, that when we laud the efforts of the Rangers in bringing muchneeded peace to Karachi, we must not lose sight of the larger political and administrative problem. The deployment of paramilitary forces to support civilian authorities must not mean that efforts to improve civilian lawenforcement agencies be neglected. Paramilitary forces are, at the end of the day, a temporary solution to the larger political and administrative question: can Karachi be governed effectively by political representatives of the people, using the normal politico-legal instruments available to them?

PROVINCES & REGIONS

GILGIT-BALTISTAN(GB)

Land ownership rights, Afzal.A. Shigri, Dawn, 15 April 73

... Hence, due to sheer incompetence, there are fragmented land records in different areas that present a confusing picture on the ground. Amidst this confusion, the administration makes decisions selectively based on laws, rules,

⁷¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/06-Apr-17/peace-attempt-in-tatters

⁷² http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/24-Apr-17/rangers-in--sindh

⁷³ https://www.dawn.com/news/1327031/land-ownership-rights

traditions, practices or riwaj. In the absence of any proper legislation uniformly applicable to the entire region, the administration is confronted with new challenges in the shape of a legal void, causing preventable controversies that can have serious implications for the implementation of CPEC.... The GB government, faced with this implication, has wisely formed a land reform commission. There is an urgent need to carefully draft the terms of reference for this commission to examine the entire issue in line with the established norms of protecting the rights of the people of GB.

Foreign tourists barred from visiting GB without no-objection certificate, Jamil Nagri, Pamir Times, 28 April⁷⁴

The federal interior ministry has imposed a ban on visits of foreign tourists to Gilgit-Baltistan without obtaining a no-objection certificate (NOC) from the ministry in Islamabad. A letter recently sent by the ministry to the Gilgit-Baltistan government says that it has been reported that foreigners are frequently visiting Gilgit-Baltistan without obtaining an NOC or security clearance from the ministry, which is against the rules. The letter asks the authorities concerned to take concrete measures to curb the practice. Reacting to the development, the Pakistan Association of Tour Operators (PATO) has said the move is tantamount to the "economic murder" of Gilgit-Baltistan. Talking to Dawn, PATO joint secretary Muhammad Ali said the imposition of the ban would adversely affect the tourism industry in the region. "Seventy per cent of GB people depend on tourism to earn a livelihood as there is no other industry in the region. The tourism industry in the region has already been destroyed after the situation unfolding in South Asia in the wake of 9/11," he said. "The industry has also been damaged because of operations against terrorists in the north of Pakistan and the Nanga Parbat massacre of 2012," he said.

BALOCHISTAN

Convergence of interests needed in Balochistan, **Ejaz Hussain**, **Daily Times**, **17 April** 75

... The problem persists even in the 21st century, when most nation-states are expanding their socio-economic outreach to previously neglected areas and marginalised communities. The question of Balochistan has lingered on due to divergence in interests of a variety of stakeholders such as local politicians, provincial civil bureaucracy, the military, local Jirga, and the federal government based in Islamabad. Each of these actors has its own understating of opportunities and challenges faced by Balochistan...Though local political parties are mainly nationalist in orientation but they diverge over their

⁷⁴ http://pamirtimes.net/2017/04/28/65487/

⁷⁵ http://dailytimes.com.pk/e-paper/2017-04-17/lahore/11036/79891

approach to resource distribution. However, these parties share a commonality of approach insofar as they stand for political solutions to the Baloch problem. On the contrary, the local and federal bureaucracy views the issue from colonial-era prism that is disconnected from local realities. How sad and ironic is the fact that Gwadar port is projected as the flagship project of CPEC and yet the city lacks basic facilities like sanitation, roads, railways, healthcare and education. With respect to governance, the paramilitary apparatuses believe in use of hard, rather than soft, power to prevent disorder, without realising political implications of such a policy. The fallout of Nawab Akbar Bugti's killing during the Musharraf regime is a case in point.... Local politics and justice regime (Jirga) further add to the problems of the province, especially for the down trodden who have little or no access to local/provincial parliamentarians and bureaucracy.

Hurdles to reform in FATA, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 11 April⁷⁶

The merger of Fata with K-P may be a done deal in theory or on paper, but it is far from being an accepted reality on the ground. Figures bandied about are almost meaningless — it is not possible, for instance, to say that Fata is '10 times backward that K-P' unless the parameters allowing such a conclusion are clear. They are not. That the area as a whole is grossly undeveloped... That fact alone doubtless gives caution to the federal government. ... Then there are the people that live there. Theirs is a diverse, complex and highly conservative society that is very slow to change and highly resistant to external interventions. Tribal elders have challenged the legality of the proposed merger in the high court and the K-P government itself is uneasy about aspects of the legislation. ... Is it possible to reform Fata? It is, and it must be done for myriad interlacing reasons, but reform in the structures that will reform Fata is essential before the main task is tackled. ...

KASHMIR

US mediation in Kashmir, Editorial, *The Nation*, 6 April⁷⁷

While addressing a news conference in New York on Monday, Nikki Haley, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, talked about the possibility of the US mediating between India and Pakistan. ... While these positions have become set in stone, it was important to see if the new US government could modify them at all. ... The Department spokesperson repeated the line that both countries should cooperate but carefully kept the US out of any mooted negotiation. This reversion back to the previous US stance indicates a lot about how future US policy is going to be conducted. ... In these circumstances, it is difficult to imagine a scenario where the US would insert itself into the South

⁷⁶ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1380058/hurdles-reform-fata/

⁷⁷ http://nation.com.pk/editorials/06-Apr-2017/us-mediation-in-kashmir

Asian situation and take it upon itself to fix it. The Presidency and the State Department are at odds, and the latter is calling the shots – at least for now.

Diplomacy stirs in Kashmir, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 13 April⁷⁸

... Reading the diplomatic runes is a risky business. These two (the OIC's claim to pursue the Kashmir issue and the Trump administration's offer for arbitration) widely separated and thus far small and unproductive diplomatic stirrings may come to nothing. They are not convergent and widely differing interests are in play. But they do suggest a raising of awareness of the Kashmir imbroglio and the need to internationalise it because a bilateral, Indo-Pak, resolution is no nearer now than it has been for decades. ...

Pakistan urges US to help defuse tension with India over Kashmir, The Frontier Post, 17 April⁷⁹

Pakistan's Ambassador to the United Nations, Maleeha Lodhi on Sunday said the United States was in a unique position to defuse the tensions between India and Pakistan over the decades-old Kashmir issue as it had good relations with both the countries. Speaking in the television programme of World Affairs Council, a Washington-based think-tank, Lodhi, however, said such a role required a more balanced policy on part of the United States. "Somebody needs to play this role and we think the United States is in the best position to do that," the Pakistani envoy said. "I mean at this point in time, for example, the situation in Kashmir - the long-standing dispute between Pakistan and India - is once again inflamed; the situation is grave, it poses a critical threat to regional peace and security and again, you know, what we like to see is the United States not coming as a fire brigade to put out a fire, but to come in at a time where it can avert any kind of crisis from brewing and exploding actually. So I am not suggesting that's about to happen but I am saying before the next crisis happens this is a role of leadership that the United States can play." Ambassador Lodhi said, "In recent years we in Pakistan have felt that the United States lacked balance in its approach to South Asia, and as a result we lost something in the relationship..."

Pressure mounts for resolution, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 18 April⁸⁰

... All of the foregoing will have been known to the Indians as it is to those in Pakistan that have a hand on the foreign affairs' levers, and subtle pressures are building on both sides for a resolution to the Kashmir issue. August is a little over three months away, and a 70th birthday. It is high time that Pakistan

⁷⁸ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1381921/diplomacy-stirs-kashmir/

⁷⁹ https://thefrontierpost.com/article/81152/pakistan-urges-us-help-defuse-tensions-india-over-kashmir

⁸⁰ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1386440/pressure-mounts-resolution/

and India gave their people something to celebrate jointly rather than separately... One of the factors producing pressure is the membership by both countries of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). The SCO is a powerful trading bloc of which India and Pakistan have a conditional membership. Their continued membership is dependent on both countries making a move towards a resolution in Kashmir. With Russia and China at the heart of the SCO and both having a close interest in matters Indo-Pak, the upcoming SCO summit in June in Astana, Kazakhstan, would be an opportunity to initiate contact at the highest level. India cannot stonewall the internationalisation of the Kashmir dispute indefinitely. An exchange of birthday gifts would be entirely appropriate.

Pakistan effectively highlighted Indian atrocities in IoK: Aziz, The Frontier Post, 21 April⁸¹

Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Sartaj Aziz on Thursday informed the Senate that the government is making continued and concerted efforts to highlight Indian brutalities in Occupied Kashmir at all international forums. Responding to a Calling Attention Notice by Senator Tahir Hussain Mashhadi, the Advisor said, the government has written to all forums including the United Nations, Organization of Islamic Countries, other countries and international organizations on human rights about India's using Kashmiris as human shield to snub their voice for right to self-determination. "We have briefed different countries and human rights organizations there through our missions as well as bilateral interactions to world leaders about continued violence in Indian Occupied Kashmir," he said in the House.

Losing Kashmir, Editorial, The Nation, 28 April⁸²

Indian repression of local minorities and Kashmiris goes hand in hand under the BJP. ... IHK CM Mehbooba Mufti rushed to Delhi on Monday to urge the federal government to "announce a dialogue and show reconciliatory gestures" – but New Delhi does not seem to want reconciliation with anyone, just quiet submission. Reports say PM Narendra Modi and Home Minister Rajnath Singh told her that they could not "offer a dialogue with separatists and other restive groups in the valley" while fierce violence and militant attacks continued. We have heard this line countless times before when it has been directed at Pakistan, and it looks like the BJP sees Kashmir as an external entity. The Kashmiris have no incentive to soften to New Delhi, and even international media outlets like BBC are suggesting that India may be losing Kashmir. ... Yet,

⁸¹ https://thefrontierpost.com/article/81575/pakistan-effectively-highlighted-indian-atrocities-iok-sartaj

⁸² http://nation.com.pk/editorials/28-Apr-2017/losing-kashmir

it (India) has lost the battle for hearts and minds in Kashmir, whose people have lost their life, rights and self-respect under Indian occupation.

RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA

Rise of illiberalism, Editorial, Daily Times, 02 April 83

The rise of Yogi Adityanath in India's most populous state, Uttar Pradesh, ought to be taken as a most serious warning signal about the direction that South Asia is headed in. It is important to note that this is about all of South Asia, not just UP or even India...Since the 1980s, a toxic mixture of conservative nationalism, religious fundamentalism and institutionalized bigotry has been brewing in India and Pakistan. The 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid by pro-Hindutva elements in India only accelerated this trend and provided impetus also to Islamist forces that had been let loose in Pakistan since the Afghan 'jihad'.

Nikki Haley bats for US role in India-Pakistan peace talks, New Delhi rejects offer, Voice of Vienna, 05 April⁸⁴

US ambassador to the UN Nikki Haley appeared to be signalling a shift in American position when she said the Donald Trump administration would like to "find its place" in efforts to de-escalate India-Pakistan tensions but the suggestion was rejected by New Delhi, which insisted on the bilateral resolution of issues....."It's absolutely right that this administration is concerned about the relationship between India and Pakistan and very much wants to see how we de-escalate any sort of conflict going forward," the Indian American envoy said in response to a question.

Pakistan India impasse, Yasir Masood, The Express Tribune, 5 April⁸⁵

... Rolling through turns and turmoils, now *it is a breathing reality to India* and to the rest of the world that Pakistan is a non-collapsible state, and thus cannot be failed, frailed or fractured by the external flirtations of the blackeyed states. ... India needs to stop the wild goose chase while holding hostile, historic sentiments against Pakistan for today's synchronised and moving relations. Lately, Islamabad has gone extra miles to call for repeated dialogues which are no less than an embarrassment now. ...

⁸³ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/02-Apr-17/rise-of-illiberalism

http://voiceofvienna.org/2017/04/05/diplomat-nikki-haley-bats-for-us%E2%80%89role-in-india-pakistan-peace-talks-new-delhi-rejects-offer/

⁸⁵ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1374393/pakistan-india-impasse/

Indian-occupied Kashmir — a bleeding thorn — remains unresolved which surely holds both atomic powers in a ticklish situation for decades. First things first, India must stop taking the mince out of Kashmiris, Pakistan did not start the recent uprising in Kashmir and cannot stop it either. ... Islamabad does not shy away from talking about terrorism with New Delhi, but compromise on eroding IoK and other core issues drag the current state at sixes and sevens. Pakistan has garnered untold lessons from its mistakes of Islamic extremism and buried the concept of 'strategic depth' to anchor peace in the region. Unfortunately, extremism and jingoism are frequently reflected in the Indian civil society, the media, military and political parties, etc. which are indeed undermining dangers for a secular India ahead. ... For peace to make inroads between Pakistan and India, back-channel diplomacy must be restored. Finally, the media, think tanks, and people-centric dialogues combined with reciprocal utilisation of prudence and political acumen can lead to a peaceful and welcome settlement of issues between Pakistan and India.

Pakistan blasts India over change in nuclear doctrine, Farooq Awan, Dailt Times, 07 April 86

Pakistan on Thursday warned that India's decision to change its nuclear arms usage policy was 'highly irresponsible and dangerous' and that it will not help the cause of promoting strategic restraint and stability in a nuclearised South Asia. "Pakistan has long maintained that the ambiguous no-first-use declaration is not verifiable and hence nothing more than an empty political statement," FO Spokesman Nafees Zakaria told a weekly press briefing...The spokesman said that such an ambiguous declaration cannot substitute for verifiable arms control and restraint measures. "In taking appropriate security measures, Pakistan has to consider capabilities and not intentions which can change anytime," the spokesman added. Recent reports suggested India may be considering revisiting its 'no-first-strike' policy, allowing its nuclear establishment to carry out a pre-emptive nuclear strike against Pakistan in the event of a war.

Extreme nuclear brinkmanship, Brig. Imran Malik, The Nation, 7 April⁸⁷

... Vipin Narang averred that there had been a perceptible paradigm shift in India's nuclear posture towards Pakistan; moving from their oft professed "No First Use" dictum to nuclear first strikes to "preempt imminent nuclear strikes by Pakistan". ... This paradigm shift will be interpreted in Pakistan as at best a strategic feint and at worst extreme nuclear brinkmanship. Either way, it

http://dailytimes.com.pk/islamabad/07-Apr-17/pakistan-blasts-india-over--change-in-nuclear-doctrine-

⁸⁷ http://nation.com.pk/columns/07-Apr-2017/extreme-nuclear-brinkmanship

destabilises the strategic and operational environments irreversibly forcing countermanding reactions from Pakistan. ... It will all boil down to a function of intelligence, appreciations, assessments, critical timings and in the final analysis to extreme brinkmanship, nerves and decisive leadership on both sides. This change in India's nuclear posture will cause both belligerents to prepare for war with even more sensitive and nervous hair trigger initiatives and responses. ...

India's nuclear strategy, Editorial, Daily Times, 10 April⁸⁸

....The speculation that India is considering a move from its no-first-use policy for nuclear weapons is most worrying...India has two nuclear-armed neighbours, both of whom it has fought wars against in the past. Taking an aggressive posture in times when these powers need to be onboard to fight the common enemy, terrorism, would be a poor choice. Moreover, such a move will not favour India's efforts for membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), for which New Delhi must allay Chinese concerns about its strategic and security posture....The suggestion from some hawkish quarters in India that a change in posture will deter countries supporting violent non-state actors is also ill-advised. This is, after all, a veiled reference to Pakistan and it can never achieve the stated aims. In fact, it could only lead to the opposite — since the Pakistani nuclear programme is aimed at India, and serves as an "existential deterrent" towards perceived aggression by its neighbour.

India cosies up to Bangladesh, Editorial, Daily Times, 11 April 89

Looking to offset China's increasing interest in India's backyard, Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been flexing his diplomatic muscles. This explains the recent announcement of US\$4.5 billion worth of concessional loans to Bangladesh on the visit of that country's prime minister's visit to New Delhi. The two sides signed a total of 22 agreements in major sectors, including civil nuclear energy....China has been the main supplier of defence equipment to Bangladesh for many years. With a special announcement of \$500 million for defence procurement from India, Modi will be looking to compete with China as a supplier of arms to Bangladesh. Although there still exist some unresolved issues between the two neighbours, including water sharing mechanisms from the Teesta River, ties between the two sides have been shaping up well since Modi came to power. In 2015, Modi signed a historic land border pact with Dhaka, removing a major irritant and infusing new warmth into the relations between the two countries, which share a 4,097-kilometre-long porous border. It is expected that Modi will adopt a similar approach — that is, extending his

⁸⁸ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/10-Apr-17/indias-nuclear-strategy

⁸⁹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/11-Apr-17/india-cosies-up-to-bangladesh

diplomatic clout — by ironing out similar issues with friendly neighbouring countries.

Reducing Pak-India tensions, Editorial, Dawn, 13 April⁹⁰

The fear is that the leaderships of the two countries are locking themselves in an action-reaction cycle that may eventually turn into open conflict. From there, ratcheting down tension and pulling back from the brink would be far more difficult. So now is the time for cooler heads to prevail on both sides....Perhaps a series of questions need to be asked of policymakers in both countries. What is the policy outcome that is being pursued by engaging in spy wars? Has a cost-benefit analysis been done, i.e. is the damage to the overall relationship worth narrower intelligence wars? And how do spy wars affect the wider internal security challenges that both countries face?...Meanwhile, the country still does not have a foreign minister and the defence minister is effectively irrelevant given that he has to contend with a major electricity crisis, the power sector being his principal portfolio.

D for Dhaka, Delhi and Demons, Yousaf Rafiq, Daily Times, 14 April 91

Of late Dhaka's been hand-in-glove with New Delhi on the same issue. And they don't even care to put a veneer of political correctness over it either. Nothing was more 'in your face' than when Modi went to Dhaka and waved '71 in the face of Pakistan for the whole world to see. Prior to this, India had rarely admitted such an active role in the breakup of Pakistan....But there's only so much they can do. For all their photo ops and aggressive rhetoric, their hatred can at best be symbolic. Pakistan has not been isolated no matter how hard Delhi and Dhaka tried. If anything, primarily because of CPEC and the new developing China-Russia-Pakistan alliance, Pakistan is emerging more balanced internationally. But hate is a difficult demon to get over, as the Bengalis continue to find out. Their government's initiative — of funding an anti-Pakistan video game — betrays the helplessness and frustration Dhaka continues to suffer from.

In Kashmir, real enemy is extremism, Nyla Ali Khan, Daily Times, 24 April 92

...In short, the disappointments that Kashmiris have had to face over the years shouldn't dilute democratic aspirations. And extremist ideology must, at all costs, be kept at bay.....Things look no better on Indian side either. No substantive measure has been taken by Indian governments following that of Atal Bihari Vajpayee to initiate a composite peace process with Pakistan. Efforts at the "Quiet Diplomacy" by one-time Indian Minister for Home Affairs, P. Chidambaram, remained intermittent and interspersed with

⁹⁰ https://www.dawn.com/news/1326540/reducing-pak-india-tensions

⁹¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/14-Apr-17/d-for-dhaka-delhi-and-demons

⁹² http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/24-Apr-17/in-kashmir-extremism-is-the-real-enemy

pugnacious responses by the Indian government to regional demands for greater autonomy. A resolution to the Kashmir imbroglio requires an unprecedented and strong political will from leaders, policy makers, and civil society members on both sides of the Line of Control. Alongside, we need to remember that democratisation is an evolutionary process and there are no instant solutions for it. And to further this process, it is important to respect the pluralistic regional, religious, cultural, and linguistic ethos of J&K....Towards this end, it is important to ensure accountability of state actors, including those elected by the people. This will bring transparency in the affairs of state institutions. It is equally important is to find ways for accountability of non-state actors as they too seek to climb their way to the echelons of power.

Sino-India tensions, K Kauravi Waqar and Umar Waqar, The Nation, 25 April⁹³

As reported by Economic Times, China has for the first time announced "standardised" official names for six places in Arunachal Pradesh, days after it lodged strong protests with India over the Dalai Lama's visit to the frontier state. The move was aimed at reaffirming China's claim over the state. China claims the state as 'South Tibet'. ... Indian frustration with CPEC is also one major factor affecting Sino-Indian ties and the Indian establishment is mulling to include seats of Pakistani Kashmir into Indian legislature, basically a move to taunt China and make CPEC controversial. ... Global Times states that putting the Dalai Lama into its toolbox against China is another trick played by New Delhi lately. New Delhi would be too ingenuous to believe that the region belongs to India simply because the Dalai Lama says so. It is time for India to do some serious thinking over why China announced the standardised names in South Tibet at this time. ...

South Asia's escalating nuclear strategy, Talat Masood, *The Express Tribune*, 26 April⁹⁴

... In the light of this ominous development, India's emerging nuclear doctrine being promoted by its leading strategists is both a provocative signal and political challenge for Pakistan's establishment. ... India, it seems, is developing nuclear posture trying to convince Pakistan that it cannot use the nuclear threat to prevent it from retaliating in the event of a terrorist attack on its soil by Pakistani militant groups. Pakistan conversely, while rejecting No First Use, is preparing to ensure that it retains second strike capability under all circumstances. ... Irrespective of the doctrine adopted by India it is clear that deteriorating relations between the nuclear-armed neighbors on issues of Kashmir and terrorism increase the risk of conflict and raises the possibility of deterrence failure. The irony is that whereas India and

⁹³ http://nation.com.pk/columns/25-Apr-2017/sino-indian-tensions

⁹⁴ https://tribune.com.pk/story/1393450/south-asias-escalating-nuclear-rivalry/

Pakistan modernise and beef up their nuclear inventories it further freezes the issue of Kashmir and prevents them from addressing terrorism. ...

India's 'suicidal' first-strike hype, Zafar Cheema, Daily Times, 27 April⁹⁵

The hype about India's preemptive first strike, nuclear, conventional or combined, against Pakistan's nuclear assets, just before it is 'expected' to use or threaten to use tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) is hardly surprising...It is however really astonishing to see Pakistan's response, notwithstanding the fact that any discussion on the employment of nuclear weapons by itself is a scary subject. Most Pakistani analysts have rightly pointed out that Pakistan did not trust India's no-first-use nuclear declaration credibility at the first place. The most recent reiteration came on 6 April 2017, from Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesperson who said, "Pakistan had long maintained that India's ambiguous no-first-use nuclear declaration was not verifiable and hence nothing more than an empty political statement". However, most analysts have remained short of clearly pointing out that a successful disarming, decapitating or preemptive counterforce strike against an adversary possessing 'credible' nuclear weapons capability is almost impossible....he dangerous strategic miscalculation is being repeated once again by the Indian policy circles projecting an obsolete strategic concept of counterforce preemptive first strike. The projection of preemptive first strike seems to be more politically motivated than a well-articulated military strategy, may be to satiate the aggressive intent of India's hawkish ruling elite.

Jindal's unannounced visit, talks with PM fuel speculation, Mansoor Malik, Dawn, 28 April⁹⁶

An unannounced meeting between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and a visiting Indian business tycoon at the hill resort town of Murree on Thursday triggered intense speculations in the country with several politicians and analysts suggesting it could be the precursor to a possible meeting between the Pakistani and Indian premiers in the near future....Sajjan Jindal, who is known for being close to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, also has a friendly relationship with Mr Sharif. Some seasoned analysts said that Mr Jindal's visit could be part of some backchannel contact to improve relations between the two countries...Informed sources point out that it's not possible for Mr Jindal to visit Pakistan without prior knowledge of the country's civilian and military intelligence services.

⁹⁵ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/27-Apr-17/indias-suicidal-first-strike-hype

https://www.dawn.com/news/1329707/jindals-unannounced-visit-talks-with-pm-fuel-speculation

KULBHUSHAN JADHAV

Pakistan military court sentences Indian spy Kulbhushan Jadhav to death, Dawn, 10 April⁹⁷

In a rare move, a military court on Monday handed Indian spy Kulbhushan Jadhav the death sentence after trial for involvement in espionage and sabotage activities in Karachi and Balochistan..."The spy was tried through Field General Court Martial (FGCM) under the Pakistan Army Act (PAA) and awarded the death sentence. Today Chief of Army Staff Gen Qamar Javed Bajwa confirmed his death sentence awarded by FGCM," the ISPR said...Experts view the military's announcement about Jadhav's trial and prosecution as an unprecedented move, viewing it as a strong message to India as well as other foreign intelligencies.

Spy on death row, Editorial, *The Nation*, 11 April⁹⁸

... This is a very strong message by Pakistan to India and the international community that it will not take Indian interference lightly (and Kulbhushan Jadhav was sentenced to death). There is no denying that this was the right decision but there will be repercussions. However, with PM Modi and the BJP spewing vitriol about Pakistan without provocation, and it becoming clear that Indian's claim of a 'No first strike' policy is a lie, there is not much worse that India can do. It is already killing Kashmiris with impunity (with 8 dead and hundreds more injured as Indian security personnel open fired on protestors on Monday), and it has already pitted Afghanistan against Pakistan, to the detriment of Afghan trade and social cohesion. ... It can be argued that the peace process between the countries will take a hit, but in reality there is no peace process. ... By all local statements of BJP stalwarts, India wants Pakistan to be destroyed. Why should Pakistan pull any punches, when it is constantly demonised and humiliated by its violent neighbour?

India sees death sentence as 'premediated murder', Daily Times, 11 April⁹⁹

...New Delhi claims there is no evidence against Jadhav, whom the Indian media have described as a former naval officer, calling the proceedings against him 'farcical'. *Pakistan says he was arrested in the southwestern province of Balochistan last year, but India alleges he was 'kidnapped' in Iran*. In a letter issued to Basit and later released to the media, the foreign ministry said India's government had repeatedly sought consular access to Jadhav which was not permitted. "If this sentence against an Indian citizen, awarded without

https://www.dawn.com/news/1326109/pakistan-military-court-sentences-indian-spy-kulbhushan-jadhav-to-death

⁹⁸ http://nation.com.pk/editorials/11-Apr-2017/spy-on-death-row

⁹⁹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/11-Apr-17/india-sees-death-sentence-as-premeditated-murder

observing the basic norms of law and justice, is carried out, the *government and people of India will regard it as a case of premeditated murder*," stated the letter.

Be ready for more acrimony from India, Imtiaz Gul, Daily Times, 11 April 100

......Will Jadhav be the ultimate circuit breaker or become part of a grand bargain to prevent the Indo-Pakistan relations from a complete break-down or even armed conflict?...Regardless of which way this case eventually settles down, the current moods in New Delhi and Islamabad deliver ample evidence that the hard-talk accompanied by bitter acrimony is likely to continue for quite some time. India has questioned Jadhav's conviction quoting dubious circumstances....New Delhi will certainly ratchet up pressure to prevent any harm to Jadhav. It has a voice in the world that is heard - even if it may be on wrong side of the fence. Through strategic communication offensive, New Delhi will not only bring pressure upon Pakistan but also sully its image across the globe in whatever way it can...Should Pakistan should be mindful of international pressure at all if it has dealt with a foreign spy under the Army Act for destabilizing the country?...Countering the Indian communication's offensive will represent a formidable challenge for a country, which is good in reaction but tardy in proactive thinking. We are in for another round of vicious acrimony with India.

Sentencing a spy, Editorial, Daily Times, 12 April¹⁰¹

The award of death sentence by a military court and its subsequent approval by the Chief of Army Staff to Kulbhushan Jadhav, the alleged Indian spy, has caused uproar in India while there is a mixed response to the news in Pakistan. Many Pakistanis are hailing the decision while a few are not in favour of executing a foreign spy unless concrete evidence is produced. After the announcement of the verdict, Indian authorities have responded angrily and strong backlash is expected sooner or later..... But what cannot be denied is the fact that the Pakistani forces have definitely captured an Indian spy operating inside the country. That an Indian spy is found in Pakistan is certainly no shocker — if anything it is a reminder that the deadly proxy wars these two neighbours like to engage in are likely to continue for the foreseeable future...

No leniency for those threating stability, Ijaz Kakakhel, Daily Times, 12 April¹⁰²

Refuting Indian claims that the sentence was a 'premeditated murder', Defence Minister Khawaja Asif told Senate that the law of the land was applied and the trial in question went on for three months. He said that the actions of the Indian

¹⁰⁰ http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/11-Apr-17/be-ready-for-more-acrimony-from-india

¹⁰¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/12-Apr-17/sentencing-a-spy

 $^{^{102}}$ http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/12-Apr-17/no-leniency-for-those-threatening-our-stability

forces in Occupied Kashmir amounted to 'premeditated murder'. "It was premeditated murder in Gujarat. It was premeditated murder when Samjhota Express was attacked," he said, adding that Pakistan has time and again tried to reconcile differences with India but New Delhi has failed to reciprocate...He said, "Pakistan will not make any concessions for elements working against the security and the stability of the country "whether they're operating from inside Pakistan or from outside". "We have done absolutely nothing that can be called against the rules and regulations but there are premeditated murders going on even today in Kashmir," said the minister.

Jadhav's fluid fate, Editorial, The Nation, 13 April¹⁰³

... Rejecting the Indian claims that Jadhav's execution would be "pre-meditated murder", the Defence Minister Khawaja Mohammad Asif has pointed out how every legal protection was offered and protocol followed. ... Another wrinkle in the fold here is the speech made by the Prime Minister at Pakistan Air Force (PAF) Risalpur campus, where he remarked "cooperation rather than conflict and shared prosperity instead of suspicion are the hallmark[s] of our policy." These peaceful overtures stand in stark contrast over the rest of the conversation surrounding the Indian spy, but taking in conjunction with his following comments on the need for a political solution for Kashmir one could perhaps glean a purpose behind such cooperation minded stances. For Pakistan, there is a bigger game at play here; countering Indian subversive activities in Karachi and Balochistan is surely a priority, but forcing India to the negotiating table over Kashmir is one too. ... All India needs to do is to tone down the hawkish stances and come to the table willing to talk Kashmir.

The Jhadav conundrum, Zeeshan Salahuddin, Daily Times, 14 April¹⁰⁴

Pakistan has an interesting conundrum to address.....If Jhadav is hanged, the relations with India take a sharp nosedive with little chance of short-term recovery. The fact that he was found on Pakistani soil, working against Pakistani interests will be summarily and emphatically drowned by the hegemonic Indian media machine, both domestically in India and internationally. In essence, a potential victory for Pakistan will be turned into Pakistan's fault for aggravating the precarious situation. However, if he is given clemency, Pakistan can use his continued existence to build a narrative for Indian interventionism in the country. This is an element that has been discussed extensively by media pundits, diplomats and civil-military leaders, but has never been proven categorically in the public sphere. Jhadav, by virtue of his complicity and criminal conviction, can be the long-awaited rallying cry

¹⁰³ http://nation.com.pk/editorials/13-Apr-2017/jadhav-s-fluid-fate

¹⁰⁴ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/14-Apr-17/the-jhadav-conundrum

Pakistan needs to turn the world's attention towards India's involvement in destabilising Pakistan.

Why Jadhav must be kept alive, Marvi Sirmed, Daily Times, 16 April¹⁰⁵

...If we want us to be taken seriously, the government must not put these questions under the carpet. Killing Pakistanis is a serious offence that too by someone from a neighbouring state that doesn't get off its high moral horse so easily and takes sadistic pleasure in painting Pakistan as a sponsor of terrorism. If indeed this Kulbhushan story is genuine, it is India that is sponsoring terrorism in Pakistan. In order to prove it genuine, we'll have to iron out all the creases in the story..... It is as if by keeping alive the Jadhav issue - Pakistan wanted to highlight India's hand in enflaming Pakistan's terror landscape, we should have put our story in a convincing way for the world to believe us - a possibility made quite difficult because of our actions in the last two decades. If by using Jadhav's arrest we want a barter of prisoners, we would lose all the international credibility that we might win through flaunting Indian terror plans in Pakistan.

Gangster turned spy? Editorial, *Dawn*, 14 April¹⁰⁶

..how did a well-known gangster from Karachi's Lyari area make the transition to espionage for a foreign state? And second, given the selective leaks to the media, what does the suggestion of his acting on behalf of Iran say about the state of relations with a friendly neighbour? Both questions are important because they hint at the state's evolving approach to the citizenry and a foreign policy realignment that can have generational consequences for Pakistan..... Following the decision to become a member of the Saudi-led military alliance against terrorism, there has been confusion about the status of our ties with Iran. Iran is not India; it is a friendly country with which ties should be managed carefully.

Jadhav sentence: Indo-Pak ties in Spotlight, JK Wali, Daily Times, 19 April¹⁰⁷

...While Jadhav's death sentence may not necessarily translate into execution, what makes the verdict particularly damaging is its timing. With Pakistan set to head to polls in around 12 months, the PML-N would not want to dent its evident popularity by appearing too soft on India....And as anti-India rhetoric would be upped in Islamabad in the lead up to the elections, we can expect New Delhi to reciprocate as India holds its elections the following year (2019) and has major state elections before that. This effectively means that any progressive development on India-Pakistan ties isn't possible till at least 2020,

 $^{^{105}\} http://daily times.com.pk/opinion/16-Apr-17/why-jadhav-must-be-kept-alive$

¹⁰⁶ https://www.dawn.com/news/1326792/gangster-turned-spy

¹⁰⁷ http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/19-Apr-17/jadhav-sentence-indo-pak-ties-in-spotlight

despite the parallel backchannel maneuvering that the states would be engaged in...

Jadhav's appeal, Ahmer Bilal Soofi, Dawn, 23 April¹⁰⁸

...Thus, the federal government while examining a request by Jadhav under Section 83 CPC will need to come to a conclusion about whether Jadhav's activities are to be viewed as an act of waging a covert war on the part of the Indian state. For that purpose, it will be guided by the language of sections 121, 121-A and 122 of the Pakistan Penal Code that sum up the concept of waging war, or its attempt or its conspiracy within the territories of Pakistan. An identical provision in the Indian Penal Code has been widely interpreted by several reported cases of the Indian Supreme Court....As mentioned here, the state of India may also consider filing the case itself on behalf of Jadhav before the Pakistani courts under Section 84 of the CPC, since its foreign minister has conclusively owned Jadhav as the "son of India" in her address before India's lower house, the Lok Sabha.

No access to Jadhav, Editorial, The Nation, 28 April¹⁰⁹

... (India has denied access to Kulbhushan Jadhav) Jadhav's conviction has sent ripples of outrage in India, even when it is an open and shut case of a foreign spy being caught. ... Pakistan held its tongue in the case of Ajmal Kasab because his terrorist activities within India were proven. Kasab was not sponsored by the state and was not a spy but a criminal. In comparison, Jadhav's case puts India in much deeper water. The Indian state is complicit. Their lack of patience and cooperation will only be counter-productive for them. The furore proves that Pakistan's has a case. ... India can forget about consular access to Jadhav; instead it should take the conviction of their agent as a lesson and cease any attempts to threaten Pakistan's security, or risk losing face, and the lives of its secret agents.

FROM URDU & ELECTRONIC MEDIA

URDU MEDIA

President Trump should avert Indo-Pak nuclear war, Mohammad Aslam Khan, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 6¹¹⁰

...Max Fischer recently wrote that India was considering a pre-emptive strike to eliminate Pakistan's nuclear arsenal. Any such act would affect the nuclear balance in the region. Pakistan will have to evolve a new defence policy. The

¹⁰⁸ https://www.dawn.com/news/1328628/jadhavs-appeal

¹⁰⁹ http://nation.com.pk/editorials/28-Apr-2017/no-access-to-Jadhav

¹¹⁰http://www.nawaiwagt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-06/page-14/detail-7

issue is so serious that President Trump has himself offered to mediate between India and Pakistan....

Nuclear war between India and Pakistan is possible because of India's "water aggression" (aabi jarahiyat) against Pakistan, not because of the Kashmir issue or terrorism, as is generally believed. But this had not yet been realised by the US. With regard to the extremist Modi's (inteha Pasand Modi) speech on 15 March 2017 in Punjab, this writer had argued that Modi was preparing for "water aggression". ... Nuclear war can break out because of misunderstanding or miscalculation, of which the US and Russia need to take a serious note. As far as Donald Trump's offer for arbitration on Kashmir is concerned, he should use his diplomatic skills to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Bangladesh again in Indian lap, Editorial, Daily Ausaf, April 10111

In our opinion leadership of small and weak countries, and especially that of Bangladesh, in the region is kowtowing to India. It was India that had bullied Bangladesh and other countries not to participate in the last SARCC conference that was going to be held in Pakistan. India cannot gain prominence by adopting these tactics in the region, despite the support and approval from the USA and Israel. Every country of the region would agree that India has jeopardized the security of the region. If it continues increase the influence of USA and Israel in the region, the day will come when India will become a colony of Israel and USA.

Terrorism of arrogant Brahmins of South Asia,, Zahoor Ahmad Azhar, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 13¹¹²

... Muslims have ruled India for a long time. The so-called high caste Hindus are from the Aryan race but the arrogant Brahmin has been acting as their devta. The Brahmins have made them untouchable (achoot) and have made their life worse than that of animals. Despite their thousand years' rule, Muslims could not establish an egalitarian society in India. This was one of the reasons why the they could not form a majority, for which they continue to pay a price in terms of terrorism and suffering aggression from the Brahmins.

The arrogant Brahmin is ready to become the sole super power in South Asia. ... The Brahmin is always thinking about how to eliminate non-Hindu religions or reduce populations practicing these faiths to the level of untouchables to make their services available for maintaining the Brahminic order. The Brahman wants to achieve all this by coercion and through

¹¹¹http://epaper.dailyausaf.com/popup.php?newssrc=issues/2017-04-10/11600/p104.gif

¹¹²http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-13/page-14/detail-8

terrorism. The rise of Modi and Yogi in Indian politics provides them with an opportunity to realise this goal. ... To counter the agenda of the arrogant Brahmin, the small countries of South Asia should be brought together and presented with the message of brotherhood and equality as per the ideals of Islam. ... Otherwise, the region is going to be a victim of terror perpetrated by the arrogant Brahmin.

India-Pakistan tension; US should not wait for something to happen, Khalid Baig, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 13¹¹³

... India's Kashmir policy, and resultant tension in India-Pakistan relations, has got America worried. ... It is in this regard that Nikki Haley, while expressing the American concerns over rising tension between the two countries, said that "America will not wait for something to happen" (read "likely" break out of a war with possible use of nuclear weapons). ...

Pakistan has welcomed the statement of Nikki Haley and said that it wants peace with India. It wants to resolve all issues with India through dialogue.

Is India ready for that? It has already denied any external role and said that it has not changed its position vis-à-vis Pakistan. ... Indian NSA Ajit Doval has himself accepted that Pak-Taliban is an asset for India. He has been threatening Pakistan that if there would be one more incident like Mumbai 2008 in India, Balochistan will not remain part of Pakistan. The Indian prime minister has also been issuing similar threats in his public meetings. It indicates that Indian conspiracies against Pakistan are at their best at the moment.... It is only Pakistan's success in its war against terrorism that has drawn the attention of US towards Pakistan and South Asia. However, India has so far failed to contain terror and it can open a new front which can lead to nuclear war in South Asia. This is the only cause of concern for the US.

It is state terrorism in Kashmir, G. Kiyani, Daily Ausaf, April 20114

Situation in Kashmir today is grimmer than it was in 1990. Indian forces are engaging in mass killing of unarmed and innocent peoples. ... Despite that, the People of Kashmir have surprised the Indian government by boycotting the byelections in the Srinagar constituency. There were only 2% or 5% voting in major areas. Indians are avenging themselves by killing innocent Kashmiris since last 30 years. ...

India on the verge of further division, Editoral, Jasarat, April 24115

¹¹³ http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-13/page-15/detail-5

¹¹⁴http://epaper.dailyausaf.com/popup.php?newssrc=issues/2017-04-20/12528/p1008.gif

¹¹⁵ http://epaperlahore.jasarat.org/2017/04/24/lahore/co-401

Everything has a limit but there is no limit to extremism. The type of extremism India is witnessing today, will lead to further division of India. The main reason behind the division of India has been the extremist attitude of the Hindus. And the recent example of all this is the attack on shops in Mumbai selling Pakistani made cloths where the police acted as mute spectators.

The spokesperson of Pakistani government issued a ritual statement saying that Indian attitude was condemnable and in order to ensure better relationship between the two countries, Kashmir issue must be solved. But will it end the Indian extremism? *Since Modi has taken the reins of power, terrorism has increased manyfold.* If Pakistani rulers have some dignity in their own eyes, then they should stop accepting India-made products.

New conspiracy by America and India, Editorial, Ummat, April 25116

... American journal Newsweek has reported, by referring to some of its reliable sources, that Ayman al-Zawahiri is in Pakistan and the government of Pakistan is aware of that. It has speculated further that Al-Zawahiri is in Karachi and is being given full protection. This story was picked up by Indian newspaper Hindustan Times which presented it in a distorted form. It claimed not only that Al-Zawahiri is in Pakistan since 2001 but also that the ISI had been protecting him all those years. ...

Adopting a "carrot and stick policy" against Pakistan, America sometimes claims Pakistan to be its friend and front line partner in "war on terror"; however, many a time, it has also expressed its utter dislike for Pakistan and threatened to act against it. The new Trump administration has now decided to use its media to implement its anti-Pakistan agenda. It has given this responsibility to Lisa Curtis. The Newsweek report quoted above is part of this policy. In the past too, attempts were made to bring ISI under the control of the civilian government. ... Lisa Curtis and the traitor Husain Haqqani had coauthored an article asking America to stop considering Pakistan an ally. They argued that Pakistan had been playing a double game and the US had given it enough time to correct its behavior; that Pakistan kept supporting terror groups which included anti-India groups as well. These allegations against the ISI by US and India are a conspiracy to weaken it. ISI is the only institution which is confronting the anti-Pakistan policies of these two countries.

RAW in touch with Daesh, Khalid Baig, Nawa-i-Waqt, April 27117

... Pakistan has no foreign ministry and the advisor to the prime minister is an 88-year old commerce graduate. ... These internal weaknesses of ours are exploited to the full by our arch rival, India. Under the guidance of its astute

¹¹⁶http://ummat.net/2017/04/25/news.php?p=idr1.gif

¹¹⁷http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-27/page-15/detail-6

foreign minister Shushma Swaraj, India has created a narrative, accusing Pakistan of sponsoring terrorism in the neighbouring countries.many attacks have taken place in Pakistan in recent years. War continues as a new force of Daesh created by India is emerging. Russia has distanced itself from India on this issue that the Indian secret agency RAW and NDS are busy in supporting Daesh in Afghanistan, in which they are supported by the CIA. ... It is important for Pakistan to take note of the fact that in the bomb dropped in Nangarhar by the US, many Indians were killed. Were these Indians were part of Daesh? If there were not, then what were they doing in Nangarhar? Only India can answer these questions. ... It is surprising that there has been no response so far from the Pakistani foreign ministry on this. ... Why is the foreign ministry silent!

93% Kashmiris decide to separate from India, G. Nabi Bhat, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 13¹¹⁸

In the by-poll in Srinagar, mere 7 per cent turnout was a slap on the faces of Mehbooba Mufti, Farooq Abdullah and Omar Abdullah. ... *The non-voting 93 per cent of the Kashmiris have given the freedom movement such a strong push that it would go on for years.* It is the blood of martyrs that is making the tale of Kashmiri freedom movement so bright. ...

The Sikhs, the Jats and the Dalits of India are protesting now in whole of India. Never was a single bullet fired on them, despite the fact that they had damaged property worth billions of dollars. In contrast, houses of Kashmiris are burnt and bombed. This shows that Kashmiris are not being treated as Indian citizens. ... In the by-poll, the Hurriyat had just ritually asked for boycotting the elections, and an overwhelming 93 per cent obeyed the Hurriyat call. If the international community analyses the situation fairly, then it is the plebiscite which can resolve the issue! This boycott reaffirms their will (93 per cent of Kashmiris) that they would like to free themselves from the Indian forceful occupation.

New wave of protest against *inteha pasand Modi sarkar* in Kashmir and India, Editorial, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 26¹¹⁹

Students in "occupied" Kashmir protested in Lal Chowk against the Indian army and the police for using force against the students in Pulwama Degree College. It appears that the freedom movement has turned into people's resistance movement. People from every walk of life participate in them. They demand separation from India. ... Apart from Kashmir, situation is tense in

¹¹⁸http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-13/page-15/detail-9

¹¹⁹http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-26/page-14/detail-2

Chhattisgarh, Assam and Punjab. The killing of 27 soldiers by Maoists is not an ordinary incident.

Kulbhushan's execution should not be delayed, Editorial, *Daily Ausaf*, April 11¹²⁰

... At a time when some pro-India groups are desperate to establish good relations with India, this news of Kulbhushan's death sentence has come like a "thunder" for them. After the announcement of the punishment, the law enforcement agencies should play their role and be prepared for countering any retaliatory response from destructive forces and terrorists. ... The reality is that every day India takes one step or other to embarrass pro-India forces in Pakistan. India has crossed the red line and interfered massively in Balochistan. ...

It is a bitter truth that Pakistan could not raise the issue as it should have, at the international level. ... (Now) it's necessary that the punishment must be carried out as soon as possible.

Forces opposed to military-alliance by Saudi-Arabia, Muhyuddin Bin Ahmeddin, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 4¹²¹

Since the government has given clearance to General (R) Raheel Sharif for heading the Islamic Military Alliance for Fighting Terrorism (IMAFT), serious doubts are being expressed about the whole idea. One aspect of this is the jealousy, hatred and opposition against Saudi Arabia in certain sections in Pakistan. In newspapers and on TV programmes various commentators are criticizing this idea. A pro-Iran group belonging to a specific community has participated actively in it.

The use of MOAB to further weaken Pakistan border..., Editorial, Nawa-i-Waqt, April 15¹²²

... Pakistan has apprehensions that after the use of MOAB in Nangarhar, there are chances of the poisonous gas/chemicals (released because of the blast) entering into Pakistan. It is also highly likely that members of Daesh and other such terror-groups would enter Pakistan to save their lives. This would create a security threat for Pakistan. America has, thus, made Pakistan more insecure. Now India would feel emboldened. If America has used the bomb to weaken the border security of Pakistan, then there is no difference between America and India. This step of the US can push the region towards a nuclear war.

¹²⁰ http://epaper.dailyausaf.com/popup.php?newssrc=issues/2017-04-11/11672/p1001.gif

¹²¹ http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-04/page-15/detail-4

¹²²http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-15/page-14/detail-0

South Afghanistan new centre of Taliban activities, Report, Mohammad Qasim and Ahmed Najeeb Zaede, *Ummat*, April 23¹²³

Afghan Taliban has turned Southern Afghanistan the main centre for its activities. The Maazar-e-Sharif attack has surprised the Afghan government. In this attack, 10 Taliban militants engaged 12,000 Afghan soldiers for six hours. ... There are chances of more such attacks in South Afghanistan. According to one source, the attackers had support of four Afghan soldiers present in the military base. ... Taliban has said that the attack was a just a prelude to bigger attacksin future.

For ending terrorism, implementation is more important than strategy, Editorial, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, April 7¹²⁴

The security forces need to take extra measures. The terror attacks during the last two and half months were possible because there have been severe security lapses. During the course of the operation "Radd-ul-Fasaad", the security forces have come to know more about the terror networks and also about the movements of the terrorists. Still terrorists are able to strike! ... The terrorist who blew himself at the Bedian Road (on 5 April) had carried out recce of the area for many days. The security forces were not aware of it. ... Our security forces need to be united against the terrorists. Otherwise terrorist would feel emboldened. The security of the country is the responsibility of the security forces.

ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Muqabala, Date 10/04/2017, Zem TV

In the Programme "Muqabal" Sarwat Valim discussed the death sentence granted to Kulbhushan Jadhav by Pakistan, with her two journalist guests Rauf Klasra and Aamir Mateen. One important aspect they discuss is, 'why the death sentence at this particular juncture of time'? Rauf Klasra explained that on many occasions, India took a defensive posture and warned of consequences if Pakistan did not stop importing terrorism back to its soil. Mr. Klasra explains that the decision to hang the alleged spy is a cumulative effect of the pressure being built on Pakistan, especially by India from a long period of time. He pointed out that CEPC had imparted confidence to Pakistan and it was in a position today to deter other countries, especially India; so it took a strong step by announcing the sentence. The other short term motive of the decision could

¹²³http://ummat.net/2017/04/23/news.php?p=story5.gif

¹²⁴http://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/Lahore/2017-04-07/page-14/detail-4

be to stand up to the increasing anti-Pakistan stance by India and Bangladesh in view of recent visit of Sheikh Hasina to India and their increasing closeness.

Mr. Mateen intervened and highlighted that one of the Lt. Col. of Pakistan was missing and there was a fear that he might have been tracked and kidnapped from the Indian border in Nepal. He saide, we always pointed out that India might take extreme steps in a tit for tat response to Kulbhushan episode and this kidnap might be India's covert move. He added that Pakistan was now on the right track, fighting terrorism and talking about national action plan but at the same time *India was going backwards taking stands on non-issues like beef ban and cow politics*.

For details, see: http://www.zemtv.com/2017/04/10/muqabil-10th-april-2017/

DawnNews Date 27 April 2017

The Pakistani Army on Wednesday released the confessional statement of Liaquat Ali, infamously known as Ehsanullah Ehsan, a former spokesperson of the Jamaat-ul-Ahrar (JuA) and Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). The video brought forth some startling revelations, including the claim that the TTP and JuA have been coordinating with Indian and Afghan security agencies to move freely in Afghanistan and have been guided by the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's apex spy agency, in infiltrating into Pakistan. Ehsan, who seemed disgruntled by what he termed the self-serving agenda of senior leaders of the TTP and JuA, also said that these organisations have twisted Islam to suit their own ends and are actively looking to recruit young men and women through propaganda and false interpretations of Islam spread through social media.

For details of the video see: https://www.dawn.com/news/1329364/former-ttp-jua-spox-claims-terrorist-organisations-being-used-by-india-afghanistan

STATISTICS

BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES

(Select incidents culled out from the Pakistan media)

Place	Date	Description	Killed	Injured
Lahore				
Bedian ¹²⁵	05/04/2017	4 killed, 18 injured in mysterious Lahore blast.	4	18

¹²⁵ https://www.dawn.com/news/1325024/4-killed-18-injured-in-mysterious-lahore-blast

Dera Ghazi Khan ¹²⁶	10/04/17	Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad: 5 'terrorists' killed in DG Khan. 10 'terrorists' behind The Mall blast gunned down	6	0			
Manawan ¹²⁷	09/04/17	Terrorist' killed, wife held in Lahore encounter	10	0			
Factory area ¹²⁸	16/04/17		1	0			
Balochistan							
Quetta ¹²⁹	24/04/17	Turbat bombing kills four FC officials	4	3			
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa							
Peshawar ¹³⁰	07/04/2017	Van carrying census team hits landmine; 15 killed	15	9			
Peshawar ¹³¹	28/04/2017	US drone kills seven in North Waziristan	7	0			
Peshawar ¹³²	29/04/2017						

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 $^{^{126}} http://daily times.com.pk/pakistan/10-Apr-17/operation-radd-ul-fasaad-5-terrorists-killed-in-dg-khan\\$

¹²⁷http://dailytimes.com.pk/punjab/09-Apr-17/10-terrorists-behind-the-mall-blast-gunned-down

¹²⁸ https://www.dawn.com/news/1327252/terrorist-killed-wife-held-in-lahore-encounter

¹²⁹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/balochistan/24-Apr-17/turbat-bombing-kills-four-fc-officials

 $^{^{130} \}quad http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/26-Apr-17/van-carrying-census-team-hits-landmine-15-killedS$

¹³¹ http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/28-Apr-17/us-drone-kills-seven-in-north-waziristan

http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/29-Apr-17/senior-afghan-taliban-leader-shot-dead-in-peshawar

	Senior Afghan Taliban	2	0
	leader shot dead in		
	Peshawar		