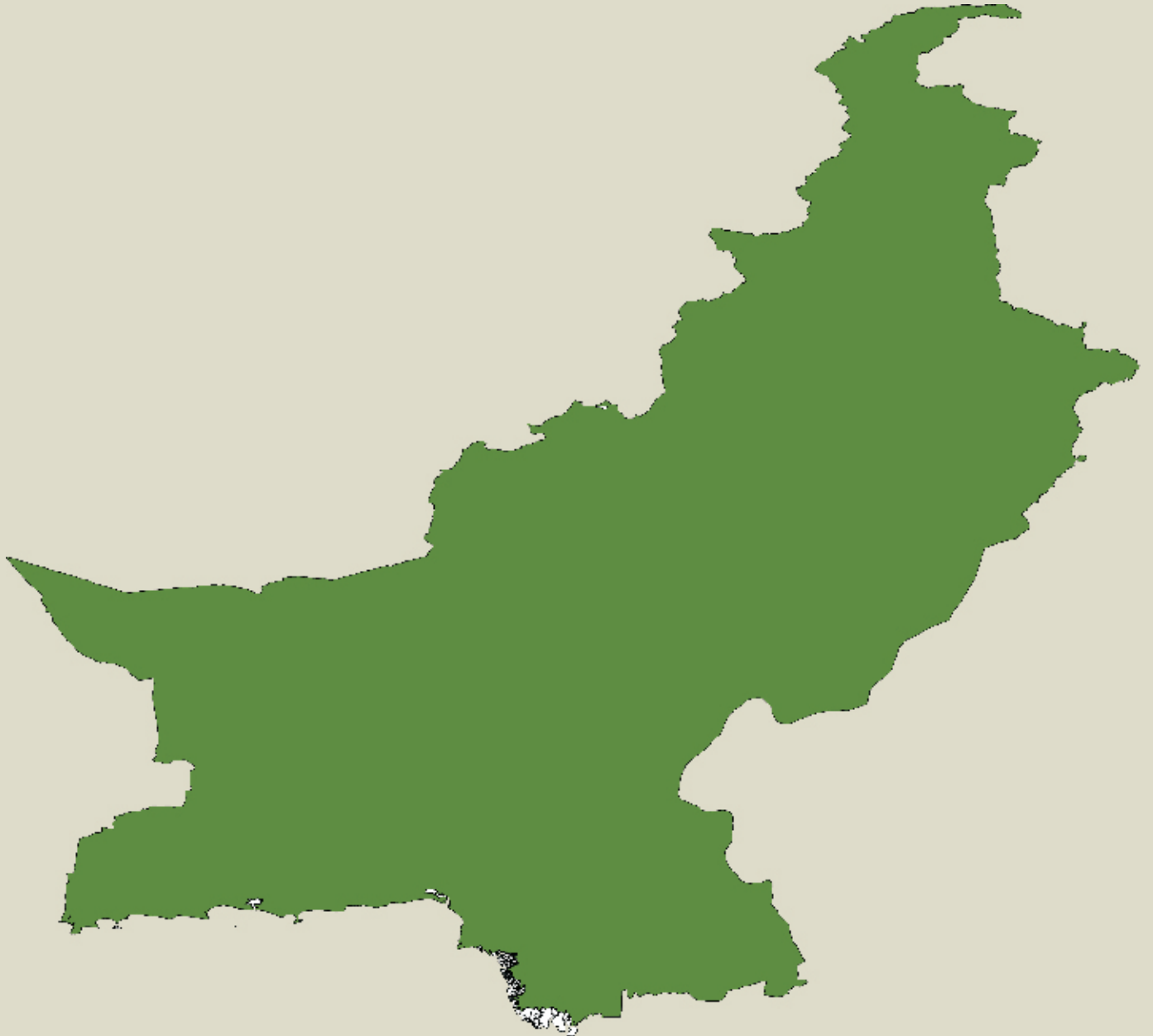


June 2018

PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST

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



Prepared by
Dr. Zainab Akhter
Nazir Ahmad Mir
Dr. Mohammad Eisa
Dr. Ashok Behuria

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PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST, June 2018

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Editorial

The UN Report on the “Situation of Human Rights in Kashmir” released towards the middle of this month made headlines in almost all the print and vernacular media that unanimously indicated the report as an opportunity for Pakistan to take the higher moral ground over India. It was quick to point fingers towards India, trying to steer the focus towards the flawed Indian polices in the Indian side of the Kashmir. Pakistan choose to discard the reference of human rights in its northern areas, including Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (PoK) and Gilgit Baltistan. Instead in a statement, the Foreign Office cautioned underling that “references to human rights concerns in AJK and Gilgit-Baltistan (GB) should in no way be construed to create a false equivalence with the gross and systematic human rights violations in Indian-occupied Kashmir.” Commenting on the report it further added, ““This proposal is consistent with Pakistan’s several calls to this effect since 2016, even as India has continued to ignore legitimate demands for probe into gross and systematic violations, including pellet guns, excessive use of force, arbitrary arrest and detentions as well as continued sexual violence as part of overall impunity enjoyed by Indian security forces”. The media referred to the issues in PoK and GB as structural in nature and emphasized that it can in no way be compared to the “gross human rights violation in the Indian occupied Kashmir”. Further the media mostly vernacular bashed India for readily rejecting the report and termed it a propaganda by the Indian government to divert the attention away from the human rights issues in Kashmir addressed in the report.

The Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) faced a major setback over the distribution of tickets to the so called “electables” thus ignoring its own party workers. The PTI’s dissidents from all the province threatened to context elections as independent candidates if the leadership failed to revise its decision over the ticket distribution for the upcoming general elections. Some of the workers also protested outside Imran Khan’s Bani Gala house and registered their dismay over the party’s preference of candidates. The disgruntled workers also warned to launch a campaign against the PTI candidates in the respective constituencies and form a bloc within the PTI to contest the upcoming elections from each constituency if the matters are not resolved well in time. This episode has brought the internal loopholes of the party in the eyes of the public and can change the image of the party towards the run of the elections.

Zainab Akhter

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

PTI's uphill road to power, Moonis Ahmar, Daily Times, 01 June¹

One major grey area for Imran Khan and his PTI is the lack of committed and dedicated leaders. *A large number of turncoats have managed to jump on the PTI bandwagon. Such people are not reliable, and this prompted the departure of one of the oldest and most diehard PTI workers and leaders Fouzia Kasuri.* That it has deviated from its path by embracing corrupt and opportunist people has disillusioned many of PTI's former supporters. Major contradictions in what Imran Khan says and does also tend to reflect another grey area. Another major shortcoming for PTI is the failure of Imran Khan to train his party workers, many of whom lack discipline and ethical values. The use of abusive language against political opponents is common in the PTI's ranks, particularly the incident of slapping a federal minister by a PTI leader in a live talk show of a TV channel cannot be ignored. *Imran Khan and PTI should have used their popularity to train their workers to follow proper work ethics. They should show respect for the law, be tolerant and civilized and should appear to be focused on developing civic sense, respect for women and minority communities. Unfortunately, the workers and most of the leaders of PTI lack political maturity and don't have a sensible approach to many critical issues.* If this does not change, then what will be the difference between PTI and other political parties, parties that have a feudal mindset and who run by sycophants and corrupt opportunists?

The PML-N show, Dr Niaz Murtaza, Dawn, 05 June²

The PML-N did put in much effort into CPEC to create a major opportunity. But opportunities must be converted into reality via sound policies. So, CPEC must create growth and decent jobs, generate tax and export revenues and reduce poverty and inequity. Growth has gone up a bit. Still, it's unclear if PML-N policies will ensure the rest. Meanwhile, its neglect of the existing economy caused fiscal and external deficits. *Uncharacteristically, it produced legislation this time, e.g., Fata and election reforms and many pro-women's bills. It will take years, though, for the common people to benefit from them given a lack of police, bureaucratic and judicial reforms to implement the laws.* One can still ask whether it is realistic politically to expect those reforms when it faces so little electoral pressure for them. So Nawaz's rallying call since his fall is that it doesn't let PML-N work freely; he will thus fight it and create more space for civilians so that project manager Shahbaz can then come

¹<https://dailytimes.com.pk/247164/ptis-uphill-road-to-power/>

² <https://www.dawn.com/news/1412124/the-pml-n-show>

in and do more projects easily. So sans the risk-taking and often rash Nawaz, Shahbaz can't win polls and he knows it. Crowds don't erupt into frenzied dances when politicians talk about project work but when they promise to slay Goliaths for them.

Military on polls, Editorial, Dawn, 06 June³

While it is important that the constitutional separation of powers be formally adhered to, the continuing public silence of the military leadership at a time when political gossip and rumour suggest anti-democratic forces are active may have been more damaging. Yet, the recent media briefing by DG ISPR Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor was not without controversy. Revealing that the military is tracking social media for external interference and alleged domestic mischief-making to undermine the state's national security priorities, the DG ISPR produced a web of 'anti-state' activity online. In Pakistan, the problems are magnified because of a difficult regional security environment, an underdeveloped state and socioeconomic, political and religious fault lines. Far better, then, that a multifaceted problem be addressed by an inclusive institution such as parliament. In August, the country will have a new parliament. *The military's concerns should be conveyed to the next elected government and a cross-institutional approach developed to counter anti-state elements. At the same time, freedom of speech and association should be protected as one of the highest priorities of the next government.*

The Chinese conundrum, Suleman Khanzada, Daily Times, 06 June⁴

The Chinese seem to be a godsend for Pakistan. At a time when Pakistan is increasingly short on friends, China backs us like a brother, protects us like a mother, and funds us like a father. All of which begs the question: why? The short answer is self-interest. *Pakistan is one of the most vulnerable nations of China's 'debtbook diplomacy.'* Such fears have led some analysts to call China the next East India Trading Company, which conquered India essentially through clever contracts. There is some merit in this otherwise oversimplified comparison, but the real question we need to ask is, are Pakistanis like their predecessors who naively sold their entire nation to a foreign power centuries ago? Nonetheless, if there is any nation Pakistan should be in bed with its China. They aren't threatened by our nuclear bomb because they very well know it's for someone else. They have no interest in promoting any religious ideology inside Pakistan because they have none. They have no interest in ruling Pakistan, because it's uncharacteristic of their foreign policy thus far. China is its neighbor and the next global superpower.

³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1412315/military-on-polls>

⁴ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/249483/the-chinese-conundrum/>

They are also more than capable of assisting Pakistan in solving some of its most pressing problems such as the lack of dams, energy shortages, and obsolete infrastructure. *As it stands, we are unaware of how well Chinese loans are being utilized or what the payback strategy is. Whether we're being colonized, exploited, or saved all depends on the terms of our agreements.*

Forty years of Mohajir nationalism, Moonis Ahmar, Daily Times, 08 June⁵

In view of all of this, the slogan of a new 'southern Sindh' province composed of Karachi's urban areas and Hyderabad has gained ground. The perception among the Urdu speaking population of Sindh that their unresolved issues ranging from discrimination in jobs under the quota system, lack of civic amenities, severe water and electricity crises can only be resolved if a new province composed of urban areas is created is a stark reality. Sindh's Urdu speaking population cannot coexist with rural dominated feudal and Wadera culture which happens to be in a commanding position since 1972. The feeling among Urdu speaking population in Karachi that they have lost their majority in the city because of the influx of internal migrants from upcountry and elsewhere and the policy of PPP to patronize native Sindhis for their settlement in the city tends to further galvanize nationalistic sentiments among the Urdu-speaking community. *The infighting within the MQM and the marginalization of their founder Altaf Hussain following his controversial August 2016 speech has been a nightmare for Mohajir ideologues, as they expect to lose miserably in the July 2018 general elections. Elder Mohajir leaders are being urged to help sort out differences within the MQM to prevent the division of its vote bank.* This community made enormous sacrifices for the creation of Pakistan, only to have their patriotic credentials questioned by successive governments.

Democracy under siege, Nadeem Khalid, The Friday Times, 08 June⁶

The aristocratic style of governance, reliance on a small kitchen cabinet lacking professionalism, utter disregard of legislation and the parliament led to this state and other actors found it easier to trespass on the domain of democratic institutions and seize power. However, it cannot be forgotten also that the elected government has been kept permanently under siege by the deep state. It does not matter which civilian party comes to power; they all turn against their benefactors in due time. However, there is a silver lining here. One thing is certain that despite their wishes, it has become increasingly difficult for the deep state to rule the country directly and it has to rely on proxies. The deep state desires a hung parliament and short-term coalition governments, as it knows that even a weak government will start developing

⁵ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/250655/forty-years-of-mohajir-nationalism/>

⁶ <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/democracy-under-siege/>

its teeth once in power. *The possibility of forcing a technocratic independent prime minister, subservient to the deep state, cannot be ruled out. The willingness of the popular political parties in the opposition to be brought down to the level of puppets of the establishment is astonishing and does not bode well for the future of democracy in Pakistan.* The parties expecting to get to rule Pakistan will be facing a big surprise – they will have no power.

Pakistan's unjust judiciary, Munir Ahmed , Daily Times, 11 June⁷

Unfortunately, the general perception of the judicial system has turned negative, to the extent that the judiciary is a seriously despised institution for many. The judges have earned this through their controversial verdicts, conduct and statements. Today, the judiciary – considered by many the last hope for the masses – is the most controversial it has ever been. *It has left no option for the general public to believe that judiciary is no better than any Pakistani political figure known for his or her malpractices. Giving undue relaxation to Rao Anwar, the notorious encounter 'specialist' police officer, is another awful decision by the judiciary. He attends case-hearings as if he was a national hero, not a murderer accused of killing hundreds.* It is reprehensible that he has not been sent to jail for the allegations against him, but has instead been placed under a very comfortable house arrest. Having seen the deteriorating justice system in Pakistan and flourishing nexuses of the judiciary with criminals, one can easily presume that soon the judiciary will also initiate a campaign for the restoration of its public image, as is now being done by the military bureaucracy and civilian politicians. The time is around the corner when allegation contempt of court will be the pride of active, sensitive and sensitized citizens, and abusive language for judges will be the hallmark of protesting voices. *The Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled that former military dictator General Pervez Musharraf, disqualified for life, can conditionally file his nomination papers to contest the general elections bench resumed the hearing of Musharraf's review petition against his disqualification for life by the Peshawar high court in 2013.*

Politics over ideology, Editorial, The Nation, 12 June⁸

In Pakistan, politics has lost its real purpose and meanings. Nowadays, politics has turned into a vocation for many. Once a noble and ideology-driven job, politics of today is anything but noble or ideology oriented. *This bitter truth has revealed itself not only in the past few elections but the upcoming general election as well where Pakistan Tehreek Insaf (PTI) has awarded party tickets to those who do not care for party ideology at all.* The decision of the party senior leadership to give tickets to “electable candidates”

⁷ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/251837/pakistans-unjust-judiciary/>

⁸ <https://nation.com.pk/12-Jun-2018/politics-over-ideology>

has deeply offended the old workers of the party as the central executive committee of the party conveniently ignores their services. Ignoring the protests of the party workers, Fawad Choudhry shamelessly defends the choices made by the party by saying that they chose strong candidates. ...

An anomaly called Imran, Talimand Khan, *Daily Times*, 14 June⁹

A scrutiny of Imran's political rhetoric, twists and turns reveals he could be a promising candidate from the platform of an established political party, but not a leader who could usher political change. *Many commentators hypothesize the problem lies in his ego and personal aggrandizement, forcing him to top up his celebrity with the coveted Prime Minister's (PM) office.* Instead of turning KP into a model province, in the initial four years Imran used its potential and resources to dislocate the federal government as a short cut to power through the establishment door. Anyone who knows about the culture of KP and the police's history in the region since the colonial era can verify that the erstwhile Frontier and now KP police were more of a deterrent than the Punjab and Sindh police. *A significant indictment against Imran is the introduction of the politics of sexualisation, focusing on gender specific constituency. He has claimed on numerous occasions that women are his biggest constituency. But it has been more of an exploitative nature than submitting to their positive role.* Imran's current image as a harbinger of change is as hollow as his claims of improvement in KP. And it will continue to beguile many through the aura created by the tamed media on behalf of the powers that be. History will remember Imran as a stooge of status quo forces, creating hurdles in the way of the democratic project.

Khan's U-turns have killed the dream for a 'Naya Pakistan', Hussaan Tariq, *Daily Times*, 22 June¹⁰

Imran Khans, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) is well on its way to becoming a part of the very problems that have haunted the nation, and echoed throughout our history. Khan's commitment to changing the course of Pakistan's future by abolishing traditional politics and governance gained him the support of the otherwise politically aloof youth, which constitutes the majority of our population today. The common hapless Pakistani finally saw light at the end of a dark tunnel in the form of the PTI, but then came the U-turns. *Over the recent past, Khan's political U-turns have adversely impacted his credibility as a potential political leader and game changer. In what has been a longing irony of our political governance, the ruling parties develop only limited constituencies, and present them as historic developmental initiatives, while the rest of the population, deprived of such progress,*

⁹ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/253170/an-anomaly-called-imran/>

¹⁰ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/256229/khans-u-turns-have-killed-the-dream-for-a-naya-pakistan/>

continues to suffer. PTI, prone to political as well as ideological U-turns, sees in Khan a rather confused individual stuck in choosing between his declared view point, and the ground realities shaping the political sphere of the country. For instance, Khan condemns terrorist attacks, whenever and wherever they take place, but opposes military action against the very perpetrators of such heinous acts, and has been accused of having a soft corner for extremist groups. Moving on, the inception of PTI was a blatant rejection of the old faces, promising to bring forward new era. *Well, that seems to be history now as all PTI's ticket holders for the upcoming elections are the very same faces the public is tired off, and expects nothing from. The politics of U-turns, in the long run, will cost Khan, and PTI their credibility as an agent of change, and designate them as merely status quo stooges.*

Why 'electables'?, Editorial, Dawn, 24 June¹¹

Certainly, it is a party's right to select whichever candidate it prefers, and the length of affiliation with a political party cannot be the sole criterion on which tickets are handed out. But the return of electables and the rise of independents are of concern from a democratic perspective. By embracing the culture of electables, major political parties diminish the role of the party and negate the very idea of ideology in politics. While electables will emphasize patronage politics at the constituency level — the ability to remain a formidable constituency candidate depends on distributing patronage to supporters — they may not have a veto over a party's policy, governance and reform agendas. *But no political party can reasonably claim to be strengthening its organizational structure while allowing large-scale lateral entry into the party. Weak political parties tend to weaken democracy as all party decision-making is concentrated in a few hands at the top.* That may suit the party leaders, especially those who wield hereditary power, but it tends to weaken ties to the local party member or activist and thwarts democratic debate inside political parties.

Fighting political engineering, Editorial, The Nation, 24 June¹²

The National Accountability Bureau (NAB) has received a lot of criticism for political engineering and going beyond its scope, yet the Bureau has shown that it disregards the political heat it gets, as NAB further investigates into a number of political corruption cases, right before the elections. *NAB Chairman, Justice (retired) Javed Iqbal has announced that references would soon be filed in connection with ongoing investigations into mega corruption cases. This foray into mega corruption cases may not have lent so much fuel*

¹¹ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1415760/why-electables>

¹² <https://nation.com.pk/27-Jun-2018/fighting-political-engineering>

to the fire of criticism if NAB had not quite obviously targeted one political party. But as it stands now, this seems the case. By pursuing “mega corruption cases”, the Chairman meant an ongoing investigation into 56 public companies formed by Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N) President Shahbaz Sharif during his tenure in Punjab as the chief minister. It also includes, not so coincidentally, another venture of PML-N, the Saaf Pani Company, an investigation proposed by the Supreme Court, which has also been accused of political bias. ...

State of democracy, Moeed Yusuf, *Daily Times*, 26 June¹³

Ever since the Panama crisis escalated, the belief has been that non-political forces are directly or indirectly gaming the political system. From the theory’s perspective, the problem is neither that a sitting prime minister was ousted in a parliamentary system, an in-house change doesn’t necessarily qualify as an interruption of the system nor that conspiracy theories make it impossible to determine what really is happening. *The real issue is the belief itself that institutions other than parliament wield the leverage to disrupt the organic political process and orchestrate political outcomes.* The Nawaz Sharif-establishment duel has led to this belief. There has been an aura of uncertainty. While it seems more and more likely that polls will take place on time, this hasn’t been a foregone conclusion. Put mildly, Pakistan isn’t following the optimal trajectory posited by democratic consolidation theory. Uncertainty and unpredictability remain entrenched and till they do, they will tend to skew political incentives towards short-term parochial gains. This would imply a more protracted journey from uninterrupted civilian rule to mature politics and improved governance. *The reality is that Pakistani rulers face structural constraints so entrenched that it is impossible to circumvent them. But the argument for it continues to weaken if uninterrupted civilian rule doesn’t produce better outcomes within a reasonable period.*

Return of the MMA, Zahid Hussain, *Dawn*, 27 June¹⁴

Essentially, a united front of the JUI-F and the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI), the two most powerful religious groups, the MMA may have a significant support base in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, but its influence in other parts of the country is debatable. The differences between the two major component parties over key political issues and their distrust of each other will make it more difficult for the alliance to repeat its 2002 success in KP. There is no indication as yet of the

¹³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1416157/state-of-democracy>

¹⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1416395/return-of-the-mma>

MMA making its presence felt across the country. A major challenge for this mainstream Islamic coalition comes from the rise of more extremist sectarian groups dividing the religious vote bank. The emergence of the newly formed Tehreek-i-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP), an extremist Barelvi group, is likely to hurt the MMA the most. *It is quite evident that the rise of religious extremism benefits sectarian groups more than the mainstream Islamic parties whose share of votes has fallen significantly since 2008 with the disintegration of the MMA.* Given expediency and the realisation that a divided house could only damage their electoral prospects, they are back to an alliance of convenience. The decision of some smaller parties to sit out may not affect the reactivated MMA much. *Meanwhile, the PTI has encroached on the religious vote bank. But the united front including the two major Islamic parties with their respective strong support bases may present a formidable challenge to the PTI in KP.* The revival of the MMA may improve the electoral prospects of the religious elements in KP and Balochistan but it is highly unlikely that it would have any significant impact in the other provinces.

Terrorising voters, Editorial, *The Nation*, 28 June¹⁵

With the elections coming near, each party has rigorously started campaigning in their relevant constituencies to convince voters to vote in their favour. *While this activity is an inherent part of the election campaign, it must also be kept in mind that canvassing not only involves addressing large groups of people but to also be able to answer the questions of those whom these leaders are trying to convince.* Each constituency has its own problems and it is expected from the leaders that they are well versed in these problems, provide plausible solutions, and also have space and understanding to answer the questions if people try to point out inaction of their representatives during the last tenure. *Recently a video has surfaced online in which we can see Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) leader Saad Rafique addressing a corner meeting in Chungi Amar Sadhu in Lahore. While a concerned individual tries to question him about the water crisis in Pakistan and their plans to deal with it, he not only choose to ignore the question but also asks the people around to shut off their cameras.* His supporters then allegedly manhandle these individuals, lock them up in a room and threaten to beat them up. All of this merely because they wanted a question asked.

¹⁵ <https://nation.com.pk/28-Jun-2018/terrorising-voters>

Lessons of Hambantota, Khurram Husain, Dawn, 28 June¹⁶

Outstanding bilateral loans are a bit more difficult to calculate quickly, because we don't yet know if any state-owned enterprises in Pakistan have borrowed from the Chinese, but simply based on reported figures, in the outgoing year the borrowings have been larger than \$2.2bn. This is purely bilateral borrowing in one year, not the cumulative, nor does it include equity in projects or project-related assistance. In short, the numbers of the Sri Lanka story are far larger in Pakistan. Exactly how large we do not yet know, but I have a feeling we will soon enough. Add to this the fact that payment-related outflows on CPEC projects have now commenced since most of them have begun commercial operations, and the figures are set to rise further. Recall that the last IMF report saw Pakistan's external financing requirements rising to \$45bn by end of 2018, and you'll get the idea. *But those who argue that the fears are overblown have a case that should also be borne in mind. For example, Hambantota Port is not commercially viable, and was never seen as such, leading many to speculate that it had military objectives behind it. Similar speculation revolves around Gwadar, which will also be many years before it reaches commercial viability.*

Democracy vs minorities, Kaleem Dean, Daily Times, 30 June¹⁷

In oppressive dictatorships, democracy is replaced by other forms of governance; and in a predominantly religious country like Pakistan, religion remains an unchallenged entity. As a result, sectarianism, and violation of human and minority rights, generate social intolerance, and cause an ideological divide among different sections of society. At times, due to their political rhetoric, some even intentionally ignored certain important issues of the public utility, such as the active but direct political participation of minorities and women in the parliamentary politics. *Although the calculated percentage of minorities never exceeded three per cent, they represent three million minority voters who are desperate to elect their representatives with their direct votes. How can we say that democracy has been implemented in the real sense when certain heads of major political parties are to decide the fate of minorities? One possible answer might be that the small percentage of minorities is insignificant when it comes to the present political structure.* Regrettably, there is an extreme political system in Pakistan where three million voters have been deprived of electing their political representatives only because of their faith, sect or religion. The elected political representation is the real voice of the relative communities whereas the selected members of

¹⁶ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1416611/lessons-of-hambantota>

¹⁷ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/259973/democracy-vs-minorities/>

parliament, belonging to religious minorities, have very limited mandate to speak.

SECURITY SITUATION

Nuclear Pakistan: bolstering strategic stability in South Asia, Syed Ali Zia Jaffery, *Daily Times*, 01 June¹⁸

Nuclear Pakistan has remained alive to the multifarious threats to strategic stability in the region. In response to challenges to Pakistan's credible minimum deterrence, the country is shifting toward full spectrum deterrence. In a bid to obviate India's threats to strategic stability, Pakistan is singularly focused on plugging deterrence gaps. The induction of battlefield nuclear weapons is countering India's highly-incendiary Cold Start Doctrine. The Nasr missile with a range of 60 to 70 kilometers is designed to deter India from starting a limited war under the nuclear umbrella. Fear of a strategic response to military actions at lower ends of the conflict spectrum enhances deterrence manifold and induces caution on the part of India. *Pakistan's completion of its nuclear triad with the addition of naval nuclear forces has given the country a credible second-strike capability. Though more work is needed to lend credibility to Pakistan's seaward nuclearisation, the deterrence value of reacting to India's nuclearisation in the sea is immense. A deterrent at sea will not only lessen the imbalance between the two countries at sea but will complement Pakistan's response options vis-à-vis India.* Pakistan is tailoring its deterrence and reorienting its nuclear doctrine to redress strategic instabilities in the region. As India looks at options to punish Pakistan, Islamabad is bringing in flexibility and dynamism in its doctrine. Despite challenges, Pakistan is looking to attain deterrence by punishment and denial.

NISP 2018: missing the point, Imtiaz Gul, *Daily Times*, 05 June¹⁹

The new national security policy (NISP 2018) released recently by former Interior Minister Ahsan Iqbal, is a welcome step insofar as the occasional review and recalibration of policy documents is concerned. It introduces a new regime focused on the 6 'Rs', Reorient, Reimagine, Reconcile, Redistribute, Recognise, and the adoption of a Regional Approach as a recipe

¹⁸ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/247119/nuclear-pakistan-bolstering-strategic-stability-in-south-asia/>

¹⁹ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/248919/nisp-2018-missing-the-point/>

for peaceful socio-economic development. *Like a typical western report, NISP too points out the Islamic State as the biggest threat to the country and warns against the potential spillover of this brand of terrorism from Afghanistan into Pakistan.* Unfortunately, the NISP 2018 treats various forms of terrorism, including trans-border terrorism, as our most pressing challenge, little alluding to the fact that most manifestations of terrorism — or violent extremism — which has seen marked reduction as a result of hard power and kinetic operations in the last two years — are directly connected with our relations with India and Afghanistan. This terrorism can only be eradicated completely once relations with these nations improve. *NISP overlooks the fact that internal security is about fixing internal faults, some of which represent a continuous threat to social peace, economic development and cohesion.* . Without autonomy of police, criminal justice system reforms, police reforms, and strict across-the-board enforcement of existing laws (all promised in the National Action Plan) NISP cannot succeed.

Indus treaty in jeopardy, Shamila Mahmood, Dawn, 08 June²⁰

The general misconception that the bank is guarantor of the treaty is erroneous as the bank has no treaty-related defined role except for the limited procedural function of appointing a neutral expert or for the bank president to appoint a chairman, court of arbitration in the event that the parties are unable to reach an agreement. India's position on the applicable mechanism on issues raised by Pakistan has been circuitous. Both dispute-settlement mechanisms are scrupulously discussed and the court finds no treaty bar for a court of arbitration to consider questions technical in nature. *India's request for the appointment of a neutral expert at such a late stage when the process of establishing a court of arbitration is nearly concluded can be construed as an attempt to disable that process by placing a procedural hurdle.* Pakistan may be responsible for not taking timely action, but cannot be accused of overreacting as India's dams on the western rivers impound significantly large volumes of water. The overarching territorial dispute is intricately enmeshed in the bilateral relationship, obstructing comprehensive agreement on treaty issues, therefore, it becomes imperative for external stakeholders to make a genuine effort to steer the two countries towards cooperation. Never before has there been a greater need for both parties to demonstrate a firm commitment to the goals set out in the treaty's preamble.

²⁰ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1412779/indus-treaty-in-jeopardy>

The future after Fazlullah, Syeda Mamoona Rubab, *The Friday Times*, 22 June²¹

Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Chief Mullah Fazlullah's death needs to be taken only as a gesture in Pakistan from US and Afghanistan that seeks to convey that cooperation on security issues would be mutually beneficial. *Fazlullah's removal may constrain TTP operations for the time being, but may not have a long-lasting effect as long as the space that TTP terrorists have in Afghanistan is not denied to them. Unverified reports already suggest that TTP is working on succession and has identified a prospective successor, if not having finally picked him.* The multiple cross-border raids by terrorists on Pakistani posts along Pak-Afghan border, just a day after Fazlullah's killing, is a reminder that the terror king may have been killed, but the threat lives on. The ultimate goal, therefore, should not be the elimination of a certain terror figure, but complete denial of space to such subversive elements on Afghan soil. *Pakistan has long insisted that there is no more organised presence of Taliban and Haqqani Network on its territory after Operations Zarb-e-Azb and Radd-ul-Fasaad, but Americans and Afghans seem unconvinced about it.* Taliban's inflexibility will be a major challenge for the sustainability of the newly established goodwill between Pakistan, US and Afghanistan. Some believe that elements in Afghanistan, who are hostile to Pakistan, like former NDS chief Amrullah Saleh and the Helmand Peace Convoy could spoil the game. But, in reality it is the Taliban who can make or break the prospects of peace in the region.

The 'second coming' of the Taliban, Ahmad Faruqi, *Daily Times*, 26 June²²

We are witnessing the second coming of the (Afghan) Taliban. According to US sources, the Taliban now hold sway over a third of Afghanistan. Several provincial capitals remain in government hands only due to US air support. When US forces are visible, the Taliban disappear. When the US forces are not visible, the Taliban reappear. That is classic guerrilla war strategy at work. *The Afghan security situation has deteriorated significantly since the launch of the Taliban's 2015 spring offensive. One Afghan analyst has said, "The enemy is at our gates." He added that the Taliban are not just winning the military battle, but also the hearts and minds of the local populace. While government schools stand empty and decrepit, there are 2,000 Taliban madaris in Helmand.* Today, the Taliban are playing the religion card to bond with the population. And they are resetting their military skills and retraining for a different war. It does not help that at various times they have been backed by the Pakistani deep state. Pakistan's Operation Zarb-e-Azb directed against the Pakistani Taliban had an unintended consequence as

²¹ <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/the-future-after-fazlullah/>

²² <https://dailytimes.com.pk/258019/the-second-coming-of-the-taliban/>

well. In response to the operation, several thousand Uzbek, Arab and Pakistani fighters fled from North Waziristan to Afghanistan. The arrival of these foreign fighters strengthened the Taliban and further intensified the fight against the Afghan government. After 17 years of fighting, faced with a resurgent Taliban, the US seems anxious about bringing the Taliban to the peace table, declaring victory, and leaving honorably. *It is unclear whether the Trump administration, known for its ham-fisted dealings even with its allies, let alone with its enemies, has the diplomatic smarts to needed to make this happen. Furthermore, if the Taliban senses that the enemy is on the run, why would they seek a compromise?*

PROVINCES & REGIONS

FATA

Developing FATA: Where are the Funds? Ghazi Ghazan Jamal, *Daily Times*, 10 June²³

However, it soon became evident that neither the major political parties that controlled the provinces at the time — Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government, Pakistan Peoples Party's Sindh government and Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz-controlled Punjab — nor the federal government were willing to give up any share of theirs for Fata. And so, the message was changed once again and we were back to the 100-billion-a-year figure. Where that money would come from was now the big question. An attempt was made to raise it through donor commitments, but with Pakistan fast becoming yesterday's news in the global arena where Syria and Yemen have taken center stage, these funds could not be raised. Hence, another year passed while none of the necessary development or rehabilitation work could be done, primarily because none of the provincial governments or federal government was willing to commit the necessary funds. *With an impasse over the allocation of necessary funds to Fata, the government went ahead with the merger without the initially agreed upon interim period or having first brought Fata on par with adjacent districts in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Again, the elusive 100-billion promise has been made without detailing where exactly these funds will come from.* The fear that is now being expressed by pro-merger circles of Fata locals is whether Fata get its share of funds necessary for reconstruction and bringing it at power to adjacent districts.

²³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1412821/developing-fata-where-are-the-funds>

Analysis: The Pakhtun factor, Azfar-ul-Ashfaque, Dawn, 28 June²⁴

In Karachi, the Pakhtun vote bank is predominantly divided within religious parties. Many of the community members vote for national mainstream parties, such as the PPP, the PML-N and the PTI, while a large number choose the ANP as their first option. A small segment of the community is also attached with the MQM-Pakistan and the Pak Sarzmeen Party (PSP). Political analyst and columnist Prof Dr Tauseef Ahmed says the Pakhtun community united only in 1977 during the PNA movement and then against the MQM. "But it's not as though they unite [in Karachi] on the basis of mere Pakhtun nationalism," he explains. "They have always supported a new party in elections." *Traditionally, the Pakhtun voted for either the Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F), the Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) or the ANP.* But in the 2013 general elections, the Imran Khan-led PTI emerged as a major player. *In 2018, almost every party in the city is trying its best to appease Pakhtun voters in certain constituencies. This time round, experts believe that their [Pakhtun] vote bank will be split between the PPP, PML-N, PTI, ANP and MMA. Some of them will also vote for a candidate belonging to an outlawed sectarian party.* It is difficult to win a National Assembly seat in Karachi on purely Pakhtun votes. However, certain provincial assembly constituencies cannot be won without the Pakhtuns.

FATF: one shade of grey; 50 explanations and excuses, Karen Janjua, The Express Tribune, 30 June²⁵

As the interim finance minister and her team left for Paris to present Pakistan's case before the FATF plenary, the bank accounts of a notorious fourth scheduler were being unfrozen and he was otherwise preparing to join mainstream political processes. *Months of hard work on the part of Pakistan's government and banking institutions, as well as legitimate non-state actors, have been overshadowed by news that the ASWJ chief and members of other proscribed organizations will present themselves as candidates for the upcoming elections.* Sadly, such events, in combination with an inability to demonstrate stronger action against those involved in the movement of criminal and terror-affiliated money speaks louder than anything Pakistan's detractors could say and risks discouraging even those who most want Pakistan to do well on its upcoming mutual evaluation with the APG. In the estimation of the international community, the appearances of the present outweigh any future probabilities that fourth schedulers are electable. ...

²⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1416606/analysis-the-pakhtun-factor>

²⁵ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1745969/6-fatf-one-shade-grey-50-explanations-excuses/>

GB

The Gilgit-Baltistan question: A historical analysis, Mudabbir Akhund, Daily Times, 16 June²⁶

It is a historical fact that political sufferings of GB are embedded in British imperialist policies, which they adopted in Gilgit-Baltistan considering its strategically important location, as it used to be the 'northern gateway' to India. Even if we accept the argument of unconditional accession with Pakistan on face of the idea of Muslim brotherhood and the emergence of a Muslim state in the shape of Pakistan motivated the people of Gilgit-Baltistan to accede with Pakistan, the unconditional part is still not convincible. *GB has hung in the balance of the tussle between Pakistan and India over Kashmir. This has made the situation complicated for the people of the area, who are now stuck in limbo. Even if we accept that the people of GB have unconditionally acceded to Pakistan we are forced to say that Pakistan has not yet accepted them or else GB would have been mentioned in the constitution of Pakistan just like the rest of the four provinces.* The sacrifices made by veteran soldiers like Colonel Mirza Hassan, Baber Khan and others were not meant to go in vain, rather those great sacrifices were made for a better life of the people in Gilgit-Baltistan. Moreover, even if we accept that the people of GB have unconditionally acceded to Pakistan we are forced to say that Pakistan has yet not accepted them or else GB would have been mentioned in the constitution of Pakistan just like the rest of the four provinces. The recent crisis in Gilgit-Baltistan, which has intensified further, after the attempted forceful imposition of the Governance Order of Gilgit-Baltistan 2018, have born another movement led by opposition benches of the legislative assembly, along with Awami Action Committee (AAC).

GB Disorder, KK Shahid, The Nation, 19 June²⁷

Despite countless legal specialists confirming otherwise, no one in Islamabad sought to grant basic human rights to the citizens of GB by making their merger with the Pakistani constitution conditional to the future solution of the Kashmir dispute. The greatest irony here is that this is precisely what both Pakistan and India have ensured in their respective administered sections of Kashmir. Why couldn't Pakistan grant similar rights to the people of Gilgit Baltistan that have been given to Azad Kashmir? That is one of the questions that the locals in GB are asking amidst region-wide protests. The people of GB feel hard done by since the Karachi Agreement, where their future was decided by a group which did not have any representation from Gilgit-

²⁶ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/254133/the-gilgit-baltistan-question-a-historical-analysis/>

²⁷ <https://nation.com.pk/19-Jun-2018/gb-disorder>

Baltistan. Now after decades of failure to recognize the locals of the region, and their basic human rights, the government forwarded a set of laws that would keep GB subservient to the Prime Minister's will – as a parting gift of the previous government. *With the GB legislative assembly being subjected to him, and any and every law passed for the region needing the premier's sanction, the GB Order clearly gives veto power to the PM, ensuring that the people of the region do not have any control over their own resources.* That, at the end of the day, is all the people of GB are looking for. If not complete mainstreaming like the four provinces of Pakistan, or autonomy like Azad Kashmir, the locals want a legislative assembly that actually has the power to decide the fate of the citizens that elect it.

Kashmir

Kashmir: deconstructing the grand narrative, Dr Javaid Hayat, *Daily Times*, 04 June²⁸

Needless to say that having a whole indigenous narrative advanced by the people of Kashmir can make a big difference at the diplomatic front. Pakistan should take the initiative and rethink her foreign policy's fundamentals towards Kashmir and Kashmiris. *It requires a paradigm shift away from traditional state-centric to people-centric approach. It is need of the hour to recognise the role of Kashmiri people by enabling Kashmiris to present their indigenous narrative at the forefront of diplomatic interventions.* Pakistan needs to grant genuine internal autonomy to the governments of Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan (two disputed regions under the temporal administration of Pakistan until the final resolution of the Kashmir conflict). It will help Pakistan to Ecdysis from its barren Kashmir policy and may put in advantageous diplomatic position as a genuine supporter of people resistance movement in Kashmir rather than a conflict sponsor. A narrative 'of the people, by the people, and for the people' of Kashmir is the only way forward and may bring fruits and support from the international community. After several diplomatic failures over Kashmir, will Pakistan allow this to happen?

First UN probe in Kashmir, Editorial, *Daily Times*, 15 June²⁹

Towards this end, the UN has called for the immediate repeal of Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Act (AFSPA); which protects security personnel from prosecution. That the Indian government has never once intervened to ensure that those who commit human rights atrocities are

²⁸ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/248476/kashmir-deconstructing-the-grand-narrative/>

²⁹ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/253722/first-un-probe-in-kashmir/>

brought to account suggests that civilian regimes in world's largest democracy are not immune to being subservient to the 'national interest'. By the same token, Pakistan comes under fire for military support of armed groups across the LoC. Here, the UN report links counter-terrorism efforts to human rights abuses; not least because of the "very broad definition of terrorism laid down in the Anti-Terrorism Act". Indeed, it finds that the security apparatus uses this to target those demanding fundamental human rights. It also urges the Pakistani authorities to release all political activists, journalists and others convicted for peacefully exercising their right to freedom of expression. *This is where Islamabad should play smart. This means not protesting too much about the disclosures. Rather, it should quietly concentrate on putting its own house in order and let the charge sheet against New Delhi speak for itself. If Pakistan does this, it will no longer be gas-lighted on the international stage as the sole exporter of regional terror. But more importantly, this will strengthen Islamabad's position when it comes to reminding the world body of then Prime Minister Abbasi's appeal to General Assembly last year to revisit the issue of the Kashmir plebiscite.* For with the first-ever UN probe into human rights abuses in the region — the momentum is now there. It just needs to be built upon. In short, the time has come for both sides to act for the greater good of the Kashmiri people.

Kashmir – an overdue inquiry, Editorial, *The Express Tribune*, June 16³⁰

After many years during which the United Nations kept the Kashmir issue firmly on the back burner it is finally to consider establishing a Commission of Inquiry (COI) to 'conduct a comprehensive independent international investigation into allegations of human rights violations in Kashmir'. *The UN Human Rights Council (HRC) will be asked to consider a report which highlights the 'chronic impunity for violations committed by security forces'. The establishment of a COI is the highest level of investigation that the UN can commission, and it will be the first of its kind for Kashmir and reserved for international crises such as that in Syria.* ... The last year has seen deterioration in the security and human-rights sectors across Kashmir. *Even the casual observer can see that India carries the greatest weight when it comes to abuses and denial of rights.* The proposed COI is of itself going to solve nothing and at best it will be way-paver, but it will bring Kashmir into focus and the forefront unlike anything in the recent past, and for that at least is to be welcomed.

³⁰ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1736086/6-kashmir-overdue-inquiry/>

Resolving the Kashmir dispute, Yasser Latif Hamdani, Daily Times, 19 June³¹

We must ask, if India agrees to a plebiscite in accordance with the UN resolutions, would Pakistan allow it? Given the investment that has gone into China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), it seems quite unlikely that Pakistan would ever want to put itself in any position that compromises its strategic position on the issue. *Both India and Pakistan are quite happy with the status quo. Since the outside world is unwilling to intervene, nothing is likely to change. Thankfully though, this report shows that the UN is still interested at some level in fulfilling its mandate.* The report speaks of a violation of land rights and forced dispossession. Furthermore it points out that just like the rest of Pakistan, the blasphemy law is in force. The report says that as with the Constitution of Pakistan, Ahmadis have been declared Non-Muslims in Kashmir as well and their religious ceremonies are criminalized in the same manner. These provisions violate Pakistan's own commitment to human rights. Therefore, the situation on the Pakistani side of Kashmir does not present a rosy picture. *It is high time that Pakistanis and Indians checked their overinflated national pride and actually come together to resolve this conflict for the sake of common Kashmiris. All parties must come to the table and realize that we reached a stalemate long ago.* On the Indian side, Article 370 should omit subsection 3 from the Indian Constitution and Section 48 of Part VI of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir. Once this is done, JK (Indian) and AJK (Pakistani) should be allowed to enter a cultural union through a treaty allowing for free movement of people, ideas and goods between the citizens of these entities. *Simultaneously, Pakistan and India should enter a pact declaring the Kashmir areas part of a no-war zone. This would restore Kashmir's cultural unity under shared sovereignty and would help end the brutalization of its people.*

Failed coalition in IHK, Editorial, Dawn, 21 June³²

Few inside the coalition and virtually no one outside appeared to be convinced by the deal between PDP and BJP in the Indian held Kashmir (IHK). The BJP's hawkish and communal electoral campaign helped deliver not just a hung assembly in IHK but an electorate that was sharply divided. However, the roots of the problem lie much deeper than yet another failed governance experiment in IHK. The previous NC and Congress coalition in IHK had revealed a fundamental, insurmountable problem: Kashmir-based political parties cannot legitimately align with national Indian parties because the aspirations of the Kashmiri people cannot be reconciled with the demands of the federal Indian state. There is real, deep-rooted and continuing

³¹ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/254713/resolving-the-kashmir-dispute/>

³² <https://www.dawn.com/news/1415162/failed-coalition-in-ihk>

resentment in IHK against the repressive role of the state of India in the region. Despotic laws and a suffocating security presence are inimical to the just and moral political demands of a local population. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has demonstrated at virtually every step of the way that even when the language of the regime is moderate, its intentions as evidenced by actions on the ground are malign. *Indeed, the onset of direct rule in IHK has instantly given rise to informed analysis and political speculation that the Modi government is preparing to unleash a new round of terror in IHK, the reason ostensibly being the BJP's national aspirations in the Indian general election scheduled for next year.* While Indian repression has undoubtedly contributed to a growing rebellion among the people of IHK, an enduring rejection of federal Indian policies and practices towards the disputed region is what ensures that dissent survives and spreads.

Justice for Shujaat Bukhari? Editorial, Daily Times, 29 June³³

LeT has, from the get-go, denied involvement in Bukhari's murder; preferring to point the finger of accusation towards the Indian security apparatus. Indeed, the latter has found itself under fire recently in the wake of the first-ever UN probe into human rights abuses in the disputed territory. New Delhi has rejected the report as biased and says it holds no weight. Pakistan, for its part, has pushed for vindication of what it says constitutes a long history of atrocities in -held Kashmir. The immediate fallout from Bukhari's murder is being felt by the Srinagar-based journalist community. After all, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader and disgraced minister Choudhary Lal Singh has entered the fray by effectively warning Kashmiri journalists that they will suffer the same fate if they fail to "draw a line on the journalism you do and how you have to live". Which, of course, is an ultimatum by any other name. It also suggests exoneration of those who pull the trigger on representatives of the fourth estate. This is something of a habit for Singh; who was forced out of government when he sided with the men accused of gang-raping and murdering an eight-year-old Muslim girl. The overriding message, as seen from Islamabad, being that those who kill Muslims in Jammu and Kashmir may do so with impunity. *Pakistan, nevertheless, must investigate the allegations against LeT. And it must do so swiftly give the current election scenario. That being said, it must urge India to refrain from delivering 'big reveals 'of this kind to the media. Meaning that the bilateral relationship should be such that developments of this nature should be shared at the government level before being made public. This would better serve the needs*

³³ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/259568/justice-for-shujaat-bukhari/>

of intelligence sharing; while not giving identified suspects a timely heads-up.

RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA

The rise of Hindu fascism, Moneeb Ahmad Barlas, Daily Times, 13 June³⁴

The cardinal element in this so-called Saffronisation process is the complete ideological restructuring of the country's education system. Handpicked radicals have been appointed to important educational positions in the country. These fanatics have reinvented the Indian history taught in schools and colleges. *The curricula are being injected with information which is factually incorrect and deliberately aimed at creating communal polarization. Absurdities such as "Hindus invented the Space Shuttle thousands of years ago, motorcars existed in Vedic times and television was first mentioned in the Mahabharata" have seeped into the textbooks.* Moreover, Muslim rulers of the sub-continent are denounced and denigrated while some books have also eulogized Adolf Hitler. In this way, a bizarrely nationalist and dreadfully militant Hindu identity is being carved out. RSS terrorists are also running training camps across the country where followers are imbued with the ideology of Hindutva and taught combat skills, including the use of weapons. Minorities are portrayed as barbarians and students are obliged to undertake military training in order to defend their faith against the presumed onslaught of these so-called barbarians. India along with the rest of the region is becoming increasingly polarized on religious grounds. The effects of growing religious terrorism in India, in the form of Hindutva, are likely to spill over into neighboring countries. *Terrorists in Pakistan may seek to exploit Hindu terrorism in India to incite violence against Pakistan's Hindu community. Therefore, it is important for the Muslims in Pakistan to resist their propaganda and stick to the tenets of Islam that preach tolerance.*

The promise of SCO, Editorial, Daily Times, 12 June³⁵

The thawing of Sino-Indian ties is where Pakistan needs to keep its head particularly cool. For there is no reason to suggest that this will negatively impact Islamabad and its regional position. Indeed, the Foreign Office noted that both Beijing and Moscow are willing to do what they can to ease the Indo-Pak bilateral relationship. Yet talk of an unofficial bloc within the SCO context comprising Pakistan, China and Russia may not be too helpful. *Thus*

³⁴ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/252731/the-rise-of-hindu-fascism/>

³⁵ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/252350/the-promise-of-sco/>

the incoming set-up must make it clear that this 'nexus' is simply aimed at smoothing out any bumps in the road for the greater good at the bilateral level; say, in terms of ties with Kabul or Washington. If this is not addressed, New Delhi may well misunderstand this as a sign of Islamabad's insecurity. And both sides have surely had enough of choreographed masochism. It is a matter of urgency that all efforts are made to strengthen the SCO as viable multilateral forum. Not least because this grouping excludes global powers, such as the US. The latter has long entrenched itself in this region and, as the world's lone superpower, it is used to having its own way. Yet those who live here in this at times hostile neighbourhood naturally have a far clearer and more nuanced understanding of prevailing dynamics. And the SCO provides a necessary platform for honest dialogue. Pakistan and India had promised to keep their bilateral bickering off the table. Thus far, both sides have kept their word. This cannot be underestimated. And if sincerely built upon, it will do a great service to the citizenries across both sides of the border. Not to mention those of the broader region.

India-Afghanistan collaboration on dams to Pakistan in permanent hot waters, Saddam Hussain, Daily Times, 12 June³⁶

The water-terrorism on Indian part has long fueled the fire lit by mismanagement and climate change. India has always misappropriated its counterpart's share of Indus network in utter disregard of Indus Water Treaty. *IWT a lots the western rivers of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab to Pakistan with permission to India to build only run-of-the-river hydroelectric projects without diverting the river route and depleting the downstream river flow.* India has several times violated these provisions by building structures that have not only posed a threat to the country's power production but also affected the agriculture sector drastically. India has a long history of water terrorism in IOK; spanning over 244 structures on the rivers that flow into Pakistan. Some of these controversial projects are the recently developed Kishanganga hydropower station, Baglihar Dam and Tulbul Project (a control structure at the mouth of Wular Lake on river Jhelum). Apart from its eastern water-terrorism, India is now set to back water-terrorism in Afghanistan. Like Kashmir, Afghanistan possesses the sources of many rivers that flow into Pakistan. The most important of all these rivers is Kabul River, which is not only covering Warsak dam but also irrigates large chunks of land in Peshawar, Charsadda and Nowshera. *India plans to assist Afghanistan in constructing multiple dams on river Kabul, for which the*

³⁶<https://dailytimes.com.pk/252292/india-afghanistan-collaboration-on-dams-to-pakistan-in-permanent-hot-waters/>

feasibility study is already completed by India. The proposed dams will affect Pakistan more severely, as we do not possess any water-sharing treaty with Afghanistan. Pakistan should construct major reservoirs on river Indus at earliest. It should be kept in mind that small projects on a river of overwhelming discharge like Indus will not parallel gigantic projects like Dasu, Diamir and Kalabagh. Kalabagh dam is thus, a justifiable project and should be embarked on for the vested interests and energy security of the country.

Copying neighbours, F.S. Aijazuddin, Dawn, 14 June³⁷

Recently Narendra Modi's BJP government placed an advertisement in Indian newspapers, asking "talented and motivated Indian nationals" to apply for 10 posts of the level of joint secretary in the Indian Union Government. Mr Bhutto's trawl in 1972 was generic, regardless of specialty. Mr Bhutto's motive had been to weaken the iron grip of the Civil Service of Pakistan. Mr Modi wants one joint secretary apiece with expertise in "revenue, financial services, economic affairs, agriculture, road transport, shipping, environment and forest, civil aviation and commerce". *He is suspected by his opponents of inoculating Jan Sanghis into India's administrative structure.* Many in Pakistan suspect that ever since Mr Bhutto's body-blow in 1972, the bureaucracy has degenerated from its ideal of being a specialist capable of curing all ailments to one more adept at pain management. *Across the border, a report on the Indian bureaucracy by a US think tank concluded that "corrupt bureaucrats are despised but thrive; the honest are respected but do not rise; and idealists end up nowhere". Perhaps Indians and Pakistanis are closer to each other than they realise.* There is another similarity. *The president of India is not holding an iftar party at Rashtrapati Bhavan for minority Muslim Indians. He is taking a cue perhaps from our president.* None of our minorities — Christian, Hindu, Sikh or Parsi — has ever been invited to our Aiwan-i-Sadar to celebrate their religious holidays.

Hindutva militancy, Editorial, Dawn, 20 June³⁸

Today the Sangh Parivar — the umbrella term used for all proponents of a Hindu rashtra or state — have captured state power. *Indeed, all groups operating under this ideological umbrella have become more strident and aggressive, which has spelt trouble for India's minorities and more progressive citizens.* The recent listing of the Bajrang Dal and the Vishwa

³⁷ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1414081/copying-neighbours>

³⁸ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1414910/hindutva-militancy>

Hindu Parishad in the CIA World Fact book as “militant religious outfits” is a reflection of Hindutva’s relentless march in India. Interestingly, while the two aforementioned groups have been classified under the banner of militancy, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh — their mother organization — has been termed a “nationalist” outfit. *Since Narendra Modi came to power in 2014 the Hindutva brigade has been given a shot in the arm. Many high-ranking officials in the Indian state machinery, starting from the prime minister, are swayamsevaks, while some notoriously communal characters are in positions of power, such as Yogi Adityanath, the serving chief minister of Uttar Pradesh.* The latter is known for his frequent anti-Muslim rants. Having such individuals in the corridors of power has had a trickle-down effect on the masses. The result has been lynching of Muslims over suspicions of eating or transporting beef, cracking down on ‘love jihad’ and a general tilt of Indian society towards the right. *In India’s case, the rapid saffronisation threatens the secular and democratic ethos India has cultivated over the decades. It is clear from the writings and utterances of Sangh Parivar ideologues that theirs is a fascist ideology that accepts no pluralism or diversity.*

The problem with India’s Kashmir argument, Hannan Hussain, Daily Times, 27 June³⁹

This dichotomy between stated commitment and actual practice delivers a deathblow to India’s solidarity with indigenous Kashmiris. It reveals the selective application of the law in one of the largest democracies in the world, as innocent Kashmiris are denied fundamental rights. More importantly, at a time when the world as a whole is uniting against Israeli aggression in Gaza, India’s recourse to violence takes the credibility away from its Kashmir argument. It is no coincidence that all the protests that have been dealt with force are precisely those directed at the Indian state’s occupation. This systematic suppression of dissent reflects a conscious state policy towards Kashmir one where armed intervention at the cost of human rights is not an anomaly but is the order. *Interestingly, India’s official position maintains that Kashmir is a matter of territorial sovereignty. MEA spokesperson Raveesh Kumar rejected the UN-led Kashmir report, terming it ‘fallacious’ and its findings a ‘violation of India’s territorial integrity.’ Even if India was to justify significant human rights violations in the name of territorial sovereignty, the fact that Kashmir has the largest military presence in the world is hardly a democratic remedy for peace.* Ultimately, India’s prospects of establishing a credible case on Kashmir rest on how thoroughly it accounts

³⁹ <https://dailytimes.com.pk/258596/the-problem-with-indias-kashmir-argument/>

for its indiscriminate use of force. By rejecting valid reports and resorting to undemocratic means to tackle dissent, the notion of “territorial sovereignty” does little to salvage its narrative. Instead, India’s sustained military presence in the region appears to be a crucial factor in encouraging resistance. The deployment of over 700,000 Indian soldiers in the region rhymes with Israel’s military occupation of Gaza, as well as the use of military force by North Korea to sanction public arrests and executions. Not a single precedent exists in modern history where the forced occupation has spelt an end to the prolonged conflict. And if Indian military presence in Kashmir is aimed at achieving that very outcome, presumably, it would have happened decades ago.

URDU & ELECTRONIC MEDIA

Urdu

Right time to show US green signal, Editorial, *Ummat*, June 02⁴⁰

The US-Pakistan diplomatic relations have hit rock bottom. The two countries have stopped talking to each other. Despite all its bad situation, Pakistan has provided the US route to supply ration to its troops in Afghanistan but the latter has been highly ungrateful and consistently building pressure on Pakistan to eliminate terror hideouts on its territory. *The claimer of upholding democratic rights across the world and still sole defence superpower US is so brutal, merciless and unfriendly that it does not hesitate while insolently attacking Pakistan. IF Gen. (R) Pervez Musharraf had not supported it in 2001, it would have shattered like the former Soviet Union.* After eighteen years of cooperation, Pakistan has warned the US that it can stop its supply-line to Afghanistan. Pakistan has almost eliminated terrorism. Still if the US does not stop its efforts to put Pakistan in blacklist, then Pakistan will have to take counter action. ... America knows it well that despite all its power, it cannot control South and Central Asia from being so far away. *To remove this obstruction, it is relying on India. To keep a watch on the Mediterranean Sea and its surroundings, America has changed the name of the American Pacific Command. It has been named as US-Indo Pacific Command. According to analysts that the purpose of installing India’s hegemony in the region is to increase US-India military cooperation which is already, India being the second largest buyer of weapons from the US, worth \$15 billion. ...* By explaining the significance of the US-Indo Pacific Command American

⁴⁰ <http://ummat.net/2018/06/02/news.php?p=idr1.gif>

Defence Secretary James Mattis said that in such a region where there are possibilities of huge investment, corruption less trade, where there is no threat, Indo-Pacific can avail many belts and roads. *China's One Belt, One Road policy has threatened India. It needed consolation and that is what the US is doing. It can be inferred from James Mattis' talk that if any country matters for the US in the region it is India.* Why should Pakistan try to hobnob with the US in such a situation? It is right time for Pakistan that it shows the US green signal and make it to taste defeat more severely in Afghanistan.

2018 elections and political parties, Farekh Saeed Khawaja, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, June 05⁴¹

Filing of nomination papers for the 2018 election have started. Parliamentary boards and leaders PML N, PTI, PPP, Muslim League (Q) and other political parties are busy in picking candidates for their parties. The courts are united and political break ups and alliance formations are on. *The resolution in Balochistan assembly for delaying the elections, KP Chief Minister Pervez Khattak's letter for postponing the elections, in Punjab agreement between Chief Minister Shebaz Sharif and the opposition leaders Mohmood-ur Rasheed on care-taker chief minister, and after PTI's withdrawal the Sengal Bench of high court's decision to change the nomination papers have made the chances of elections happening on time doubtful.* However Supreme Court has rejected the High Court's decision of banning nomination papers. It is interesting that the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Chief Election Commissioner along with care-taker prime minister are united on holding elections on 25 July. Still there are whispers that elections will be postponed. *Today though there is no martial law but interference of 'these people' cannot be rejected. As far as political parties are concerned, troubles have increased for PTI as compared to PML N and PPP. Many ticket holders of PTI in 1997 and 2002 may not get tickets this time. After many electables from other parties who joined PTI have reduced the chances of getting tickets for 2013 ticket holders as well. This has generated despair in PTI workers. ...* Despite all its troubles, PML N has retained its vote base. Generally in Pakistan it is the electables who win elections. So in general elections it is likely that PTI may emerge as victorious. But it is equally true that there is an anti-establishment vote-bank as well. Whichever party they may support but at present they have rallied behind Nawaz Sharif. There are clear examples for that in Lahore. Many leaders of other parties have announced their support for PML N. PML N should reach out to these people and accommodate them. ... As far as PPP

⁴¹ <https://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/lahore/2018-06-05/page-14/detail-7>

and Muslim League (Q) are concerned, they do not seem to stand any chance in Lahore, let alone in Punjab.

Conflict in PTI over ticket distribution, Report, Ummat, June 05⁴²

Conflicts over ticket distribution have shaken PTI. *One PTI internal source said that the leadership of the party was worried about Reham Khan's book on the one hand and the conflicts over ticket distribution have increased troubles on the other. Many senior leaders believe that the U-turn over care-taker chief minister of Punjab has damaged party's image.* Imran Khan has taken notice of the protests and damage done to property in Karachi, according to the source. Subhan Ali Sahel and Jamaal Siddiqui have been suspended for three months and issued show-cause notices. The source said that conflict over ticket distribution in Islamabad has been resolved for time being after which the leaders have stopped their planned protest at the Banigala. Protests started in three constituencies of Islamabad, 52, 53 and 54 when people there came to know that the ticket for NA-53 was given to Imran Khan's close friend Amir Kayani. According to the source PTI senior leader in the constituency Chaudhry Ilyas has done commendable work there. Instead of him, Amir was given the ticket who has no links with the constituency. ... *A source from Lahore said that the situation in Lahore is equally bad. Jahangir Tareen group is standing against Shah Mahmood Qureshi group. ... The source said that Shah Mahmood Qureshi had proposed name of Nasir Khosa for Punjab's care-taker chief minister which Imran Khan had appreciated. After this success, the Jahangir Tareen group got mobilised and they started a strong social media campaign against Nasir Khosa, making Imran Khan believe that he was from PML N. It is interesting that Qureshi have become suspicious now. ...* According to the source, Imran Khan has been vulnerable to influences and impulsive decisions. This has made the party to pay the price many a times earlier.

Modi, water and Pakistan, Mohammad Aslam Khan, Nawwa-i-Waqt, June 06⁴³

Pakistan is slowly moving towards a famine. It will face severe problems. Our capacity to produce electricity has reduced to half because the rivers have no water. Only after seven years, in 2015 there will be a milieu of famine everywhere when there will no water for crops. If no voice is raised, death is certain. *As expected, the World Bank has rejected Pakistan's concerns on the Kishanganga Dam. It said Pakistan had not enough evidence to validate its apprehensions. India has won this diplomatic game. This is not a conspiracy:*

⁴² <http://ummat.net/2018/06/05/news.php?p=story1.gif>

⁴³ <https://www.nawaiwaqt.com.pk/E-Paper/lahore/2018-06-06/page-14/detail-9>

Narendra Modi has been open about it. Modi openly challenged Pakistan and said that 'Sindh River's water is ours'. His open threat to capture the Sindh River's water was announcement of war against Pakistan. In Jalandhar on 27 January 2017 Modi said in a public rally that he would change the direction of water of the Sindh River to cater the needs of farmers of Punjab. ... Earlier as well on 26 November 2016 Modi had said that we would kill Pakistan by thirst by stopping waters flowing to it. He taunted our politicians by saying that 'anyway the water flows to the Sea rather than being used to irrigate farmland in Pakistan. It does get used by India and nor by Pakistan.' *India is constructed total eleven dams on the Chenab River and work on 24 dams is under progress. On the Jhelum River apart from the Wular Barrage, it is constructing 62 dams. Similarly, feasibility of further 90 dams are consideration in the Lok Sabha and the Cabinet Committee.* ... Regarding the Nile River one analysts had written long back that the Nile might not be cause of war in near future. *In South Asia India's leader Narendra Modi because of his arrogance and pride is challenging Pakistan and the world is silent.* India has blown the siren for war after occupying the water of the Sind River.

Mullah Fazlullah's killing not enough, Editorial, Ummat, June 19⁴⁴

Spokes-person of the US army Col. Martin O'Donnell and the Afghan-Government have conformed the killing of the TTP chief in an attack in Kunar province of Afghanistan. ... Gradually, almost all sources have confirmed the death of Mullah Fazlullah. Still the news was not given much importance in last few days. One reason for that being that there was a ceasefire going on between the Afghan-Government and the Afghan-Taliban on Eid. *Mullah Fazlullah belonged the Swat valley of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. He had created a storm of terror activities in Pakistan. ... There is an environment of peace and happiness on the both sides of the border after the news of the killing of the TTP chief. On the other hand, it has created a commotion in the terrorist groups. There are some analyses that his killing will create conflicts over his successor in the TTP and it will be further divided.* Some raise the question that killing one terrorist does not mean much. In a terrorist group in which there are many big terrorists present, anyone can replace the previous chief. *The real solution is to eliminate terrorism. Pakistan has achieved great success in that front.* It has almost cleared all terrorist groups and their commanders in Pakistan. However some terrorists fled to Afghanistan wherefrom they carry out attacks against Pakistani people. ... *The TTP was banned in Pakistan and it made Afghanistan its home. There is hand of the US, India and the Afghan-government behind the activities of the TTP. Some*

⁴⁴ <http://ummat.net/2018/06/19/news.php?p=idr1.gif>

blame the CIA and the Afghan-intelligence for patronizing the TTP. In contrast, many groups operating in Pakistan are fighting against each other rather than against an outside enemy. Many of their leaders' morality is under question. On these bases, some religious heads and people of Pakistan view being religious claim of these terrorist groups just as showcase. They see foreign hand behind these groups who want to hurt the Islam and Pakistan. Together, people of Pakistan, army, religious scholars and patriot intellectuals, can defeat both internal and external enemies.

Electronic Media

Jirga with Salim Safi, Issues of Balochistan, Geo TV, 02 June⁴⁵

Salim Safi interviews the chairman of PTI Balochistan, Sardar Yar Mohd Rind and questions him about his and the party's role in the betterment of the region. The anchor opens the discussion by asking about the problems of Balochistan and what according to him are the solution, to which Mohd Rind answers that there has been no attempt made to understand the real issues of Balochistan and especially the psyche of the people. According to him all the political parties tries to approach the problems of the region in a very superficial manner not going to the roots. About the solutions of the issues, he was of the view that when the voice of the leaders of the region will be heard at the national level in the mainstream media then only there can be possible solutions. *He adds that I do not aspire for regional politics but want to make the voice heard by sitting in the Parliament in Islamabad.* The PTI leader criticized the PML-N government for its step motherly treatment of the region and underlined that "Nawaz Sharif visited the region like a foreigner and never bothered to stay for more than a day, how he will understand the issues of the people". When asked about why he joined PTI? He replied that currently there is a leadership crisis in the region and it's only Imran Khan who can fill this vacuum and bring change. *Salim Safi bring to his notice that PTI has said that they are against the chieftainship like Jagardari, Sardari out from Balochistan but as you are the chief of the largest tribe of the rind region, is it not an irony that you joined PTI?* To which he replies that if they give us a new set of rules and Nizam that the old laws will be gone in no time. He stressed that a new law keeping in mind the relevance to the present time must be floated before talking about abolishing the old systems.

⁴⁵<http://www.unewstv.com/129797/jirga-with-saleem-safi-issues-of-balochistan-2nd-june-2018>

11th Hour, Zemtv, 06 June⁴⁶

Anchor Waseem Badami flagged the issue of the book by Reham Khan and asked his guests to comment on the content and timing of the book. *Naaz Baloch of PPP viewed that there is no point discussing a book when it has not been published as yet. She said Hamza Abbasi has given more publicity to the book, even before its publication. Faisal Wadwa of PTI said that Hamza Abbasi is a PTI supporter. He is not the party/member of the party.* He viewed that the book is PML N's conspiracy against the PTI. There are so many issues against the Sharif family which can be used for mudslinging. *Rana Sanaullah of PML N did not condemn the approach taken by Reham Khan in her book to highlight her personal relationship with Imran Khan.* He said that PTI has been using character-assassination for long time. It has come back to it. *Senior analyst Fahad Hussain said that the book is not an ordinary one. Timing of the book is critical as it discusses some recent incidents.* He said if the book is published in the UK then it can be called credible one given the country's strict laws for charges against others. But if it is published outside or is made available as e-book then it will lose its credibility. *Fahad said that if the book had some purpose, then it has started serving that. However, the impact of the book may not long last and may not have some serious effect on the electorates of the country in the next elections.*

Off the Record, Zemtv, 11 June⁴⁷

Kashif Abbasi introduced the topic for discussion that why has Nawaz Sharif's lawyer in the Panama case excused himself from defending Nawaz and the ongoing debate that PTI has become party of electables. *Senior lawyer and PPP leader Aitzaz Ahsan said that Khawaja Harris has not taken the decisions on himself. He has been asked by his client to do so because Nawaz wants to leave the country.* Harris has given weak arguments in defence of his decision as the courts do work sometimes on weekdays as well. On Nawaz's statement that is justice and due legal course important or judgement before the elections, Aitzaz said that no one else has been given so much relaxation as the Sharif family has got from the court. No one else has been allowed to change lawyer while the case is on. *Senior journalist Irshad Bhatti was critical of Nawaz's statement that 'justice rushed is justice*

⁴⁶ <http://www.zemtv.com/2018/06/07/11th-hour-6th-june-2018/>

⁴⁷ <http://www.zemtv.com/2018/06/11/off-the-record-11th-june-2018/>

crushed'. He said that the trials of Nawaz Sharif have been going on for over two years. Nawaz and Harris do not want the judgment to come before the elections. On allegation that PTI has become party of electables, Shibli Faraz of PTI said that out of 178 tickets issued so far, 104 have been given the candidates who have fought on the party's tickets earlier. Irshad Bhatti said that Imran Khan cannot claim now that his party has an ideology. His dream of becoming prime minister has become terrible. Hafizullah Niazi disagreed with that PTI could win only because of the electable. It had almost defeated PML N in 2013 elections without the electables on its side.

Jirga with Salim Safi, In Conversation with Balochistan Awami Party (BAP) Jam Kamal Khan, Geo-TV, 10 June⁴⁸

Salim Safi start the conversation by asking about the timing of the formation of the new political party BAP just before the election, is seems politically motived to leave the P-ML-N at this juncture, why now? To this Kamal Khan replies that he initially won as an independent candidate in the previous elections and joined PML-N as they were the ruling party with a hope to be politically relevant for the region of Balochistan. But slowly I realized that there is no value and stature for me and most importantly lack of acceptance of our voices in the party shrinked to a new low. Rather Nawaz Sharif gave more importance to other regional parties like the Pashtunkhwa Milli Awami Party. Also many of us had a feeling that since ten to fifteen years, the policies of the PML-N and other parties for Balochistan are degrading. He underlines that, *"I was the State Minister in the PML-N government but there is no job for the said post not even 15%". He further reveals that during 2017-18 out of the 5,000 billion Balochistan got only 320 Billion and there was no new big project for the region.* When asked when why you betrayed Nawaz Sharif just turned into a *Nazaryati* politician. To this the guest replies that we do not want to part of the policies and *Nazaryat* of Nawaz Sharif which have the potential of destroying and damaging the image of our country. Rather we want to be part of the narrative that talks about the strengthening the country. Resentment was brewing from a long time among the PML-N workers of the region as we were not working to our full capacity in the party, therefore the formation of BAP. Through this party we are looking towards bringing good rule and good governance and had we being part of any other party it would be difficult to bring changes in the region.

⁴⁸<http://www.unewstv.com/130350/jirga-with-saleem-safi-balochistan-awami-party-10th-june-2018>

Power Play, Interview of Imran Khan, Ary TV, 18 June⁴⁹

When the host Arshad Sharif asks about the recent protests by the party workers against the distribution of party tickets and why they are agitating against him, Imran replies by underlining that no everyone will get the tickets for the elections as we have more than four thousand applications and on an average we can consider only seven hundred out of these. It is not an easy task to satisfy the rest who do not get the tickets, he adds. When asked about PTI's chance in the 2018 elections, Imran says that, *in twenty years of my career I think this is the best time for our party to take part in the elections as we are geared up for it with all the preparations.* We have rolled out election manifesto for hundred days for the first time and are expecting to win particularly in KP and Punjab. When asked how Punjab as it is the PML-N stronghold, he replies this time have done all the homework and most importantly we are going in the elections with electables having prior experience of the elections. *He underlines that 80% of the candidates from PTI in the 2013 elections where new with no experience.* This time the PTI is hoping to get a clear majority but if we don't we will not go for post poll alliance but rather sit in the opposition. Imran Khan Claims that there was a wave in support of PTI in 2013 but we did not had experienced "electables" but this wave has grown stronger now in 2018 and we are fully prepared. When asked about the popularity of PTI in Punjab as restricted only to social media not in ground, he replies that Punjab government has only provided big infrastructures and have totally ignored the needs of the local people, like the basis needs of food, shelter, water etc. The immediate need is to rework the *governance structure* not only in Punjab but whole country. If we come in power overseas Pakistani's would be our prime target for investments in Pakistan and we will create a conducive environment for them to invest.

STATISTICS

BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES

(Select incidents culled out from the Pakistan media)

Place	Date	Description	Killed	Injured
Balochistan				

⁴⁹<http://www.unewstv.com/130751/power-play-imran-khan-exclusive-interview-18th-june-2018>

Quetta ⁵⁰	09/06/2018	Five Dead, Four Injured In Various Incidents, 3 Abductees Rescued In Quetta	05	04
Quetta ⁵¹	16/06/2018	Two civilians, Levies personnel martyred in Quetta gun attack	00	05
Quetta ⁵²	20/06/2018	Four terrorists killed in Balochistan operation: CTD	04	00
KP				
Dera Ismail Khan ⁵³	24/06/2018	Six militants killed in South Waziristan operation	07	00
Islamabad				
Islamabad ⁵⁴	04/06/2018	At least 3 PTM supporters dead, 20 injured in	03	20

⁵⁰<https://www.urdupoint.com/en/pakistan/five-dead-four-injured-in-various-incidents-367855.html>

⁵¹<https://tribune.com.pk/story/1736358/1-two-civilians-levies-personnel-martyred-quetta-gun-attack/>

⁵² <https://www.geo.tv/latest/199879-four-terrorists-dead-in-ctd-operation-in-balochistan>

⁵³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1415729/six-militants-killed-in-south-waziristan-operation>

⁵⁴<https://dailytimes.com.pk/248702/at-least-3-ptm-supporters-dead-20-injured-in-taliban-attack/>

		'Taliban' attack		
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