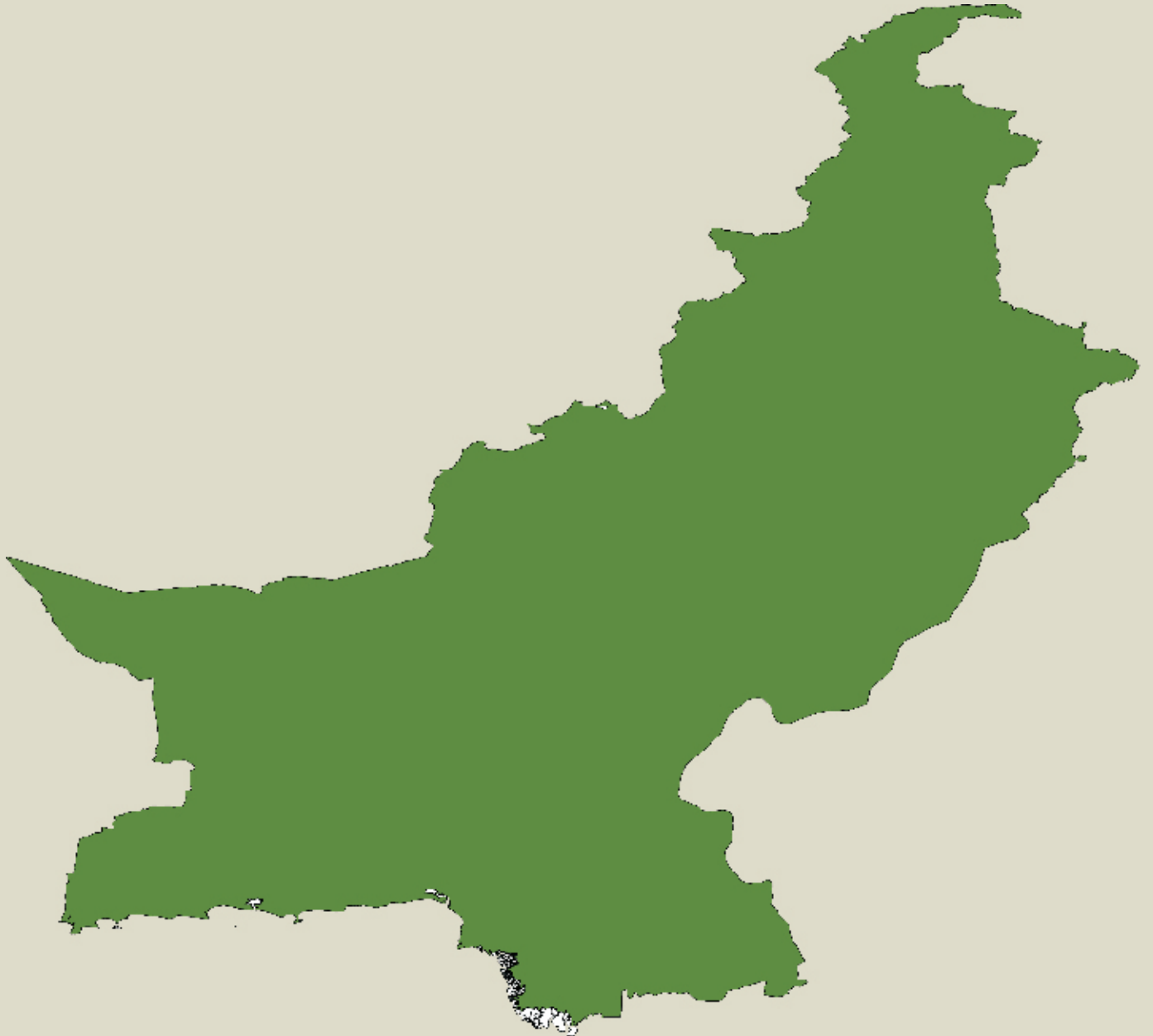


JULY 2017

PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST

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



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

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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES
रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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PAKISTAN NEWS DIGEST, July 2017

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EDITORIAL

With a year away from completing his first full-time tenure as a Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif's term as a third time PM in office came to an unprecedented end with the Supreme Court of Pakistan dismissing him from his position. The Court disqualified the PM, barring him from holding any public office and directed the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) to file cases against Sharif and his family in an anti-corruption court. Additionally, the verdict also came with a clause that bar Nawaz Sharif from pursuing electoral politics for at least five years, which can be a major setback for the PML-N in the upcoming 2018 general elections. Judge Ejaz Afzal Khan announcing the verdict said, "He is no more eligible to be an honest member of the parliament" and emphasised that the PM has failed to declare his role as chairperson of Capital FZE, an offshore company based in United Arab Emirates.

Voices in Pakistan are divided over this judgment; those who are supporting the judgment are terming it as a historic moment and argue that the decision to ouster a PM from his post marks the beginning of accountability for the ruling elites of the country. But the critics have strongly reacted by arguing that the use of Article 62 used to disqualify the PM over a subjective value judgment will damage fragile democracy of Pakistan. It has to be noted that articles 62 and 63 are Islamic injunctions introduced by the former military dictator general Zia-ul-Haq in 1985. Those sceptical of the verdict claim that accountability can only be possible when all the institutions, besides political including the military establishments and civilian bureaucrats are brought into the fold of such investigations and thereby face similar consequences. With the new interim Prime Minister Shahid Khaqan Abbasi also embroiled in corruption charges in 2015 regarding award of a liquefied natural gas import contract and PML-N's dilemma of deciding on the fate of Shabaz Sharif as the PM for the remaining term, the political crisis in Pakistan seems to be heading towards an uncertain and ugly phase.

On the security front the Pakistani army claims to have started one of its largest anti-terrorism operations, '*Khyber-IV*' under Radd-ul-Fasaad in the Federally Administrated Tribal areas (FATA) and Kyber Agency. Although the according to the ISPR the operation is said to wipe terrorists out of the region but, it is largely said in the Pakistani media that the main target of this new operation if the ISIS militants bealived to be holed in these regions. With this operation experts believe that Pakistan may have finally come out of the denial mode about the presence of *Daesh* in the country. However critics point to the fact that most of these anti-terrorism operations by the military lack the

backing of a civilian led national effort which is an important element to fight the terror groups and to make it more effective and result oriented.

However in some sections of the English media it has been underlined that with the Army's increasing anti-terror operations in the tribal areas, there has been a steady growth in the militant attacks in the urban parts of Pakistan. The suicide bombing on 24 July in Lahore that killed more than 26 people, injuring dozens others shattered a period of relative calm in the Pakistani city. It has been said that the attack claimed by the Pakistani Taliban can well be a signal of the shift of target areas by militant groups towards urban Pakistan with the increasing military operations in the tribal regions.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Israel and thus India-Israel closeness, Afghanistan's security situation, and the critical of Pakistan the US State Department Report 2016 were seen as challenges that needed to be addressed. Prime Minister Modi's visit to Israel was interpreted as the 'right-wing governments' coming together to suppress the restive populations of Gaza and Kashmir in their respective countries. The silence maintained by the Muslim countries over the high fanfare meeting of Netanyahu and Modi was seen as unprecedented and alarming. The US State Departments 2016 report on terrorism was called 'reiteration' of the old complaints. There was a prevailing perception in the US that the Haqqani Networks is succoured by Pakistan. At the same time it was also maintained that despite the fact the US-Pakistan relations have been disgruntled for some time, 'there is more than a grain of truth in some of the report highlights' as no action has been taken against some groups like JeM and LeT.

Dr. Zainab Akhter

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Setback to peace, S. Mudassir Ali Shah, Dawn, 02 July¹

To ensure Pakistan's support for a political solution in Afghanistan, the US will have to convince Islamabad and New Delhi to initiate a substantive dialogue to resolve their long-running disputes. *Pakistan's soft corner for the Afghan Taliban is ostensibly aimed at offsetting growing Kabul-Delhi links. Revival of the Quadrilateral Coordination Group would be a giant stride towards aligning regional efforts for stability in Afghanistan.* If regional actors are sidelined, the Resolute Support Mission will be in trouble. A change for the better will not come about in the absence of a cohesive vision for reconciliation.

Surrendering Parachinar, Umair Javed, Dawn, 03 July²

Parachinar of this past decade is the collective failure of a callous Pakistani state and its criminally indifferent society...The victims say this unceasing violence is a sustained *campaign against a besieged Shia population*. We respond by telling them not to talk about sect. We police their grief by telling them Pakistani Muslims died, not Shias. *Some of us even have the gall to claim they deserve their fate for allegedly being more loyal to a hostile Iranian government than to their own.* All of this while we purposefully ignore claims made by the attackers telling us, no, in fact we did kill them for their sect.

Parachinar and censorship, Ammar Rashid, Daily Times, 04 July³

For decades, ignored by the mainland majority, Kurram has been a microcosmic symbol of the devastating consequences of strategic depth. The Shia-majority agency bordering three Afghan provinces has long been a region of geographic importance for the establishment, particularly since the Afghan Jihad when it was used as a training ground for the Mujahideen. From then onward, *the list of the state's excesses in Kurram is long and damning: from the settlement of thousands of Afghan refugees in the agency by Zia to reduce the Shia-majority; to allowing the unchecked use of the area by the Haqqanis and other Taliban groups despite the local population's opposition; to standing by when Turi Laskhars fought off Taliban attacks by themselves; to somehow allowing non-local anti-Shia sectarian groups to*

¹ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1342691/setback-to-peace>

² <https://www.dawn.com/news/1342814/surrendering-parachinar>

³ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/04-Jul-17/parachinar-and-censorship>

carry out brazen attacks despite crippling curfews on locals; and more recently, to opening fire on protestors demanding justice. It is undeniable that for far too long, the violence in places like Parachinar has been acceptable collateral damage for the state's strategic imperatives in Afghanistan.

Business of politics, Editorial, Dawn, 05 July⁴

Lost in the cacophony of accusations and recriminations over the fate of the Sharifs in the Panama Papers *case is a worrying nexus that appears to exist between business and politics in the country*. From the Sharifs' business partnerships with a number of ruling families in the Middle East and the Gulf to their interests in that most recognizable of political assets, sugar mills, the obvious and perhaps hidden conflicts of interest are numerous. The sweeping problems are, of course, not limited to the Sharif family or the PML-N. Imran Khan has claimed in the past that only the rich can be trusted to practice clean politics here since the financial temptations in office are so many a claim not only contradicted by the global history of politics and money, but at odds with the allegations the PTI supremo routinely makes against the Sharifs and sundry political opponents. *With successive governments having little interest in strengthening institutions, the possibility of strong regulators overseeing business sectors has also receded, at least temporarily.*

Roots of cultural invasion, Kamran Siddiqui, The Express Tribune, 7 July⁵

The Arabisation of Pakistani society and its devastating effects in terms of radicalisation and polarisation are now evident, causing irreparable damage to the country's social fabric. ... *While there are no doubts that Zia provided the breeding ground for religious extremism and the infiltration of Arab culturalism into Pakistani society, the seeds were sown by his predecessor Zulfikar Ali Bhutto*. ... Hosting the Islamic head of states conference in 1974 was a part of this effort to gain global recognition of this new and active affiliation. ... *Another factor that played a role in distancing Pakistan from the common South Asian identity was the efforts of the Pakistani leadership, from its inception until today, to distance Pakistan from India to prove that the two are separate nations*. ... Despite the animosity of Pakistani and Indian leadership towards each other, the general population in both the nations have never developed hostile feelings at a personal level, owing to the roots in their common culture and language. By maintaining these roots, peace and harmony may thrive in the region that is bound to bring prosperity to both countries.

⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1343246/business-of-politics>

⁵ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1451843/roots-cultural-invasion/>

Once more unto the breach, Editorial, *The Express Tribune*, 9 July⁶

It was Henry V addressing his troops before the Battle of Agincourt that spoke the famous words, and there is a tinge of the Shakespearean about the battle that is shaping up for the control of Pakistan. *Loins are being girded right, left and centre and whatever the outcome of the Panama Papers sideshow the real battle is going to be fought at the polling booth and ballot box in 2018.* ... The Pakistan People's Party (PPP) everywhere is a shadow of its former self with a clumsy and cumbersome co-chairmanship that hobbles the party in every sense - and throttles the new generation leaving them gasping for political breath. ... This brings us to the call to arms issued by the PM on Friday 7th July when he called on his opponents to 'fight us in the political arena'. ... Calls to once more come unto the breach, dear friends, puts the electoral machine on notice that there is a battle to be fought, Panama Capers notwithstanding in its outcome(s).

A Leaky Vessel, Editorial, *The Nation*, 11 July⁷

If the Supreme Court verdict blew a hole into Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's credibility, the (leaked) Joint Investigation Team report unleashed a veritable broadside on it. ... *However, this report remains just as inconclusive. Despite quoting the National Accountability Ordinance, 1999 – whereby any public office holder unable to justify his assets compared to his means is considered to have committed the crime of corruption – the JIT did not file these charges themselves, neither did it make a direct recommendation to the Supreme Court.* The matter of criminally charging the Prime Minister has been kicked one rung down to the National Accountability Bureau (NAB). As the supporters of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif noted on social media; at this moment he is the Prime Minister, and not charged with a crime. ...

Democracy is the best revenge, Editorial, *Daily Times*, 12 July⁸

The jury has decided. The verdict is in. The opposition has united once more under the single hashtag of those dreamy dharna days of yesteryear. Or else face the music. And for everyone who is not part of the ruling PMLN – this means relinquishing the premiership. ... Yet of one thing we can be certain: the legal wrangling over financial disparity between the first family's known income and their actual wealth is not going to be a drawn out affair. *Not if the PPP and PTI have their way. Not, actually, if the PMLN has its way. For all three have their eye on next year's electoral prize.* ... Now that this appears firmly under way, we must remind the opposition of their role in keeping due checks and balances on not just those who hold the keys of parliamentary

⁶ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1453402/once-more-unto-the-breach/>

⁸ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/12-Jul-17/democracy-is-the-best-revenge>

power but also national institutions. And this means holding to account all those identified in Panama Papers. For this is what democracy is. And it is the best revenge, so we've heard.

End of the Sharif era? Zahid Hussain, *Dawn*, 12 July⁹

For a sitting prime minister, there could not have been a more damning indictment. *The report of the joint investigation team (JIT) has charged the Sharif family on several counts – from perjury and faking documents to hiding their sources of wealth and living beyond their means. Predictably, Nawaz Sharif has refused to bow out and has vowed to take the battle to the end.* ... The government had certainly not expected such a sweeping indictment that has left the country's most powerful political leader politically and morally damaged. ... Surely the backing of the country's apex court may have been one of the factors. ... The PML-N can still survive in power and complete its five-year term by electing a new leader and prepare for the next elections that are only months away. *That is the only way that the political uncertainty can end. Democracy is not about personal power. More important is for the democratic political process to continue.* A tainted leader can neither provide stability to the country nor lead his party into the next elections successfully. ...

The Population bomb, Editorial, *The Nation*, 13 July¹⁰

Pakistan is the sixth largest country in the world according to population statistics. Since day one, Pakistan has witnessed an upward population growth rate. .. *Given that government allocates not more than 2-3 % of its budget in the health sector, the issue becomes more complex with the rapid increase in population. Half of Pakistani children suffer from stunting or wasting, or both.* ... Experts are calling the rapid population increase a population bomb. *What can one do in a situation like this when resources cannot be increased? The answer is simple; the government should advocate the cause of population control.* ... If necessary steps are not taken to control the rapid population growth of the country, set targets in the health sector cannot be achieved, and the people are bound to suffer a poor quality of life.

Better sense prevails, Editorial, *The Express Tribune*, 17 July¹¹

The continued onslaught by the Indian army in Indian-occupied Kashmir (IOK) and Manipur is finally receiving the scrutiny it should have received a long time ago. *The Indian Supreme Court has awoken to the allegations by human rights groups about the Indian army's extrajudicial killings*

⁹ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1344822/end-of-the-sharif-era>

¹⁰ <http://nation.com.pk/editorials/13-Jul-2017/the-population-bomb>

¹¹ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1459599/better-sense-prevails/>

between 2000 and 2012, especially in the state of Manipur, where cases against it number in the thousands. ... Attitudes and responses by the Indian army somewhat parallel attitudes we have been familiar with in our own country. ... Here, across the border from New Delhi, we may be able to have respite from the IOK massacres that have continued since the murder of Burhan Wani one year ago. Perhaps the corridors of power can apply some pressure on India now to pursue the Burhan Wani case. ... Instead of armies reigning supreme, perhaps better days are possible as citizens on both sides of the border pine for an end to senseless killings.

Law enforcement challenges, Editorial, *Daily Times*, 18 July¹²

As the politico-legal wrangling and theatrical media coverage of the Prime Minister's troubles and Panamagate continues this week, the deadly attacks serve as a reminder that the country's existential war against religious terrorism continues. *That the fight for survival appears to be mere background noise to the Panama issue at least going by the Pakistani media's apparent priorities is a sad commentary on the state of our public discussion.* Furthermore, that these attacks targeted the FC and police force underscores the more difficult battles of this war yet to come. Unfortunately, not enough progress has been made when it comes to strengthening the capacity of provincial-level law enforcement forces or enhancing coordination amongst provincial and federal law enforcement agencies. The sharing and joint use of intelligence in particular remains a deeply fraught process to the advantage of the terrorists, of course.

Who rules Pakistan? Afrasiab Khattak, *The Nation*, 22 July¹³

The gloves are coming off as the creeping coup is entering its final stage and is going for the kill. We have been told that the JIT is an extension of the Supreme Court. We already know that it's also an extension of the premier intelligence agencies of the country that are part and parcel of the security establishment. These power connections explain the inquisition type authority of JIT, which it has used with a vengeance. *But it is becoming obvious that the attack is not confined to the "corrupt" Prime Minister and his family. Its target is the entire system that has evolved over a decade or so. ... The aforementioned forces have never reconciled with the federal democratic and parliamentary system enshrined in the 1973 Constitution. ...*

¹² <http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/18-Jul-17/law-enforcement-challenges>

¹³ <http://nation.com.pk/columns/22-Jul-2017/who-rules-pakistan>

Attacks on law enforcers, Editorial, *The Express Tribune*, 24 July¹⁴
Terrorism reared its ugly head yet again on Friday evening in a tragic incident in which three policemen and a minor boy were slain in a drive-by shooting in the Awami Colony area of Korangi Town in Karachi. ... Firstly, it is imperative that the police departments in all the provinces, and their inspectors-general, be allowed to function free of political influence. ... Secondly, it is crucial that the police department build an image of public service and gain the confidence and trust of the people as it is only with the help of the public that it can effectively deal with terrorists. Thirdly, the country's intelligence agencies must step up their information-gathering on terrorist groups and focus on infiltration of these groups. Proper investment on surveillance systems to protect our cities will help improve the law and order situation.

UN body asks Pakistan to criminalise enforced disappearances, Umair Rasheed, *Daily Times*, 28 July¹⁵

The United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC) *has recommended Pakistani government to criminalise enforced disappearances in its concluding remarks on Pakistan's first ever review following the country's ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.* The commission has asked the government to investigate all known cases of disappearances and extra judicial killings and penalise those responsible for these acts. It has held that the government should ensure that penalties are 'commensurate with the gravity of crimes'.

'You are human, Mian Sahib', Abbas Nasir, *Dawn*, 31 July¹⁶

Nawaz Sharif had extremely poor counsel ever since the Panama Papers were leaked to journalists who started sifting through the mounds of data to find information that was relevant and useful to them. When the journalists' organisation ICIJ reportedly contacted the Sharif family to get their version on the leaked information that they owned a number of flats in one of London's most expensive residential areas, the family did not respond to the queries. *This lethargic, even lackadaisical, response could only have been rooted in either a sense of being indestructible or a total and complete lack of understanding of the challenge the scandal could pose to Nawaz Sharif and his family.*

¹⁴ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1465042/attacks-law-enforcers/>

¹⁵ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/28-Jul-17/un-body-asks-pakistan-to-criminalise-enforced-disappearances>

¹⁶ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1348621/you-are-human-mian-sahib>

Everything wrong with the verdict, Marvi Sirmed, *Daily Times*, 29 July¹⁷

The courts have set a dangerous precedent. Meaning that for the first time in the country's history the superior court has invoked the infamous Article 62, which relies upon the undefined notion of moral repute. In other words, this judgement has lowered considerably the threshold when it comes to disqualifying a sitting PM. And this is not in any way shape or form good for Pakistan's future democratic health, leaving, as it does, the door open to military dictators ready to chop off civilian political heads, which is why the judiciary had always been extremely cautious about its use. *In addition, to further push its case, the SC negatively invoked Section 99(f) of the Representation of People Act 1976, which articulates safeguards against disqualification hinging upon an individual being "sagacious, righteous and non-profligate and honest and ameen".*

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Debating CPEC, Editorial, *Dawn*, 13 July¹⁸

The army chief's call for an "open debate on all aspects of CPEC" is to be welcomed, but a few irritants stand in the way before any such debate can happen. The first irritant is the lack of disclosure by the government of many of the crucial details. ... The second irritant is the extremely defensive language the government adopts every time questions about CPEC are asked, accompanied with reminders that "an enemy of CPEC is an enemy of Pakistan". ... At the end of the day, an open debate will promote greater clarity and understanding about the projects. ... It is astonishing how little is known about the details outside of a small coterie of individuals. Without wider debate, the potential benefits of CPEC will not be felt by the common citizenry, at least not in the shape that we are being told.

Two-nation economy, Saddam Hussein, *The Nation*, 16 July¹⁹

With all other factors, it's basically the difference of institutions which play a crucial role in shaping the current performance of an economy. ... *Creation of different institutions involves different factors in the backdrop. Firstly, British colonialism's shaping of the borders of both Pakistan and India is seen to be the major factor in the differing trajectories of both nations. ... Secondly, owing to the impact of Hinduism, India was able to carry on with*

¹⁷ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/features/29-Jul-17/whats-wrong-with-the-verdict-everything>

¹⁸ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1345181/debating-cpec>

¹⁹ <http://nation.com.pk/blogs/16-Jul-2017/two-nation-economy>

democracy further, except for a case of brief state of emergency once. The people of Pakistan use to be so disappointed by the poor performance of politicians, that they became much less reluctant to the military rule. ... Thirdly, the political legacy, education, and experience of democracy inherited by Pakistan were not consistent with that which was adopted by India. ... Fourthly, in Pakistan, religion holds an important position in our social framework, for historic and cultural reasons. It is one of the chief sources of our values, norms and national symbols. ... Fifthly, there is a basic defect in Pakistan's political system. ... Lastly, Pakistan does have the British legacy of functional institutions such the nation's military and the bureaucracy which have been able to sustain the state. ... That is why, formulation of different institutions caused difference in the economic trajectories of Pakistan and India.

South Asia's emerging trajectories, Junaid Ashraf, *The Nation*, 21 July²⁰
South Asia is situated in a strategically important location and has always been bone of a contention for control by major powers. It has proximity with the Indian Ocean which has the most important choke points of the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Hormuz, through which 32.2 millions of barrels of crude oil and petroleum are transported per day. Furthermore, South Asia is well connected with the Arabian Sea and has ports like Gwadar, Chittagong and Hambantota, which makes it, eye candy for global players. Though less overt yet, the role of extra-regional players; US, Russia and China are becoming more visible now. ...

Can Pakistan's economy afford political instability? Ahsan Iqbal, *The Express Tribune*, 27 July²¹
Back in the 1960s, Pakistan was one of the fastest growing economies in the developing world and it was destined to rise up the economic ladder. ... Unfortunately, Pakistan as an economic nation could not materialise the promise it had. ... Given the benefit of hindsight, there are two major mistakes that we made but were avoided by these countries. One, Pakistan got too much involved in regional and global geo-political games instead of prioritising economic development. Second, Pakistan did not have sustainable political stability. The biggest casualty of these mistakes was the economy of Pakistan. ... Instead of geo-politics, Pakistan should become a player in geo-economics. And our domestic politics should revolve around economic and development issues rather than petty personal attacks on political opponents. ...

²⁰ <http://nation.com.pk/columns/21-Jul-2017/south-asia-s-emerging-trajectories>

²¹ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1467291/can-pakistans-economy-afford-political-instability/>

SECURITY SITUATION

Terror financing, Editorial, Dawn, 03 July²²

For years, Pakistan had not adhered to the standards of the global anti-terror financing framework aimed at preventing money laundering and terror financing. *At issue is the presence in Pakistan of individuals and entities that have been specifically designated by the United Nations as terrorists, including Hafiz Saeed, Jamaatud Dawa and the Falah-i-Insaniyat Foundation.* Whereas many other steps have been taken in recent weeks, such as the State Bank requiring banks to determine whether an individual seeking a banking relationship is operating as a front man for any banned group, these measures may not be enough.

Emergent threats of militancy, Mubashir Akram, Daily Times, 03 July²³

Over the past four decades, Pakistan has essentially transitioned from one wave of terrorism to another. A nation divided on sectarian lines, Pakistan constantly kept looking the other way whenever it came to discussing militancy. *Most sects in Pakistan have aligned their religio-political and social causes with either an explicit or implicit desire of overpowering other sects. Violence has been both a strategy and a tactic.* Nearly 3,000 Pakistanis have been killed in attacks on mosques alone since 2000. If not managed properly and in time, the current wave of terrorism might become even deadlier. This wave would be manned by Pakistani-origin fighters who are waging Jihad in Syria. The Pakistani Shiites are seemingly fighting for the promised Wilayat, while the Sunnis are pursuing their dreams of a pan-Islamic Caliphate. Both are proxies of two “brother Islamic” nations who would keep their hands and societies clean once these young militants have served their purpose.

Joint Operation, Editorial, The Nation, 6 July²⁴

Afghanistan has agreed to carry out joint military actions against terrorist outfits with Pakistan, however, whether the Afghan government stays true to this promise or not, only time will tell. ... *Accepting the idea of curtailing the activities of the militant groups with Pakistani assistance only came after a US delegation, headed by Senator John McCain, visited Kabul. The Pakistani government has made this suggestion countless times – the only way to get Afghanistan to play ball is if the US sanctions it....* Speculation is rife with

²² <https://www.dawn.com/news/1342811/terror-financing>

²³ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/03-Jul-17/emergent-threats-of-militancy-in-pakistan>

²⁴ <http://nation.com.pk/editorials/06-Jul-2017/joint-operation>

regards to the future of the Afghan conundrum – some experts believe that the US will look to increase military presence by at least 4000 (in addition to the 8600 already stationed). ... *The United States will be committing a mistake by increasing the number of soldiers to counter militancy in Afghanistan.* ... Also, to avoid further instability and chaos in the region, complete withdrawal of American forces from Afghanistan is necessary. Only a regional solution, where China, Russia, Pakistan and Iran ensure the development and security of Afghanistan, will work.

All stick, no carrot, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 21 July²⁵

The US State Department report 'Country Reports on Terrorism 2016' has little good to say about Pakistan, and in many ways adds more of the same to a grumbling chorus of complaints emanating from the US. ... It is the American perception of the failure to take on the Haqqani Network and hinder the activities of the Afghan Taliban that are said to have a presence here that drives US irritability. ... *Unfortunately, there is more than a grain of truth in some of the report highlights. This government has not taken significant action against Jaish-e-Mohammad or Lashkar-e-Taiba and both organisations continue to fundraise, hold rallies, and recruit and train in Pakistan.* ... There are going to be no carrots from the Trump administration - but too much stick makes for an uncooperative bedfellow.

Daish at the door, Syeda Mamoona Rubab, The Friday Times, 21 July²⁶

The State of Pakistan may have finally emerged from being in denial about the presence of Daish on its territory to at least acknowledging that it is an enemy at the gates: This week, the military started its largest known operation, Khyber-IV, against Daish in Rajgal Valley of Khyber Agency. *Daish is the Arabic acronym for Islamic State group or ISIS. The operation, which involves up to 3,000 troops backed by the artillery, army aviation helicopters and Pakistan Air Force, would seek to cleanse an area covering roughly 17kms by 15kms of terrorists who have established hideouts there because of its extremely difficult terrain and thick forest cover.* Though there have already been three operations in Khyber Agency, and one in this particular valley, as ISPR Director-General Maj Gen Asif Ghafoor said, “the pocket” was a leftover task. The fear this time is that a motley crew of terrorist groups with sanctuaries in Rajgal, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, Jamaatul Ahrar, and Mangal Bagh’s Lashkar-e-Islami, could team up with Daish that has established its stronghold in Afghanistan’s Nangarhar across the border (as the Khorasan chapter of the Middle Eastern terrorist group). The military

²⁵ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1462492/stick-no-carrot/>

²⁶ <http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/daish-at-the-door/>

believes that Khyber-IV would prevent “Daish influence” from coming over to this side.

Lahore blast, Editorial, Dawn, 25 July²⁷

Yet another major terrorist attack in Lahore with a significant death toll and injury count has underlined the drift in national counterterrorism efforts. *In the immediate aftermath of the attack, despite the banned TTP claiming responsibility, it is difficult to establish a link between a bombing in urban Pakistan and an aggressive military operation in Fata.* Yet, the past suggests that military operations in Fata tend to raise the threat in other parts of the country as the militants seek revenge. It is also unacceptable for Punjab government officials to argue that the province has seen a 70pc to 80pc decline in terrorism as if to suggest that the citizenry should be grateful for only having to suffer sporadic attacks. As previous cycles of militant violence have demonstrated, a slow but steady set of attacks points to militant networks that are resilient and capable of suddenly exploding into violence.

New Splinter Groups, Editorial, The Nation, 27 July²⁸

Senior law enforcement officials have identified a new militant network, an offshoot of the banned Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), as the group responsible for Monday’s attack on Lahore’s Ferozepur Road. Very little is known about this so-called Taliban Special Group (TSG), which is reportedly comprised of highly trained suicide attackers (fidayeen commandos), or how the law enforcement agencies came to the conclusion that the attack was carried out by this particular group, but regardless of the specifics, the increased splintering of militant groups poses a serious problem that needs to be addressed. ... Each splintering weakens the parent group, and if the government can tackle each new splinter as it emerges, soon the task of managing militancy will become a lot easier.

The emerging Barelvi extremism, Daily Times, Mubashir Akram, 31 July²⁹

Of the five mainstream Brelvi organisations, three have dangerous undertones of sectarian extremism, and have the potential of further deepening the social divides based on religious and sectarian identities intensifying the polarisation of the Pakistani society. *The discussion on sectarian and other forms of religious violence in Pakistan generally excludes the Brelvi sect.* Their impression is that of the peace and Sufi music loving people, yet the fact is they are as strong headed sectarian as their Deobandi, Shiite and Ahle Hadith counterparts are. Role of the mainstream Brelvi

²⁷ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1347491/lahore-blast>

²⁸ <http://nation.com.pk/editorials/27-Jul-2017/new-splinter-groups>

²⁹ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/31-Jul-17/the-emerging-brelvi-extremism>

leadership in various recent political and religious crises rather deepened the social schisms, including their stances and sloganeering on Mumtaz Qadri. With implicit but repeated tendencies toward violence in the past, the Brelvi sectarianism could become a violent reality in future.

PROVINCES & REGIONS

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan misery, Editorial, *The Nation*, 19 July³⁰

Afghanistan is a ticking bomb in the region of South Asia, with its deteriorating state machinery and the growing control of Taliban in the region. A report prepared by the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) has highlighted a rise in the number of civilian deaths in the last 16 years. Despite the presence of the American army, the terror strikes have not lowered in number. ... *The reason why policies fail despite the presence of the US in the region is the absolute failure of state institutions to have a broader vision for stability, and at the same time, US is not taking responsibility of the mess that it created in the region.* ... The only way the situation will improve is by helping out all parties and not accommodating Afghanistan's maligning strategy towards Pakistan. *The bottom line is that Pakistan wants to see a peaceful Afghanistan; the future of CPEC's regional trade depends on it.* An unstable Afghanistan is only in the interest of the US and India, obsessed with "balancing" China, a world power that really cannot be competed with.

Af-Pak woes, Editorial, *Daily Times*, 21 July³¹

The US State Department's Country Reports on Terrorism 2016 reinforced the idea that Pakistan and the United States have had a most complicated relationship since 9/11. Perhaps the light-hearted description of the bilateral relationship as being one of "frenemies" has some significant basis in fact. The report acknowledged that civilian deaths due to terrorist strikes inside Pakistan had reduced significantly from 3,000 in 2012 and 2013 to 600 in 2016—and that Pakistan has eliminated safe havens for organisations such as the Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) from its territory. But it also claimed that Pakistan continues to allow extremist organisations such as the Lashkar-i-Tayyiba and Jaish-e-Mohammad to operate within the country.

³⁰ <http://nation.com.pk/editorials/19-Jul-2017/afghan-misery>

³¹ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/21-Jul-17/af-pak-woes>

Afghan hostility, Malik Muhammad Ashraf, *The Nation*, 28 July³²

Pakistan and Afghanistan are both victims of terrorism and as such, they need to cooperate with each other earnestly to effectively deal with the common threat. *But it is regrettable to note that the persistent efforts by Pakistan to promote Afghan-owned and Afghan-led reconciliation in Afghanistan and to develop a common strategy in cooperation with her against the terrorists have not been fruitful because of the intransigent and non-cooperative attitude of the Afghan government.* ... Pakistani leadership, both civilian and military, has repeatedly tried to clear the haze through every available forum but there has been no change in their narrative. ... *My considered view is that the Afghan government was actually not in a position to take an independent decision with regards to the resolution of the Afghan conundrum and eliminating terrorism through collaborative efforts with Pakistan.* The key to the resolution of these issues lies with the US. Unfortunately, the US does not want a solution to these problems as continued instability in this region suits her strategic interests. ...

FATA

Surrendering Parachinar, Umair Javed, *Dawn*, 03 July³³

Parachinar of this past decade is the collective failure of a callous Pakistani state and its criminally indifferent society. In the first instance, the state has failed in its most basic task protecting people it claims are its citizens. *The people of Parachinar carry CNICs issued by the Pakistani state. They likely pay a range of withholding and sales taxes. They work and contribute to the economy in many different parts of the country.* Some of them toil abroad and send back remittances so crucial for our perpetually faltering forex reserves. Perhaps our collective indifference or transient sympathy is better than the sustained reaction some of us hold to their grief. The victims say this unceasing violence is a sustained campaign against a besieged Shia population. We respond by telling them not to talk about sect. We police their grief by telling them Pakistani Muslims died, not Shias. Some of us even have the gall to claim they deserve their fate for allegedly being more loyal to a hostile Iranian government than to their own. All of this while we purposefully ignore claims made by the attackers telling us, no, in fact we did kill them for their sect.

Parachinar and censorship, Ammar Rashid, *Daily Times*, 04 July³⁴

For decades, ignored by the mainland majority, Kurram has been a microcosmic symbol of the devastating consequences of strategic depth. *The*

³² <http://nation.com.pk/columns/28-Jul-2017/afghan-hostility>

³³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1342814/surrendering-parachinar>

³⁴ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/04-Jul-17/parachinar-and-censorship>

Shia-majority agency bordering three Afghan provinces has long been a region of geographic importance for the establishment, particularly since the Afghan Jihad when it was used as a training ground for the Mujahideen. From then onward, the list of the state's excesses in Kurram is long and damning: from the settlement of thousands of Afghan refugees in the agency by Zia to reduce the Shia-majority; to allowing the unchecked use of the area by the Haqqanis and other Taliban groups despite the local population's opposition; to standing by when Turi Laskhars fought off Taliban attacks by themselves; to somehow allowing non-local anti-Shia sectarian groups to carry out brazen attacks despite crippling curfews on locals; and more recently, to opening fire on protestors demanding justice. It is undeniable that for far too long, the violence in places like Parachinar has been acceptable collateral damage for the state's strategic imperatives in Afghanistan. Bringing up these issues has nothing to do with being traitorous or anti-state; it is about questioning the wisdom of policies that have repeatedly resulted in human tragedy.

Why political parties don't care about FATA and Balochistan, Rafiullah Kakar, Daily Times, 05 July³⁵

The PML-N, in particular, faces long-standing accusations of catering only to its voter base in Punjab. The indifferent behaviour of these parties is explained by Pakistan's majoritarian federal design, which institutionalizes the dominance of Pakistan's core ethnic group — the Punjabis. The province of Punjab dominates Pakistan's premier decision-making body i.e. Parliament and core federal institutions i.e. the bureaucracy and the military. As long as Punjab's voters are happy, a political party can easily afford to ignore other provinces especially Balochistan and FATA. With no provincial legislature, FATA fares the worst of all federating units. To cut it short, Pakistan's current federal design makes Balochistan and FATA the least-rewarding political constituencies and thus offers little or no incentive to political parties to care about these regions. *Pakistan's current federal design makes Balochistan and FATA the least-rewarding political constituencies and thus offers little or no incentive to political parties to care about these regions.*

Playing the Pushtun card, Shezad Baloch, The Express Tribune, 13 July³⁶

On June 23rd Majeed Khan Achakzai, a provincial minister and senior leader of the Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP), was reported to have run over and killed a traffic sergeant. ... Nevertheless, in a moment of

³⁵<http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/05-Jul-17/why-political-parties-dont-care-about-fata-and-balochistan>

³⁶ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1456569/playing-pashtun-card/>

inattention and recklessness, an innocent man ended up losing his life. ... *Neither arrests were made following the accident nor a case ever registered against the driver of the vehicle.* In fact, Majeed did not even admit being behind the wheel until images emerged on social media showing him in the driver's seat. ... *In the aftermath of the accident, many saw the ensuing media coverage as a conspiracy against the Pashtun nationalist leader Mahmood Khan Achakzai, a close ally of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif.* ... Many Pashtun journalists in Quetta have complained that Baloch journalists and social media activists are biased in their reporting of this incident. ...

New Khyber operation, Editorial, Dawn, 17 July³⁷

With the launch of Operation Khyber-4, the military will attempt to address a long-standing problem that has evolved in an unexpected way more recently. What appears to have changed is that the militancy dynamic in eastern Afghanistan has shifted in favour of the militant Islamic State group; it has elevated the danger that Pakistan faces through the Rajgal Valley route. So now the military has freed up forces to take the fight to militants inside the valley and, eventually, set up posts along the border from where future militant movements can be interdicted. It will be a tough fight and Pakistan's brave soldiers will incur losses. Their sacrifices for the long-term security of the country are the backbone of the nation's resolve. It remains to be seen if the Afghan government will be able to provide some support to the Pakistani effort.

BALUCHISTAN

No Way home, Editorial, The Express Tribune, 20 July³⁸

... The deplorable state of security manifests at the Pakistan-Iran border, where a lack of personnel has inconvenienced thousands of pilgrims stranded on their way back home. The spiritual journey to Iran and Iraq is referred to as Ziarat. ... Nonetheless, the fact that security escorts are needed in the first place speaks of a deep-rooted structural issue of violence in the country. *It is not just the protection of people stranded on the border which necessitates prompt scrutiny, but also the welfare of Pakistanis at large.* ... Sectarian violence in the recent past has already resulted in the loss of countless lives. ... In the aftermath of circumstances that are causing delays to their travel plans, the authorities responsible could at the very least provide food and water supplies until arrangements are resolved.

³⁷ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1345740/new-khyber-operation>

³⁸ <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1461743/no-way-home/>

Suicide bombing spree in Balochistan, Naveed Elahi, *Daily Times*, 25 July³⁹

Balochistan is home to the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) since the corridor's flagship project Gwadar Port is based here. Ever since Gwadar started taking concrete shape, foreign powers, big and small, friendly and unfriendly, have turned their guns towards it. *The lethality of attacks has increased which indicates that the terrorists are being imparted professional coaching and training by strategists who are adept in insurgency and terrorism.* The interests of the TTP and its sectarian affiliates like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), Jamaat-al-Ahrar (JuA) align strongly with hostile foreign agencies like India's RAW and the Afghanistan's NDS which has resulted in these entities collaborating. A look at the choice of targets confirms that TTP and its affiliates find their favourite fodder Shias and Hazaras in abundance in Balochistan, while they continue to attack soft targets such as courts, educational institutions and hospitals. The destabilization caused by such terrorist attacks serves the purpose of RAW and NDS, backed by some other hostile forces, of derailing CPEC, Gwadar and preventing normalcy in Balochistan and in Pakistan in general.

KASHMIR

Kashmir's ideological convictions, Nyla Ali Khan, *Daily Times*, 7 July⁴⁰

... How capable are mainstream politicians in Jammu and Kashmir of bringing about much-needed systemic and structural changes in conflict ridden, politically and socio-economically decrepit polities in South Asia, like J&K? ... *J&K is a conscripted space that has been inscribed upon several times, yet the previous texts have been imperfectly erased and, therefore, remain partially visible.* A history of unfulfilled pledges, broken promises, political deception, military oppression, illegal political detentions, a scathing human rights record, sterile political alliances, mass exodus, and New Delhi's malignant interference have created a gangrenous body politic, which hasn't even started to heal. ... *Given the volatile situation in Kashmir, the youngsters in the state are unable to employ effective strategies to successfully resolve issues that they are surrounded with.* ... Unfortunately, the government of India has insidiously inserted themselves into political structures and organisations in the state since 1953, which is the reason that mainstream politicians no longer feel the need to establish their credibility through ideology, conviction, perseverance, and working for the well-being of their electorate. Instead, they have become complacent and rule with *carte blanche*, which is why electoral politics has been stigmatised.

Taking concrete steps for Kashmir, Zeeshan Yousaf, *Daily Times*, 13 July⁴¹

³⁹ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/25-Jul-17/suicide-bombing-sprees-in-balochistan>

⁴⁰ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/07-Jul-17/kashmirs-ideological-convictions>

... Firstly, any solution to the Kashmir conflict mandates a de-militarisation of the region along with an elimination of heavy-handed tactics adopted by the Indian state in Indian Jammu and Kashmir (IJK). Secondly, Pakistan can set an example and strengthen its negotiation position by addressing the grievances of the people of Kashmir area controlled by Pakistan (AJK). *The negotiation process has to be broadly inclusive and mediated by a morally authoritative and disinterested neutral third party.* ... Likewise, various political organisations have formed to represent segments of Kashmiri society. ... *In Kashmir, no natural mediator comes to mind. China has a territorial stake. Russia is historically seen as an Indian ally while the US is always an interested party. Therefore, negotiations need to take place possibly in secret with a mutually agreed third party mediator.* ... Kashmiris have to negotiate through hundreds of check posts and their lives are even harder during curfews.

Amarnath Yatra and religious patriotism, Javaid Iqbal Bhat, *Daily Times*, 14 July⁴²

There is no doubt that the Amarnath Yatra over a period of time has been converted into a march of triumph. It bears marks of a sense of victory over a defeated population. ... The tone and color of the pilgrimage changed beyond recognition. *Previously, the sloganeering associated with the Amarnath pilgrimage was heard more by the pilgrims inside the safe confines of their vehicles than by anyone around among the locals.* ... Now there is a special effort to make the sound be heard by the 'rebellious' population. ... *Second, to return the pilgrimage to its antique spirit, with the visible bonhomie, the pilgrims have to treat the local sentiment with sanctity. It does not mean surrendering your sentiment but letting things go especially when the local sentiment is suffused with blood.* Thirdly, the local population on its part has to display a greater degree of magnanimity, without getting carried away by the triumphalism being loaded on to the pilgrimage. ... With the yatra severed from politicking on either side, we will look forward to happier times for the pilgrims, and hopefully for their hosts in the future.

⁴¹ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/13-Jul-17/taking-concrete-steps-for-kashmir>

⁴² <http://dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/14-Jul-17/amarnath-yatra-and-religious-patriotism>

RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA

Indo-Israel embrace, Editorial, *Dawn*, 6 July⁴³

Nothing is permanent in international relations; alliances are constantly shifting and relationships between states are made and broken. ... *Amidst the tumult in global affairs, the Indo-Israeli relationship has emerged as a steady bilateral alliance, surprising to some, while others have been watching the ties between Tel Aviv and New Delhi grow over the decades.* Narendra Modi's recent visit to Israel seems to have cemented this alliance, as the warm embrace between the Indian premier and Benjamin Netanyahu on the tarmac of Ben Gurion International Airport on Tuesday showed. ... *Both right-wing governments in Tel Aviv and Delhi seem to be sharing notes on how to keep these restive populations in check, with the Israelis stifling Gaza and the Indians using the jackboot to crush the Kashmiris.* Perhaps the Indo-Israeli embrace has provided an opportunity for Pakistan to highlight the Kashmir issue with Iran and others, in order to build world opinion against the atrocities unleashed upon both the Kashmiris and Palestinians.

Gunfight at the Himalayan 'chicken-neck', M Ziauddin, *Daily Times*, 7 July

... *So, China and the world at large were taken aback when just a week before Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the US last month, the Indian troops violating the 1993 border agreement tried to forcibly stop the construction of a road within the Chinese territory, thus seemingly provoking Beijing to retaliate militarily. India today, indeed, is not what it was in 1962. But China too is not what it was then.* So, militarily India even today is not in a position to force China to agree to New Delhi's version of LAC. ... India perhaps sees an endorsement of its encirclement concerns in China's One Belt One Road (OBOR) Initiative as well as in the Chinese built Pakistani port of Gwadar, overlooking the Indian occasion which is an essential part of Pakistan-China Economic Corridor (CPEC) project. ... *So, perhaps before leaving for the US PM Modi had wanted to send a message to President Trump reassuring him of India's willingness to take on China as Washington's proxy in return for the hardware and other material and moral support required to pin China down in a wasteful combat so that it does not challenge the US global hegemony and at the same time also helps save India from Chinese encirclement threat.* Therefore, the deliberate provocation. ...

Foreign policy challenges, I A Rehman, *Dawn*, 13 July⁴⁴

⁴³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1343476/indo-israeli-embrace>

⁴⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1344919/foreign-policy-challenges>

A series of developments have made it necessary for Pakistan to review some of the basic assumptions on which its foreign policy has traditionally been based. Unfortunately, matters are coming to a head while a lame-duck government is only concerned with its own survival. Take the threat the Indian prime minister's visit to Israel poses to Pakistan's policy of treating its association with Middle Eastern Muslim countries as a sheet anchor of its foreign policy. India has since long been developing its relations with Israel but it had so far been low-key on this, out of fear of antagonising the Muslim world, especially the rich Arab nations. For that reason, India's leaders avoided hobnobbing with Israeli rulers in public. Modi decided to add another feather to his cap, after being warmly embraced by President Trump, telling his people that he could free himself from emotional hangovers in the area of external relations. ... This situation poses two problems for Pakistan. It might get worried about the possibility of the hawks in India and Israel ganging up to hatch some mischief against this country; and the answer lies in constant vigilance. Secondly, the absence of an adverse reaction in Muslim countries to Modi's trip to Israel and the prospect of increased cooperation between the two countries reveals a shift in the Muslim states' attitude towards the Zionist state and casts doubts on the raison d'être of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. ...

India-China tensions and Pakistan, Editorial, Daily Times, 21 July⁴⁵

Indian politician and former defence minister Mulayam Singh's statement alleging that China has installed nuclear weapons inside Pakistan to attack India is an indication of the deteriorating relations between China and India. *The politician also said that China, and not Pakistan, is India's enemy. Such comments reflect, at the very least, some significant alarm in New Delhi over the growing collaboration between Pakistan and China. But far from an occasion for gloating and provocative behaviour, for Pakistan this should be a moment to review our diplomatic strategy.* Considering that Pakistan does not have a dedicated foreign minister - with the embattled Prime Minister holding that portfolio at the moment - it might become something of a challenge to come up with a coherent and well-considered position at international forums. This would be especially true in case the confrontation between China and India worsens. Although the apparent war of words is between China and India, Pakistan is certainly a part of it. Far from being able to address the concerns that India might raise, especially at international forums, Pakistan's foreign policy is currently vague and has faced multiple major setbacks in the past few years. Moreover, it remains unclear - especially to the foreign observer - as to who exactly is in charge of foreign policy. The fact is that Pakistan can ill afford yet more foreign policy failures. Given the

⁴⁵ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/editorial/21-Jul-17/india-china-tensions-and-pakistan>

current regional situation and in light of recent developments, Pakistan might soon face a situation of some significant isolation at international forums.

STATISTICS

BOMBINGS, SHOOTINGS AND DISAPPEARANCES

(Select incidents culled out from the Pakistan media)

Place	Date	Description	Killed	Injured
Punjab				
Karachi ⁴⁶	18/07/2017	PSP leader shot dead in Karachi	01	01
Karachi ⁴⁷	24/07/2017	On-duty traffic policeman killed, another injured in Karachi	01	10
Islamabad				
Peshawar ⁴⁸	17/07/07	Suicide bomber strikes Peshawar's Hayatabad, 3 Frontier Constabulary men martyred	03	11
FATA				
Parachinar ⁴⁹	24/06/2017	Multiple attacks on Eid shoppers, cops stun nation	41	100

⁴⁶ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/pakistan/18-Jul-17/psp-leader-shot-dead-in-karachi>

⁴⁷ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1347372/on-duty-traffic-policeman-killed-another-injured-in-karachi>

⁴⁸ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1345880/explosion-hits-peshawars-hayatabad-2-fc-men-martyred>

⁴⁹ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1341425>

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa				
Rajgal50	20/07/2017	13 terrorists killed, 6 injured under Operation Khyber 1V:ISPR	13	06
Balochistan				
Quetta51	12/06/17	IS affiliate kills three policemen in Quetta	03	0
Quetta52	12/06/17	FC kills two BLA terrorists in Quetta IBO	02	0
Gwadar53	20/06/17	2 Navy sailors gunned down in Gwadar shooting	02	05
Quetta54	23/06/17	13 killed in suicide attack on Quetta's Gulistan road	13	19
Lahore				
Ferozepur55	24/07/2017	26 killed in blast near Lahore's Ferozepur Road	26	58
Rawalpindi				
Dera Ghazi Khan56	16/06/2017	2 terrorists planning to attack Youm-e-Ali procession killed: ISPR	02	0

⁵⁰<http://nation.com.pk/national/20-Jul-2017/13-terrorists-killed-6-injured-under-operation-khyber-iv-ispr>

⁵¹ <http://dailytimes.com.pk/balochistan/12-Jun-17/is-affiliate-kills-three-policemen-in-quetta>

⁵² <http://dailytimes.com.pk/features/12-Jun-17/fc-kills-two-bla-terrorists-in-quetta-ibo>

⁵³ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1340491/2-navy-sailors-gunned-down-in-gwadar-shooting>

⁵⁴ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1341271/13-killed-in-suicide-attack-on-quettas-gulistan-road>

⁵⁵ <https://www.dawn.com/news/1347364/26-killed-in-blast-near-lahores-ferozepur-road>

⁵⁶<http://nation.com.pk/national/16-Jun-2017/2-terrorists-planning-to-attack-youm-e-ali-procession-killed-ispr>