

PART 10: CONCLUSION

10.1: OPINION: HAS THE POST-JIHAD MOMENT ARRIVED?

by Raza Rumi

Is Pakistan's security calculus changing?

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had won the 2013 general elections, promising revival of the economy and an end to the chronic energy crisis. He had also promised to chart a new path on the foreign policy front.

As a result, Pakistan has turned a new chapter in its foreign policy; it has joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as a full-member, thus becoming part of Central and South Asian nations' group. It has entered into energy connectivity agreements with Qatar, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan and Russia. Pakistan has deepened its ties with China to become a trade and transit hub for regional trade through the 'China-Pakistan Economic Corridor(CPEC) framework, under President Xi Jin Ping's One Belt, One Road (OBOR) initiative. Under the CPEC banner, new infrastructure development and energy production projects worth about \$46 billion over the next decade to revive Pakistan's economy.

Pakistan was already part of the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. Under this project natural gas from Turkmenistan will be delivered to energy deficient economies of Pakistan and India. In December 2015, leaders of all four countries laid foundations of the project and work finally commenced.

Early signs of policy shifts?

It all sounds good but for these infrastructure and energy production projects to materialize, Pakistan needs to neutralize as well as eliminate all those radical groups, which it once nurtured, or is sympathetic to.

One promising sign to that effect came in January 2015; in an interview with Christian Amanpour of CNN, Lt. Gen Asim Bajwa, head of the ISPR, underscored that "...we have to go against the phenomenon of terrorism, against all terrorists, and their abettors."¹

It is too early to make any conclusive assessment of that commitment but it Bajwa's statement did indicate some rethink within the military's calculus of security policy. His boss, General Raheel Sharif, the army chief, too, had made a similar statement in November 2014; in a reference to the Operation ZarbeAzb, a military

¹ Staff Reporter. (2015, January 20). Insult to question Pakistan army's competence, DG ISPR tells CNN. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1158235>.

action launched against terrorist hideouts in North Waziristan in June that year, Sharif had said: "I would like to openly say that this – operation - is against all hues and colors, and it is without any discrimination, whether it is Haqqani network or TTP or anything."²

A month later, terrorists struck at the Army Public School (APS) in Peshawar, and killed nearly 145 students and teachers in one of the deadliest attacks ever. The APS attack on December 16, and the subsequent militaristic response strengthened the resolve of the army and the PML-N government to finally address terrorism and its root causes. Statistics show that the incidence of terrorism and related attacks has decreased due to Operation Zarb-e-Azb.

In 2013, there were 574 terror incidents, including improvised explosive devices (IEDs) blasts, suicide hits and missile attacks. In 2014, the number came down to 388, and in 2015, it further declined to 218. In short, terror incidents reduced by more than 50% across the country, reflecting considerable improvement in the security situation, due to which, from the last seven years, 2015 has been relatively the most peaceful year in Pakistan.

Regional pulls on Pakistan

The year 2015 also witnessed the emergence of Islamic State (IS) or Daesh and increasing evidence of its inroads into Afghanistan.³ Originating from the Middle East, Daesh is a force against which China, Russia, U.S. and Pakistan are aligned. Jihadis from other terrorist groups in the Af-Pak region are joining Daesh due to, or as a result of, its global appeal. This is a concern for Pakistan and other regional states who seek stability for both Afghanistan and in the region.

Concurrently, Iranian influence is growing not just in the Middle East and Afghanistan but globally. After a successful nuclear deal which eased sanctions as Tehran rolled back parts of its nuclear program, Iran has emerged as key actor with the capacity to stabilize or destabilize the Middle East, Central Asia and Gulf region. Iran and Saudi Arabia are arch-rivals. Their proxy battles, revolving around sectarian identities, have played across Muslims countries, with Pakistan also a battleground from the 1980s onwards. Iranian and Saudi governments provided financial resources and arms to their respective proxy groups in Pakistan. These groups fought amongst themselves while the Pakistani state witnessed the mayhem. Since 1990s such proxy battles became more pronounced and complicated.

² Staff Reporter. (2014, November 20). Army targeting all militants without discrimination: General Raheel. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/794198/army-to-ensure-terrorists-are-unable-to-reestablish-their-base-in-pakistan-coas-tells-us-senators/>.

³ Boghani, P. (2015, November 17). ISIS is in Afghanistan, But Who Are They Really?. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/isis-is-in-afghanistan-but-who-are-they-really/>.

With growing Saudi-Iran tensions in 2015 over Yemen, Pakistan has been wise to avoid⁴ taking sides and instead has sought to reduce tensions between the rival Muslim states in order to mitigate turmoil in the region.

The China Factor

After paying an unimaginably heavy cost Pakistan has realized that sectarianism must be reined in. This is a realization aided by external factors too. Among the world powers, China doesn't wish⁵ to see violent groups operating and freely recruiting for jihad that can also destabilize its Muslim-majority Xinjiang region that borders Pakistan. Moreover, it is the only world power with a real leverage over Pakistan's powerful military due to decades spanning, comprehensive defence and security cooperation, including in the nuclear realm. China is Pakistan's largest supplier of defence equipment. It can tactfully prod the army and Pakistan's security apparatus to de-link itself from jihadi groups and work towards squeezing space for them in the society.

Meanwhile, Pakistan's relationship with Russia has also developed further in recent years. Like China, Moscow can also be a key influence on Pakistan army. Moscow is incentivizing Pakistan by offering defense, economic and scientific cooperation⁶ as India gets closer to US. Pakistan is also wary of US leaving the region and diminishing economic and military aid in the coming years. The increased footprint of China and Russia in the region, particularly the successful implementation of CPEC, will ensure that Pakistan maintains its importance both for the stabilization of Afghanistan, and as a regional counter-weight to India.

India policy and Afghanistan

The Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG) comprising, Afghanistan, China, Pakistan and the United States, have held three rounds of talks to chalk out a roadmap for commencing a peace process in Afghanistan. It is expected that Pakistan will wield its influence over the Taliban insurgency to push them for commencing peace talks with Afghan government. Earlier in 2015, another initiative termed as the Murree process collapsed when it transpired that leader of the Taliban movement, Mullah Omar was dead. After an internal struggle over succession,

⁴ Panda, A. (2016, January 22). Why Is Pakistan Interested in Brokering Peace Between Iran and Saudi Arabia?. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://thediomat.com/2016/01/why-is-pakistan-interested-in-brokering-peace-between-iran-and-saudi-arabia/>.

⁵ Zhou, Z. (2015, October 2). China's Desperate Battle Against Separatist Terrorism. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2015/10/02/chinas-desperate-battle-against-separatist-terrorism/>.

⁶ Rana, S. (2015, November 21). Pakistan and Russia usher in new era of cooperation. Retrieved March 26, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/995578/trade-and-defence-ties-pakistan-and-russia-usher-in-new-era-of-cooperation/>.

it appears Taliban have also divided into various factions. Pakistan has called for including as many Taliban groups in the peace talks as possible.

The December 2015 visit of Prime Minister Modi of India to Lahore for meeting his Pakistani counterpart was orchestrated as a surprise visit. It sparked the hope that revived dialogue between India and Pakistan will gain momentum. In recent years, tensions between nuclear-armed neighbours and rivals have escalated dangerously. However, in December 2015, this high-level engagement between both sides led to improvement in relations. During the Indian External Affairs Minister, Shushma Suraj's visit to Islamabad, to attend Heart of Asia Conference, Pakistan and India announced commencement of a comprehensive dialogue to address all contentious issues. During PM Modi's visit, both premiers announced that their foreign secretaries would meet in mid-January and the respective National Security Advisors (NSAs) after that.

On the sidelines of the Climate Change Summit in Paris, Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan had a brief conversation. A week later, both governments announced that their foreign secretaries and NSAs had met in Bangkok to discuss peace and security issues. Since then, both NSAs, Ajit Doval of India and Nasser Janjua of Pakistan, have maintained contact. After the terrorist attack on Indian airbase in Pathankot, both NSAs exchanged vital information. India shared its initial information and leads to Pakistan through the NSA mechanism.

In January 2016, a sprawling airbase in Pathankot came under a four day long attack from gunmen. This incident took place a week after PM Modi's brief stop-over in Lahore. India blamed Pakistan-based Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) of carrying out the attack. Pakistan, acting on information provided by India, conducted raids on JeM centers and detained its leader Masood Azhar. On the other hand, Syed Salahuddin, leader of United Jihad Council, a group active in Indian controlled-Kashmir and also receiving support from Pakistan in the past, claimed responsibility for the Pathankot attack. The foreign secretary level talks were postponed.

To minimize the significance of India-centric jihadi groups it is necessary that Islamabad and New Delhi make progress on bilateral relations, which demands a new era of détente. In recent weeks, Pakistan and India have resumed their high-level engagements. It is hoped that despite attempts by terrorist groups to derail talks – like the Pathankot airbase attack in India – dialogue will continue.

Tackling violent extremism

Pakistani security forces announced in July 2015, the killing⁷ of Malik Ishaq, leader

⁷ BBC. (2016, July 29). Malik Ishaq: Pakistan Sunni militant chief killed by police. Retrieved March 26, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-33699133>.

of an anti-Shite terrorist group named Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ). He was shot dead along with other top leaders (11 members in total) in a police encounter. LeJ was infamous for committing some of the worst sectarian attacks in Pakistan, and the elimination of its top command effectively led to the weakening, if not dismantlement, of the LeJ network nationwide.

Moreover, Pakistan's security apparatus has also captured notable commanders and members of the terrorist outfit Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP). These commanders, who fled North Waziristan and took refuge in various urban centers, include among others, Aqal Nawab, TTP commander for Swat, Hafiz Sanaullah alias Qari Zarar, Noor Muhammad and Habib Gul of Mohmand area. These arrests also significantly weakened the TTP and its organisation inside Pakistan.

In another first in Pakistan's history, 2015 saw the arrests and charging of clerics with hate speech cases. Hundreds have been rounded up for inciting people to violence at public gatherings in the country. In Kasur, a prayer leader was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for delivering a hate speech and inciting people to violence against a particular sect. In October 2015, Mufti Kifayatullah, a senior leader of an Islamist party, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Fazl (JUI-F), was also arrested for delivering a hate speech by the Counter-Terrorism Department of Punjab.

The regulation of madrassas (religious seminaries) has been slow despite being a critical component of the NAP. With over 22,000 registered madrassahs and an enrollment of nearly 1.5 million students, reforming and regulating all religious seminaries in the country is a herculean task. In December 2015, however, the Interior Minister told the National Assembly that the government has reached an agreement with clerics on registration of seminaries and commencement of reforms.

The government of the southern Sindh province has taken new steps to regulate seminaries. In February, 2015, it announced that new mosques and seminaries will only be established after obtaining permission from Home Department.⁸ In January, 2016, Sindh government announced to table a new law which will only allow 'Government approved' Friday sermon in all mosques of the province. Sindh administration believes this will be a step towards 'maintaining sectarian harmony' in the province.⁹

Is strategic thinking changing?

The slow but discernable transformation in the Pakistani military's strategic think-

⁸ Ayub, I. (2015, February 22). Sindh makes prior permit must for new seminaries, mosques. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1165140>.

⁹ Staff Reporter. (2016, January 19). Sindh plans to regulate Friday sermon. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1233902>.

ing is also reflected in the speeches of its two commanders: former chief, General Ashfaq Pervez Kayani, and the current chief, General Raheel Sharif. In his Independence Day speech in 2012, which also came to be a defining speech for the eradication of militancy and extremism from Pakistan, General Kayani underscored the centrality of Islam to Pakistan. He stressed that Pakistan was created to establish an Islamic welfare state. He also said Islam and Pakistan are inseparable and Pakistan was made in the name of Islam.

In contrast, General Sharif's speeches to his commanders in 2014 and 2015 eschewed references to the religious ideology of Pakistan. General Sharif underscored the national unity and highlighted the army as representative of all four provinces, and a symbol of nationalism.

Pakistan army's media arm, the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), too, is involved in unusual, counter-terror and counter-extremism media campaigns including funding of films anchored in the aforementioned themes. It, for instance, responded to the the horrific APS attack, with an inspiring song carrying a message of conviction and resilience in the face of terrorism. On the eve of the first anniversary of the APS attack, the ISPR released a musical tribute to commemorate over 130 slain children, essentially a message from children to extremists and that radicalization needs to be challenged through knowledge and education for the greater good. Significantly, in both songs, references to Islamic teachings and scriptures were absent.

The tenuous restoration of peace and stability in Karachi, the financial capital of Pakistan is also encouraging. Violence has reduced by 70-80% since the launch of Rangers-led paramilitary operation in the city. Security forces have targeted TTP and Al-Qaida elements along with criminal networks in Karachi. Operation against violent wings of political parties and the religious extremists continues, while the security apparatus cracks down on 'terror financing' networks. The civil society and political parties have provided broad support to these measures. There are issues of human rights abuses and other charges of political bias but overall the public opinion is firmly behind the military action.

Challenges

a) Civil-military fissures

For any peace process to be successful it has to have the support of Pakistan's military, with the civilians principally and firmly in control but currently, the civilian and military leadership despite the rhetoric are not on the same page¹⁰ with

¹⁰ NDTV. (2015, September 7). Pakistan Army Chief Raheel Sharif Warns India of 'Unbearable Cost' of War. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pakistan-army-chief-ra>

respect to the necessity of engagement with India. The civil-military divergences on India have deepened over the years. Both don't really see eye to eye even on the implementation of the National Action Plan.

Pakistan's civilian leadership needs to address this looming difference for progress to materialize in the peace process. But exactly how will civilians move forward remains to be seen. It is not even clear if they have garnered enough public support¹¹ to drive this process.

b) Religious Seminaries

Despite pronouncement, successive governments have failed to initiate reforms to regularize and regulate seminaries. They are seen as the primary source of indoctrination. Sources of their funding are also not entirely transparent. The government has so far failed in reforming the madaris curricula. Nor has it been able to subject them to financial audits and oversight.

The government needs to regulate seminaries and mosque complexes in Pakistan. Registering and streamlining financial sources of seminaries and mosques is an imperative. Any mosques and seminaries, found to have links with terrorist networks should be dealt with iron hand and indiscriminately.

Until seminaries are not brought under control, extremist violence will continue to flourish. The state must aim to achieve elimination of physical militant infrastructure, recruitment bases and recruiters, curtail radical seminaries, and suffocate funding streams that support radical elements and militant violence.

c) Youth

Socio-economic marginalization of youth represents another challenge. Presently, over 60 per cent of Pakistan's population is under the age of 25. This youth bulge and the lack of socio-economic opportunities for it stands out both as a threat as well as an opportunity. Failure of the state to deliver essential public services to the teeming millions of youth enables militant outfits to make inroads and recruit youth.¹²

heel-sharif-warns-india-of-unbearable-cost-of-war-1214940.

¹¹ Shahid, S. (2015, December 31). Pakistan, India can't live as enemies, says PM. Retrieved March 26, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1229802>.

¹² Yusuf, M. (2014, November). Radicalism Among Youth In Pakistan: Human Development Gone Wrong? National Human Development Report. Retrieved March 27, 2016, from <http://nhdr.undp.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Moeed-Yusuf-Youth-Radicalisation.pdf>.

d) Balochistan

Tackling Balochistan, the area-wise largest province of Pakistan bordering Iran and Afghanistan, is another challenge. The province has been affected by a formidable insurgency since 2007. At least four separatist groups—the Baloch Republican Army, Baloch Liberation Army, Balochistan Liberation Tigers, and United Baloch Army—operate against the state. They have targeted military and paramilitary personnel and installations, and settlers from other provinces. In recent years federal government has investment in law-enforcement agencies of Balochistan and have also provided resources for economic uplift of the region.

Since 2013, Balochistan government, and military commanders have worked in tandem to bring stability in the province but human rights violations have also taken place further angering the local population. Government has expressed willingness to commence dialogue with the rebel groups. Stability and peace in Balochistan is vital for Pakistan to successfully implement plans being made under CPEC. Balochistan is also home to the deep-sea port of Gwadar, which is the starting point of CPEC in Pakistan.

e) Indian Strategy

Due to continued tensions and bilateral mistrust, Pakistan military still considers India as an existential threat. General Sharif has warned India of an ‘unbearable cost’ if war occurs. The military also continues to consider Kashmir as the core dispute between both states. Thus, India-centric jihadi groups remain active and they have been making inroads in Pakistan’s mainstream politics since the military believes, by mainstreaming them, it can neutralize them, but will it succeed?

f) Justice System

Pakistan’s outdated criminal justice system – the British era CrPC 1860 - requires an urgent reform. Massive pendency, long-drawn and expensive litigation result in extremely low conviction rates. Federal government should support capacity building, and reform of all organs of the criminal justice system including judiciary, police, and prosecution. Prosecution services and the police needs to be revamped and provided resources.

g) Economy-Oriented National Security Policy

Concurrently, from a militaristic national security strategy, Pakistan is moving towards an economy-oriented national security policy. The CPEC framework, energy engagement with Russia and commencement of TAPI gas pipeline are indicators of the new policy focus. This focus, for the first time, disengages Pakistan from

using jihadi groups as foreign policy tools in the region. This is a critical shift, and must be seen to its logical conclusion.

10.2: **OPINION: Recommendations on the Path Forward** *by Zeeshan Salahuddin*

The agenda items on the National Action Plan (NAP) are neither new nor novel. Multiple versions of these ideas had existed for quite some time but NAP, for the first time, consolidated them all into a comprehensive document. The main difference this time is the strong, across-the-board political will that drove this change, undoubtedly fueled and reinforced by a strong military push. However, should this political will fail, falter or fade, Pakistan can slip back into the stark violence of the past fifteen years.

Second, there seems to be a concerted effort by the government to bring all parties on-board, and especially to appease the religious hardliners with political muscle. While these are good measures for building confidence and presenting a united front in the face of an unrelenting enemy, the counterterrorism narrative necessitates relentless focus and complete state ownership. The ruling party PMLN, for better or worse, is the executive branch, with all the powers and privileges that come with that territory, and it needs to take commend of the counterterror campaign and the development of the alternate narrative rooted in the Constitution of Pakistan.

Third, the military is a stable, well-oiled institution in Pakistan with a long-standing history of friction with civilian counterparts. It has, and continues to; render invaluable sacrifices for peace and eradication of terrorism. However, military intervention is a surgical, short-term solution to eliminate the physical presence of the enemy and a manifestation of the hard power of the state. The military is not a long-term peacekeeping force that can be deployed in population centers in perpetuity. Terrorism has to be fought by the government directly, and the next steps need to revolve around strengthening and capacitating civilian law enforcement agencies, units and departments, as well as legislative reforms to close loopholes in the legal system. We still discern huge deficit as far as the soft power of the state –commitment to rule of law, education and skills’ development, as well as conscious law-based efforts against radical and criminal non-state actors – are concerned.

Fourth, a full thirteen months in to the implementation of NAP, the coordinated operation against the banned outfit Jaish-e-Mohammad (JeM) in January (following the outfit’s alleged involvement in the attack on the Pathankot Air Base in India), shows the highly selective nature of actions taken against proscribed organizations. Additional research also reveals that adding an organization’s name to a list of banned outfits accomplishes little other than to simply make a catchy headline for one 24-hour news cycle. The government needs to be unrelenting, uncompromising and unbiased in its implementation of all stipulations within the

NAP.

Fifth, the government needs to immediately and urgently conduct a detailed census of the country. We have been extrapolating on data from the last census nearly two decades ago. An entire generation has grown up in the interim and the country urgently needs a fresh database for future planning.

Sixth, symptomatic treatment of issues is counter-productive. Blocking websites, shutting down mobile service, rounding up Afghan refugees en masse, blocking millions of SIMs inter alia are all steps that arguably provide temporary relief. The state needs to somberly consider long-term solutions for ridding society of intolerance, extremism and radicalization. This will take concerted efforts to target and eliminate the ideological presence of the extremist narrative, not just the physical hideouts and fighting militants.

Seventh, in any counterinsurgency effort, one of the most important, pivotal and vital tool at the state's disposal is foot intelligence down to individual streets and neighborhoods. Foot intelligence forms the cornerstone of counter-terrorism operations and efforts, and cannot be implemented without empowering and instating local government mechanisms.

The following policy recommendations are not exhaustive but may hopefully serve as a recommended starting point in a very long fight ahead.

10.3: Individual Policy Recommendations by Zeeshan Salahuddin and Imtiaz Gul

10.3.1 Legislative Reforms and Legal Recommendations

1. Legislative reforms are needed to improve the ailing and extremely tardy criminal justice system. A restructured criminal justice system is critical to realize NAP goals. Specifically the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), the Penal Code and the Evidence Act need to be revamped and contemporized.
2. Specifically within the Evidence Act, the focus needs to shift from witness testimony to forensic evidence.
3. Judges, lawyers, witnesses and prosecutors need to be provided fool-proof security to mitigate the “revolving door” nature of courts for hardened criminals and militants.
4. The application of legal rules to various regions of Pakistan is unclear. The interior ministry must clarify the legal conveyer belt that dictates intervention in terms of regular law enforcement, anti-terrorism operations, or non-international armed conflict. This also requires, for the long term, gradual elimination of aberrations such as FCR, PATA Regulations, In-Aid-of Civil-Power Act (FATA), and alignment of multiple anti-terror legislation such as Anti Terror Act (1997) and Pakistan Protection Act.
5. Both the civilian government and the military establishment must stand behind all those responsible for law enforcement and militant pacification must. A “state of war” does not in any way warrant a *carte blanche*, the security apparatus therefore should remain subject to strict accountability in order to avoid human rights’ violations.

10.3.2 Kinetic vs. Ideological Warfare

1. There is a clear and present need to go beyond physical elimination of extremists. The state needs to draft a long-term plan that targets the ideological roots of this conflict. This plan needs to be helmed by civilian law enforcement and driven by the conscious realization that upholding the rule of law is the key to fighting and neutralizing non-state criminal and terrorist elements.
2. Kinetic operations have reduced terrorism in Pakistan to a great extent, but military intervention in population centers is neither desirable nor sustainable. The state needs to reinforce, equip and capacitate civilian

law enforcement agencies (see [10.3.3 Civilian Law Enforcement Recommendations](#) below).

3. Additionally, once these areas have been cleared, mollified or pacified, what is the government's plan when it is handed the reins back? How will it ensure the continued safety and security of residents once the military exits?
4. The government must stop open-ended policy planning and execution. The military courts have been given a two-year term which expires in January 2017 and the IDPs have been given a timeframe for rehabilitation. However, most of the other NAP points are open-ended. This does not help in time-bound planning and conclusive execution. Actions against terror and crime as well as against religious extremism require to be clearly defined and time-lined.
5. The progress on each individual item in the NAP seems piecemeal and *ad hoc*; there seems to be no central implementation plan for which steps needs to be taken, why, when and in what order. This must change.
6. The solution to an underperforming police force is not parallel counter-terrorism forces. There needs to be a central civilian-controlled, civilian-led law enforcement agency at the provincial level. All others need to be absorbed into this structure.

[10.3.3 Civilian Law Enforcement Recommendations](#)

1. Counterterrorism operations across the country are currently the domain of the military, and for good reason. However, steps must be taken to dramatically increase both the coordination with and the participation of civilian law enforcement officials and units in these efforts.
2. The civilian law enforcement agencies have to take control of the situation in the population centers. Community policing is not the job of the military, Rangers or the FC. The fact that they have to keep the peace is a clear indication of the failure of the civilian structures.
3. De-politicization of the police, as exemplified by the KP government, is absolutely paramount. The police chief needs to be appointed on merit, and he must have utmost operational autonomy - appointments, transfers, decisions in key law enforcement - without fear of or favour to the government or political party.
4. All anti-terror frameworks such as NISP, NAP, NACTA, POPA, ATA, need to be consolidated into one cohesive structure that is then mandated and

pursued relentlessly.

5. The police across Pakistan should have a uniformed service structure and be governed by a national law. Additionally, respective provincial police forces should be adapted according to local conditions.
6. “Thana culture” i.e. high-handedness of police officials at the police stations needs to be ruthlessly dismantled through accountability mechanisms.
7. Effective counter-terrorism would require various civilian and military intelligence agencies to work in unison rather than work at cross-purposes in an effort to outdo one another.
8. NACTA remains a stillborn baby, and needs to be funded, empowered and capacitated. Either that, or dismantle it and accept that perhaps this is not the ideal time or circumstances for such an entity.

10.3.4 Hate Speech and Proscribed Outfits Recommendations

1. Pakistan needs more comprehensive laws to control and punish crimes such as hate speech, incitement to violence, and misuse of laws in the name of religion. Strict law enforcement and continuous monitoring of all instances of hatemongering, be it in corporate meeting or at the pulpit, hold the key to deter potential offenders.
2. The seminary registration and mechanism to monitor their activities and source of financing has still a long way to go. This process needs to take into account the fact there are significant social and economic reasons, in addition to religious ones, that force parents to send their children to these institutions.
3. All funding for any religious institution, be it a library, mosque or seminary, needs to be handled through banks with a proper trail. Hundi/Hawala needs to be systematically dismantled.
4. Seminaries must also include worldly education including other languages, sciences, humanities and arts, in addition to religious training. The curricula must be state-approved. Violators of any of these regulations need to be arrested by local police, and tried by local prosecutors and courts.
5. Well-documented instances of hatred, bigotry, and extremist values must be scrubbed from all curricula in both public and private sector institutions, and replaced with messages of tolerance, acceptance, and respectful coexistence.

6. The Fourth Schedule needs to be updated regularly and implemented in letter and spirit for any and all proscribed organizations and outfits.
7. Proscribed organizations lists should be expanded to contain names of all prominent figures within said organizations, be regularly updated and disseminated to all law enforcement agencies and units.

10.3.5 Local/Regional Conflicts Recommendations

1. FATA's issues, especially FCR and its status requires to be dealt with on an emergency footing. Specifically the British colonial era FCR needs to be replaced with CrPC and PC (which, as we have mentioned earlier, themselves need reform).
2. Karachi's law enforcement agencies need to be revamped, retrained, re-equipped and re-capitated to manage the sprawling urban metropolis without aid from military or paramilitary units. Political militancy needs to be systematically dismantled, and future occurrences deterred through stringent legislative measures, if needed.
3. The state needs to mainstream dialogue with Balochistan and continue vigorously addressing grievances of the Baloch people.
4. Relations with India need to normalize through a more pragmatic approach because that holds key to relations with Afghanistan too.
5. Indian Studies departments need to be established at both public and private sector institutions. Despite a nearly 70 year history of painting India as the arch-nemesis, there are no dedicated Indian Studies departments anywhere in Pakistan.
6. Pakistan needs to do its utmost to stabilize Afghanistan, and involve major stakeholders (US, India, China, Russia, Iran) in the process. Without a stable Afghanistan, there can be no stability in the region.
7. Finally, the national security policy needs to have economic underpinnings. Through the China Pakistan Economic Corridor, Beijing has given Pakistan a tangible, economic, sustainable reason for stabilizing the country, and to actively pursue long-term peace. The state must capitalize on this game-changing opportunity and leverage it to drive Pakistan's socio-economic development in the coming decades.

ANNEX I: EXECUTIONS

#	Name	Date of Hanging	City of hanging	Charges and Year
1	Aqeel Ahmad	12/19/14	Faisalabad	Attack on GHQ
2	Arshad Mahmud	12/19/14	Faisalabad	Attack on Gen. Musharraf
3	Ghulam Sarwar	12/21/14	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf convoy
4	Rashid Mehmood	12/21/14	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf convoy
5	Zubair Ahmed	12/21/14	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf convoy
6	Akhlaq Ahmad	12/21/14	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf convoy
7	Niaz Mohammad	12/31/14	Peshawar	Attack on Gen. Musharraf
8	Ghulam Shabbir	01/07/15	Multan	Murdered DSP + 1 [2000]
9	Ahmed Ali	01/07/15	Multan	Murdered 3 civilians [1998]
10	Khalid Mahmud	01/09/15	Rawalpindi	Attack on Gen. Musharraf
11	Zulfikar Ali	01/13/15	Rawalpindi	Attack on US consulate
12	Behram Khan	01/13/15	Karachi	Murder of an advocate
13	M. Shahid Haneef	01/13/15	Sukkur	Murder of a def. min. official
14	Mohammad Talha	01/13/15	Sukkur	Murder of a def. min. official
15	Khaleel Ahmad	01/13/15	Sukkur	Murder of a def. min. official
16	Mushtaq Ahmad	01/13/15	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf
17	Nawazish Ali	01/13/15	Faisalabad	Attack on Musharraf
18	Arif Zahid	01/15/15	Lahore	Murdered three cops
19	Saeed Awan	01/15/15	Karachi	Murdered DSP/son

20	Ikramul Haq	01/17/15	Lahore	Murdered Imambargah guard
21	Attaullah	02/03/15	Karachi	Murdered a Shia doctor
22	Muhammad Azam	02/03/15	Karachi	Murdered a Shia doctor
23	Fayyaz Ahmed	02/13/15	Mirpur AJK	Murdered advocate's son
24	Muhammad Riaz	02/13/15	Mirpur AJK	Murdered advocate's son
25	Muhammad Siddique	03/12/15	Toba Tek Singh	Murdered three men
26	Muhammad Akhtar	03/13/15	Faisalabad	Murdered father-in-law of rape victim
27	Muhammad Sajid	03/13/15	Faisalabad	Murdered woman
28	Zafar Iqbal	03/17/15	Multan	Raped/Murdered minor
29	Muhammad Faisal	03/17/15	Karachi	Murdered during robbery
30	Muhammad Afzal	03/17/15	Karachi	Murdered during robbery
31	Muhammad Nawaz	03/17/15	Faisalabad	Murdered two relatives
32	M. Nadeem Zaman	03/17/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered four family members [1998]
33	Muhammad Javed	03/17/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered female cousins
34	Muhammad Iqbal	03/17/15	Gujranwala	Murdered over family dispute
35	Muhammad Riaz	03/17/15	Jhang	Murdered over family dispute [1995]
36	Muhammad Sharif	03/17/15	Jhang	Murdered during robbery
37	Mubashir Ali	03/17/15	Jhang	Murdered during robbery
38	Rab Nawaz	03/17/15	Mianwali	Murdered woman

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39	Zafar Iqbal	03/17/15	Mianwali	Murdered own father [2003]
40	Ghulam M.	03/18/15	Jhang	Murdered brother-in-law
41	Zakir Hussain	03/18/15	Jhang	Murdered over personal dispute
42	Asad Khan	03/18/15	Attock	Murdered five
43	Tahir Shabir	03/18/15	Lahore	Murder
44	Shafaqat Ali	03/18/15	Faisalabad	Murdered two brothers [1998]
45	Muhammad Syed	03/18/15	Faisalabad	Murdered two brothers [1998]
46	Shaukat Ali	03/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
47	M. Shabbir	03/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
48	Rab Nawaz	03/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
49	Talib Hussain	03/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
50	Ahmed Nawaz	03/18/15	Mianwali	Murder
51	Abdul Sattar Khan	03/19/15	Mianwali	Murder [1992]
52	Ghulam M.	03/19/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered two relatives [1996]
53	M. Asghar	03/19/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered two relatives [1996]
54	Gulistan Zaman	03/19/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered civilian [1998]
55	M. Nasrullah	03/24/15	Multan	Murdered over family dispute [1994]
56	Ayub Bashir	03/25/15	Lahore	Murder
57	Shahbaz Ali	03/25/15	Sahiwal	Murdered 7-year-old boy [1998]
58	Jalal Murejo	03/25/15	Sukkur	Murdered cousin [1997]
59	Abdul Razzaq	03/25/15	Sukkur	Murdered 7th grade student [2001]
60	Ghulam Yaseen	03/25/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered and raped woman [2001]
61	Mohammad Khan	03/25/15	Mianwali	Murder

62	Muhammad Afzal	03/26/15	Faisalabad	Murdered over old rivalry [1995]
63	Akramul Haq	03/31/15	Attock	Murdered/Kinapped 3-year old girl
64	M. Ameen	03/31/15	Adiala	Murder [1998]
65	Hussain Shah	03/31/15	Mianwali	Murdered two brothers [2000]
66	Muhammad Riaz	03/31/15	Sargodha	Murdered two men
67	Jafar alias Kali	04/07/15	sahiwal	Murdered two siblings
68	Tayyab Ghulam Nabi	04/07/15	Lahore	Murder [2002]
69	Amir Hamza	04/08/15	Machh	Murder [1995]
70	Sikandar	04/08/15	Bahawalpur	Murder
71	Hamid Mehmood	04/09/15	Lahore	Murdered juvenile for ransom
72	Raja Mushtaq	04/09/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered two civilians
73	Lonay Khan	04/14/15	Bahawalpur	Murder
74	Ejaz	04/16/15	Gujranwala	Murder [1995]
75	Abdul Jabbar	04/16/15	Gujranwala	Murder [2001]
76	Zafar Iqbal	04/16/15	Faisalabad	Murder and Robbery [2005]
77	Qaiser	04/16/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
78	Majid	04/16/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered six people
79	Manzoor Vasli	04/18/15	Vehari	Murdered police constable [2001]
80	Allah Rakha	04/21/15	Lahore	Murder [1996]
81	Ghulam Nabi	04/21/15	Lahore	Murder
82	Mohammad Azam	04/21/15	Faisalabad	Murdered seven in-laws [2004]
83	Nizam Din	04/21/15	Faisalabad	Murdered three people [1998]
84	Mohammad Husain	04/21/15	Faisalabad	Murdered three people [1998]
85	Nauman	04/21/15	Sialkot	Rape [1999]
86	Saleem	04/21/15	Sialkot	Rape [1999]
87	Zafar Ullah	04/21/15	Gujranwala	Murdered four

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88	Latif Mehdi	04/21/15	Gujranwala	Murdered four
89	Inayat Ullah	04/21/15	Gujranwala	Murdered seven
90	Liaquat Ali	04/21/15	Sahiwal	Murder [1998]
91	Raja Raees	04/21/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered three [1998]
92	Sultan alias Raja	04/21/15	Multan	Murder [2000]
93	Azhar Mahmood	04/21/15	Gujrat	Murder [1995]
94	Riaz Ahmad	04/21/15	Quetta	Murder [2004]
95	Mohammad Rizwan	04/22/15	Lahore	Murdered six people [2006]
96	Moazzam Khan	04/22/15	Lahore	Murder [1995]
97	Zahid Hussain Chohan	04/22/15	Sahiwal	Murdered police constable [2001]
98	Mohammad Nazeer	04/22/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2001]
99	Muhammad Hanif	04/23/15	Sahiwal	Murder [2006]
100	Gul Mohammad	04/23/15	Sargodha	Murder [1999]
101	Munir Husain	04/28/15	Vehari	Murdered nephew/niece [2000]
102	Abdul Ghafoor	04/29/15	Vehari	Murdered and raped 8-year-old [1991]
103	Zulfiqar Ali	05/06/15	Lahore	Murdered two [1998]
104	Saulat Mirza	05/12/15	Machh	Murdered three [1997]
105	Ahmed Khan	05/17/15	Lahore	Murder [2008]
106	Zulfiqar	05/20/15	Faisalabad	Murdered taxi driver [2000]
107	Muhammad Musa	05/20/15	Machh	Murder [2005]
108	Aijaz alias Jajji	05/21/15	Gujranwala	Murder [1998]
109	Shaukat Masih	05/21/15	Faisalabad	Murder [2000]
110	Abbas	05/21/15	Multan	Murder [1996]
111	Ehsaan	05/23/15	Lahore	Murder
112	Arshad	05/23/15	Lahore	Murdered two [1991]
113	Abdul Ghaffar	05/23/15	Multan	
114	Muhammad Wazir	05/23/15	Sahiwal	Murder
115	Shakil Anees	05/26/15	Lahore	Murder [1998]
116	Sher Ali	05/26/15	Lahore	Murdered two [2001]

117	Iftikhar Ahmad	05/26/15	Faisalabad	Murdered three [2001]
118	AsifZaib	05/26/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1998]
119	Ishaq	05/26/15	Sahiwal	Murder
120	Mohammad Nawaz	05/26/15	Gujranwala	Murder
121	Rana Faryad	05/26/15	Multan	Murder
122	Mohammad Afzal	05/26/15	Jhelum	
123	Amjad Ali	05/26/15	Sargodha	Murdered niece, witnesses; raped niece
124	Noor Ahmad	05/26/15	Toba Tek Singh	Murdered six family members
125	Sardar Ibrahim	05/26/15	Machh	Murder [2003]
126	Abdul Khaliq	05/27/15	Lahore	Murder
127	Shehzad	05/27/15	Lahore	Murder
128	Muhammad Khan	05/27/15	Machh	Murdered brother/nephew [2004]
129	Sanaullah	05/27/15	Vehari	Murdered/kidnapped minor
130	Abdul Sattar	05/27/15	Vehari	Murdered/raped girl
131	Naseer Ahmad	05/27/15	Gujrat	Murder [2002]
132	Faisal Mahmood	05/27/15	Gujrat	Murder [2000]
133	Shahsawar Baloch	05/28/15	Hyderabad	Hijacked a PIA plane [1998]
134	Sabir Baloch	05/28/15	Hyderabad	Hijacked a PIA plane [1998]
135	Shabbir Baloch	05/28/15	Karachi	Hijacked a PIA plane [1998]
136	Mehmood Ali	05/28/15	Karachi	Murdered minor [2002]
137	Malik Khurram	05/28/15	Haripur	Murder
138	Muhammad Afseer	05/28/15	Attock	Murder [1998]
139	Muhammad Ashraf	05/28/15	Sahiwal	Murdered two [2000]
140	Ameer Abdullah	05/28/15	Sargodha	Murder [2002]
141	Murad Ali	05/30/15	Sargodha	
142	Muhammad Khan	06/02/15	Sargodha	Murdered two [2002]

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143	Khizer Hayat	06/02/15	Mianwali	Murder [1998]
144	Muhammad Sarwar	06/02/15	Sahiwal	Murdered woman [1993]
145	Chan Zeb	06/02/15	Attock	Murdered two
146	Abdul Rehman	06/02/15	Adiala	
147	Javed alias Jeeda	06/03/15	Lahore	Murdered two [1987]
148	ShamsulHaq	06/04/15	Lahore	Murder [1999]
149	Fateh Muhammad	06/04/15	Mianwali	Murdered two [1999]
150	Sanallah	06/09/15	Sialkot	
151	Mohammad Abid	06/09/15	Faisalabad	
152	Nawaz alias Kaka	06/09/15	Sahiwal	
153	Abid Maqsood	06/09/15	Sialkot	
154	Aftab Bahadur Masih	06/10/15	Kot Lakhpat	Murdered three [1992]
155	Tariq alias Tara	06/10/15	Kot Lakhpat	Murder [1995]
156	Name unknown	06/10/15	Faisalabad	Murdered five
157	Shahid Shafiq	06/11/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1996]
158	Gul Muhammad	06/11/15	Haripur	Murder
159	Khizer Hayat	06/15/15	Multan	
160	Mukhtar	06/16/15	Lahore	Murder [2004]
161	Jawed Sultan	06/16/15	Rawalpindi	Murder [1990]
162	Muhammad Rafiq	06/16/15	Rawalpindi	Murder [1990]
163	Ikram Hussain	06/16/15	Rawalpindi	Murder [1990]
164	Allah Ditta	06/16/15	Faisalabad	Murdered woman [1999]
165	Mohammad Younas	06/16/15	Faisalabad	Murdered three [2000]
166	Ashraf	06/16/15	Gujranwala	Murdered/raped 12-year-old girl [1999]
167	Basharat	06/16/15	Sialkot	Murdered three [1999]
168	Ghulam Rasool	06/16/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered three
169	Asghar Ali	06/16/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered nephew [2000]
170	Abdur Rauf	06/16/15	Jhelum	Murder
171	Name unknown	06/16/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder

172	Nabeel Ahmed	06/17/15	Faisalabad	Murder [2000]
173	Muhammad Saleem	06/17/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1998]
174	Muhammad Rashid	06/17/15	Faisalabad	Murder
175	Mohammad Aslam	06/17/15	Mianwali	
176	Fayaz	06/17/15	Sahiwal	Murder
177	Qaiser	06/17/15	Sahiwal	Murder
178	Muhammad Iqbal	06/17/15	Gujrat	Murder
179	Farooq Babar	07/26/15	Multan	Murder 1988
180	Karim Nawaz	07/26/15	Multan	Murder [1999]
181	Qari Shamsul Islam	07/27/15	Peshawar	
182	AkhtarHussain	07/28/15	Multan	
183	Karim	07/28/15	Attock	
184	Muhammad Safdar	07/29/15	Attock	Murdered two [2003]
185	AftabAhmed	07/29/15	Attock	Murder [1998]
186	Mohammad Usman	07/29/15	Attock	Murder [1998]
187	Mohammad Tufail	07/29/15	Kasur	Murdered two [2001]
188	Mohammad Nawaz	07/29/15	Sargodha	Murder [2002]
189	Nayyar Abbas	07/29/15	Multan	Murder [1996]
190	Gulfam alias Gullu	07/29/15	Gujrat	Murder [2001]
191	Ahmad Din	07/29/15	Jhang	Murder
192	Muhammad Tariq	07/30/15	Sargodha	Murder [2000]
193	Muhammad Arshad	07/30/15	Rawalpindi	Murder [2002]
194	Jahandad Khan	07/30/15	Rawalpindi	Murder [2002]
195	Israr Ahmad	07/30/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2002]
196	Samar John	07/31/15	Lahore	Murder/kidnapping
197	Nadeem Shehzad	07/31/15	Lahore	Murder/kidnapping
198	Riaz Yousuf	07/31/15	Lahore	Murdered woman/her 4 kids [1999]
199	Zafar Iqbal	07/31/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
200	Mohammad Ashraf	07/31/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
201	Shafqat Hussain	08/04/15	Karachi	Murder/kidnapping
202	Laghir Maseeh	08/04/15	Sialkot	Murder/kidnapping
203	Ghulam Rasool	08/04/15	Gujrat	Murder [2000]

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204	Amanullah Khan	08/05/15	Mianwali	Murdered three [2006]
205	M. Riaz Khan	08/05/15	Mianwali	Murdered three [2006]
206	M. Mumtaz Khan	08/05/15	Mianwali	Murdered three [2006]
207	Waqar alias Mithu	08/05/15	Gujranwala	Murdered five [2000]
208	Tariq Ilahi	08/06/15	Gujranwala	Murder [2001]
209	Inamullah	08/06/15	Lahore	Murder [1996]
210	Shafaqat alias Ashfaq	08/06/15	Lahore	Murder
211	Ghulam Shabbir	08/08/15	Multan	Murder [2000]
212	Abdul Qayyum	08/18/15	Sahiwal	Murdered three [1999]
213	Amjad Ali	08/19/15	Gujranwala	Murder [1998]
214	Bashir Ahmad	08/20/15	Gujranwala	Murder [1999]
215	Zulfiqar alias Nanna	08/25/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered four policemen [1997]
216	Shahid Mehmood	08/26/15	Karachi	Murdered two [1998]
217	Tajammal Abbas	08/26/15	Bahawalpur	Murder/rape [2004]
218	Maqbool Hussain	08/27/15	Multan	Murdered six people [1996]
219	Mohammad Ashraf	09/01/15	Sahiwal	Murder [1994]
220	Jumma Khan	09/01/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2000]
221	Zahoor Hussain	09/02/15	Jhelum	Murdered three [1992]
222	Arshad Mehmood	09/02/15	Jhelum	Murder [2005]
223	Ajmal alias Pathar	09/02/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2001]
224	Muhammad Khan	09/03/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [1995]
225	Muhammad Boota	09/03/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2003]
226	Faqeer Muhammad	09/03/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2004]
227	Maqbool alias Qulli	09/03/15	Kasur	Murder/kidnapping
228	Mohammad Sadiq	09/05/15	Sahiwal	Murder [1999]
229	Muhabat Ali	09/09/15	Vehari	Murder [2001]
230	Muhammad Bashir	09/09/15	Vehari	Murder [2001]
231	Mubashir Hassan	09/09/15	Adiala	Murder [1999]
232	Aslam Sial	09/09/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [1992]
233	Tanzil Ahmad	09/10/15	Lahore	Murder [2005]
234	Asif alias Achoo	09/10/15	Vehari	Murder [1998]

235	Muhammad Khalid	09/10/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1999]
236	Abdul Shakoor	09/10/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2001]
237	Allah Ditta	09/16/15	Lahore	Murder
238	Haji Shabbir	09/16/15	Haripur	Murder [1996]
239	Muhammad Ashfaq	09/16/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1999]
240	Imran	09/22/15	Lahore	Murder
241	Ansar Iqbal	09/29/15	Sargodha	Murder [1994]
242	Muhammad Anwar	09/29/15	Gujranwala	Murder [2002]
243	Mushtaq s/o Nawaz	09/30/15	Lahore	Murder [2002]
244	Muhammad Ikhtlaq	10/01/15	Faisalabad	Murdered two [2001]
245	Shaukat Ali	10/01/15	Faisalabad	Murdered two [2001]
246	Muhammad Akram	10/03/15	Sahiwal	Murdered three [2002]
247	Idrees	10/06/15	Lahore	Murder [1997]
248	Muhammad Anees	10/10/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [1997]
249	Mohammad Azam	10/13/15	Gujrat	Murdered father-in-law [1999]
250	Mohammad Aslam	10/13/15	Gujrat	Murdered father-in-law [2000]
251	Ghulam Qadir/Haid-er	10/13/15	Bahawalpur	Murder of relatives [2002]
252	Ghulam Sarwar	10/13/15	Bahawalpur	Murder of relatives [2003]
253	Thanedar alias The-noo	10/13/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered wife/father-in-law [2001]
254	Mohammad Akram	10/13/15	Sialkot	Murder [2000]
255	Mohammad Ashraf	10/13/15	Attock	Murder
256	Akram s/o Waleed	10/13/15	Multan	Murder [1992]
257	Mohammad Shafeeq	10/13/15	Multan	Murdered during theft [1992]
258	Rana M. Aslam	10/14/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murdered wife [1996]
259	Ghulam Mustafa	10/14/15	Faisalabad	Murdered woman [2001]
260	Younas	10/14/15	Gujrat	Murder [2002]

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261	Suleman	10/14/15	Gujrat	Murder/kidnapping [1998]
262	Shafiq	10/14/15	Gujrat	Murder/kidnapping [1998]
263	Mohammad Hassan	10/15/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered two [2005]
264	Zaman	10/15/15	Multan	Murdered Punjab CM [1993]
265	Zareen	10/15/15	Rawalpindi	Murdered two
266	Rab Nawaz	10/15/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
267	Ghulam Akbar	10/15/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder [1996]
268	Hazoor Baksh	10/15/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder [1996]
269	Abdul Sami	10/15/15	Lahore	Murder
270	Anwar Shamim	10/15/15	Lahore	Murder
271	Idrees Ali	10/17/15	Sialkot	Murder [2001]
272	Khalil Ahmad	10/20/15	Lahore	Murder [2002]
273	Nadeem	10/20/15	Lahore	Murder [1999]
274	AmjadAli	10/20/15	Attock	Murdered two [2002]
275	Muhammad Bashir	10/20/15	Attock	Murder [1998]
276	Aleeq Shah	10/20/15	Attock	Murder [2001]
277	Mohammad Farooq	10/20/15	Sargodha	Murder [2003]
278	Mustafa	10/20/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered six [2000]
279	Mohammad Akram	10/20/15	Faisalabad	Murder [2000]
280	Mohammad Saeed	10/20/15	Faisalabad	Murder [2003]
281	Khalil Ahmad	10/20/15	Kasur	Murder[2003]
282	Munir s/o Nazir	10/21/15	Lahore	Murder
283	Asfar Ali	10/21/15	Mianwali	Murder
284	Fiaz	10/21/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered son-in-law
285	Saif	10/21/15	Dera Ghazi Kahn	Murdered two
286	Qamaruz Zaman Jatt	10/21/15	Toba Tek Singh	Murder

287	Abdul Majeed	10/27/15	Dera Ismail Khan	Murdered two [2002]
288	Mohammad Azam	10/27/15	Bahawalpur	Murdered two [1999]
289	Imtiaz Hussain	11/02/15	Sahiwal	Murder
290	Ikram	11/03/15	Kasur	Murder [1998]
291	Nisar Ahmed	11/03/15	Gujrat	Murdered two [2000]
292	Ghazanfar Iqbal	11/03/15	Gujrat	Murdered two [2000]
293	Mohammad Annar	11/03/15	Gujrat	Murdered two [2000]
294	Muhammad Rana	11/03/15	Gujrat	Murder
295	Mohammad Irshad	11/04/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [1999]
296	Muhammad Na-deem	11/12/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [1997]
297	Khadim Hussain	11/18/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2003]
298	Muhammad Younas	11/29/15	Lahore	Murder [2001]
299	Abdus Salam	12/02/15	Kohat	APS Attack [2014]
300	Hazrat Ali	12/02/15	Kohat	APS Attack [2014]
301	Mujeebur Rehman	12/02/15	Kohat	APS Attack [2014]
302	Sabeel Yahya	12/02/15	Kohat	APS Attack [2014]
303	Pervez Khan	12/10/15	Attock	Murder [2000]
304	Rustam	12/10/15	Attock	Murder [2003]
305	Muhammad Ishaq	12/10/15	Jhelum	Murder [2006]
306	M. Akram Rahi	12/12/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1996]
307	Mansoor Ahmed	12/12/15	Lahore	Murder [2009]
308	Zafar Iqbal	12/13/15	Sialkot	Murder [1996]
309	Khalid	12/13/15	Sialkot	Murder [1996]
310	Manzoor Hussain	12/16/15	Multan	Murder [2003]
311	Muhammad Tahir	12/16/15	Multan	Murder [2003]
312	Aziz Ur Rehman	12/16/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2002]
313	Akhtar Ali	12/16/15	Bahawalpur	Murder [2002]
314	Muhammad Azam	12/16/15	Gujrat	Murder [2004]
315	Iftikhar Ahmed	12/16/15	Gujrat	Murder [2004]
316	Nadeem	12/16/15	Sialkot	Murder [2001]

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317	Muhammad Iqbal	12/16/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder [2004]
318	Zahid Mahmood	12/16/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder [2005]
319	Mukhtar Ahmed	12/16/15	Gujrat	Murder [2004]
320	Muhammad Ishaq	12/17/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1992]
321	Liaqat Hussain	12/17/15	Faisalabad	Murder [1992]
322	Ahmad	12/17/15	Dera Ghazi Khan	Murder [1999]
323	Muzhar Hussain	12/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
324	Dilawer	12/18/15	Rawalpindi	Murder
325	Muhammad Anwar	12/18/15	Vehari	Murder [1993]
326	Sarfraz Arif	12/18/15	Vehari	Murder [1996]
327	Naveed Ahmed	12/18/15	Attock	Murder [2002]
328	Zahoor Ahmed	12/20/15	Lahore	Murder [2002]
329	Mukhdoom Gujjar	12/20/15	Lahore	Murder [2003]
330	Noor Saeed	12/30/15	Kohat	Terrorism
331	Murad Khan	12/30/15	Kohat	Terrorism
332	Inayatullah Khan	12/30/15	Kohat	Terrorism
333	Israruddin	12/30/15	Kohat	Terrorism
334	Siraj ul Haq	12/30/15	Kohat	Terrorism
335	Abdul Rashid	01/12/16	Bahawalpur	Murder [2004]
336	Sardar Ali	01/12/16	Toba Tek Singh	Murder [1993]
338	Rizwan Kiyani	01/12/16	Rawalpindi	Murder [1995]
341	Allah Ditta	01/13/16	Jhang	Murder [1999]
337	Sajid Hameed	01/14/16	Sialkot	Murder [2003]
340	Muhammad Sultan	01/16/16	Attock	Murder [2007]
339	Ghulam Jilani	01/19/16	Mianwali	Murder [2004]
342	Anwar Khan	01/20/16	Sahiwal	Murder [1993]
343	Hakim Khan	01/20/16	Jhelum	Murder [2004]
344	Noor Khan	01/20/16	Sahiwal	Murder [2003]
345	Muhammad Akram	01/20/16	Sahiwal	Murder [1999]

ANNEX II: THE TWENTY POINTS IN THE NATIONAL ACTION PLAN

1. Implementation of death sentence of those convicted in cases of terrorism.
2. Special trial courts under the supervision of Army. The duration of these courts would be two years.
3. Militant outfits and armed gangs will not be allowed to operate in the country.
4. NACTA, the anti-terrorism institution will be strengthened.
5. Strict action against the literature, newspapers and magazines promoting hatred, decapitation, extremism, sectarianism and intolerance.
6. All funding sources of terrorists and terrorist outfits will be frozen.
7. The defunct outfits will not be allowed to operate under any other name.
8. Establishing and deploying a dedicated counter-terrorism force.
9. End to religious extremism and protection of minorities will be ensured.
10. Registration and regulation of religious seminaries.
11. Ban on glorification of terrorists and terrorist organisations through print and electronic media.
12. Administrative and development reforms in FATA with immediate focus on repatriation of IDPs.
13. Communication network of terrorists will be dismantled completely.
14. Concrete measures against promotion of terrorism through internet and social media.
15. No room will be left for the extremism in any part of the country.
16. Ongoing operation in Karachi will be taken to its logical end.
17. Balochistan government to be fully empowered for political reconciliation with complete ownership by all stakeholders.
18. Action against elements spreading sectarianism.
19. Formulation of a comprehensive policy to deal with the issue of Afghan refugees, beginning with registration of all refugees.
20. Reforms in criminal courts system to strengthen the anti-terrorism institutions including provincial CIDs.¹

¹ NACTA. 20 Points of the National Action Plan. Retrieved March 02, 2016, from <http://www.nacta.gov.pk/NAPPoints20.htm>.

ANNEX III: DEATH PENALTY OFFENSES

1. Murder – Section 301 of Pakistan Penal Code (PPC)
2. Aggravated murder – Sec 302 of Pakistan Penal Code (PPC)
3. Robbery resulting in death – Sec 396 of PPC
4. Bearing false witness intending or knowing the accused may be convicted of a capital offence, if an innocent person is convicted and executed as a result – Sec 194 of PPC
5. Acts to strike terror or create a sense of fear and insecurity...resulting in death
6. Haraabah – Sec 15 of the Offences Against Property (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979
7. A scheduled offence likely to create terror or disrupt sectarian harmony – Sec 7 of the Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997
8. Hijacking – Sec 402-B, C of PPC
9. Sabotage of the railway system – Sec 127 of the Railways (Amended) Act, 1995
10. Rape – Sec 6 of the Offence of Zina Ordinance (Enforcement of Hadood), 1979
11. Gang rape – Sec 10(4) of the Offence of Zina Ordinance (Enforcement of Hadood), 1979
12. Stripping a woman's clothes – Sec 354-A of PPC
13. Abduction to subject someone to unnatural lust – Sec 12 of the Offence of Zina Ordinance (Enforcement of Hudood), 1979
14. Kidnapping or abduction of minor – Sec 364-A of PPC
15. Kidnapping for ransom or extortion – Sec 365-A of PPC
16. Importing, exporting into and from Pakistan dangerous drugs – Sec 13 of the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930
17. Importing, exporting inter-provincially or manufacturing drugs – Sec 14 of the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1930
18. Drug smuggling – Sec 9 of the Control of Narcotics Substances Act, 1997

19. Adultery – Sec 5 of the Offence of Zina Ordinance (Enforcement of Ha-dood), 1979
20. High treason – Sec 2 of the High Treason Act, 1973
21. Waging or abetting war against Pakistan – Sec 121 of PPC
22. Mutiny and subordination – Sec 31 of the Pakistan Army Act, 1952
23. Abetment of mutiny – Sec 132 of PPC
24. Giving up military passwords, intentionally using unassigned military passwords – Sec 26 of the Pakistan Army Act
25. Offences in relation to enemy, treachery, mutiny, and cowardice – Sec 24 of the Pakistan Army Act, 1952
26. Arms trading – Sec 13-A(1) of the Pakistan Arms (Amendment) Ordinance, 1996
27. Blasphemy – 295-C of PPC¹

¹ Death penalty offences. (2015, November 26). Retrieved February 16, 2016, from <http://hrnpweb.org/hrnpweb/death-penalty-offences/>.

ANNEX IV: MILITARY COURT VERDICTS

1. Noor Saeed - sentenced to death
2. Haider Ali - sentenced to death
3. Murad Khan - sentenced to death
4. Inayat Ullah - sentenced to death
5. Israr ud Din - sentenced to death
6. Qari Zahir - sentenced to death
7. Abbass - sentenced to life imprisonment¹
8. Hazrat Ali - sentenced to death
9. Mujeebur Rehman - sentenced to death
10. Sabeel - sentenced to death
11. Abdus Salam - sentenced to death
12. Taj Muhammad - sentenced to death
13. Ateeq ur Rehman - sentenced to death
14. Kifayatullah - sentenced to life imprisonment
15. Muhammad Farhan - sentenced to death²
16. Said Zaman Khan - sentenced to death
17. Obaid Ullah - sentenced to death
18. Mehmood - sentenced to death
19. Zubair Muhammad - sentenced to death
20. Rab Nawaz - sentenced to death
21. Muhammad Sohail - sentenced to death
22. Muhammad Imran - sentenced to death
23. Aslam Khan - sentenced to death
24. Jameel ur Rehman - sentenced to death
25. Jamshed Raza - sentenced to life imprisonment³

¹ (2015, April 02). Military courts announce death sentences of six convicts. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1173472/>.

² (2015, August 13). Army chief approves death sentences of 7 terrorists: ISPR. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://www.dawn.com/news/1200269>.

³ (2015, September 21). COAS confirms death penalty to nine 'hard core' terrorists. Retrieved May

26. Muhammad Sabir Shah - sentenced to death
27. Hafiz Muhammad Usman - sentenced to death
28. Asad Ali - sentenced to death
29. Tahir - sentenced to death
30. Fateh Khan - sentenced to death
31. Ameen Shah - sentenced to life imprisonment⁴
32. Muhammad Ghauri - sentenced to death
33. Abdul Qayyum - sentenced to death
34. Muhammad Imran - sentenced to death
35. Aksan Mehboob - sentenced to death
36. Adbul Rauf Gujjar - sentenced to death
37. Muhammad Hashim - sentenced to death
38. Sulaman - sentenced to death
39. Shafqat Farooqi - sentenced to death
40. Muhammad Farhan - sentenced to death⁵

06, 2016, from <http://arynews.tv/en/coas-confirms-death-penalty-to-nine-hard-core-terrorists/>.

⁴ Yousaf, K. (2015, September 3). Terror trial: Military courts condemn five terrorists to death. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://tribune.com.pk/story/949809/terror-trial-military-courts-condemn-five-terrorists-to-death/>.

⁵ Syed, B. (2016, January 16). Army chief ratifies death sentence of nine terror convicts. Retrieved May 06, 2016, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1230185>.

ANNEX V: PROSCRIBED ORGANIZATIONS BY THE INTERIOR MINISTRY

#	Organization	Proscription Date
1.	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)	August 15, 2001
2.	Sepah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP)	August 15, 2001
3.	Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM)	January 22, 2002
4.	Lakhar-e-Taeaba (LeT)	January 22, 2002
5.	Sepah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP)	January 22, 2002
6.	Tehreek-e-Jaafria Pakistan (TJP)	January 22, 2002
7.	Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammad (TNSM)	January 22, 2002
8.	Tehreek-e-Islami	January 14, 2002
9.	Al Qaeda	March 18, 2003
10.	Millet-e-Islami Pakistan (Ex-SSP)	November 15, 2003
11.	Khuddam-ul-Islam (Ex JeM)	November 15, 2003
12.	Islami Tehreek Pakistan (Ex-TJP)	November 15, 2003
13.	Jamiat-ul-Ansar	November 20, 2003
14.	Jamiat-ul-Furqan	November 20, 2003
15.	Hizbut Tehrir	November 20, 2003
16.	Khair-un-Nas International Trust	November 29, 2004
17.	Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)	April 12, 2006
18.	Islamic Students Movement of Pakistan	August 30, 2006
19.	Lashkar-e-Islam	August 22, 2008
20.	Ansar-ul-Islam	August 22, 2008

21. Haji Namdar Group	August 22, 2008
22. Tehreek-e- Taliban Pakistan (TTP)	August 25, 2008
23. Balochistan Republican Army (BRA)	October 2, 2010
24. Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF)	October 2, 2010
25. Laskhar-e-Balochistan (LeB)	October 2, 2010
26. Balochistan Liberation United Front (BLUF)	October 2, 2010
27. Balochistan Muslla Defa Tanzeem (BMDT)	October 2, 2010
28. Shia Tulaba Action Committee	April 16, 2011
29. Markaz Sabeel Organizations	April 16, 2011
30. Tanzeem Naujawana-e-Ahle Sunnat (TNA)	April 16, 2011
31. Peoples Aman Committee	April 16, 2011
32. Ahle Sunnat Wal Jamaat (ASWJ) (ex SSP)	February 15, 2012
33. Al Harmain Foundation (AHF)	March 6, 2012
34. Rabita Trust (BT)	March 6, 2012
35. Anjuman-e-Imamia Gilgit Baltistan	April 24, 2012
36. Muslim Students Organization (MSO)	April 24, 2012
37. Tanzeem Ahl-e-Sunnat Wal Jamaat, Gilgit Baltistan	September 7, 2012
38. Balochistan Bunyad Parast Army	September 7, 2012
39. Tehreek Nafaz-e-Aman	September 7, 2012
40. Tahafuz Hadudullah	September 7, 2012
41. Balochisan Waja Liberation Army	September 7, 2012
42. Baloch Republican Party Azad	September 7, 2012
43. Balochistan United Army	September 7, 2012

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44. Islam Mujahidin	September 7, 2012
45. Jaish-e-Islam (JI)	September 7, 2012
46. Balochistan National Liberation Army	September 7, 2012
47. Khana-e-Hikmat Gilgit Baltistan	March 13, 2013
48. Tehrik-e-Taliban Swat (TTS)	March 15, 2013
49. Tehrik-e-Taliban Mohmand (TTM)	March 15, 2013
50. Tariq Geedar Group (TGG)	March 15, 2013
51. Abdullah Azam Brigade	March 15, 2013
52. East Turkmenistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)	March 15, 2013
53. Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)	March 15, 2013
54. Islamic Jihad Union (IJU)	March 15, 2013
55. 313 Brigade	March 15, 2013
56. Tehrik-e-Taliban Bajaur (TTB)	March 15, 2013
57. Amar bil Maroof Wa Nahi Anil Munkir	March 15, 2013
58. Baloch Students Organizations Azad (BSO-A)	March 15, 2013
59. United Baloch Army (UBA)	March 15, 2013
60. Jeay Sindh Muttahida Mahaz (JSMM)	March 15, 2013
61. Islamic State (IS)	August 27, 2015

ANNEX VI: LAWS PERTAINING TO MINORITIES

Hindu Disposition of Property Act 1916

An Act to remove certain existing disabilities in respect of the power of disposition of property by Hindus, for the benefit of persons not in existence at the date of such disposition. Subject to the limitations and provisions specified in this Act, no disposition of property by a Hindu, whether by transfer inter vivos by will, shall be invalid by reason only that any person for whose benefit it may have been made was not in existence at the date of such disposition.¹²

Hindu Gains of Learning Act 1930

An Act to remove doubt as to the rights of a member of a Hindu undivided family in property acquired by him by means of his learning. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context, “acquirer” means a member of a Hindu undivided family, who acquired gains of learning; “gains of learning” means all acquisitions of property made substantially by means of learning, whether such acquisitions be made before or after the commencement of this Act and whether such acquisitions be the ordinary or the extraordinary result of such learning; and “learning” means education, whether elementary, technical, scientific, special or general, and training of every kind which is usually intended to enable a person to pursue any trade, industry, profession or a vocation in life.³

Hindu Inheritance (Removal of Disabilities) Act 1928

An Act to amend the Hindu Law relating to exclusion from inheritance of certain classes of heirs, and to remove certain doubts. Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom to the contrary, no person governed by the Hindu Law, other than a person who is and has been from birth a lunatic or idiot, shall be excluded from inheritance or from any right or share in joint-family property by reason only of any disease, deformity or physical or mental defect.⁴⁵

¹ THE HINDU DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY ACT, 1916. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://punjab-laws.gov.pk/laws/64a.html>.

² The Hindu Disposition of Property Act, 1916. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://pakistancode.gov.pk/english/UY2FqaJw2-apaUY2Fqa-apic-sg-jjjjjjjjjjjj-con-2718>.

³ THE HINDU GAINS OF LEARNING ACT, 1930. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://www.iris-punjab.gov.pk/chartsShowing.aspx?lnk=http://202.166.162.26:8929/Items/Law/THE%20HINDU%20GAINS%20OF%20LEARNING%20ACT,%201930.pdf>

⁴ THE HINDU INHERITANCE (REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES) ACT, 1928. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/139a.html>.

⁵ THE HINDU INHERITANCE (REMOVAL OF DISABILITIES) ACT (1928). Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://displacementsolutions.org/wp-content/uploads/THE-HINDU-INHERITANCE-REMOVAL-OF-DISABILITIES-ACT-1928.pdf>.

Hindu Law of Inheritance (Amendment) Act 1929

An Act to alter the order in which certain heirs of a Hindu male dying intestate are entitled to succeed to his estate.⁶

Hindu Marriage Disabilities Removal Act 1946

An Act to remove certain disabilities and doubts under Hindu Law in respect of marriages between Hindus.

Hindu Married Women's Right to Separate Residence and Maintenance Act 1946

An Act to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances.⁷

Hindu Widows Re-Marriage Act 1856

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act XV of 1856 was passed which enabled widows to marry again. An Act to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu Widows.⁸

Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act 1937

An act to amend the Hindu Law to give better rights to women in respect of property.⁹

Sindh Hindu Heirs Relief Act 1866

An act to limit the liability of a son, grandson or heir of deceased Hindu for the debts of his ancestor, and the liability of the second husband of Hindu widow for the debts of her deceased husband, and otherwise to amend the law of debtor and creditor.¹⁰

(PDF2002)Protection of Communal Properties of Minorities Communities Rules 2003

⁶ THE HINDU LAW OF INHERITANCE (AMENDMENT) ACT, 1929. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://punjablaws.gov.pk/laws/141a.html>.

⁷ THE HINDU MARRIED WOMEN'S RIGHT TO SEPARATE RESIDENCE AND MAINTENANCE ACT, 1946. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://pakistancode.gov.pk/english/UY2FqaJw2-apaUY2Fqa-cJed-sg-jjjjjjjjjjjj-con-2254>.

⁸ Hindu Widows Re-marriage Act, 1856. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://pakistancode.gov.pk/english/UY2FqaJw1-apaUY2Fqa-apc%3D-sg-jjjjjjjjjjjj>.

⁹ THE HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHTS TO PROPERTY ACT, 1937. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://pakistancode.gov.pk/english/UY2FqaJw2-apaUY2Fqa-b5%20V-sg-jjjjjjjjjjjj-con-1535>.

¹⁰ SIND ACT No. VII OF 1866. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://sindhlaws.gov.pk/setup/publications/PUB-14-000090.pdf>.

Any person intending to purchase, sell or transfer any property shall apply to the Government, for the grant of N.O.C., giving all relevant detail of particulars and information. Such person shall also provide any other information or documents as may be required by the Government for processing of his application. Here, "Government" means the Federal Government in the Ministry of Minorities, Culture, Sports, Tourism and Youth Affairs.

Protection of Communal Properties of minorities Ordinance 2001

It is to protect the properties of minority communities meant for their communal use.¹¹ It provides for ban on sale or transfer of minority communities' properties. "Property" in this ordinance means places of worship, monasteries, seminaries, vicarages, dharamshalas, goashalas, burial places, community centres, as well as social welfare, educational, health and recreational institutions meant for communal use of minority communities. Also includes side buildings, vacant places, lands, residential places or offices annexed to said properties.¹²

Christian Marriage Act 1872

An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the solemnization of the marriage of persons professing the Christian religion.¹³

Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act 1936

An Act to amend the law relating to marriage and divorce among Parsis.^{14 15}

¹¹ PROTECTION OF COMMUNAL PROPERTIES OF MINORITIES ORDINANCE, 2002. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://pakistancode.gov.pk/english/UY2FqaJw2-apaUY2Fqa-apaUY2Frb-Z4=-sg-jjjjjjjjjjjj-con-9739>.

¹² Protection of Communal Properties of Minorities Ordinance, 2001 (No. 5 of 2002). Retrieved May 06, 2016, from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=63797&p_classification=01.05.

¹³ CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE ACT, 1872. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://www.punjabcode.punjab.gov.pk/public/dr/CHRISTIAN%20MARRIAGE%20ACT,%201872.doc.pdf>.

¹⁴ ACT NO.: III OF 1936. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from <http://www.clcbd.org/law/171.html>.

¹⁵ An Act to amend the law relating to marriage and divorce among Parsis. Retrieved May 06, 2016, from http://bdlaws.minlaw.gov.bd/pdf_part.php?id=168.

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Center for Research & Security Studies

Islamabad office:

House # 36-B,
St # 30, F-8/1, Islamabad
Tel: +92-51-8314801-03
Fax: +92-51-8314804
Email: mail@crss.pk. www.crss.pk

Peshawar Office:

Flat # 306, 3rd Floor,
Badshah Tower, Bara Road,
Peshawar Cantt
Tel: 091-5252310
091-5252311

Quetta office:

Plot # 06, Flat F1,
Commercial Area,
Farooq plaza,
Jinnah Town, Quetta.
Tel: 081-2863741

The NAP Tracker is an attempt to empirically deconstruct the government progress on National Action Plan (NAP), and try and determine if it is sufficient, comprehensive and most importantly, effective. The report also calls upon a range of experts, columnists and researchers to weigh in on the various themes related to the NAP.

The logo for the Center for Research & Security Studies (CRSS) features the letters 'C', 'R', 'S', and 'S' in a bold, sans-serif font, arranged horizontally. The letters are set against a background of several concentric, overlapping curved lines that create a sense of depth and movement, resembling a stylized globe or a series of waves. The entire logo is rendered in a dark blue or teal color.

CRSS

Center for Research & Security Studies, Islamabad

House # 36-B, St # 30, Sector F-8/1, Islamabad

Tel: 92-51-831 4801-03, Fax: 92-51-831 4804

E-mail: mail@crss.pk, Web: www.crss.pk