Journal of Politics and International Studies

Vol. 2, No. 2, January –June 2016, pp.114–132

A Study of Intentions of Terrorist Attack on APS School Peshawar, Reactions and Panacea in Policy Framework by Government

Sehrish Qayyum

M. Phil. Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore

ABSTRACT

Terrorism has always been a distorting feature in smooth life of the states but to save many from pain some have to sacrifice. The smallest coffins are the heaviest ones and we felt this pain about a year ago. This heartrending issue compelled me to study its very reasons that why such brutality is committed? Why there is no other side to negotiate for ceasing such brutal acts? What the intentions of the attackers were? What sort and intensity of reactions is seen in the context and what special measures state government taken to handle the situation with same infect more reactionary force. The need of revising policy framework and areas to be considered are also discussed. This research writing will inform reader about effects of the Peshawar carnage and efforts of the public along with governing authorities to rectify wreckage to possible extent and safety initiatives and awareness programs for future.

Keywords: Terrorism, APS Attack, Pakistan, Government Policy

Influx to terrorism

The "War on Terror" has led to grave human rights violations and, in response, to a growing volume of human rights litigation. The war that began in 2001 proved tremendously painful for millions of people across the world, especially in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan, and the United States. Each additional month and year of war adds to that toll. Moreover, the human costs of this war will reverberate for years to come in each of the affected country. The war on terror, in fact, proved a great misfortune on the lives of its victims. Civilians have been killed unjustly and tortured without any reason. Evidently, behind the facade of war on terrorism, International Law is widely being disregarded; oppositions are being repressed, not to talk of humiliation the values and rights have suffered at the hands of imperial regimes. It is safe to assume that the commencing of the war on terrorism virtually resulted in the end of the sanctity attached to human rights.

The war on terrorism is not like any other kind of war. The enemy, terrorism, is not a territorial state, nation or government. There is no opposite number to negotiate with. There is no one on the other side to call a truce or declare a ceasefire, no one among the enemy authorized to surrender. So, This ongoing series of terrorist attacks i.e. London subway bombing on 7 July 2005, recent Paris attacks on 13 November 2015 and under consideration Peshawar attack on 16 December 2014 I are aftermath of the US led war on terror. As Pakistan is frontline state in this war on terror for the reason she is among top sufferers of the

Herald of the 9/11 Attacks

The genesis of al-Qaeda can be traced to the Soviet war in Afghanistan (December 1979 – February 1989). The United States, United Kingdom, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the People's Republic of China supported the Islamist Afghan mujahedeen guerillas against the military forces of the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. A small number of "Afghan Arab" volunteers joined the fight against the Soviets,

including Osama bin Laden, but there is no evidence they received any external assistance. In May 1996 the group World Islamic Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders (WIFJAJC), sponsored by bin Laden (and later re-formed as al-Qaeda), started forming a large base of operations in Afghanistan, where the Islamist extremist regime of the Taliban had seized power earlier in the year. In February 1998, Osama bin Laden signed a fatwa, as head of al-Qaeda, declaring war on the West and Israel, later in May of that same year al-Qaeda released a video declaring war on the U.S. and the West.

On August 7, 1998, al-Qaeda struck the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 224 people, including 12 Americans. In retaliation, U.S. President Bill

Clinton launched Operation Infinite Reach, a bombing campaign in Sudan and Afghanistan against targets the U.S. asserted were associated with WIFJAJC, although others have questioned whether a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan was used as a chemical warfare plant. The plant produced much of the region's antimalarial drugs and around 50% of Sudan's pharmaceutical needs. The strikes failed to kill any leaders of WIFJAJC or the Taliban.

Next is the 2000 millennium attack plots, which included an attempted bombing of Los Angeles International Airport. On October 12, 2000, the USS Cole bombing occurred near the port of Yemen, and 17 U.S. Navy sailors were killed.

September 11, 2001 Blitz

On the morning of 11 September 2001, 19 Islamic men affiliated with al-Qaeda hijacked four <u>airliners</u> all bound for California. Once the hijackers assumed control of the airliners, they told the passengers that they had the bomb on board and would spare the lives of passengers and crew once their demands were met – no passenger and crew actually suspected that they would use the airliners as suicide weapons since it had never happened before in history. The hijackers intentionally crashed two airliners into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing the 147 civilians and the ten hijackers on board the airliners. Both buildings collapsed within two hours from fire damage related to the crashes, destroying nearby buildings and damaging others, and killing 2,192 civilians, 71 law enforcement officers, and 343 firefighters who were in the towers and on the ground. The hijackers crashed a third airliner into the Pentagon in Arlington County, Virginia, just outside Washington D.C., killing 70 civilians and 55 military personnel who were in the building, as well as 59 civilians and the five

hijackers on board. 39 civilians, a law enforcement officer, and four hijackers died when the fourth plane crashed into a field near Shanks Ville, Pennsylvania, after some of its passengers and flight crew attempted to retake control of the plane, which the hijackers had redirected toward Washington D.C., to target the White House, or the U.S. Capitol. No flights had survivors.

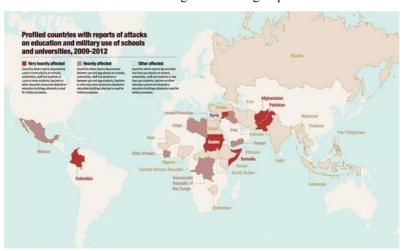
A total of 2,977 victims and 19 hijackers perished in the attacks, making it the worst terrorist attack to ever take place on U.S. soil and also the deadliest foreign attack on U.S. soil since the Japanese carried out a surprise air raid on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Which countries are worse affected?

Afghanistan, Colombia, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan and Syria were worst affected, according the the GCPEA report. These places had experienced 1,000 or more attacks on schools, universities, staff and students or there had been 1,000 or more attacks on personnel including students, teachers and other educational staff, or facilities had been used for military purposes.

One of the most dangerous countries in which to be a teacher is Colombia. Between 2009 and 2012, 140 teachers were murdered in the country and more than 1.000 received death threats.

Teachers in Colombia are targeted for a number of reasons. "Some teachers in remote areas, where armed non-state groups are strong and schools are the only visible presence of the state, are accused by illegal armed groups of collaborating with the enemy," the report notes. Educators are also targeted for trying to lead community efforts to protect children from sexual violence and child recruitment, as well as other efforts to challenge the armed groups' activities.



Terror attacks on schools are rising

Another report by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, published late last year, analyzed terror attacks on schools A Study of Intentions of Terrorist Attack on APS School Peshawar, Reactions and Panacea in Policy Framework by Government and colleges around the world from 1970 to 2013. Researchers at the University of Maryland analyzed data from the Global Terrorism Database and news media.

The report included attacks against schools, teachers or guards protecting school sites, as well as attacks against university professors and teaching staff, and school buses. It excludes attacks against military schools.

Terrorism in this context was defined as: "The threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation."

Between 1970 and 2013 there were more than 3,400 terrorist attacks targeting educational institutions across 110 countries. There was a sharp increase in attacks in 2004.

The report notes that many attacks on educational targets were less likely to cause deaths. More than 70% of all terrorist attacks on educational targets between 1970 and 2013 (2,365 attacks) caused no deaths. This is because many assaults were on unoccupied school and university buildings and intended to intimidate communities rather than kill or injure.

The country with the most terrorist attacks on educational institutions was Pakistan, where 753 were targeted. Of these incidents, 96% (724) took place between 2004 and 2013. However, unlike the attack in Peshawar, most were not lethal. Russia, Iraq, and Nigeria experienced more fatal attacks on educational targets than Pakistan.In Nigeria the radical group Boko Haram has been deliberately attacking educational institutions since 2008. The table below shows the tactics of terrorist attacks in Nigeria from 1988–2013.

The study also shows that such attacks are not restricted to the developing world. There were a number of incidents in the 70s in America involving a range of groups, such as radical students and opponents of the Vietnam War.

Why are schools targeted?

The reported motives for attacks are varied, according to the GCPEA report. They include everything from destroying symbols of government control to blocking girls' education. In some incidents there are multiple reasons for the attack.

Erin Miller, program manager at the Global Terrorism Database, said:

"The question about why terrorists attack educational institutions is difficult because there are likely many reasons and they're not all the same for every perpetrator."

She adds that motives may include the intention to shock or gain attention and educational institutions being seen as "soft" targets because they are often without a great deal of security.

Pakistan one of the worse victim state

Pakistan's role in the War on Terror as a front line Ally is a widely discussed topic among policy-makers of various countries, political analysts and international delegates around the world. Pakistan has simultaneously received allegations of harboring and aiding terrorists and commendation for its anti-terror efforts. The

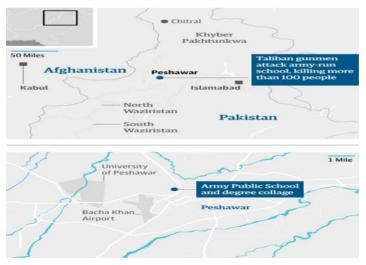
upswing in American military activity in Pakistan and neighboring Afghanistan corresponded with a great increase in American military aid to the Pakistan government. In the three years before the attacks of 11 September, Pakistan received approximately \$9 million in American military aid. In the three years after, the number increased to \$4.2 billion, making it the country with the maximum funding post 9/11. Such a huge inflow of funds has raised concerns that these funds were given without any accountability, as the end uses not being documented, and that large portions were used to suppress civilians' human rights and to purchase weapons to contain domestic problems like the Baluchistan unrest.

Extreme suicide bombings, target killing of top leadership, law and order issue in Karachi, APS student massacre, killing of mountain climbers on Nanga Parbat etc. There is a list of happenings which are noted as real cost of war on terror by Pakistan as per international analysis. In this regard army did operation Raha e Nijat, operation Raha Raast and ongoing operation Zarb e Azab to counter terrorism.

Peshawar Carnage

On 16 December 2014, seven gunmen affiliated with the Tehrik-i-Taliban (TTP) conducted a terrorist attack on the Army Public School in the northwestern Pakistani city of Peshawar. The militants were recognized as, all of whom were foreign nationals,

one Chechen, three Arabs and two Afghans. They entered the school and opened fire on school staff and children, killing 141 people, including 132 schoolchildren, ranging between eight and eighteen years of age. A rescue operation was launched by the Army's Special (SSG) Special Forces, who killed all seven terrorists and rescued 960 people. On 02 December, 2015 Pakistan hung four militants involved in the Peshawar massacre.



This was the deadliest terrorist attack ever to occur in Pakistan, surpassing the 2007 Karachi bombing. According to various news agencies and commentators, the nature and preparation of the attack was very similar to that of the Beslan

school hostage crisis that occurred in the North Ossetia-Alania region of the Russian Federation in 2004.

Intentions of Terrorist Attack

In June 2014, a joint military offensive was conducted by the Pakistan Armed

Forces against various groups in Waziristan which has been the site of a wave of violence. The military offensive, Operation Zarb-e-Azb, was launched in the wake of the 8 June attack on Jinnah International Airport in Karachi, for which the TTP claimed responsibility. It is part of the ongoing war in North-West Pakistan in which more than 2,100 have been killed so far. According to one public release on 21st December 2015, of the TTP intentions behind this attack were:

To let Pakistan Army know how much pain they felt when they attacked their madrassa in Waziristan in which nearly 800 students were killed as per their information.

- It just a trailer to the upcoming miseries which will be imposed by TTP in response to their causalities.
- To keep Pakistani nation in severe pain who is in support of their corrupt army and illegitimate government.
- to warn Pakistan government to stop counter activities against them
- Pakistan Government should assist them in launching true Muslim rule in the region
- To put a halt to Pakistan's domestic political turbulence
- To create hurdles in the process of education and dependent prosperity
- To shake Pakistani servicemen's faith in the government's ability to protect their children which they are showing in Zarb-e- Azab
- Extreme pain given to any nation is to eliminate their name by killing their children and TTP did this with extreme brutality

Human cost of the Attack

At least 141 people, including 132 children and nine staff members of the school, were killed along with seven attacking terrorists with no loss of Pakistan Army on the Day in counter operation.

About 245 injured students were given medication in emergencies of hospitals and 78 students of severe injuries are under medical therapies in western hospitals of Europe at the expense of federal government of Pakistan and Government of Punjab.

Brisk Reponses by the Federal Government

Following few measures were taken at once to tackle the miserable situation and emotions of the nation;

- Government intensified attacks in Waziristan against alleged terrorists
 Government lifted moratorium on death penalty
- Imran khan announced to end sit-in protest against government
 Schools were closed for 20 days after attack
- Call for increasing security measures was given to all schools nationwide
- Numbers of law enforcing agencies were circulated to notify any doubtful activity

Economic Loss in the context

Estimating the total loss to economy in the last ten years because of terrorism at \$78 billion. It provides a grim picture of the state of security in the country facing what it describes as serious traditional and non-traditional threats of violent extremism, sectarianism, terrorism and militancy.

Pakistan spends Rs150bn on policing in a country where the citizen to police ratio, it notes, was well within the Police Rules, except for the Punjab and Sindh. It notes, however, that the countrywide crime rate registered a spike since 2008 and in 2013; the nationwide reported crime figures stood at a whopping 64, 4554.

In reference to the Peshawar massacre Nacta, planned to develop a 'directorate of internal security' to collate intelligence from six intelligence agencies, including the special branch operating at the provincial level, and coordinate efforts between 20 law-enforcement agencies. The whole operation is to cost Rs21bn, according to the document. More than 19 billion rupees had been utilized formerly in operation Zrb-e-Azab which was actual cutoff in economic development project for state to save it for their people.

International Reactions towards Brutality

Global reactions have been similarly emotional as national. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi called on all of India's schools to observe two minutes of silence on Wednesday "as a mark of solidarity." British Prime Minister David Cameron called the attack "deeply shocking," noting that it was "horrifying that children are being killed simply for going to school."

"A house of learning turned into a house of unspeakable horror," said U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. The Chinese foreign ministry issued a statement: "We are deeply shocked and saddened by the incident, and most strongly condemn on the terrorist attack. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani condemned the attack and said "The killing of innocent children is contrary to Islam." "We share the pains and sufferings of Pakistan's people, and condemn in strongest possible terms this terrorist, brutal, non-Islamic and inhuman act." Ghani said over telephonic conversation with Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

Iranian President Hassan Rouhani condemned the attack and sent condolences to families of victims. Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Marziyeh Afkham in a press conference said

"This is a totally un-Islamic and inhumane action," adding that terrorism, extremism and putting innocent people's lives at risk in any form and with any purpose are reprehensible....... cooperation among the regional countries and the world community is necessary in order to fight terrorism and extremism".

King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia condemned the attack saying "We have heard about the news of this terrorist attack with profound pain and grief."

Grand Mufti Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdullah Al ash-Sheikh condemned the attack describing it as "corruption, injustice and aggression." He further added that

"It's appalling to see many people being killed in Muslim countries these days and this should wake up Muslims as it's a dangerous action and a big crime."

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu condemned the attack and announced a day of national mourning in Turkey. Foreign Ministry issued a statement which reads:

"The attack in Peshawar, which aimed at disrupting the country's domestic peace and security, caused deep sadness in Turkey. Turkey is determined to continue its solidarity with the Pakistani Government and its people and will continue supporting Pakistan's fight against terrorism.

French President François Hollande in a statement condemned the attack saying

"No words can express the ignominy of such an attack against children in their school and that France supported the Government of Pakistan in their fight against terrorism" and expressed solidarity with the victims and their parents."

Nationwide Reaction on the Massacre

Government

"I have decided to proceed to Peshawar and I will supervise the operation myself. These are my children and it is my loss" (Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of Pakistan).

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had condemned the attack, calling it a national tragedy. Nawaz Sharif left for Peshawar to monitor the operation and announced a three-day mourning period during which the National Flag would fly at half-mast On 17 December 2014, Sharif approved paperwork to remove a moratorium on the death penalty in terror-related cases.

President Mamnoon Hussain condemned the attack, saying "such cowardly attacks cannot deter the morale and resolve of the Nation."

Chief Minister of the Province of Punjab, Shehbaz Sharif, condemned the attack, saying "The incident of terrorism is highly condemnable and 180 million people of the country are shocked and grieved over the tragic incident." The Chief Minister appealed to Imran Khan, Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Altaf Hussain, Asfandyar Wali Khan, Mahmood Khan Achakzai, Maulana Samiul Haq, Siraj Ul Haq, leaders of all political and religious parties and civil society to be united for the sake of Pakistan.

Political entities

Major political entities denounced the attack and heavily condemned the attack on innocent children, calling for a strong reaction against militants.

Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf leader Imran Khan condemned the attack and announced the end of the protest Azadi March.

Muttahida Qaumi Movement leader Altaf Hussain, Jamiat Ulema e Islam leader Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan leader Siraj-ul-Haq Khan, Pakistan Awami Tehrik leader Tahir Qadri condemned the attack.

Religious entities

Abdul Aziz Ghazi, the head cleric of Lal Masjid in Islamabad received huge backlash after he refused to condemn the attack. A large number of protestors gathered outside the mosque demanding his arrest. Police were deployed outside the mosque to prevent clashes. In reaction, the mosque management registered FIR against protestors after which police made some arrests. On 21 December, an FIR was launched against Abdul Aziz.

The vice chancellor of Darul Uloom Deoband issued a statement condemning the attack on APS Peshawar. He stated that it is totally un-Islamic.

Islamic scholar Maulana Tariq Jameel condemned the attack, saying "the attack against innocent people is barbaric and must be condemned in no uncertain terms".

Individuals

Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai condemned the attack, and said in a statement: "I am heartbroken by this senseless and cold-blooded act of terror in Peshawar that is unfolding before us". Her father, Ziauddin Yousafzai said his heart was "bleeding" and his family were "traumatized" over the massacre.

Queen Elizabeth II condemn over Peshawar attack saying "deepest sympathies from me and from those of the people of United Kingdom to all those affected by the tragic event in Peshawar." Charles, Prince of Wales at the St Paul's Cathedral condemns Taliban's slaughter of 132 children as a "sickening example of sacrilege", He further said "horrific reminder".

Government initiatives

Government of Pakistan took serious initiatives after the happening of Peshawar APS massacre, which are listed as following;

□ National Action Plan:

On 24 December 2014 political parties conference chaired by Nawaz Sharif reached consensus over the issue of setting up military courts for tackling terrorism cases in the country, along with a wider plan to tackle terrorism.

We have to act fast and whatever is agreed we have to implement it immediately...this agreement is a defining moment for Pakistan and we will eliminate terrorists from this country.

— Nawaz Sharif,

On 24 December the Prime Minister (PM) in a televised address to the nation announced the 'National Action Plan' (NAP) to deal with terrorism. According to the Interior Minister, the plan was prepared in the light of the decisions taken by All Parties Conference. For this purpose the PM established the National Action Committee consisting of the members from all the political parties and decision were taken in the light of the recommendations of this committee.

The PM's address gave the following outline of the National Action Plan, the points of which were decided in the APC are:

After the Peshawar incident, government decided to proceed with the execution of extremists convicted in terror related cases. The Government has already started implementation.

- Special courts, headed by the officers of the armed forces, will be established for the speedy trial of terrorists. These courts will be established for a term of two years.
- o Formation of armed militia will not be allowed in the country.
- o National Counter Terrorism Authority will be revived and made effective
- There will be a crackdown on hate-speech, and action will be taken against newspapers, magazines contributing to the spread of such speech.
- o Financial sources of terrorists and terror organizations will be cut.
- Banned outfits will not be allowed to operate under different names.
 Special anti-terrorism force will be raised.
- Measures will be taken to stop religious extremism and to protect minorities.
- Madrassas will be regularized and reformed.
- Print and electronic media will not be allowed to give any space to terrorists.
- Keeping the rehabilitation of IDPs as the top-most priority, administrative and development reforms in FATA will be expedited.
- o Communication systems of terrorist organizations will be destroyed.
- Social media and the Internet will not be allowed to be used by terrorists to spread propaganda and hate speech, though exact process for that will be finalized.
- Like the rest of the country, no space will be given to extremism in any part of the Punjab.
- Operation against terrorists in Karachi will be taken to its logical conclusion.
- o In the interest of political reconciliation, Baluchistan government will be given complete authority by all stakeholders.
- Elements spreading sectarian violence will be prosecuted.
- o Comprehensive policy will be formed for registration of Afghan refugees.

 To give provincial intelligence agencies access to communication of terrorists and to strengthen anti-terror agencies through basic reforms in the criminal justice system. Constitutional amendments and legislation will be carried out for this purpose.

Enactments

Following efforts were made to implement National Action Plan:

- Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of Pakistan passed on 7 January 2015.
- Over 50 cases of hardcore terrorists for prosecution in military courts send till 25 March 2015.

Government initiatives later followed by KPK Government:

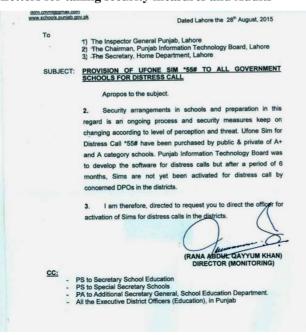
Following security measures were taken by the Provincial government of Punjab which were later taken as role model by KPK government to follow on immediate basis as they received appreciation later by federal government.

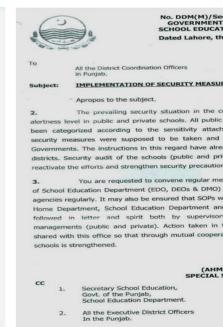
Security measures taken:

- ➤ Boundary walls
- > Terrorism in context of APS Attacks
- Research Paper
- Fence (Barbed Wire/Razor Wire)
- Security Guards
- CCTV Cameras / Web Cam
- Metal Detectors
- Sweeping of School Premises
- > Proper vigilance around the school boundary
- School employees guarding the gates through-out the school hours
- Training / Awareness Sessions /
- Mock Exercise conducted by 1122, Civil Defense etc.
- School Specific SOPs for Emergency
- Designated Police Mobile for Schools
- Security Clearance of School Premises, Residents and Canteen workers by Special Branch (only where relevant)
- ➤ Purchase of SIMs *55# for distress call



Letters for taking security measures and Audits





Summary of security audits of schools

A Study of Intentions of Terrorist Attack on APS School Peshawar, Reactions and







Dated Lahore, the 2 ddm.cmmf@gmail.com

TOP PRIORITY IMPORTANT

No. DD (M)/Security/Vol-V/2014 GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB CHIEF MINISTER'S MONITORING FORCE SCHOOL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Dated Lahore the 28th August, 2015

The Executive District Officers (Edu), Sargodha, Bhakkar, Khushab, Mianwali.

Subject:

SECURITY AUDIT OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITU

Please find enclose a list of Public, Pri (Christians) Schools belonging to various categories i.e. A+,

- The Special Branch has pointed out certain wer of these schools. These weaknesses include Boundary CCTV Cameras and Poor Vigilance by Chowkidar at gates
- 3. You are directed to strengthen the security o light of the observations made by the Special Branch. Yo examine personally and through your DEOs, Dy. DEOs and all other schools which are not included in the attached list. be tolerated in this regard. The compliance report after en strengthen the security must be submitted within a week tim

ADDITIONAL SECRE

All the Executive District Officers (Education) In Punjab

SUBJECT:

www.schools.puniab.gov.pk

SUPPLEMENTARY READING MATERIAL ABOUT EXTREMISM, TERRORISM, SECTRARIANISM, RESILIENCE, TOLERANCE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE. INTER-FAITH HARMONY IN **EXAMINATIONS**

In pursuance of the National Action Plan and directions of the Chief Minister, Punjab, the Curriculum & Textbook Board, Punjab, has developed Supplementary Reading Material (SRM) to deal with the menace of extremism, intolerance, sectarianism and to promote tolerance, peaceful co-existence, inter-faith harmony etc. Supplementary Reading material has been made part of the Curriculum and syllabus. It has been distributed in all public schools of Punjab.

- 2 The competent authority has desired that all the Executive District Officers (Education) may ensure teaching on the above said topics. The learning outcome may also be assessed by Short Questions / MCQs in Examinations to be conducted in schools, Boards and PEC.
- I am therefore, directed to request you to implementation of the instructions of the Government. Action and compliance in this regard may kindly be communicated to this department.

(RANA ABDUL QAYYUM KHAN) DIRECTOR (MONITORING)

CC:

PS to Secretary School Education

PS to Special Secretary Schools

S to all Chairmen, Board of Intermediate & Secondary Education in Punjab

The District Coordination Officers, in Punjab

The Chief Executive Officer, Punjab Examination Commission, Wahdat Colony, Lahore

Summary of Security Audit Govt. Schools

| Total No. o | of Govt. Schools =4138 | Status as on 30-05-2015 | Present Status |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| D | Completed | 3944 | 4048 |
| Boundary Walls | Under Construction | 194 | 90 |
| Barbed / Razor Wire | Installed | 3746 | 3872 |
| | Not Installed | 392 | 266 |
| CCTV Cameras | Installed | 3789 | 4093 |
| | Not Installed | 349 | 45 |
| Metal Detectors | Present | 4138 | 4138 |
| | Not Present | 0 | 0 |
| Emergency Contact Numbers. | Present | 4138 | 4138 |
| | Not Present | 0 | 0 |
| Chowkidar | Present | 4138 | 4138 |
| | Not Present | 0 | 0 |

Continued......

| Total No. of Public Schools=4138 | | Status as on 30-05-2015 | Present Status |
|---|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| No. of Schools having School Specific SOPs for Emergency | Prepared | 4138 | 4138 |
| | Not Prepared | 0 | 0 |
| No. of Schools with Police Mobile | Designated | 4138 | 4052 |
| designated for School | Not designated | 0 | 86 |
| No. of Schools that purchased SIM *55# for distress call | Purchased | 2112 | 4138 |
| | Not Purchased | 2026 | 0 |

| Continued | | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------|--|--|
| Total No. of Govt. Schools=4138 | | Status as on 30-05-2015 | Present Status | | | |
| No. Of School | No. Of Schools Having Visitor's | | 4138 | 4138 | | |
| Register at gate | | Not Placed | 0 | 0 | | |
| No. of Schools | | Conducted | 4138 | 4138 | | |
| | For Students | Not Conducted | 0 | 0 | | |
| where Training / Awareness Sessions / Mock | For Teachers | Conducted | 4138 | 4138 | | |
| | | Not Conducted | 0 | 0 | | |
| | For Class-IV | Conducted | 4138 | 4138 | | |
| | | Not Conducted | 0 | 0 | | |
| Exercise conducted by: (1122, Civil Defense etc.) | For Neighbours/ Local Community | Conducted | 3815 | 3804 | | |
| | | Not Conducted | 323 | 334 | | |
| | For School Council Members | Conducted | 4092 | 4092 | | |
| | | Not Conducted | 46 | 46 | | |

Special revision and upgrading of the curriculum: was done and following topics were added to the curriculum to make students aware about the issues of terrorism and how they should serve their country in this hour of difficulty;

- 1. Causes of terrorism.
- 2. Effects of terrorism on the progress of country.
- 3. Impact of sectarianism on society and religion.
- 4. Advantages of tolerance.
- 5. Requirements of patriotism.
- 6. Resistance to terrorism.
- 7. De-weaponization.
- 8. Co-existence.

More over for sake of awareness debate competition, essay writing contest and many other such co-curricular activities were held to highlight the brutality happened and way forwards.

Rethinking Pakistan's Strategic Interests

Afghanistan, a land locked gateway between South, Central and West Asia has been a confluence of competing interests of regional states (Central Asian States, Iran, India, China and Pakistan) and international powers (US, Russia). Pakistan's initial interests in Afghanistan had been based on the territorial security of its

unrecognized western border inhabited by 19 tribes 99 living on both sides of the Durand Line.

While America left the region following Soviet withdrawal, its sponsored Jihad, the ideological warfare that it had helped groom with Saudi Wahabi ideology and ISI's logistical expertise was continued by Pakistan for its own strategic interests in the region. Although Pakistan had gradually left the secular ideals of its founder increasingly using Islam for bringing together a multinational state before the 1980s Afghan war, the sponsorship of Deobandi-Wahabi ideology mixed with militancy training and funding facilitation by the State had created a huge Jihad industry.

This industry allowed Pakistan to gain Strategic Depth in Afghanistan and to keep India bogged down in the Kashmir border conflict throughout the 1990s but with tremendous internal costs.

As 9/11 brought the West back to Afghanistan primarily to undo the same ideological militant infrastructure it had helped germinate, it left Pakistan's regional policy executed through ideological non-state actors in tatters while also threatening Pakistan's territorial security. Musharraf allayed the territorial threat by joining the American "War on Terror" but America's expedient policy framework which excluded the Taliban from the Bonn process, which Lakhtar Brahimi aptly phrased "the original sin", 100 led to a hostile Kabul dispensation.

Further, sensing America's lack of long term interest in Afghanistan by not putting needed boots on the ground and more importantly by shifting strategic priority to Iraq left Pakistan Army with no choice but to preserve its blood line in Afghanistan, especially when its arch enemy India was closing its grip by opening consulates near the Pakistan border and making investments which could bypass Pakistan's strategic location as the transit trade route for energy rich Central Asia.

As Pakistan's competition for influence in the region vastly outweighed the country's interests in the "War on Terror", its perceived policy ambivalence towards militants was in actuality a conscious decision as Pakistan Army never considered Al-Qaeda, the Afghan Taliban or the Punjabi Taliban a threat to the State. But a forced closing of Kashmir Jihad at the threat of war with India and the incursions in FATA to net Al-Qaeda primarily to show its support for the "War on Terror" to America, redirected some militant factions to instead focus on the Pakistani State and security apparatus. Pakistan's elite perceived that targeting of the Pakistani state had been because of its alliance with US rather than the militants wanting State power 102. Thus Pakistan's implicit policy has since been to convince all militant groups to concentrate their energies in Afghanistan while tackling anti-state groups who fail to understand Pakistan's compulsion visà- vis America.

Taliban still fit Pakistan's interest well within the Strategic Depth framework, allowing Pakistan's influence in Kabul following NATO withdrawal, Pushtun nationalism, and provide access to Central Asia and facilities for Kashmir bound militants. But does Pakistan want to have the same scenario in Afghanistan as the 1990s when its intelligence agency was deeply linked in an Afghan civil war (along with other regional players) while being diplomatically isolated for supporting the Taliban?

The Pakistan Army Chief Kiyani while subscribing to Strategic Depth defined it as "a border we don't need to worry about" indicating his interest in a peaceful, stable and friendly Afghanistan rather than its descent into obscurantism. He has stated that a gradual transition within the military establishment is under way while hinting a policy change towards non-state actors, saying that national defense will not be outsourced. But Pakistan still perceives Afghanistan as a battleground for influence with India as Kiyani told Obama in their meeting that US was not addressing his strategic imperatives

| | 2007-8 | (Rs in Billion) 2009-10 | % increase |
|--|--------|----------------------------|------------|
| Direct Cost of War on Terror | 149 | 320 | 115 |
| (Potential) cost compensation to victims | 3 | 6 | 100 |
| Cost of damage to property and infrastructureb | 8 | 13 | 63 |
| Higher cost of defence | 109 | 247 | 127 |
| Higher cost of police | 21 | 43 | 105 |
| Higher cost of private security | 8 | 11 | 38 |
| Indirect Cost of War on Terror | 231 | 521 | 126 |
| Costs to local economies | 42 | 130 | 210 |
| Loss of economic growth in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 40 | 130 | 225 |
| Cost of IDPs | 2 | n.a | n.a |
| Costs of higher risk perceptions | 189 | 391 | 107 |
| Fall in private investment | 52 | 244 | 369 |
| Fall in stock market capitalizationa | 120 | 123 | 2 |
| Others | 17 | 44 | 41 |
| Total Cost of War (Pak Rs.) | 380 | 841 | |
| | | | |
| Total Cost of War (US\$ billion) | 6 | 10 | |
| US Bilateral Assistance (US\$ billion) | 2 | 3.6 | |
| Pakistan's Burden of War (US\$ billion) | 4 | 6.4 | |

Source: Social Impact of the Security Crises, Social Development in Pakistan Annual Review 2009-10

Karachi: Social Policy & Development Centre (SPDC) 2010

Reviewing assumptions under policy framework

Assumptions underlying the current policy framework are weak, but even if they are granted, what cannot be looked over is the internal cost of the Strategic Depth policy framework which discriminates between good versus bad ideological militants and uses non-state actors as a key tool for foreign policy objectives. Terrorism can't not be countered when suicide bomber training camp in Shawal, SW is run jointly by Sirajuddin Haqqani, a strategic asset for Pakistan Army focusing on Afghanistan and Qari Hussain, a hunted TTP militant commander responsible for most suicide attacks within Pakistan. Such paradoxical security framework is a step up from the 1990s instead making Pakistan the Strategic Depth for Afghan and international Islamist militants, and leading to State's loss of sovereignty over vast areas.

It has allowed domestic terrorism for strategic needs in Afghanistan to the effect that militant's practically gained control over people's lives in FATA and Swat by eliminating traditional leadership. But more importantly, it is this subservience of domestic security to the Strategic Depth framework that has led to immeasurable costs in the socio-cultural domain.

The continuing need of Deobandi-Wahabi schools for Jihad has led to increased religious extremism, militarization and criminality in society as other sects have followed suit in safeguarding their own communities. Sectarianism and violence earlier restricted to Sunni-Shia has taken on a new dimension as other than the Ahmedi and Shia, now the Barelvi sect is also being targeted while religious scholars, who have passed injunctions against suicide bombings have been killed irrespective of their schools of thought. Since 2001, a total of 2,564 citizens have been killed while 5,071 have been injured in sectarian violence, triple the casualty figure of 1989-2000.

Thus a change in Strategic Depth policy is necessary for Pakistan's internal stability. While Pakistan Army as an institution is skilled in the realism of international relations, as it forgoes its ideological partner when faced with a territorial threat; It closes down and reforms sections of the ISI when faced with internal threat and insubordination; still it fails to understand that its strategic policy framework is flawed and hurting the country. An important factor in this regard is the civil military power imbalance and a lack of trust between the two institutions.

The army has managed the Afghan and Kashmir policy since Zia's time leading to a lack of rethinking and reassessment for the last 30 years as policy change is primarily an outcome of pluralism, opposition and peaceful transfer of power, the beauty of democracy. It is also perfectly understandable for a military institution to be strategically trained in a zero sum game with its arch enemy, but for that to be unchallenged State policy for decades is anathema to growth and progress of any nation.

This can be judged from the fact that all democratically elected leaders since the last 30 years have either extended or accepted peace overtures towards India and Zardari's foreign policy agenda also includes peace with India, no Taliban safe havens in Pakistan and good relations with America. But the civil political leadership has yet to gain the confidence of the powerful security establishment and lacks the institutional strength to forcefully make a case for policy change, thus the strategic policy role stays with the military.

Pakistan still has time and opportunity to re-strategize and devise an innovative policy towards Afghanistan combing regional and bilateral approach, whereby Afghanistan and India are seen as part of the solution to dismantle and disrupt terrorism in the region and have stake in peace and sustainable development of the region. Such a vision demands broad internal consensus, which implies that the civilian government and the Pakistan Army must act in unison and concert, supplementing and supporting each other and pursing shared goals.

Final Thought

I have to add painfully that no international agency and country took serious supportive step to counter this act of brutality than mere condemning. No one even offered to support Pakistan's economy rather than lending aid loans in crucial time of stock market closure, even Amnesty international was condemning lifting of moratorium over death penalty as it is very sever step in reaction. For this very reason I just focused my work on federal government of Pakistan initiatives and provincial government responses and measures taken in the context. Despite public thought of failure of states' security policies it took serious measures to rectify pain of its people to maximum possible level. No state or individual is perfect, and as per international report of terrorist attack by UNHCR July 2014, it's impossible to avoid suicide bombing and killings because attacker come with mind of killing and suicide, there is brainwashing of years behind the process which can't be handled in minutes. There needs to be better monitoring and reporting of attacks on education.

Cessation Remarks

Dire need of the moment is to save innocent lives by joining hands rather than splitting in sects, castes, provincial prejudices. We don't have to look on other for aids and support we have to save our every rupee to save ourselves. Dark night of the long knives offered a reason to the whole nation to get united, they all felt pain like single body as every child was innocent.

It is easy, far too easy, for us to simply blame the TTP. Of course, the TTP is responsible for this and many other tragedies, and, of course, the State must dismantle its network with all tools at its disposal. But we are not merely a society where children are slaughtered in their classrooms by the TTP. We are also a society where those who lead us curry favors with convicted terrorists of many shades and affiliations; where people are lynched, publicly and with complete impunity, by mobs, by us, in the name of religion; and where elected officials get elected on a platform of "talks" with the very people we condemn today. If our mourning is to have any meaning greater than an instinctive,

knee-jerk response to the sheer scale of the tragedy, we must confront these truths about ourselves and find that we are not merely hapless victims of a war by an unidentified enemy. We have condoned, if not nurtured, the conditions in which this enemy exists and thrives. If our mourning is to have any meaning, we must change these conditions.

So, today, we mourn. Tomorrow, we must change. We simply cannot afford to go back to our petty squabbles and finger-pointing, our fantasies of foreign hands, our notions of grandeur and "strategic assets," and, most crucially, the preposterous idea that "talks" with terrorists amount to anything other than unconditional surrender to them. We owe at least this much to the memory of those we mourn this moment.

References

For a national cause: PTI calls off dharna after 126 days". The Express Tribune (Pakistan). 18 December 2014. Retrieved 19 December 2014.

Haider, Mateen (26 December 2014). "Nawaz constitutes special committee to implement National Action Plan". Special report by Mateen Haider (Dawn News, 2014). Dawn News. Retrieved 14 January 2015.

"Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif: These Are My Children And It Is My Loss". Headlines & Global News.

"Taliban kills at least 104 people in attack on Pakistan military school". Los Angeles Times. 16 December 2014. Retrieved 16 December 2014.

Kaphle, Anil (24 December 2014). "Pakistan announces a national plan to fight terrorism, says terrorists' days are numbered". Washington Times, 2014. Washington Times. Retrieved 14 January 2015.

National Action Plan: Over Rs 10 billion in foreign terror funds frozen 70 million SIM's re-verified, 11 million blocked, says PTA

32,347 arrested, 28,826 operations conducted under NAP: report

Asad Hashim | 16 Jan 2015 19:36 GMT | policy shift in Pakistan after Peshawar massacre/ Al-jazeera News

Press Release: Rawalpindi; Dec, 12, 2015, DG ISPR

Critical review of international responses at Peshawar attack; Dec 27, 2014, washingtonpost

Muneer, Mohammad Justice. From Jinnah to Zia, Lahore: Vanguard Books 1979. Nawaz, Shuja. Crossed Swords, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008 p. 384. Haq, Sadr Pakistan General Zia ul. Speeches Vol. 1 5 July – 31 Dec 1977. Zia's

addressed the Pakistan Army as "Soldiers of Islam" in Address to the Nation 27th July 1977.

Jalal, Ayesha. The State of Martial Rule, Lahore: Vanguard Books 1991. For Zia, Pakistan & Islam were two sides of the same coin. Protection & integrity of both was the task of military establishment alone.

Nawaz, Shuja. Crossed Swords, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 373. 7.