

**2** year performance  
of PTI Government

# DESTRUCTION OF NATIONAL POWER

Economy

Energy

Development

Foreign Policy

Democratic Governance

Food Security

Media

Defence

Federation

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Over the last two years, the PTI government has weakened the national power of Pakistan through its incompetence, failures and corruption. Our national power consists of the strength of our economy, politics, foreign policy, society, democratic governance structure, constitutional federalism, infrastructure, freedom of expression, and human resources, amongst other things. All of these components have suffered significantly over the past two years and, as a result, the national power of Pakistan has also been tragically and worryingly damaged.

## **1. ECONOMY**

Although the PTI government is marked by general incompetence in all areas and has brought back corruption and crony capitalism to the highest echelons of power in Pakistan, the most horrifying performance of PTI has been in dealing with the economy. Our economy's journey under PTI, from growth of 5.8% of GDP in 2018 to negative growth of -0.4% of GDP in 2020, has rendered millions of Pakistanis jobless and has impoverished millions more. Even -0.4% may be an understatement for the negative GDP growth. Global financial institutions and independent economists estimate the negative GDP growth in 2020 to be around -2%. The income of the average Pakistani, which had increased by 24% between 2014 and 2018, has reduced by 16% over the last 2 years, from \$1652 to \$1388. The size of GDP has shrunk from \$315 billion to \$264 billion over the last two years, which would have been \$350 billion today had growth momentum generated by PMLN been maintained.

In this section we will review PTI's sorry economic performance and its betrayal of Pakistan's vital interests over the last two years.

### **What we inherited**

In 2013, PMLN inherited an economy in shambles. Our GDP growth was only 3.5%, our budget deficit was 8.2%, our foreign exchange reserves were US\$ 9 billion and inflation rate was 11.4%. Our FBR tax collection at Rs 1,946 billion was only 8.4% of GDP



and stagnant. Large scale manufacturing was declining, our exports at \$24.8 billion had declined from the previous year and foreign direct investment had also declined. Pakistan was unable to sell any bonds in the international market and our economic outlook was given a “negative” rating by all international agencies.

### **Where we left**

When we left in 2018, our GDP or national income was growing at 5.8%, inflation had been brought down to 3.9%, the budget deficit was 6.5%, we had doubled our tax collection to Rs 3,842 billion or 13% of GDP and had foreign exchange reserves of over \$16 billion. We left exports at \$24.8 billion, and had set the export sector on a path of revival and growth by improving the energy supply and security situation. Our remittance had grown from \$14 billion to \$20 billion. We had incurred a current account deficit of 5.5% of GDP on account of a growing import bill when our import of plant and machinery increased due to an increase in large-scale manufacturing and the government also imported a lot of power plants and other CPEC-related products and services. This current account deficit ratio, though high, was being financed by private international investors in light of Pakistan’s growth prospects and was about the same as what Britain and many other countries were running and what Pakistan had run in 2008.

Our healthy growth meant that we had been given first a “neutral” and then a “positive” rating by the international agencies and we were able to sell bonds often, including in late 2017, in the international market at competitive rates (of 6% to 7%).

### **How the rot set in under PTI**

As soon as the PTI government came to power, it started taking steps that made our economy take a nosedive. It started with ministers talking down our economy just to speak ill of PMLN. The Minister of Finance wrongly claimed that our economy was near



bankruptcy and the Adviser for Commerce baselessly talked about an impending default. The result was that foreign banks and markets, who were always ready to invest in Pakistan government bonds and always oversubscribed to them when PMLN offered them, walked away from Pakistan. This was done simultaneously with wantonly destabilising and depreciating the Pakistani rupee.

### **Failure to Increase Exports**

However, even after depreciating the rupee from Rs 115 to a dollar where PMLN left to now over Rs 168, in two years PTI has not been able to meet the export performance PMLN achieved in its last year. In PTI's first year, in 2018-19, Pakistan exports were \$500 million less than achieved by PMLN in 2017-18 and this year, in 2019-20, even before coronavirus spread, that is, up to March 2020, Pakistan's exports were less than the corresponding period two years ago.

### **Exorbitant Interest rates**

PTI government also raised the State Bank policy rate to over 13%, compared to 6% when PMLN left, thus crippling our industry. This is the main reason for the crippling budget deficit and for the slowdown of manufacturing and economic growth. Moreover, it borrowed short-term hot money at these exorbitantly high interest rates of 13% and higher. Because of the monetary policy failure, the debt servicing cost has doubled from around Rs 1,500 billion to around Rs 3,000 billion during the last two years under PTI. The rapid increase in interest rate has meant that instead of giving 10 million new jobs, the PTI government has been busy destroying job opportunities and small and medium enterprises. The number of jobless people has increased by at least over 50% during the last two years, and the unemployment rate has risen to over 10% compared to 5.8% when PMLN left.



## **Declining Industrial Imports**

By killing growth and income, the PTI government has caused imports to decrease. However, the biggest decrease has been in new plants and machinery. This shows a lack of tract by investors in PTI government's policies and bodes ill for our future. The decrease has also been in chemical and textile products that are used in value-added exports. Hence, this has made our exports stagnant too.

## **Failure in Tax Collection**

Although PTI has made worse every aspect of our economy, by far the worst performance has been in tax collection. About half of our tax collection comes from the ports, in the form of sales tax, withholding tax and custom duties on imported goods. Given that PTI has devalued the currency by 40%, even after a decrease in imports in dollar terms, the rupee value of our imports has increased. Thus, without doing anything else, FBR collection should have increased just from the import sector. Then of course due to high inflation and rising prices, domestic collection of sales tax and income tax should have also increased (inflation plus nominal growth). Yet it turns out that in its first year PTI actually collected less revenues than PMLN did in its last year (Rs 3,829 billion in 2019 compared to Rs 3,842 billion in 2018). This happened for the first time in FBR's history.

Moreover, even in its second year the real collection by FBR is less than PMLN's collection. Although an official figure of Rs 3,998 billion has been announced for 2020, the actual figure is Rs 3,826 billion. To hide its inefficiency and incompetence, PTI recorded tax refunds of Rs 101 billion as grants rather than deducting them from FBR revenues, as is normally done. Moreover, it started collecting taxes and stopped paying refunds of around Rs 71 billion to the five export sectors that were entirely exempt from sales tax under PMLN. So even in nominal quantity tax collection under PTI has decreased and as a percentage of GDP it has declined from



13% to 11.4%, based on the official tax figure. The actual tax to GDP ratio is even lower. This failure of PTI is all the more onerous on the economy as the government also imposed additional taxes of Rs 700 billion in the 2019-20 budget.

### **Crippling Inflation**

We must mention here the crippling inflation, especially food inflation, that has forced utmost misery to the poor and middle-income Pakistanis. From 3.9% under PMLN, inflation had increased to 12% before coming down to 10%. Even now food inflation is over 15%, which was less than 2% two years ago. Since the inception of this corrupt and incompetent government, over 2 million people have lost their jobs and over 10 million people have been forced into abject poverty.

### **Neglect of Development and CPEC**

One big reason for the loss of job opportunities has been the slashing of expenditures on education, health and development projects over the last two years. The party that talked about austerity has let current expenditures of the government increase much faster than the rate of inflation. But where it has chosen to cut, shamefully, is on CPEC projects, on building health and education infrastructure and other necessary development works:

1. Federal PSDP allocation was increased by PMLN from Rs 360 billion in FY 2013 to Rs 1,001 billion in FY 2018 but PTI has reduced it to Rs 650 billion which has hampered development and growth
2. Mirpur-Muzaffarabad-Mansehra and Gilgit-Chitral-Chakdara roads were approved under CPEC in 6<sup>th</sup> JCC but no work started so far by PTI
3. Only Rs 6 bn allocated for ML-1 railway track. Completion would take 200 years at this rate



4. Nine economic zones were supposed to be ready by 2020 under CPEC in order to reap the industrial cooperation dividend under the 2020-25 industrial cooperation plan but not a single economic zone is ready so far

Whereas PMLN built universities, high technology innovation centres, hospitals, airports, fibre optic cable infrastructure, power transmission lines, gas transmission lines, around 2000 kms of motorways and over 8000 kms of other roads, and installed over 11,000 MWs of power projects, including hydro, gas, renewable and coal power projects, PTI has built nothing in its two years. Yet, the deficit has skyrocketed.

### **Steeply Rising Debt and Deficit**

The steeply worsening deficit under PTI has mortgaged the future of our children. In the five years of PMLN our average budget deficit was around 5.5% and in our last year our deficit was 6.5%. Compare this to PTI's first year deficit of 8.9%. The actual budget deficit in the second year is over 9.5% deficit, even higher than the first year, but the official figure has been reduced to 8.1% primarily by holding back disbursement of Rs 540 billion of COVID-19 relief funds to affected citizens. While PMLN increased our gross debt by Rs 10,661 billion over five years, PTI has increased our debt by over Rs 11,350 billion in just two years. At this pace PTI will double the debt acquired by Pakistan over 70 years in just four years. In 5 years PMLN government took the gross debt to GDP ratio from 64% to 72%. In just two years, PTI has increased this ratio from 72% to around 87%. This rapid increase in indebtedness has grave consequences for Pakistan's sovereignty and nuclear assets.

### **Fiscal Indiscipline**

PTI has not only failed to increase tax revenue collection over the last two years, it has also, unfortunately, raised non-development, current expenditure by 35% in the same period. This has naturally resulted in higher budget deficits and, consequentially, in an unprecedented increase in public debt in the last two years.



## **Economic Sovereignty at Risk**

The path to economic independence that PMLN chartered for our nation, through CPEC infrastructure and industrial zones, by increasing power production, by building water storage facilities, by making our nation self-sufficient in wheat, sugar, fertiliser and many fruits and vegetables etc has now been lost. The longer PTI stays in power the worse our nation's economic outlook will get. When our tax, expenditure and budget policy is dictated by foreign institutions, when the only visible strategy of the government is to ask for donations and handouts, economic independence and sovereignty is jeopardised. This is now the jeopardy being faced by the nation.

<b>Economic Overview of 2 Year of PTI Government</b>			
	<b>FY 2018</b>	<b>FY 2019</b>	<b>FY 2020</b>
GDP Size	\$315 bn	\$284 bn	\$264 bn
GDP Growth	5.8%	1.9%	-0.4%
Per Capita Income	\$1,652	\$1,455	\$1,388
Central Govt Debt	Rs 24,953 bn	Rs 32,708 bn	Rs 36,300 bn
Debt to GDP	72%	85%	87%
Total Debt & Liabilities	Rs 29,879 bn	Rs 40,223 bn	Rs 42,820 bn <sup>1</sup>
FDI	\$3.4 bn	\$1.4 bn	\$2.6 bn
FI	\$5.0 bn	\$-0.1 bn	\$2.0 bn
Tax Collection	Rs 3,842 bn	Rs 3,829 bn	Rs 3,998 bn <sup>2</sup>
Tax to GDP	13.0%	11.6%	11.4%
Circular Debt	Rs 1,026 bn	-	Rs 2,200 bn
Remittances	\$19.9 bn	\$21.7 bn	\$23.1 bn
LSM Growth	5.4%	-2.3%	-10.2%





Inflation	3.9%	8.9%	10.7%
Budget Deficit	6.5%	9.1%	8.1% <sup>3</sup>
Exchange Rate (USD)	Rs 122 <sup>4</sup>	Rs 157	Rs 168
Exports	\$24.8 bn	\$24.3 bn	\$22.5 bn
FX Reserves with SBP	\$9.7 bn	\$7.3 bn	\$12.1 bn <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Debt figure for end-March 2020

<sup>2</sup> Actual tax figure is Rs 3,826 bn once tax refunds of Rs 101 bn treated as grants and outstanding refunds of Rs 71 bn payable to 5 export sectors are accounted for

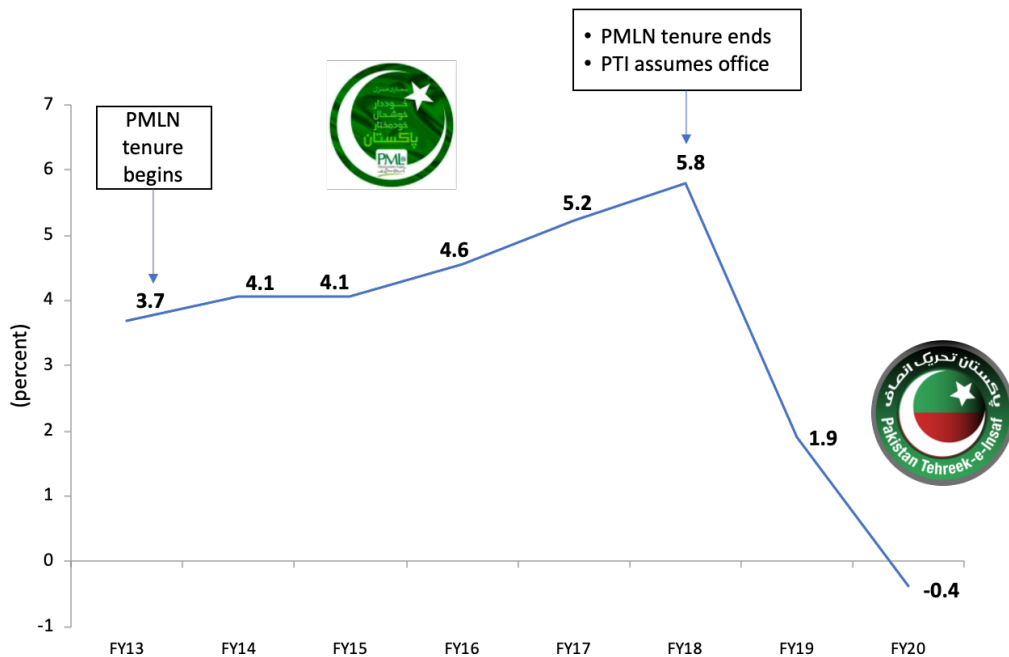
<sup>3</sup> The actual budget deficit in FY 2020 is over 9.5% deficit but the official figure has been reduced to 8.1% primarily by holding back disbursement of Rs 540 billion of COVID-19 relief funds to affected citizens.

<sup>4</sup> PMLN government left exchange rate at Rs 115 in end-May 2018

<sup>5</sup> The amount includes \$7 bn of temporary showcase deposits from Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar and China

## National Income

(GDP Growth)

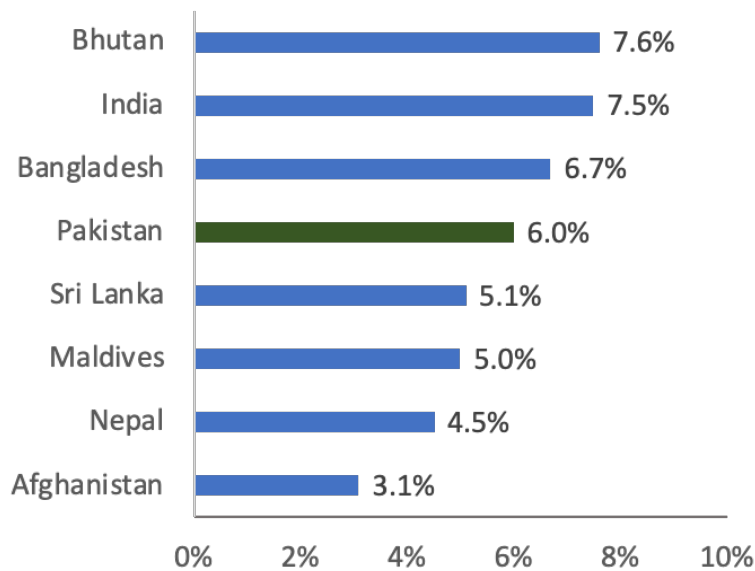




## Regional Comparison

- In January 2018, during the PMLN government, the World Bank was projecting 6% GDP growth for Pakistan in 2020, but actual GDP growth during 2020 has been -0.4% due to the incompetence, corruption and failures of the PTI government.

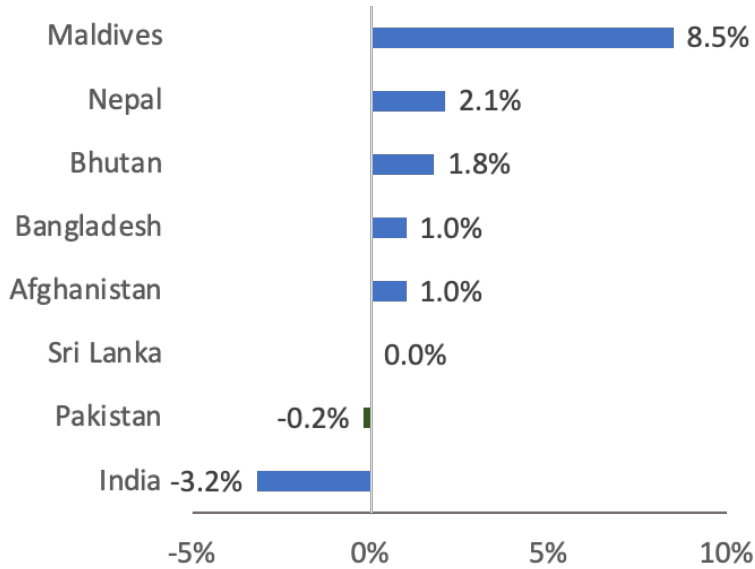
### World Bank GDP growth forecasts in January 2018 for the year 2020



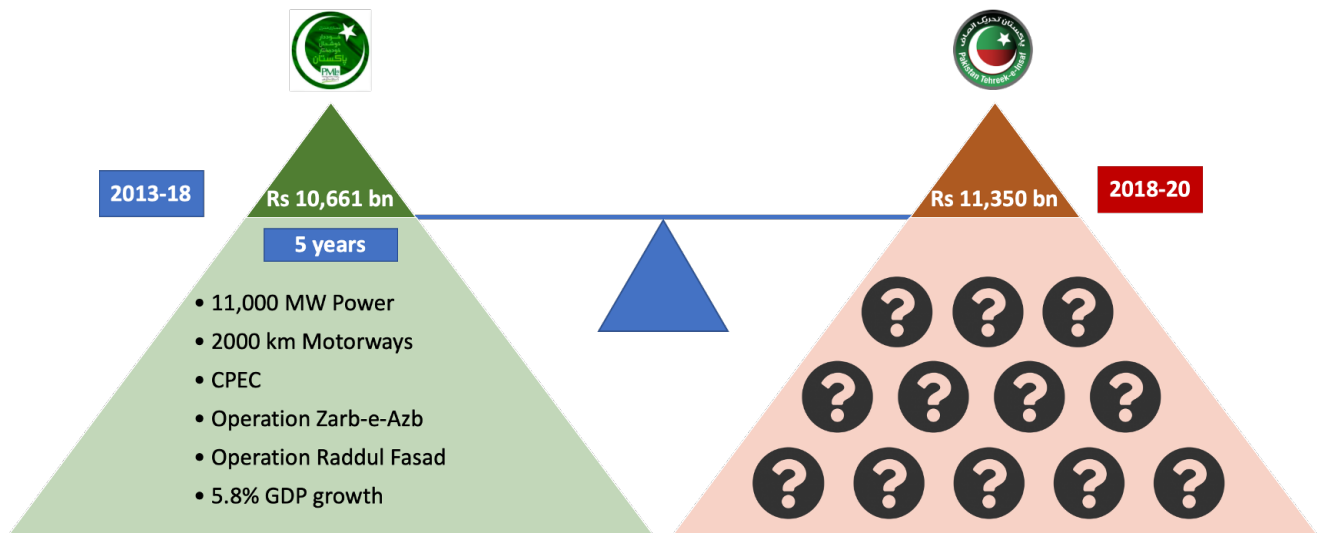
- The World Bank is projecting another year of GDP contraction for Pakistan in FY 2021.



## World Bank GDP growth forecasts for 2021



## PUBLIC DEBT



### Prices of Essential Food Items

Item	Price in May 2018	Price in June 2020
Sugar (1 kg)	53	85
Wheat Flour (10 kg)	360	544



Pulse Masoor (1 kg)	113	174
Pulse Moong (1 kg)	114	303
Pulse Mash (1 kg)	148	270
Pulse Gram (1 kg)	114	167
Vegetable Ghee (1 kg)	148	206
Potatoes (1 kg)	27	71
Rice Basmati (1 kg)	75	101
Milk (1 ltr)	84	113
Eggs (dozen)	92	119
Onions (1 kg)	29	48
Tomatoes (1 kg)	31	50
<i>Source: PBS</i>		

## 2. ENERGY

This section reviews the performance of the PTI government on Energy issues.

### **Circular Debt**

PTI doubled Pakistan's Circular Debt in less than 2 Years.

The Circular Debt under PTI increased by Rs 1.2 BILLION EVERY DAY.

The unprecedented increase in Pakistan's power sector circular debt is PTI's worst failure in the energy sector; and this is despite the highest increase in consumer power tariffs in the history of Pakistan.

On May 31, 2018, the situation was as follows:

Circular Debt: Rs 462 Billion



Power Holding (PHPL) liability: Rs 580 Billion

Total: Rs 1,026 Billion

On June 30, 2020, the situation was as follows:

Total Circular Debt: Rs 2,200 Billion

PMLN increased the power sector bill collection in 5 years from 84% to 93%. The bill collection by the PTI has REDUCED to 80%.

PMLN reduced the Transmission and Distribution losses from 22% to 18%. PTI has INCREASED the losses to 19%.

Merit Order for Power Generation has been consistently violated and power from inefficient powerplants has been generated to benefit vested interests.

Furnace Oil based power plants with lower efficiency were despatched while RLNG power plants with over 40% higher efficiency were not despatched.

In June and July 2020 Pakistan generated the most expensive power in Asia from 1000 MW of Diesel based power generation.

### **Energy Infrastructure Projects**

The status of the major energy infrastructure projects is as follows:

Diamer-Bhasha Dam - The PMLN spent Rs 120 billion in acquiring land for the Diamer-Bhasha hydroelectric dam, resolved technical issues, and set up the project for construction in the company mode. PTI has now started the work to build the water storage dam, leaving aside the power generation potential, and without arranging financing for the project; the money allocated and spent in the last 2 years for the Rs 800 billion dam is less than Rs 40 billion. At this pace the dam would be completed in 50 years.



Mohmand Dam - Another water storage project envisioned, initiated, and tenders floated by the PMLN. The PTI has awarded the contract to build Mohmand Dam to a consortium led by Descon Engineering, a company owned by a PTI cabinet member, after the only other bidder, a consortium led by FWO was technically rejected. Descon, however, was not asked to match the lower bid submitted by the FWO-led consortium.

<b>Projects</b>	<b>Status</b>
Power Generation projects	No project initiated
Power Transmission Line projects	No project initiated
LNG Terminals	No project initiated
Gas Transmission Pipeline projects	No project initiated
TAPI Gas Pipeline project	No progress
IP Gas Pipeline project	No progress
PARCO Coastal Refinery project	No progress
Mid-Country Refinery project	No progress
White Oil Pipeline projects	No progress
LPG Air-Mix Projects for Baluchistan, Sindh, and Environmentally sensitive areas in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Azad Kashmir, and Gilgit Baltistan	Cancelled

### **Provision of Electricity**



The PMLN eliminated load shedding in Pakistan by providing over 11,000 MW of efficient additional power generation capacity.

Due to PTI mismanagement and corruption, significant load shedding has returned to Pakistan, especially this summer in Karachi.

In December 2018, 4 months after taking over, the PTI failed to order additional LNG for winter requirements and asked the long-term suppliers to defer scheduled LNG shipments, which were then selling at higher prices in the market. The result was that Pakistan's most efficient power generation remained shut down, much less efficient and environmentally detrimental furnace oil power plants were utilized, and the dedicated LNG terminals were underutilized.

These failures in collusion with vested interests resulted in heavy load shedding in December 2018 and January 2019, added substantially to the consumers cost of electricity, and Pakistan ended up importing substantially more expensive LNG in early 2019.

Instead of being removed from the Cabinet for his gross incompetence and collusion with the oil lobby, the Minister for Petroleum was transferred and placed as Minister in charge of the Aviation division; his performance there has destroyed the aviation industry in Pakistan and resulted in great international embarrassment for Pakistan.

The deliberate electricity shortage was again repeated when in March, April, and May of 2020, the PTI asked suppliers to delay their scheduled LNG shipments. Resultantly there was a huge gas shortage and the country, especially Karachi, suffered from 6 to 8 hours of daily load shedding during the months of May, June and July 2020. Predictably as LNG imports were reduced, import of furnace oil was allowed, and diesel generation was resumed after 4 years to benefit vested interests.



The following basic questions arise about the management of fuel for power generation in both these crises and the answer cannot just be incompetence; the only answer for these crises is pure and massive corruption by the PTI.

1. Why was LNG not planned to run Pakistan's most efficient power plants?
2. Why was Furnace Oil import allowed despite a Cabinet ban?
3. Why was Diesel power generation, costing over Rs. 30 per kWh as compared to Rs. 12 per kWh for LNG power plants, resumed?

### **Price of Electricity**

PTI increased the price of electricity by over 50% in 2 years; this is the largest increase in the price of electricity in the history of Pakistan.

### **Provision of Petrol**

This summer also saw a fairly long period of petrol shortage in Pakistan. In late March 2020 the government instructed petroleum companies to not import any petrol in Pakistan. Thus, there was no import of petrol in Pakistan in the month of April when oil prices were near their historic lows and there was a further discount on the import of crude oil in our region. This is in spite of the fact that oil marketing companies implored the government to allow them to import, sounding an alarm that they will run out of motor gasoline. However, their pleas were rejected by the government. Predictably there was a shortage of petrol in Pakistan in June.

It must also be noted that in June the government has kept petrol prices at Rs 75 per litre, which included a tax of Rs 40 per litre. However due to the shortage most people were unable to get the petrol at the lower price. High octane or premium petrol, which is unregulated, was however available at over Rs 110 per litre and





most motorists had to switch to that expensive fuel. Then on the 25th of June the government, in an unprecedented move, revised the price to Rs 100 per litre, including a tax component of Rs 45 per litre. After the price was increased in the last five days the shortage eased considerably and oil marketing companies were able to make substantial profits.

Had the government allowed free imports of petrol and crude oil in April and May, no shortage would have taken place and local prices too could've been kept low. Moreover, government tax revenues would have been higher and oil companies too would have been better off by being able to buy petroleum products when prices were at historic lows. However, the government chose to ban imports just as international oil prices were lowest in decades. It is beyond credulity to assign this mismanagement to innocent serial incompetence on the part of the government. This repeated pattern of not importing LNG and importing finance oil and diesel shows blatant venality on the part of the PTI ministers.

It's important to also mention here that in the last two years the smuggling of petrol and diesel from Iran has also increased exponentially, and the month when formal imports were banned by the government, the smuggling must have increased. However, when the armed forces were called upon to seal the border with Iran due to covid in May, and Iranian smuggled supplies dried up, the shortage was exacerbated. This just goes to show that the quantum of smuggling under PTI has increased considerably and smuggled products are now available as far afield as KP and Sindh.

### **Price of Petrol**

PTI has added additional Tax of Rs. 30 per Litre of petrol.

The Taxes on a Litre of petrol increased from less than Rs 15 per litre in June 2018 to over Rs 45 in Aug 2020.

The margin for the taxes collected on petrol and diesel today, whether in absolute numbers or as a fraction of the cost of fuel,



are the highest in Pakistan's history today. A litre of petrol, where the retail price is Rs 103.74, has taxes of Rs 45 and the cost of fuel of only Rs 45 and other charges of Rs 14. Notice here that other charges were Rs 7 during PMLN's tenure so the rapid increase in other charges is also concerning. Why is PTI allowing middlemen to make twice the profit?

### **Price of Gas**

Let's start with understanding what is "circular debt". What we in Pakistan normally refer to as "circular debt" in the power sector is the power sector deficit or the losses already incurred by the power companies that have not been financed by the government. When the PTI government came to power it claimed that there was a circular debt in the gas sector of Rs 190 billion as well and that was its pretext for raising gas tariffs up to 141 percent. Since then the total price increases have reached up to 200% for some consumers, including industrial consumers.

There was however no circular debt in the gas sector. Every quarter OGRA recommends gas tariffs for domestic and industrial consumers in Pakistan based on applications submitted by the gas companies. It is however up to the government to decide what prices the companies should charge the consumers. Since the formation of ORGA under General Musharraf, governments historically allow the gas companies to charge less than what OGRA recommends. The difference in amount between what the OGRA permitted and what the government finally allowed was Rs 190 billion. But this was neither circular debt nor a gas sector loss in any way. The Sui companies were both making healthy profits even with lower prices and their share prices were doing well in the stock market. There was no reason at all to raise prices. Yet the government raised prices up to 141 percent for domestic and industrial consumers. The increased prices of course put pressure on the common citizens' kitchen budget but also out a damper on the industrial sector. For instance, the price of gas to industry



which was Rs 600 per mmbtu when PMLN left is today Rs 1175 per mmbtu thus effectively doubling the cost of energy to our industry and rendering them less competitive.

Even if these heavy price increases were a burden to the economy and people, it was expected that at least the Sui companies would make historic profits and become financially very strong. Unfortunately, even that didn't happen. Whereas the total receivables of Sui companies were Rs 500 billion in June 2018, that same head has now increased to Rs 1000 billion. SNGPL during the winter sold a considerable amount of LNG at domestic gas prices but was not able to recover the difference by selling domestic gas at LNG prices in the summer.

This PTI government also didn't take advantage of the historic lows in oil prices by buying LNG aggressively through the long-term LNG deals made by the previous government that were linked to the price of oil. The average gas price of LNG contracts under PMLN is about 12% of Brent. When average Brent was as low as \$20 per barrel (it went even as low as \$7), LNG had become as cheap as \$2.4 per mmbtu. But the government failed to take advantage of the situation and pass on the benefit to the consumers. Neither did the government aggressively buy many spot or distressed cargoes being offered for as low as \$1.75 per mmbtu. Instead the government is buying gas from gas concessions run by foreign multinationals in Pakistan for as high as \$ 5.50 per mmbtu. Of course, if our own gas is more expensive it would've made sense to save our domestic gas for later use and buy cheaper LNG now. The table below shows the price of gas to various sectors now and in May 2018.



### **3. FOREIGN POLICY**

Appeasement of India, paralysis, blunders, and bluster characterize Imran Khan Government's foreign policy in the last two years.

Imran Khan has spinelessly appeased India since taking office. This appeasement encouraged Narendra Modi to annex and dissect Indian Illegally-Occupied Jammu & Kashmir (IIOJK), a step India had dared not take in the previous 72 years of Indo-Pak history.

Indian gobbling of Kashmir was the "World Cup" IK brought home from his visit to Donald Trump.

The latest spat with Pakistan's long-time ally and brotherly country Saudi Arabia is the latest bitter fruit of IK's incompetence.



IK has blundered repeatedly in speaking ignorantly and ill-advisedly. His subsequent vacillation has brought scorn upon Pakistan from friends and enemies alike.

IK Government's claims of diplomatic success were exposed glaringly in the aftermath of Balakot strikes, when on 26 February 2019, Indian fighter aircraft violated Pakistan's international border after 48 years and struck Balakot.

What PM Khan termed as the "feeling that I have come after winning the World Cup" upon return from Washington on 25 July 2019, in actuality turned out ten days later to be the worst foreign-policy and security crisis for the country since the Fall of East Pakistan half a century ago.

IK Government's response to Kashmir's annexation was inept, infirm, and indecisive. Apart from verbal condemnation, the only policy response was a one-time 30-minute stand-in.

Results of the "consultations" at UN Security Council have been precisely zero. The noun "Kashmir" has not been on the USC agenda before or after 5 August 2019. It came up marginally as "any other business." UN Security Council failed to produce any outcome that could be used to build a future diplomatic strategy.

PM Khan's speech to the UN General Assembly was bluster, sound, and fury; signifying nothing. Instead of a well-crafted roadmap of diplomatic, communication, kinetic, and legal actions for Pakistan, PM Khan's rhetoric of forming a new bloc in Islamic countries aggravated Saudi Arabia deeply.

The much-touted revival of Pakistan's longstanding relations with brotherly Muslim countries in the Middle East has been exposed. Not only these countries refrained from condemning India, some of them actually supported India and have awarded their highest honours to the Indian Prime Minister.

Since its early days, IK Government has been retreating from PM Nawaz Sharif's 2013-18 pivot towards China, Russia, and Central Asia.



The IK Government has diminished China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), jeopardizing the nation's economic future and the economic depth with Pakistan's iron friend China achieved under PM Nawaz Sharif.

In its haste to conclude the IMF deal, Imran Khan's government compromised on national security by agreeing to the formal mention of money laundering in the document, thus linking IMF tranches directly to Financial Action Task Force (FATF).

IK Government's panic, delay, and paralysis in dealing with FATF has led to a spate of ill-considered, craven legislation that goes beyond what longstanding FATF member-countries have enacted in their own countries.

Imran Khan's weak and vacillating foreign policy has annoyed our longstanding allies, such as China and Saudi Arabia, and comforted our arch-enemy India. It has exposed us perilously to financial blackmail by major powers and rendered us helpless in face of Indian aggression.

#### **4. FASCISM**

PM Khan has trampled freedom of expression, judicial independence, constitutional federalism, parliamentary sovereignty, and fundamental rights of Pakistani citizens.

IK government has used National Accountability Bureau as a tool to repress, harass, and calumniate the Opposition.

A series of orders by the High Courts, observations by the European Union, judgment of the Supreme Court in *Khawaja Salman Rafique v. National Accountability Bureau* case, and a declaration by Human Rights Watch (HRW) have established beyond doubt that accountability under IK Government is revenge and repression.



In a landmark 87-page judgment, the Supreme Court criticized the NAB for showing “utter disregard to the law, fair play, equity and propriety,” and ruled that the “The power of arrest should not be deployed as a tool of oppression and harassment... and the case was a classic example of trampling of fundamental rights [and] unlawful deprivation of freedom.”

“Pakistani authorities should... cease using the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) to detain critics of the government,” Human Rights Watch said. “The Pakistani Supreme Court judgment is just the latest indictment of the NAB’s unlawful behavior,” said Brad Adams, Asia director at Human Rights Watch. “Pakistani authorities should stop using a dictatorship-era body, possessing draconian and arbitrary powers, to intimidate and harass opponents.”

IK Government has compromised judges to convict on shoddy grounds the three-time former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, and to deny bail to PMLN and opposition leaders incarcerated under various false pretenses.

Judicial independence has been punished by this government through dismissal and filing of fake references against independent-minded members of the higher judiciary.

Federal Ministers and Treasury members in the National Assembly have rioted on the floor of the National Assembly; clashed physically with Opposition members in Parliament premises; and constantly calumniate the Opposition verbally on the floor.

IK Government’s constant mauling of Parliament has crippled legislation and impeded invaluable work of Standing Committees. IK Government’s horse-trading in the Senate damaged gravely the public stature of Pakistan’s highest legislature. IK Government has, for most part, bypassed Parliament by promulgating a plethora of Ordinances rather than legislating through introduction of bills in Parliament



Imran Khan has assaulted the Constitution through his and his ministers' constant talk about overturning the 18th Amendment and the National Finance Commission Award, and about "constitutional options" to usurp the elected government in Sind.

PMLN successfully challenged and by Court order overturned the IK Government's illegal formation of National Finance Commission Award.

Imran Khan has assaulted the autonomy and threatened the prosperity and security of Gilgit-Baltistan by installing a partisan caretaker government and scheming to both delay and influence the upcoming GB Assembly elections.

Imran Khan has deliberately sabotaged the development and welfare of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) by withholding and slashing AJK's development funds, and by failing to provide federal government's support to AJK's COVID-19 relief efforts.

IK Government has for two years choked freedom of expression. Independent journalists have been hounded out of jobs, withholding of dues has been used to pressurize TV channel owners, live interviews with opposition leaders were yanked off the air in mid-broadcast, channels have been forced to close for days, talk-shows by independent anchors have been cancelled, and mammoth rallies by opposition leaders have been blacked out from electronic and print media.





## **5. RULE BY MAFIA**

Imran Khan and his cabinet are a government of the Mafia, by the Mafia, for the Mafia—impoverishing, looting, and mauling the people of Pakistan.

In IK Government's first mini-budget of January 2019, tax breaks were provided to mafias, some of which had financed ruling party's election campaign: real-estate developers, banks, car-assemblers, and sports-franchise owners.

IK and cabinet allowed export of 1.1 million tons of sugar in December 2018, a mafia-facilitation that raised the retail price of sugar from Rs. 55- per kg to Rs. 105- per kg for Pakistanis, netting



more than Rs. 200 billion in additional profits for the sugar mafia. Now sugar is being imported, enriching the importer-mafia.

IK and cabinet allowed pharmaceutical manufacturers to raise their prices to extortionate levels, forcing Pakistanis to pay at least 300% more for medicines.

IK and CM Punjab Buzdar facilitated wheat mafia by procuring substantively less wheat in 2019, causing the first atta crisis in autumn of 2019 that raised prices from Rs. 35 per kg to Rs. 50/ per kg.

In summer of 2020, IK and CM Buzdar are responsible for the greatest wheat theft in the history of Pakistan. Minister for Food Security confessed in the National Assembly on 17 July 2020 that wheat purchased from farmers after the harvest had “vanished in the market... Six million tonnes of wheat was purchased but [nobody knows] where it has gone.”

Now atta prices have spiralled to poor-killing and mass-hunger-producing level of Rs. 86/kg, netting hundreds of billions for the stockist mafia, which will make even more billion with import of wheat.

In a blatant and brazen example of mafia-manipulation, IK and Cabinet raised petrol prices by a whopping 34% on June 26, four days before they were actually due, which netted according to one estimate Rs. 300 billion in additional profit to oil-producing companies.



## 6. CORRUPTION

Imran Khan and PTI have consistently adopted a populist, anti-corruption rhetoric. They have repeatedly claimed to be crusaders against corruption and for accountability. Yet, reality couldn't be any further from the truth. In actual fact, PTI has consistently been a cesspool of corruption. PTI's stints in government – first in KP from 2013 and 2018, and since 2018, in Punjab, KP and the Centre – have been characterized by corruption across the board and glaring cases of conflict of interest. PTI and Imran Khan have consciously prioritized and ensured unprecedented levels of crony capitalism and corruption of friends.



The list of PTI corruption scandals in the last 2 years alone is long and varied – sugar scandal, wheat scandal, medicine prices scandal, multiple energy sector scandals, Peshawar BRT, bribes for postings and transfers, illegal PPE exports & medicine imports from India, commissions from advertising agencies, and award of Mohmand Dam construction contract to DESCON, to name a few. Malam Jabba land lease and Billion Tree Tsunami project are also mega corruption scandals worth mentioning from PTI's 2013-18 tenure in KP.

In the cases of both the sugar and wheat scandals, stock shortages and local price increases were deliberately manufactured by the PTI government in order to line up the pockets of PTI ministers and financiers using government funds. Hasty export approvals were given by the PTI government for both sugar and wheat despite knowing about inadequate levels of stock and uncertainty of upcoming production.

In the case of sugar, subsidies were given to favour cabinet members and friends. Before the rebate was announced, most sugar mills sold their stocks to the secondary market. The only mills that didn't sell are mills of PTI ministers and financiers who knew of the upcoming permissions to export and subsidies, and pocketed an average of Rs 8 billion extra per month between December 2018 and March 2020 at the expense of the Pakistani people. The government also deliberately maintained a high local price of sugar, by discouraging sugar imports through a sales tax levy at twice the import value of sugar.

In the case of wheat, the Pakistan Flour Mills Association purchased up to 2 MMT wheat in addition to the government quota during the 2019 wheat season. Despite this, the Punjab government subsequently doubled their quota discharged the flour mill's share three months prior to the prescribed time period. This has enabled only seven to eight key players favoured by the PTI government to control the wheat/flour market, and to (a) make money on wheat exports, (b) manipulate flour prices in local



markets to their benefit, (c) smuggle wheat/flour to Afghanistan and Iran, and (d) purchase in bulk from open markets.

The medical prices' scandal too is another jewel in PTI's crown of corruption. As soon as the PTI government came to power and appointed Amir Kiyani as Health Minister, prices rose precipitously. In some cases, prices went up by more than 300% but generally prices increased by between 75 and 100%. In October 2019 after the opposition raised this issue in parliament and media, NAB launched an Investigation into the matter and found that this price gouging was a result of corruption which was facilitated by the Health Minister, in order to rob patients in the garb of drug price increases.

The PTI government has also overseen multiple corruption scandals in the energy sector of the past 2 years. It has also consciously appointed people with glaring conflicts of interest to make governmental decisions regarding the energy sector. The SAPM on Petroleum and Adviser on Commerce and Investment both own IPPs. The in-laws of the Federal Minister for Power and Petroleum also on an IPP. And these conflicted members of the cabinet have not been shy to make decisions to their advantage. One example: the aforementioned SAPM and Adviser have both charged the government for more gas than their IPPs have used. The PTI government's decision to stop importing much cheaper LNG and start importing furnace oil to cater to the oil lobby is another case of brazen corruption. In continuation of this terrible policy, this year, too, the government reduced the quantity of LNG shipments which created a huge shortage of gas in Pakistan at a time when global LNG prices were at a historic low. This resulted in debilitating power shortages across Pakistan, especially in Karachi, and forced the government to ask IPPs, including those owned by PTI's own cabinet members to produce power by using diesel instead of natural gas. This enabled IPPs to make much more money and the oil lobby to continue selling extra diesel and furnace oil in Pakistan. There is no example of this kind of



impropriety and blatant disregard of conflict of interest in Pakistan's history.

PTI has even milked transfer and postings for financial gain. Bribes for transferring or appointing DCs, Collectors and SHOs have been a norm under the PTI government over the past 2 years.

Any discussion regarding PTI's corruption would be incomplete without the mention of Peshawar BRT. Since assuming office in the Centre and reassuming office in KP in 2018, the PTI government has ensured the continuity of corruption in the BRT project. The project was launched in October 2017 with a completion deadline of July 2018 but, several missed deadlines later, it has only been inaugurated in August 2020 despite still being incomplete. The official cost of the project has ballooned from Rs 49 billion to Rs 70 billion. The actual cost is suspected to be over Rs 90 billion for the 27.4km project. In contrast, the 27km Lahore BRT only cost Rs. 29.65 billion. Cost of Peshawar BRT is almost equal to the combined cost of the Lahore, Rawalpindi-Islamabad and Multan BRTs completed by PMLN. The Peshawar High Court (PHC), the Auditor General of Pakistan and even the KP CM's own inspection team have identified serious issues in the project. The issues identified range from irregularities in award of contracts and procurement, to unnecessary expenditures, and unauthorized payments and cost variations. Over the last 2 years, PHC has twice ordered investigation into the project. PHC first directed NAB, then FIA. In both cases, the KP government moved the Supreme Court to stop investigations ordered by PHC, which only give further credence to strong claims of corruption on a massive scale in the project. The KP government has been hellbent on accommodating a non-performing contractor who was blacklisted by the Punjab government under PMLN. Not only has the contractor been accommodated despite terrible performance, the contractor's scope of work has also been enhanced and increased, mainly because the contractor's owner is a close family from of the SAPM on Overseas Pakistanis. Not only that, the



contractor has now also been awarded several new contracts in Punjab and Islamabad.

The abovementioned cases only constitute the tip of the iceberg and are not exhaustive by any means. These scandals and many others like them explain how Imran Khan is able to own assets and maintain a lifestyle beyond his known means.

## **7. PTI LIES VS PMLN FACTS – MINISTRY OF IT & TELECOM: AN EXAMPLE**

Deliberately lying and making false claims and accusations has always remained a central pillar of PTI's communication strategy, both in government and prior to assuming office. The false claims made by PTI in its recently published "2 Years Performance Report" regarding the Ministry of IT & Telecom serve as a good example. In this section, we have exposed those false claims by countering them with actual facts.



**PTI CLAIM:** On MISSION Statement: To become a strategic enabler for an accelerated digitalization eco system, aiming to expand knowledge-based economy and spur socio economic growth.

**PMLN FACT:** This is the vision and mission statement of PMLN, on which work was carried out by PMLN, and is now copy-pasted in PTI report as if it is the vision and mission of PTI, when it is not!

**PTI CLAIM** of BASELINE OF SECTOR: “Where we were”

"During the past 2 years, Pakistan’s IT sector has made measurable and quantizable progress due to strong focus of the present government on ensuring sustainable IT industry growth. The results speak for themselves. The number of IT companies have increased to 2354 as of 30th June, 2020 compared to 1762 valid registrations as of 30 June, 2018."

**PMLN FACT:** The number of registered IT companies in 2013 were 681. A concentrated effort was made to increase the registration and by 2018 the registered companies grew to 1870 and growing. The foundation of upward trajectory was laid by the PMLN government when different incentives were provided for increasing registration. No change in PMLN given incentives and policy is made by the PTI government in the last 2 years. Important question is that what new targets were set over and above what was done and achieved by the PMLN government?

**PTI LIE** of Software Exports: "The IT & IT enabled Services (ITeS) export remittances comprising of computer services and call center services are expected to reach US\$1.2 billion by the conclusion of FY 2019-20 compared to just US\$ 831.35 million in FY 2017-18."

**PMLN FACT:** The financial year 2019-2020 has already completed but still no final figures given in PTI report, but certainly the software export for the year 2017-2018 was not \$831.35 million BUT \$1.067 billion. According to the statistics provided by the





State Bank of Pakistan, the fact is that during PMLN period, exports of IT industry surged to the level of \$939 million in the financial year 2016-2017. During 2017-2018, the State Bank reported software exports which reached an all-time high to \$1.067 billion and NOT \$831 million as claimed by PTI in its report. The growth in figures is due to measures taken during PMLN government that gave over 300% increase in software exports during a period of 5 years. The report fails to mention a single policy step taken by PTI that helped create the growth claimed, rather all is continuing from PMLN government.

**PTI FALSE CLAIM** attributed to self: "Telecommunication Sector has showed tremendous growth in last years."

**PMLN FACT:** Ever since deregulation of the Telecommunications sector, growth has been witnessed in the sector, and most recently the growth in Mobile Broadband is due to PMLN championing three rounds of spectrum auction for 3g/4g service which took broadband figures from less than 3% to over 30% and today to 40%. It is not an achievement of PTI government, and the fact is that not a single policy or developmental step has been taken by the PTI government in this regard. if so then inform the public.

**PTI STATEMENT:** "The licenses of Cellular Mobile Operators were awarded for a period of 15 years and 03 of these licenses (Jazz, Zong and Telenor) were due for renewal by PTA in 2019. After extensive consultation by the Committees constituted by the Prime Minister and approval of the Committees' recommendations by the Federal Cabinet, Policy Directive was issued on 9<sup>th</sup> May, 2019 for implementation by PTA."

**PMLN FACT:** If extensive consultations were held by the PTI Government, then why all the mobile operators are in dispute in Courts against PTA?



**PTI LIE:** The vision "Improve Pakistani citizen's quality of life and economic wellbeing by ensuring availability of accessible, affordable, reliable, universal and high-quality ICT services.

To become a strategic enabler for an accelerated digitalization eco system, aiming to expand knowledge-based economy and spur socio economic growth."

**PMLN FACT:** Above are the vision and mission statements given by PMLN government, and copied in 2 year report from PMLN cabinet approved Telecom Policy, 2015 and Digital Pakistan Policy, 2018, and is certainly not a vision and mission of PTI government. PTI government has not introduced their policy, vision or mission statement for the sector, and PTI even after 2 years is continuing with PMLN vision, mission and policy.

**PTI LIE:** "Ignite, under the auspices of Ministry of IT & Telecom, launched a program to build a network of National Incubation Centers (NIC), in Federal Capital and all Provincial Capitals.....All NICs are fully functional and mentoring startups in ICT related areas."

**PMLN FACTS:** All 5 National Incubation Centers were conceived and established by PMLN Government and not a single Incubation Centre is added by PTI, when this program was to be expanded to the Divisional level. Not an inch of progress in this area. Only progress seen is infighting of Ignite Chairman and Ministry of IT's bureaucracy. Even CEO could not be appointed for last many months.

**PTI LIE:** The program aims to assist final year undergraduate students of ICT related disciplines studying in the Institutions by providing them financial assistance for developing prototypes / working models of their Final Year Projects (FYP) in order to increase creativity, innovation and hands on engineering and



development skills. NGIRI 2020 was launched on 6th January 2020."

**PMLN FACT:** NATIONAL GRASSROOTS INITIATIVE program is an annual program of Ignite that has been in place more than ten years and has seen growth. No innovation in this regard was done by PTI Government. In fact, most ignite programs like funding of indigenous research are stagnant due to decision making stalemate at the highest levels of Ignite.

**PTI LIE:** "Ignite under the auspices of Ministry of Information Technology & Telecommunication has launched a largescale national Digital Skills (DigiSkills.pk) Training Program to provide one (1) million trainings across the country over a period of 2 years...."

**PMLN FACT:** This Digiskills program was conceived and rolled out by PMLN government and is a well-known fact. The program is running at the scale and scope where PMLN government left it. No further modules or extension given to the program by PTI in the last 2 years.

**PTI STATEMENT:** "Ignite has funded ICT-centric technical innovative projects and HRD projects to different segments of the society, including academia, IT industry and start-ups. The primary focus of these projects is to encourage and promote ICT related research, development and innovation. Few initiatives include...(List of Initiatives)...."

**PMLN FACT:** This is an old program and ongoing. What is new introduced by PTI? All the mentioned and many other projects were funded by Ignite before PTI came in power and this can be verified from record. What new have been done by PTI? In fact, Ignite company is suffering due to worst infighting between a PTI appointed Chairman and MOIT bureaucracy and due to lack of political vision and leadership.



**PTI STATEMENT:** "APPS DEVELOPMENT: Multiple Apps have been developed for citizens benefits."

**PMLN RESPONSE:** This is an ongoing job of NITB to develop apps, for which the whole department is maintained. It is part of routine job of NITB, so what is PTI achievement in it?

**PTI STATEMENT:** "ALLIED ICT FINLAND (AIF). This is a government led National Consortium of Finnish Universities, ... have entered into a Memorandum of Understanding through its member institution and a public university in Finland; Kajaani University of Applied Sciences (KAMK) with the Virtual University of Pakistan."

**PMLN STATEMENT:** Just entering into a MoU with a foreign platform with no rollout or implementation mechanism in practice and no funding is a weird achievement claim. The question is why and for what reasons Virtual University has entered into this particular MOU with Finland apparently seeking a Finish University to train which One million and at what cost to the exchequer?

**PTI STATEMENT:** "UNIVERSAL SERVICE FUND PROJECTS

1. Projects launched to provide voice and broadband services area in areas of North/South Waziristan, FR Bannu/Lakki/Tank, Dadu/Hyderabad & Bahawalpur Districts (3,100 Mauzas) benefitting a population of approximately 6.5 Million.
2. Forty (40) unserved tehsils/towns are being connected with 900 km optical fiber cable covering Bajaur, Mohmand, Khyber, Orakzai, Kurram & FR (Peshawar) areas.
3. The Broadband coverage on National Highways and Motorways in Balochistan will be provided to 650 Km of road segments on N25 & N65 and 451 Km of segments on N50 & N70.



4. Moreover, mobile broadband coverage will be provided to: 481 mauzas in Dadu lot serving 1.2 million population in Dadu, Jamshoro and Thatta districts;

5. 964 mauzas serving 2.6 million population in Hyderabad lot covering Matiari, Hyderabad, Tando Allah Yar, Tando Muhammad Khan, Badin and Sujawal districts."

### **PMLN FACTS:**

Broadband for Sustainable development (BSD) was conceived approved and launched under the PMLN government. NGBSD was also discussed and conceived as an expansion of ongoing projects during PMLN era. The performance report that is supposed to give work already done, strangely enough, 2 out of 5 bullet points (point 3 and 4) say that the work "will be" done in sometime in future. Point 5 is repeat of point one. Whereas, Point 2, Optic Fibre Cable Project was awarded during PMLN government. North Waziristan lot was awarded in February 2018. The PMLN Gov approved providing broadband coverage to National Highways etc. Almost whole of Balochistan were covered with 3G under this PMLN Gov policy. The biggest package of USF funding around Rs. 24 billion was spent in Balochistan. Those projects done and now near completion in Balochistan helped general population and students of Balochistan cope with the requirements and challenges posed by COVID-19 Crisis as well.

### **SPECIAL COMMUNICATION ORGANIZATION CONTRIBUTIONS**

**PTI CLAIM:** "Disbursement of small amount of USD 3 Million under Ehsaas Kafalat Program through S-Paisa mobile banking and generation of revenue of USD \$ 11.4 million by Pakistan-China OFC project have been mentioned as achievements of PTI Gov."

**PMLN FACT:** These projects were completed under PMLN government in 2017 and have nothing to do with the PTI government.



## **TECHNOLOGY PARK, ISLAMABAD**

**PTI LIE:** "The project for establishing Information Technology Park at Chak Shahzad, Islamabad is linked with Prime Minister Imran Khan's vision on Information Technology & Telecommunication."

**PMLN FACT:** It is widely known fact that Project of IT Park at Islamabad was conceived, developed, approved and all funding arrangements with Korean EXIM were entered into by the PMLN Government and Imran Khan's vision has nothing to do with it.

**PTI CLAIM:** "PARTIAL PAYMENT (50%) I.E. USD 687.8 MILLION - DEPOSITED BY THE TELECOM OPERATORS."

**PMLN FACT:** The fact is that the matter is in court. The partial payment mentioned has been deposited (under protest) by the mobile operators under a court mandated injunction and cannot be termed as progressive step or resolution of the matter.

**PTI LIES** on Legislative, policy framework (PROPOSED/IMPLEMENTED)

"ROW (Right of Way) Policy Directive prepared and awaiting remarks from M/O Law at present;"

**PMLN FACT:** The working on formulation and drafting of critical set of RoW Rules was concluded way back in 2018 after consultation of stakeholders including Ministry of Law. The process has not even moved an inch since then and now it is being claimed that it is again with Ministry of Law for remarks is regressive considering that bulk of inter stakeholder consultation work was already done during PMLN term.

**PTI CLAIM:** "Draft Personal Data Protection Bill prepared and stakeholder's comments are being compiled;"



**PMLN FACT:** PMLN prepared the draft of Data Protection Bill, 2018 and posted on MoIT website for public comments, after completing consultations with all stake holders. Thereafter the Bill was to be rolled for further action. After the lapse of two years it is standing where it was with only one change that from Data Protection Bill, 2018 it is now named as Data Protection Bill, 2020.

**PTI CLAIM:** "Spectrum Auction process has also been initiated in the present regime to ensure more vibrant digital services;"

**PMLN FACT:** Not even a single step required for spectrum auction including market price evaluation through international experts etc. has been taken. So such a claim sounds no more than a joke when all operators are in court against PTA on license renewal.

It is also worth highlighting that PMLN started a scheme to provide a laptop for every student in public sector universities. The PTI government has abandoned this initiative and has, thus, digitally disempowered the youth of Pakistan.



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### **Steps Taken By PTI Govt To Gag Media, Curb Freedom of Expression & Transparency**

- Banned and penalised interaction of all government employees with media ending transparency of government actions.
- Weaponised government advertisements to bully, intimate and force news media to stay silent over government failures and to become mouthpieces of false government propaganda. Pushing the news media organisations into financial turmoil leading to mass lay-offs, ending livelihoods of thousands of families.
- Launched the most brutal censorship regime which blacked out coverage of opposition rallies and shut-down interviews of opposition leaders in the middle of transmission.





- Forced news media houses to lay off journalists and anchorpersons who did not bow down to government threats and agenda, while others are threatened through informal channels to stay silent or face grave consequences for them and their families.
- Forced news channels off-air, unofficially and officially to punish them for telling people the truth about government's disastrous performance.
- Arrested Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman for refusing to bow down to PTI government's dictation and tried to use his imprisonment as leverage to blackmail the Geo/Jang group to stop telling truth about the incompetence of the Imran-led Mafia government.
- Used the FIA against journalists, rights activists and bloggers with arrest, cases and harassment.
- Was forced to shelve its plan of establishing Special Media Tribunals after national and international media rights watchdogs and leading opposition parties put up fierce resistance against this gagging of the press.
- Faced international embarrassment over its intended censorship of social media through the government's "social media rules and regulations".
- Tried to control all channels of information to public through a single body by merging Pemra and Press Council as well as PTA, under a new proposed law, Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority (PMRA).