



REPORT

2013 - 2014

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About Jinnah Institute

Mission

Jinnah Institute (JI) is a non-profit public policy institute based in Pakistan since August 11, 2010. It functions as a think-tank independent of government. The Institute promotes independent policy research and public advocacy that advance the causes of democratic institution building, national and human security discourse, regional peace, strengthening state capacity for delivery on policy goals, entitlement to fundamental rights and building public equity in a plural and inclusive national identity.

To meet these objectives, Jinnah Institute engages with policy-makers, government, media, civil society, state institutions and academia. The Institute actively seeks to articulate independent national security strategies for Pakistan which incorporate the country's strategic imperatives while providing room for constructive engagement with the international and local policy community and opinion makers.

By serving as a bridge between academia and policy-making, and focusing on capacity building for the state and other policy creating institutions, the Institute creates an enabling context and public space for ideas and resources to come together through policy briefs, reports, lectures, seminars, roundtables and caucuses.

Program Areas

To achieve its mission of a more plural, tolerant, peaceful and inclusive society, the Institute undertakes work under two distinct, yet complimentary program areas called:

- a) Strategic Security Initiative
- b) Open Democracy Initiative

The Strategic Security Initiative (SSI) seeks to inform a comprehensive and independent national security policy for Pakistan by building in alternative voices from civil society and the media in traditional policy narratives. It also seeks to reach out to the international community by proactively addressing Pakistan's present and future role in the region.

The Open Democracy Initiative (ODI) advocates fundamental rights as the basis of state-citizen contract with a special focus on minority and women rights. It pursues policy research for strengthening democratic governance and transparency, as well as ensuring the broad gamut of citizen entitlements.

Envisioned as separate, yet crosscutting program areas, the Institute's strength lies in analyzing Pakistan's policy options and challenges from the uniquely co-joined lens of national security and democratic entitlements.

Year in Review

With 2014 flagged as a year of transitions, Pakistan witnessed political and strategic rebalance. It remained embattled in tackling governance crises, sustaining the democratic transition, fighting extremism and terrorism, as well as meeting emerging challenges emanating from a fast changing regional environment catalyzed by new governments in Kabul and New Delhi.

Renewed political challenges, despite a successful transition to an elected government with an overwhelming majority in the National Assembly, defined new fault lines. These included a serious challenge to the democratic system in the form of a three month prolonged sit-in by a segment of the opposition resulting in deteriorating public ownership in electoral results, a debilitating lack of executive engagement with parliament for much of the first year of the new government, lack of progress in improving governance and energy metrics, and persistent economic pressures worsened by mismanagement.

Key positives during 2014 included the resilience demonstrated by Pakistan's democratic majority, and the support of the parliamentary opposition for democratic continuity. Similarly, stabilization of macro-economic indicators, achieved on the back of decreasing oil prices and a rigorous IMF programme, also

raised prospects for economic recovery. Expanding the tax base remained an ongoing challenge.

A continuing rise in sectarian and religious violence in Pakistan, with increasing instances of inhuman attacks against minorities, reinforced the need to fight terrorism with single minded determination. The year began with a chorus of voices supporting dialogue with terrorists groups, but subsequent attacks by militants, culminating in the barbaric attack on a school in Peshawar, proved the futility of dialogue with terrorists. As a result, the government launched its largest anti-terror operation across the country. Initially limited to the Tribal Areas, where an unprecedented number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) raised humanitarian challenges for the military and the government, the operation expanded into a full fledged National Action Plan against terrorism and extremism by the end of the year, achieving unanimous consensus across the political and social divide.

Simultaneously, the resulting securitization of the state corresponded with increasing infringement of fundamental rights which included pervasive laws allowing greater censorship, establishment of military courts, unchecked surveillance and a controversial lifting of the moratorium on the death penalty.

The discourse on balancing the need to ensure security and the equally significant need to protect fundamental rights is expected to dominate debate in the year ahead as legal challenges to new censorship laws, surveillance laws and military courts are filed in the Supreme Court. Similarly, the need to implement wide ranging electoral reform to ensure ownership of the democratic process will also feature dominantly as a significant pivot of public debate in the months to come. Meanwhile, renewed focus on the economic performance of the government, fiscal responsibility, monetary policy, and pro-growth initiatives are expected to be important measures of the government's success.

Democratic transitions in the region also brought renewed focus on Islamabad's relationship with its neighbours. New governments in Kabul and New Delhi increased prospects for regional engagement towards peace.

The national unity government of Afghan President Ashraf Ghani made a departure from the policies pursued by his predecessor when he visibly reached out to Islamabad for rapprochement in the often troubled, yet critical relationship between the two countries. With increasing exchange of information between both the governments and the possibility of simultaneous operations against terrorists on both sides of the Pak-Afghan border, the post-drawdown scenario improved during the year. The relationship, much improved since 2013, is still fragile and will require a serious and genuine effort by both Kabul and Islamabad going forward. Of particular importance will be prospects for reconciliation between the Afghan government and the Afghan Taliban, as well as how resourcefully both countries meet the emerging challenge of the Islamic State along their border regions.

Towards the west, policy paralysis continued to define the lack of progress on the Pakistan-India front. Despite an early ray of hope in the form of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's visit to New Delhi, real and concrete movement on the resumption of dialogue remained stymied by Indian preoccupation with state elections in Jammu and Kashmir and the slow movement in Pakistan on the prosecution of those accused in the Mumbai attacks. With escalating protests within Indian held Kashmir and the release of one of the main accused in the Mumbai attack case, Pakistan and India are likely to see scant movement towards restoring dialogue. However, opportunities of engagement exist and the visit of Indian foreign secretary to Islamabad and the expected visit of Prime Minister Modi to Islamabad on the occasion of the SAARC summit can prove pivotal in kick-starting discussions on normalization of relations.



ODI

OPEN
DEMOCRACY
INITIATIVE

Open Democracy Initiative

Overview

The goal of the Open Democracy Initiative is to bridge the gap between citizens and state and to articulate policy responses based on inclusive research. By pursuing these goals, Jinnah Institute is creating awareness, expanding knowledge bases and facilitating the implementation of informed recommendations for researchers and policy-makers. This program focuses on strengthening democratic practices such as transparency in public contracts, the right to religious freedom, social entitlements, right to information and the provision of social justice. In addition, this initiative is an awareness and capacity building effort for better governance in Pakistan's public institutions. It advocates the reinstatement of state writ in areas where parallel and/or colonial structures restrict access to fundamental rights, such as universal suffrage and equal opportunities for all.

Areas of Focus

Human rights and social justice;
Minority and women's rights;
Democratic structures and entitlements;
Governance, transparency and accountability;
Media as a constructive partner in democratic governance;
Mainstreaming identity discourse among youth by strengthening pluralistic values;

Main Project Highlights

Devolution: Provincial Autonomy and the 18th Amendment

Four years since the passage of the 18th Amendment, the devolution of ministries to provincial governments and the associated gaps in implementation continue to raise important questions about the effects of devolution of public service delivery.

The Jinnah Institute's report on Devolution: *Provincial Autonomy and the 18th Amendment* examined a sub-section of these institutional reforms by assessing the



impact of the devolutionary process on labour, disaster management, education, higher education, health, population welfare and environmental protection sectors. Within each sector, the report analysed the process of devolution, the challenges faced by provinces, the short-term impact on public service delivery and recommendations for addressing implementation deficits.



2010 marked a watershed in the structural reform of the Pakistani state. Not since 1973, when Pakistan's constitution was framed, had such a significant and wide ranging institutional restructuring been undertaken by a democratically elected parliament. Faced with the challenge of ensuring democratic transition after a

decade of military rule, political parties in Pakistan, led by the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) and its coalition allies, reset the concept and implementation of federalism through the passage of the 18th Amendment.

From realising provincial autonomy to restricting presidential powers; from re-envisioning judicial appointments to selecting an election commission – the amendment cut across party lines in an attempt to address the challenges impeding democratic sustainability in Pakistan. Calling on more than three decades of experience with political wrangling, provincial grievances, and military rule, the amendment aimed to address some of Pakistan's structural dichotomies as the country charted a new, more democratic future for itself.

With a new two-third majority centrist government in power - one that is renowned for its top-down management of government – smaller provinces feel the need to vehemently defend their new found rights. As recently as August 2014, senior opposition parliamentarians have raised the spectre of a rollback of provincial autonomy during a joint session of parliament. The inordinate delay in the formation of the Council of Common Interest (CCI) and the government's inability to include smaller federating units in policy formulation, has raised questions over the government's willingness and ability to implement and strengthen the wide ranging institutional reforms introduced under the 18th Amendment.

Despite this overdue and long awaited legislation, the implementation of the 18th Amendment created deep fissures among proponents and detractors of devolving power to the provinces. Concerns surrounding provincial capacities, maintaining national standards – particularly in education and health – coupled with the need to ensure effective compliance of international treaty obligations and Millennium

Development Goals were often cited as reasons for curtailing the devolution of key ministries to provincial governments.

Contributing authors for this report included Raza Rumi, Tahira Abdullah, Dr. Sania Nishtar, Yasser Latif Hamdani, Usman Qazi, and Syed Mohammad Ali among others.

Women's Role in Pakistan's Economic Future

Continuing its commitment towards women empowerment, the Jinnah Institute held a series of roundtables, workshops and a seminar on Women's Role in Pakistan's Economic Future. This series of events brought together leading women entrepreneurs, upcoming start-up owners, and young students.



A seminar on women entrepreneurs held in Islamabad concluded with the realization that constraints faced by women in joining the workforce were multilayered and pervasive, yet there was increasing evidence that the entrepreneurial landscape for women in Pakistan is undergoing profound change.

The seminar featured Sadia Khan, CEO of Selar Enterprises, Sabeen Mahmud from The Second Floor (T2F) and Anusheh Ashraf from Invest2Innovate. The discussion was moderated by leading development consultant Ammara Durrani.

Participants noted that women faced a greater set of challenges than men in the workforce, and described these in three categories; contextual constraints, economic constraints and soft constraints. Constraints in context and economics make it harder for women to have access to meaningful jobs and directions on how to approach the corporate sector. Sadia Khan stressed softer constraints in the form of a lack of mentors, an absence of networks and a lack of training and access for working women, and how these had an equally profound impact on limiting the success of women in the workplace.

Sabeen Mahmud, the founder of T2F, detailed her personal journey into entrepreneurship, which was driven by a fundamental dissatisfaction with profit-driven endeavours. Sparked by a concern about the lack of community spaces in Karachi, she left a technology company she had co-founded to launch the T2F using money borrowed from her relatives. Stressing the need for entrepreneurs to retain a sense of naivety about their failures, she spoke on the need for efforts like the T2F to be mission driven, rather than being profit-driven. While describing money as a 'tyrannical force', she warned against non-profit efforts which failed to become sustainable. She also detailed the T2F's recent crowd funding exercise which

allowed her organization to both remain financially independent, but more crucially, entrench its support and relevance in the local community.

Anusheh Ashraf from Invest2Innovate (i2i) talked about how she turned her passion for business into a focus on service-delivery projects, which was how she became involved in impact-driven businesses. Describing these as projects aimed at realizing social change, she emphasized the importance of wealth-creation to ensure that good ideas are realized into sustainable businesses that can create social impact. Describing i2i as a core training program to build capacity, she described how its aim was to “help change-makers become the authors of their own stories.” She mentioned how i2i was developed as a means to close the trust deficit between investors and entrepreneurs in Pakistan, and noted that despite increasing numbers of women applying for investment funds, the gender balance was still extremely skewed.

The Jinnah Institute also held three workshops in universities across Pakistan, introducing leading women entrepreneurs to young students willing to pursue a business career. The first such workshop was organized at the Punjab University where Roshaneh Zafar, founder and Managing Director of Kashf Foundation, discussed her experiences in combating traditionally patriarchal structures in businesses. Similarly, at a well attended event at Karachi University's Applied Economic Research Centre, the Jinnah Institute brought one of the country's foremost women banker and the founder of one of Pakistan's leading clothing brands for an inspirational discussion on the opportunities present for women to choose alternative careers. At Islamabad's Iqra University, the young Sidra Qasim, co-founder of Markhor Shoes talked about women led enterprises capitalizing on a new wave of social media for product development and marketing. Sidra shared her experience of creating synergies between traditional arts and international quality standards for a start-up business that employed minimum capital investment. Hailing from a middle-class family in Okara, she spoke about the social and cultural obstacles she faced and described her journey from humble beginnings to developing a highly successful international brand.

A focus on developing mentorship opportunities and removing barriers to entry should guide state policymaking with regard to women entrepreneurs was the consensus at a roundtable discussion on the potential and scope for women business owners. The roundtable brought together women from across varying fields, including restaurant owners, presidents of Chambers of Commerce, CEOs, policy consultants and human right activists.



Discussion focused on the development and evolution of women-only chambers of commerce; the barriers towards providing women with the access and skills needed to succeed in running businesses; the impact of having mentors, and the drawback of glass ceilings for women in top management positions.

Speakers discussed the importance for Pakistan to utilize its “demographic dividend” – a term used to describe the potential advantage of having a large percentage of the youth in a population. They emphasized the need to develop and expand the ambitions of young Pakistanis, which they noted were often limited to securing steady employment.

The impact of mentorship and capacity-building was emphasized by discussing the need to develop an enabling environment for women entrepreneurs. The dearth of data available on women entrepreneurs in Pakistan was criticized, and suggestions for setting a national agenda for the inclusion of women in entrepreneurship were shared.

One of the participants noted that the Pakistani Government's Vision 2025 lacked any policies regarding women in businesses and shared her experiences of working with young students. The discussion then focused on the topic of mentorship, and provided several strategies for future actions. These included connecting women entrepreneurs through virtual means, developing dedicated courses and modules in universities and business schools and continuing to back efforts for the promotion of women in the workplace.

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Empowering Youth through Progressive Policy and Reform

With Pakistan's population currently undergoing what is known as a 'youth bulge', the country's future policy priorities urgently need to respond to the hopes and ambitions of a demographic that has come to represent the majority of the population.

The Jinnah Institute's project on curricula reform brought with it a direct focus on education – a facet of government functions which is intimately linked to the youth. However, the content of textbooks in public and private schools was deemed to not have the desired influence of creating moderate individuals involved in civic



engagement. At a roundtable discussion held on Curricula Reform, Dr. A.H. Nayyar presented key points from his research regarding textbook content. He pointed out the disproportionate religious content discovered in English, Urdu and Social Studies textbooks across Pakistan, and the indirect inculcation of concepts of jihad and religious intolerance across schools as a growing and worrying trend.

The discussion revolved around the growing tide of extremism and intolerance and the amount of attention being given to the issue. Senior Fellow Raza Rumi said that following the 18th Amendment, the provinces were at an advantageous position with regard to dictating education policy in their constituencies. However, the pressure to conform to previously instituted standards and protocol was strong and any initiative taken at the provincial level was bound to meet strong resistance. Other issues identified by the roundtable participants were the growing divide between Urdu and English medium streams of education, the locus of control for educational standards falling under untrained politicians rather than educationists and a top-down approach to curricula reform as opposed to a grass roots approach.

Policy Briefs

Prioritizing Education Response for Internally Displaced Children in Pakistan

As of August 2014, there are over 1 million registered Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and unknown numbers of unregistered IDPs living in Pakistan. It is estimated that just over half of those displaced are children.

The disruption in the lives of young people can have a lasting impact, especially in the absence of basic services. Even where immediate relief is provided in terms of food and shelter, education services are rarely prioritized in emergency response. Using a rights-based approach, this brief establishes the rationale for incorporating the provision of relevant age-appropriate schooling into humanitarian efforts, based on the concepts of non-discrimination, best interests and evolving capacities of the child.

Looking at the complex emergency situation in Pakistan, it explores particular vulnerabilities of children in IDP camps, as well as urban settings. Finally, it puts forward recommendations for structuring an adequate education response.

Reimagining Human Rights in Pakistan

A rising graph of extremism in Pakistan has triggered alarm on the plummeting standards of human rights protections and entitlements across the country. The recent burning of a Christian couple by a 1,500 strong mob in the outskirts of Lahore underscores the gravity of rights abuses facing vulnerable communities in Pakistan.



The growing sense of insecurity and injustice is amplified by an absence of convictions against perpetrators of inhuman rights abuses including the Gojra and Joseph colony riots, the murder of activist Rashid Rehman and the targeted killing of Shia, Ahmedi and Sikh community members.

Similarly, the promulgation of recent anti-terror laws infringing on individual and civil liberties provide fresh challenges as the state tries to balance security needs with compliance of codes that safeguard human rights. As the state adopts an increasingly security driven posture, it is falling behind in curbing enforced disappearances, harassment of rape victims by police and security threats faced by journalists.

This policy brief, attempts to contextualize the need for Pakistan to forge a more coordinated approach and commitment toward human rights; salient recommendations and reminders for developing a coherent, robust and effective human rights policy are included.

Political Integration and Affirmative Legislation for Minorities in Pakistan

The recent spate of violence against Pakistan's religious minorities culminated in the dehumanizing murder of Shama and Shehzad – a Christian couple from Kot Radha Kishan. The couple were beaten and subsequently burnt to death in the brick kiln where they worked, over a purported blasphemy allegation that was used as a cover for a



financial dispute. This incident – along with others such as the destruction of Joseph Colony and the Gojra riots – sheds light on a disturbing schism that has crystallised in Pakistani society, where religious minorities have been relegated to the position of a socio-religious 'Other'.

This pervasive antagonism needs to be tackled on multiple fronts. The negligible presence and participation of minorities in the public sphere is one such front. The Supreme Court attempted to rectify this discrepancy in a landmark decision delivered on the June 19, 2014, which strongly emphasized the need for minority integration and offered a somber observation on the treatment meted out to minorities in Pakistan:

"It requires a strong moral courage for an individual or a nation to apologize for having wronged a community. It is time for us as a nation and as individuals to have a moment of reflection, a moment of soul searching and perhaps a moment of reckoning to ask ourselves; have we lived by the pledges made in...the Constitution and by the vision of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah."

The idea of integrating minorities in the political life of a country gained wider currency globally as it became apparent that progress required institutional responses

to rid societies of different forms of discrimination. Inclusive political participation of minorities contributed to sustainable development, peace and justice.

Developing a Progressive Internet Policy for Pakistan

Increasing levels of internet use and accessibility have given rise to significant challenges across the world; Pakistan has not been an exception. However, the response to these challenges at the official level in Pakistan has been disappointing.



Internet policy and regulation is beset by a number of problems, including a dearth of necessary laws to govern online activity, threat of local and global monitoring, surveillance and cyber warfare, and increasing use of social media platforms to spread hate speech and terror literature.

In the absence of concrete measures to address these challenges through a progressive internet policy, little can be reaped from the opportunities the internet provides across a wide spectrum of fields. This policy brief specifies five key challenges within the realm of internet policy and regulation in Pakistan and presents recommendations to address them.

Restructuring Pakistan's Devolved Family Planning Services

In 2014, Pakistan's population was estimated at over 188 million, making it the world's sixth-most populous country. Since the 1951 census, the population has quadrupled while the urban population has increased seven times. Despite lowering fertility rates in the late 20th century, the country's growth rates are still the highest in the region, and are only exceeded by sub-Saharan Africa across the world. In 2014, the population growth rate of the country stood at 1.49 per cent putting it within the top 35 per cent globally.



This policy brief examines the historical development of family planning services in Pakistan and provides recommendations for provincial governments to institute restructured and effective family planning centers and services.

Round Tables

The Government's Policy on Privatizing Public Enterprises

A roundtable discussion on “Privatising Public Enterprises” concluded with the participants advocating the necessity of reviewing the government's privatization policy, as well as challenging the perceived wisdom regarding the sale of state sector organisations. The event was attended by a number of senior economists, journalists and parliamentarians.



Several of the attendees expressed their concern at how existing state-owned enterprises were being run, with many sharing anecdotes of incompetent management and inefficient services. Others also cited examples of organisations like the Steel Mills and PIA which were overstaffed and inefficient. Panellists argued that the privatization debate should be enhanced to discuss the larger concern of what the role of the state was, and the government's responsibility to provide public goods to its citizens.

IDP Crisis: Assessing Gaps in Humanitarian Response

With IDPs continuing to pour out of North Waziristan in the aftermath of the Zarb-e-Azb military operation, the scale of the humanitarian crisis expanded considerably, with over 950,000 people registered as IDPs by mid-July. In light of this issue, Jinnah Institute organised a roundtable in Islamabad, which was attended by policy experts, relief workers, journalists and civil society activists and was aimed at identifying policy gaps and seeking recommendations. Participants shared on-the-

ground experiences and highlighted recurring problems in providing timely and adequate assistance to IDPs.

They also raised concerns over lack of contingency planning prior to the launch of the operation and pointed out that delay in intimation of the operation had been responsible for the lack of coordinated response from the government and humanitarian relief organizations. Basic relief goods, including clean water, food supplies and medicines were said to be running out fast, with some participants complaining that a security overhang on IDP response was hampering humanitarian assistance. Participants included Saifullah Mehsud (FRC), Rabia Khattak (UNDP), Nizam Dawar (TDN), Mubashir Zaidi (Dawn), Mohammad Haseeb (FDMA), Sophia Saifi (CNN), Asad Hashim (Al Jazeera), Hassan Belal (Dawn), Rehan Khan (APP), Mahvish Ahmad (Tanqeed), Taha Siddiqui (Christian Science Monitor/France 24), Madeeha Ansari and others.



Addressing Youth Unemployment in Pakistan

Unlocking capital, public-private partnerships for SMEs and vocational training, along with developing a national entrepreneurial strategy were recommended as policy interventions by experts from the private sector and academia at a roundtable on "Addressing Youth Unemployment in Pakistan".



The event, examined policy options for employment generation for Pakistan's youth cohort, currently estimated to constitute up to 36 per cent of the total labor force.

Chairing the session, Jinnah Institute President Sherry Rehman highlighted that creating equitable employment opportunities for youth poses one of the least addressed yet critical policy issues facing Pakistan. She noted that in the absence of incentives for employment through entrepreneurship and private sector led jobs, the already overburdened public sector continues to attract job expectations.

Participants stressed that the growth required to absorb Pakistan's rising labor force remains inadequate. Some industries with higher growth rates, including

financial sector, automobiles and FMCGs, also require higher level of skills and training, largely absent in the majority of working age population. Unlocking capital through progressive financial policies, including increasing mortgaged based lending, were key to providing finance for SME entrepreneurs, it was argued.

It was also noted that in the absence of adequate job creation by the public or private sectors, it is more important to enhance financial inclusion, which can help create greater opportunities for self-employment instead of salaried employment.

Saad Amanullah Khan from the Pakistan Innovation Foundation recommended five key areas for policy interventions: financial inclusion, robust government regulation, promotion of women entrepreneurship, awareness with regard to entrepreneurship and start-ups, and innovation driven employment models.

Interview of the month: journalism under threat

Over the last five years, reporting on sensitive issues has put journalists under extreme threat in Pakistan. Ranked at number nine on the Committee to Protect Journalists' impunity index in 2014, and number 158 in the World Press Freedom index for 2014; Pakistan's status as one of the world's most dangerous countries for journalists has been reinforced this year after high-profile attacks on leading anchor persons and mainstream media groups. This interview, with Jinnah Institute Senior Fellow Raza Rumi examined some of the challenges facing reporting on the divisive issues facing Pakistan's polity and society.



SSI

STRATEGIC
SECURITY
INITIATIVE

Strategic Security Initiative

Overview

Changing Geostrategic realities have magnified Pakistan's global relevance, and repeatedly headlined the onerous challenges it faces today. A porous border with Afghanistan, the repercussions of the proxy jihad during the 1980s, the militarization of foreign policy, the ongoing war on terrorism, and the radicalization of society are a few of the core issues that require immediate attention in order to achieve peace and stability in Pakistan.

In democracies, policy reviews are critical for building common ground. Without sustained policy dialogues on divisive issues, there is little room for consensus. Key national goals such as countering terrorism require supportive pluralities on crucial policy issues if the national security agenda is to be addressed coherently. Given the sustained threat from terrorists, it is vital for Pakistan's national security environment to engage in robust dialogue, develop policy frameworks, and build civil-military equilibrium. In addition, inter-agency coordination between parliamentary, governmental and other institutions is needed in order to bridge critical gaps between policy-making and implementation.

The Strategic Security Initiative articulates independent national security strategies for Pakistan that incorporate the country's national policy imperatives, while carving out critical space for voices from civil society, media and academia. The Initiative also encourages constructive engagement with the international community as well as local policy and opinion makers in an effort to seek broad strategic convergences in multilateral and bilateral forums.

Areas of Focus

- Democratize the formulation of national security policy
- Build civil-military bridges to encourage an open and inclusive security paradigm
- Develop higher stakes in reversing the tide of religious extremism and violence
- Constructively engage for regional peace and cooperation

Main Project Highlights

India Pakistan Track II Initiatives

The Chaophraya Dialogue is a joint India-Pakistan Track II initiative undertaken by the Islamabad-based Jinnah Institute (JI) and Melbourne based Australia India Institute (AII), to encourage informed dialogue on Indo-Pak relations. The process has so far led to fifteen rounds of dialogue and is now entering its seventh year.

The Chaophraya Dialogue is primarily meant to give informed members of the strategic community in India and Pakistan an opportunity to interact with each other on a sustained basis. Past participants in the Chaophraya Dialogue have included senior former officials (including Ambassadors, Foreign



Secretaries, Intelligence Chiefs and top-ranking members of the Armed Forces), academics, journalists and political leaders from India and Pakistan. The Chaophraya Dialogue has encouraged participants to share the conclusions of each round with their respective governments. It also proved to be a useful forum when the official dialogue process between India and Pakistan was adversely affected by the 26/11 attacks in Mumbai. During this period, this Track II dialogue managed to bring together senior interlocutors from the two countries in Bangkok multiple times.

There have been many efforts in recent years to establish greater Indo-Pak peace and understanding through Track II dialogues but these are generally characterized by episodic interventions without sustained follow-up or engagement with participants. While such meetings do contribute towards an increased level of understanding between the two countries, their effectiveness and impact need to



be enhanced by pursuing a programme of long-term engagement with national experts in India and Pakistan. This is what the Chaophraya Dialogue has been

attempting to do over several years, to the extent that the importance of the initiative has been recognized even in the deliberations of the Indian parliament.

The 13th round of the Chaophraya Dialogue was held in Bangkok from 23-24 January 2014 and addressed nuclear security, the issue of Afghanistan in a regional context, and LoC stabilization.

Key opinion makers from India and Pakistan, including parliamentarians, former diplomats, former military officers, media persons and policy experts met in Chiang Mai for the 14th round of the Chaophraya Dialogue from June 20-21, 2014. This round focused on the significance of a new government in New Delhi and the opportunities it creates for Indo-Pak relations, particularly in trade and economic integration. Special focus was given to the ongoing election in Afghanistan and the prospects for peace and security in the region following ISAF's drawdown towards the end of 2014.

The 15th round of the Chaophraya Dialogue was held from December 8-9, 2014. The 15th round of the Dialogue focused on recent bilateral developments, the issue of Jammu & Kashmir, tensions along the Line of Control and Working Boundary/International Border, terrorism and extremism, trade and development, and the future of Afghanistan. A special focus was given to and the role of Track II diplomacy as an instrument of conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Salient points of the joint resolution were as follows:

- Taking effective steps to stabilise the situation on the LoC and WB/IB;
- Resuming engagement at the official level so that bilateral dialogue on all issues, including Jammu & Kashmir, terrorism, trade, etc can be restarted at the earliest;
- Addressing humanitarian issues such as that of prisoners and detained fishermen on both sides as a matter of priority;
- Facilitating visas by implementing the new liberalized visa agreement;
- Resuming regular meetings between the Rangers and the BSF and the Maritime Security Agency and the Coast Guard;
- Reactivating contacts for normalization of trade relations; and
- Giving active consideration to a reset of Pakistan-India relations.

Islamabad – Delhi Dialogue Series

The Islamabad - Delhi Dialogue has been jointly organized by the Jinnah Institute and the Centre for Dialogue and Reconciliation for the last 4 years. The conference is part of Jinnah Institute's leading initiative on peace building through Track II diplomacy between India and Pakistan. Now in its fourth year, the Delhi Dialogue's fourth meeting was held on March 13-14, 2014 in New Delhi, India. It brought together senior journalists, policy experts, academics, advocates, former military officials and diplomats from India and Pakistan for two days of intense deliberations to discuss a wide range of outstanding issues between both countries. Participants

at the event concluded by agreeing that as South Asia and the wider region grapple with the menace of transnational conflict, a renewed vigour was required towards resuming the stalled bilateral dialogue.



Held against the backdrop of the upcoming Indian elections, participants agreed that the expected victory of a Narendra Modi led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) could have a transformative effect on bilateral relations between both the countries. However, the Pakistani delegation impressed upon its Indian counterparts that a cross-party consensus existed in Pakistan on improving relations with India and resolving all outstanding issues. They said that recent overtures of the Pakistan government presented an opportunity for both countries to restart the stalled dialogue process.

In a unanimously adopted joint resolution, participants agreed that Islamabad and New Delhi must move forward on a menu of outstanding items in order to draw the region out of the shadows of instability, human insecurity and lost opportunities in trade, energy and information connectivity.

Senior diplomats, parliamentarians, policy-makers and journalists from Pakistan and India met for the fourth round of the Track-II Islamabad Dialogue to discuss the state of bilateral relations, ahead of the much anticipated meeting between the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries on March 3, 2015.

The two delegations discussed a range of issues including the resumption of bilateral dialogue, Jammu and Kashmir, opportunities for cooperation towards the stability of Afghanistan, the shared challenges posed by climate change and the role of the media in



creating an atmosphere for conducive for improving bilateral discourse. Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs, Tariq Fatemi met the delegates from India and Pakistan and gave a key note address outlining the foreign policy priorities of the government.

The participants began the two day dialogue by welcoming the upcoming visit of the Indian Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar and the opportunity it provided for a reset of bilateral relations. They called on Islamabad and New Delhi to restart discussions on all outstanding issues and hoped that concrete progress would be made during the visit. Delegates discussed the prevailing political situation in both countries and its impact on shaping the bilateral relationship.

Senior journalists from India and Pakistan also dissected trends in print and electronic media, highlighting that a lack of information and understanding on both sides often prevented the media playing a constructive role in peace building. They called for opening up airwaves for news and TV channels and a liberalization of the visa regime for media persons from both countries.

Participants welcomed recent developments in Afghanistan since the formation of the national unity government in Kabul and hoped that President Ashraf Ghani and CEO Abdullah Abdullah would lead Afghanistan towards greater stability. Delegates called for both India and Pakistan to cooperate in ensuring stability in Afghanistan, which is necessary for regional peace and progress.

Finally participants noted the impact of climate change on South Asia and urged both governments to closely cooperate in addressing water management, environmental degradation, maintenance of catchment areas and alternate energy solutions.

Report

Pakistan's Water Discourse: Attitudes on Water Management Practices

Jinnah Institute and Chatham House undertook a combined research study to document prevalent attitudes and perceptions about water management practices in Pakistan. This endeavour is part of a wider research exercise titled 'Imagining Water: Understanding the Political Economy of South Asia's Rivers' that has been replicated in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India and Nepal.

The report collates data on attitudes and perceptions among Pakistan's leading water



management practitioners, policy analysts, water activists, government officials and media persons. The research examines Pakistan's attitude towards regional water sharing, water management techniques, rapid depletion of watershed in the Himalayas and ground water recharge.

Pakistan & the Regional Powers: An Overview of 2013

The Jinnah Institute, in partnership with the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB)'s "Sources of Tension in Afghanistan and Pakistan: Regional Perspectives" policy research project, undertook a research report on developments in Pakistan and the region in 2013-2014, drawn from the content of the quarterly Monitoring Briefs commissioned under the STAP RP to the JI over the course of the year. The Briefs are based on the issues identified in the STAP RP's Mapping Document, specifically, the key sources of domestic tensions that also have regional implications: governance; socio-economic issues; the conflict in Afghanistan; ethnicity and sectarianism; radicalisation and. In addition, the Briefs review Pakistan's bilateral relations with India, China, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Russia.

The Overview Report analyses trends and highlights their implications in the region that forms Pakistan's immediate neighbourhood. The reports also discuss progress in ongoing bilateral and multilateral dialogues in the region, as well as the impact of multi-track diplomacy on sources of conflict and tension, as per the STAP RP's areas of focus. The development of new regional organisations as platforms for dialogue, new strategic alliances, local and regional security challenges that potentially allow a broader understanding of Pakistan's security compulsions and choices are also discussed. The analysis identifies broad trends that characterise Pakistan's domestic as well as external environment in 2013, and offers a starting point for policy forecasts for the immediate future.

Pakistan India Monitoring Briefs

Throughout 2014, Jinnah Institute published a series of quarter monitoring briefs summarizing latest developments in bilateral relations between the two countries. The briefs provided a catalogue on news items in Pakistani, Indian and International newspapers and magazines on relations between the neighbours. It also included an analysis of developments each quarter and provided Jinnah Institute readers with a brief section on developments expected in the forth coming quarter.

Reviewing
Indo- Pak
Bilateral
Relations

Quarterly Monitoring Brief
2013-2014: I, II, III, IV

Distinguished Speaker Series

The DSS is a long-running exchange of thought leaders between India and Pakistan, jointly managed by Jinnah Institute and Australia India Institute. The series has previously hosted Indian public intellectuals and policymakers including Mr. Shashi Tharoor, Mr. Wajahat Habibullah and Mr. Mani Shankar Aiyer in Islamabad. Speakers for the seventh DSS included Mr. Siddharth Varadarajan, former Editor of The Hindu and Senior Fellow at the Center for Public Affairs and Critical Theory, and Mr. Ashok Malik, a senior columnist and contributor for leading Indian publications.

In their respective comments, the two speakers agreed that while it would be unwise to carry unrealistic expectations on major breakthroughs in India-Pakistan relations, it was important to note that ordinary citizens on both sides of the border desired peace between the two neighbours. It was also noted that the Indian military shared the Indian civilian leadership's views on pursuing peace with Pakistan. While both speakers agreed that India and Pakistan needed to discuss Kashmir, they also felt this was presently not a priority for the BJP-led government, given PM Modi's preoccupation with a domestic agenda on economic reform.



Speaking about recent transformations in Indian politics, the speakers noted that while it was true the 'Modi surge' beginning in November 2013 had pushed the Congress to the sidelines of Indian politics, the Delhi election symbolised a huge loss for the BJP. It was true that military hardware formed one of the biggest chunks of India's annual imports and Indian companies were likely to emerge as major defence players in coming years. However, the recent spike in defense spending was not inconsistent with recent budgetary trends, and should not be a source of undue alarm in Pakistan.

One area where the Modi government had been successful was foreign policy, and on assuming office Prime Minister Modi had embarked on a series of high-profile visits. While he had been lauded for his inaugural invitation to SAARC leaders, the promise of forward-movement in Indo-Pak relations had abruptly ended with New Delhi's unilateral cancellation of Foreign Secretary-level talks in August 2014. However, there was cognizance in India of the fact that Pakistan was fighting a difficult war on terrorism and both speakers asserted that India did not benefit from instability and terrorism in Pakistan.

Policy Brief: ISIS Eyes Influence in Pakistan

The rapidly expanding militant force in Iraq and Syria known globally by its Arabic acronym Daesh (al-Dawla al-Islamiya fi al-Iraq wa al-Sham) or in English ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) is neither a myth nor does it appear to be a fleeting phenomenon. Tragically, it is real and has historical roots. The militant group has succeeded in rapidly taking control of a large tract of territory in Iraq, as well as erasing parts of the border between Iraq and Syria, conceptually establishing its writ in a way that is more than a sanctuary but insufficient to place it in the category of a state.



Its genesis in the contemporary context is not organic in nature but arguably a product of mistaken and misdirected global policies. History too has played its hand but the recent turmoil in Middle East, sectarian proxy wars, and confused handling of the Arab spring, have all influenced this state of affairs. The Al-Qaeda narrative has also contributed to this rise as an effort to establish an 'Islamic State' with military objectives and expansionist ideals.

This policy brief examines reports of ISIS activity along the Pak-Afghan border areas and addresses fears, concerns and facts relating to the possible impact of ISIS in Pakistan and the broader region.

Round Tables

Weathering New Regional Challenges

Afghan President Ashraf Ghani's first state visit to Pakistan, and the accompanying political and security transition in Afghanistan, offer a rare and historic opportunity for both countries to hit a reset in bilateral relations; this was the conclusion arrived at by senior policy and media experts gathered for a Jinnah Institute roundtable titled, 'Weathering New Regional Challenges: Pakistan and the Neighbourhood'.



Participants at the roundtable, chaired by Jinnah Institute President and former Ambassador to the United States Sherry Rehman, noted that Pakistan's position on Afghanistan has been defined by a security-centric policy for over two decades, and it was important to develop a prism for engaging Afghanistan that could transcend narrow security metrics and leverage economic, fiscal and social interests. Participants further observed that the advent of new technologies and infrastructure also offered the potential for greater regional connectivity and an unbridled opportunity to cash in on regional hydrocarbon projects.

Taking stock of the takeaways from the Afghan President's first day in Islamabad, roundtable participants welcomed the new unity government in Afghanistan, and agreed that the difficulty in cobbling together a political cabinet in Kabul demonstrated the challenges still confronting democratic rehabilitation. Participants further noted that Afghanistan's neighbours including China are looking to contain negative spillover, and are seeking opportunities to reset relations with the new Kabul government.

It was also noted at the roundtable that President Ashraf Ghani's visit to Islamabad came in the wake of high-profile visits by National Security Advisor Sartaj Aziz, Army Chief Raheel Sharif and DG ISI Rizwan Akhtar to Kabul, indicative of the mutual desire to turn a fresh page in bilateral relations.

While a receding US footprint in the region is ongoing, it was suggested that Pakistan should look to broaden diplomatic engagement and outreach with Afghanistan. In this regard, China's recent initiative for Afghan reconciliation was welcomed by participants who suggested that Pakistan should support such outreach by Beijing. The importance of President Ghani making his first presidential visit to China was underscored, and China's search for a greater role in Afghanistan after 2014 was flagged as opportune for Pakistan.

With the political landscape in South Asia characterized by growing uncertainty, and regional actors in a state of flux, it was imperative that policymakers in Pakistan overcome their strategic drift and executive lethargy to take greater ownership of the policy conversation.

Roundtable participants also included Amb. Aziz Ahmad Khan, Amb. Salman Bashir, Amb. Humayun Khan, Amb. Khalid Khattak, Amb. Shafqat Kakakhel, Amb. Ayaz Wazir, Amb. Fauzia Sana, Amb. Tariq Osman Hyder, Lt. Gen. Talat Masood, Maj. Gen. Athar Abbas, AVM Shahzad Chaudhry, Zahid Hussain, Mosharraf Zaidi, Simbal Khan, Mariana Baabar and Maryam Chaudhry.

Changing Politics of the Arab World and Implications for Pakistan

Proxy wars being waged in Syria and Yemen have obfuscated geostrategic clarity over the recent past, and have resulted in shifting alliances between regional

powers. In light of this issue, the Jinnah Institute organized a roundtable titled 'The Changing Politics of the Middle East and Implications for Pakistan'. The event which was attended by policy experts, former diplomats, civil society activists and senior journalists discussed the emergence of the terrorist organization, IS and its role in the politics of the Middle East.

The two hour discussion was led by guest speaker Dr. Franck Mermier, Director of the Political Anthropology Laboratory at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). Dr. Mermier explained changes in Arab societies as a multi-tiered phenomenon, with regional marginalization of communities playing a significant role in the erosion of autocratic state apparatus.

Participants recognized the threat transnational alliances pose to the Arab world. They also discussed the future of the IS and the changing political discourse. In



conclusion, participants agreed that the strengthening of IS is likely to have consequences beyond the confines of the Middle East, and will shape, in large part, the future of the Muslim world.

Indian Election and its Implication for Pakistan

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's decision to attend the inauguration ceremony of India's new prime minister became the backdrop for the roundtable titled 'Looking Forward: the Indian Election and its Implications for Pakistan'. Attended by prominent analysts, civil servants, former diplomats and senior journalists, the roundtable took stock of recent developments on the India-Pakistan bilateral front.

Participants reviewed statements by India and Pakistan on the recent visit and highlighted the importance of raising Pakistan's concerns in future bilateral discussions. Discussants also noted that Pakistan's foreign policy outreach will continue to be influenced by the developments in the country's internal security environment; prospects for economic recovery and improved governance. It was

agreed that progress on all challenges facing the country would be essential drivers for Pakistan's future engagement in the region.

Roundtable participants also included Amb. Aziz Ahmad Khan, Amb. Salman Bashir, Amb. Humayun Khan, Amb. Khalid Khattak, Amb. Shafqat Kakakhel, Amb. Ayaz Wazir, Amb. Fauzia Sana, Amb. Tariq Osman Hyder, Lt. Gen. Talat Masood, Maj. Gen. Athar Abbas, AVM Shahzad Chaudhry, Zahid Hussain, Mosharraf Zaidi, Simbal Khan, Mariana Baabar and Maryam Chaudhry.

Promoting Nuclear Disarmament

With South Asia embroiled in a longstanding nuclear standoff, Jinnah Institute organized a roundtable to discuss nuclear security and the viability of nuclear deterrence and global nuclear disarmament in the context of Indo-Pak relations. It was argued during the course of the roundtable that even though the people of the subcontinent were getting substantially poorer, nuclear weapons were still extremely popular and had become indoctrinated in national psyches due to tangible threat perceptions in India and Pakistan. It was also agreed that an increase in the number of nuclear weapons made it significantly harder for individual governments to control and protect them from falling into the wrong hands. The distinguished participants included former Australian Foreign Minister and International Crisis Group President Gareth Evans, Professor Ramesh Thakur, Dr. Pervez Hoodbhoy, Ambassador Aziz Ahmad Khan, Zahid Hussain, Lt. General Talat Masood, Salma Malik, Dr. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, Ejaz Haider and Farrukh Pitafi among others.

Post-Dialogue Debriefing, Chaophraya Dialogue 13

In light of the impending Indian elections, Jinnah Institute organised a debriefing session, in which attendees of the 13th Chaophraya Dialogue discussed Indo-Pak bilateral relations. The participants discussed the recommendations from the 13th Chaophraya Resolution, and agreed that they were important tools to inform public policy and mainstream opinion in Pakistan. They also



acknowledged that a vital and crosscutting multi-party consensus existed in Pakistan with regard to improving relations with India, and this presented a unique opportunity for those seeking to build peace between the two nuclear armed neighbours. They added that the upcoming Indian election would determine whether any forward movement was possible in bilateral relations. There was a sense that the resumption of bilateral dialogue was not possible until after the election.

Transition 2014: Conflict and Regional Futures



A precursor to the JI Ideas Conclave was launched with a talk by Jinnah Institute President Sherry Rehman on the impact and fallout of political transitions across South Asia. Amb. Rehman warned that as Pakistan prepared to weather the darkest moment of its terrorist challenge, there was a real danger that international and regional conflict trends in the country's external vicinity could lead to a 'perfect storm'. Speaking to a distinguished audience of policy makers, ambassadors, media-persons and foreign diplomats at the Jinnah Institute, she also spoke about the challenges and opportunities arising from democratic transitions in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan as well as the withdrawal of ISAF forces from Afghanistan. A panel discussion titled "Transition 2014: Conflict and Regional Futures" followed the address, and featured senior policy experts including Ms. Khawar Mumtaz, Lt. General (retired) Talat Masood, senior journalist Zahid Hussain, and visiting Jawaharlal Nehru University scholar and lecturer Professor Uma Singh.

Lecture for Pakistan Civil Service Course

For the third year in a row, the Jinnah Institute hosted a lecture-panel for Grade 20 civil servants undertaking the National Management Course at the National School of Public Policy (NSPP). As part of their course which included visits to the Supreme Court, Parliament and Foreign Office, the delegation of senior bureaucrats visited Jinnah Institute and interacted with Jinnah Institute's President, Honorary Vice President as well as the Institute's staff on key internal and regional challenges facing the country. Discussing a broad range of strategic challenges and opportunities available to Pakistan, Discussants maintained that Pakistan was facing its severest internal challenge from terrorism, which must be decisively addressed in a consistent policy where the state dominates both the narrative and the outcome.

Indo-Pak Relations and Regional Transitions

With the United States looking to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, a closed-door roundtable discussion was organised by the Jinnah Institute to explore the region in the wake of the transition. Bringing together a range of security and diplomacy experts, the participants at the discussion stated that the existing electoral impasse in Afghanistan was a major cause for concern, which would not only allow anti-state actors to jockey for space but also delay the signing of a much needed Bilateral Security Agreement (BSA). Little confidence was expressed in the ability of the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) to face the challenge of the Taliban insurgency, although the efforts of the international community to train and equip the ANSF were recognized. They also noted that while the two governments in Islamabad and New Delhi enjoyed unprecedented political space, Pakistan's security outlook had evolved considerably in recent years. Despite this change, however, it was noted that the Indo-Pak bilateral track continued to be characterized by strategic drift. The policy roundtable was attended by Ambassadors Sherry Rehman, Aziz Ahmad Khan, Riaz Khokhar, Salman Bashir, General Mahmud Durrani, British High Commissioner Philip Barton, AVM Shahzad Chaudhry, Safiya Aftab, Salma Malik, Dr. Mooed Yusuf, Ahmer Bilal Soofi, Mosharraf Zaidi, and senior journalists Mariana Baabar and Zahid Hussain.



IDEAS CONCLAVE



Jinnah Institute convened an Ideas Conclave on January 20-21, 2015 in Islamabad with high ranking politicians, technocrats and industry experts present in the capital to discuss some of the country's most pressing and intractable issues. The impetus behind the Conclave was to provide a forum for generating public interest in policy reform, by highlighting positive policy action and institutional best practices in the public sector. The Conclave sought to spur broad thematic debate on areas that may benefit from civil society partnerships and oversight. Moreover, it enabled constructive engagement with the challenges mentioned above and attempted to formulate policy responses to them.

The event transpired over the course of two days with the first day's sessions demonstrating a focus in line with JI's Open Democracy Initiative and final day generating debate that fell within the purview of the Strategic Security Initiative. The Conclave was modeled on town-hall interactions that allow citizens to engage with public policy issues. This ensured



that the ensuing Q&A sessions provided a lively display of public engagement and interaction that was supplemented with feed from Twitter being broadcast on screens next to the main stage. The event turnout itself was a clear indication of successful public engagement with a cumulative audience of several hundred attendees from the policy community on both days.

The Conclave's first session titled 'Sustaining Pakistan's Democratic Transition,' featured Minister for Interprovincial Coordination Riaz Peerzada, MQM MNA Dr. Farooq Sattar, PTI MNA Shafqat Mehmood, ANP Senator Afrasiab Khattak and PPP Senator Saleem Mandviwala as panelists. The discussion touched upon the influence of conflict on the political landscape, as well as its impact on civil-military relations. Major talking points included the role of Saudi funding and American influence, the uncomfortable reality of military courts and an appraisal of the democratic models of the previous two governments.

The day's second session titled, 'Unbuckling the Pakistani economy's straitjacket' included the Minister of Commerce Khurram Dastgir Khan, former SBP governor Ishrat Hussain, ex-Finance Minister Dr. Salman Shah and ex-government advisors Sakib Sherani and Dr. Ashfaq H. Khan. The speakers dissected Pakistan's governance crises from several angles with Ishrat Hussain juxtaposing meritocracy in the civil services with its relative presence in the military. Other issues scrutinized included the presence of an entrenched, self-serving elite, nepotism in government and Pakistan's need for a grand economic vision.

In his address on the first day of the Conclave, Minister for Commerce Khurram Dastgir highlighted the need for democratic government in Pakistan while emphasizing good governance at the local level. The minister also accepted the immediate necessity of local governments as the third tier of government and explained lapses in governance and civil service reform as the primary cause of crisis facing Pakistan.



The day's final session, 'New Media: Disrupting the Status Quo and Creating Noise' was moderated by renowned journalist and anchor Nasim Zehra. In attendance and on the panel were the editor of Dawn.com Jahanzaib Haque, Shahzad Ahmed from Bytes For All, politician and activist Jibran Nasir and lawyer Yasser Latif Hamdani. Participants discussed the nuances of accountability on the internet, the limits of internet censorship, the power of social media in galvanizing and providing exposure to social movements and the increasingly ominous role of government surveillance.

The second day's opening session, 'National Security in Wartime: Is Pakistan prepared' was opened by Jinnah Institute Honorary Vice President Ambassador Aziz Ahmad Khan, and former Foreign Secretary Ambassador Najmuddin Shaikh, DG-ISSRA Maj. General Noel Khokhar, television anchor Ejaz Haider and senior journalist Zahid Hussain taking on big-ticket issues currently plaguing the country. Participants agreed that Pakistan is confronted with an existential threat in the form of terrorism and that coordination with Afghanistan was necessary if Operation Zarb-e-Azb was to be successful. Questions concerning the ideological roots of terrorism, the fragile consensus post-Peshawar attack and the need to strengthen the police force were also raised.

A special session on the energy crisis was held with former minister for Water and Power, Naveed Qamar, former cabinet secretary Nargis Sethi and Woodrow Wilson scholar Khurram Hussain. Concerns about energy transmission and distribution, political interference in the energy sector and the potential integration of ministries

were raised. The subsequent session titled 'Extremism and Radicalization' was chaired by Nasim Zehra, and participants included Marvi Sirmed, Ali Dayan Hasan



and Zahid Hussain.

The panelists discussed a host of issues that ranged from the complicity of the national security establishment in facilitating extremism, class and income inequality vis-à-vis radicalization and the particularly damning role of sectarian extremism in Pakistan.

Ms. Rehman moderated the last session titled 'Navigating Change in South Asia,' which featured Afghan Ambassador Janan Mosazai, former editor-in-chief of The Hindu Siddharth Varadarajan, former Foreign Secretary Najmuddin Shaikh and Zahid Hussain. Ms. Rehman emphasized that Pakistan had undergone transformative shifts in its security policy and had moved away from the notion of strategic depth, backed by multiparty political consensus to make peace with its neighbors. Panelists also discussed turbulence in the Indo-Pak track, Afghanistan's decade of profound transformation, the urgent need for Indo-Pak cooperation on water security and how regional cooperation in South Asia was a prerequisite for any lasting configuration of peace.



The Conclave's closing address was delivered by Advisor to Prime Minister on National Security & Foreign Affairs, Sartaj Aziz who echoed the call for cooperation in the region while outlining the policy contours of the government's South Asia policy. He urged regional players not to repeat mistakes from the past and encouraged them to work in tandem to maximize opportunities. Mr. Aziz also charted the pillars of Pakistan's Afghanistan policy; underlining the need for bilateral political engagement, intensified security and

counter terrorism cooperation, deeper trade and economic partnership, enhanced regional cooperation, non-use of territories against each other and supporting an Afghan-led reconciliation process.

The Conclave received unprecedented electronic and print media coverage, making the front page of many leading English dailies, as well as being featured at the prime time news coverage by television news channels. Jinnah Institute plans on making the Ideas Conclave a yearly feature in Pakistan – leading the conversation on policy debate within the country.



COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH

Communication And Outreach

JI's Global 7,000

Today, Jinnah Institute is able to address an audience of over seven thousand individuals and institutions globally through its dedicated mailing list. Among them, high level policy-makers and organizations have recognized and supported the Institute's portfolios and initiatives on which they receive regular updates through list server.

JI Outreach



Jinnah Institute's outreach has grown nationally and internationally over the past five years. Today, the Institute is recognized globally as an opinion leader on democracy, rights, security and regional peace in Pakistan.

The Institute has also been actively engaged with diplomatic missions in Islamabad and abroad. Policy makers visit Jinnah Institute on a regular basis for an informed

opinion on the latest developments in Pakistan and the region.

Jinnah Institute's unique and vibrant Public Affairs Program ensures that journalists, civil society members, politicians, policy-makers and institutions nationally and internationally are well informed about Jinnah Institute's publications as well as other key initiatives.

Online Products

With the global pace of news reporting rapidly increasing, timely analysis has become key to relevant and informed debate. To keep pace with new media outlets for dissemination of information and debate, Jinnah Institute in 2014-2015 has started a series of new products aimed at providing its readership with timely updates on developing events.

These products include a weekly Friday Espresso, the more in-depth Second Opinion, the Twitter targeted #TheBuzz, regular opinion editorials by leading analysts and writers as well as frequent infographic updates.

Friday Espresso



The Friday Espresso is a weekly product bringing the latest news on Pakistan's economy, foreign policy, democracy, society and politics to our readers every Friday. Developed as a quick round-up of the week's most pressing policy debates, the weekly Espresso carries three short analysis pieces by Jinnah Institute staff on the economy, regional security and internal politics. In addition, the Changing

Pakistan section of the Espresso brings a refreshing change for readers by sharing inspirational and positive news stories about Pakistan. The section on Extremism Watch continues to map all incidents of religious extremism in Pakistan each week. Finally, the Picture of the Day brings a selected picture on Pakistan.

#TheBUZZ

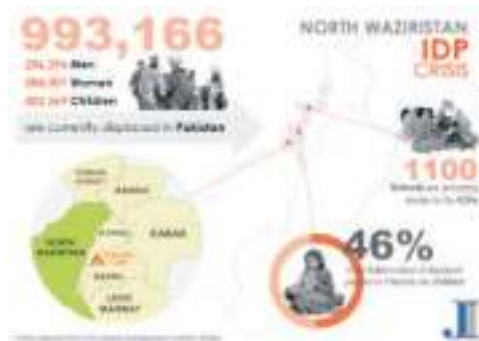
The Buzz was developed as an evolution of the Second Opinion feature, which had been initially designed as a collation of opinions from policy experts and analysts on various current affair issues.

With many of these voices now using social media to provide instant reactions to major events, #TheBuzz serves as a roundup of the most significant responses. In 2013, #TheBuzz covered topics such as the debate over the slain militant Hakimullah Mehsud's martyrdom; terrorists targeting the media; and the appointment of the country's new Chief of Army Staff, among others.



Infographics

As part of its social media outreach and dissemination, Jinnah Institute has also produced a series of digital infographics on key security and governance related themes including violations along the Line of Control, and IDP outflows from Waziristan. These infographics are visual representations of primary data collected by JI's research teams, and form part of the Institute's core mandate to inform and impact policy conversations at both local and regional levels.



Articles and Op-eds



The following section provides an overview of the articles and opinion editorials published by the Jinnah Institute through its Open Democracy and Strategic Security Initiatives.

Moving Past the Crisis Metric

An insight into the key questions on Pakistan's crisis-ridden economic trajectory and how to move beyond it towards sustained macro stability.

The Malala Moment

An article by JI Chair Sherry Rehman on why Malala's significance goes beyond the Nobel Peace Prize.

What Will We Ban Next?

Nine months into the Youtube ban, this piece looked at the Pakistani state's uneven approach towards online censorship.

Hate-Speech and Social Media in Pakistan

On the rapidly growing presence of banned extremist groups and hate-messages in the Pakistani online space.

Navigating the Currents of Pakistan's Water Debate

An overview of the various policy and political challenges afflicting the water debate in Pakistan.

Karzai in Pakistan – Tailoring Great Expectations

An analysis of the Afghan President's visit to Pakistan following the formation of the new PML-N government.

Pakistan-India: What Next?

An article on re-calibrating Indo-Pak relationship in the aftermath of the LoC attacks and breakdown of the ceasefire.

Can the Peace Process Move Past the Doha Collapse?

What to expect from the Afghan peace process after the collapse of the much-touted Doha Process.

Time to Move On

An article on why India's leadership needs to break with the past and reimagine its perception of Pakistan.

Moment of Opportunity

An article by the co-chairs of the Chaopraya Dialogue on the resumption of official dialogue between Islamabad and New Delhi.

Hard Choices in Syria

Sherry Rehman's article on the International Community's fast-dwindling options for intervention in the Syrian imbroglio.

Policies without direction

A comprehensive overview of Pakistan's failed attempts at developing sustainable urban transport policies and solutions.

An Anatomy of Sharif's First 100 Days

How the Nawaz Sharif-led government fared in its first three months in power.

A Game of Thrones in Waziristan

An analysis of the power tussle for the leadership of the TTP following the death of its leader, Hakeemullah Mehsud.

Helping Pakistan's Rural Women Help Themselves

Developing approaches for implementing sustainable changes in the lives of Pakistan's rural women.

Trojan Tactics

For the first time in months it seemed as if the PML-N had finally come of age and commenced its climb up the steep ladder of national security literacy. But in a U-turn, Team Nawaz announced one final push for mediation with the TTP.

Cosmetic Changes

In Pakistan, the state has only just woken up to the need of grappling with the threat posed by terrorism, and has recently enacted a series of laws to provide legal cover to the country's fight against asymmetric terrorism.

India's New Tryst with Destiny?

As India turns inwards to its next election, the world watches with a mixture of anxiety and hope. Hope, because India has the capacity to lead South Asia into a less polarised 21st century.

Crimson Tide: Storm Brewing Over Pakistan

As Pakistan faces off its darkest moment of terrorist challenge, citizens are asking how long they will have to wait for a consistent policy response from the state and government.

Looking Beyond India's Chabahar Option

The 'Bali Package' unveiled at the 9th WTO Ministerial Conference in Indonesia this December backed new mechanisms for lowering global trade barriers, including an agreement between members to remove existing hurdles to transit trade.

Afghanistan's Presidential Election 2014

On Afghanistan heading to the polls to elect a new President; the country's first democratic leadership change, and third national election since the fall of the Taliban and their ouster in 2001.

Patrolling Pakistan's South Corridor

On mounting empirical and anecdotal evidence that militants - both the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and others have cashed-in on the breathing space afforded to them by their halting 40-day truce with the Pakistani government.

The Modi-Sharif Meeting: Sherry Rehman Points the Way Forward

The flight to New Delhi for Pakistan's Prime Minister to attend Narendra Modi's inaugural among other SAARC leaders was short but nothing short of a diplomatic coup for both.

Winning Our Own War by Sherry Rehman

On Pakistan's military ground offensive in the federally-administered North Waziristan tribal agency in July and the harrowing homelessness of almost a million tribal people posing the most poignant humanitarian challenge to Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's government.

Modi's Greta Gardbo Moment On Kashmir

After the cancellation of secretary level talks over standard operating procedure on all sides, policy-makers in Islamabad waiting to see the new BJP government's evolving Pakistan policy.

Militant Hydra

On militants sharing the inhospitable Pakistan-Afghanistan border and structural changes in the militant landscape that have left terrorist game plans in a state of flux.

What about the IDPs?

With scant attention being paid to the plight of IDPs, the government needs to urgently refocus attention towards a crisis that may well become a humanitarian disaster.



BOARDS AND TEAM

Board of Governors

Sherry Rehman



Sherry Rehman is the founding President of Jinnah Institute in Islamabad, an independent public policy institute committed to regional peace and inclusive democracy in Pakistan. Ms. Rehman was most recently Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States in Washington D.C until 2013.

In addition Ms. Rehman co-chairs several Track II strategic dialogues with India and lectures widely on strategic security challenges facing Pakistan. She has been a key member of the Legislative Councils that govern both Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. Ms. Rehman has served as Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting of Pakistan from March 2008 to March 2009. As Minister she prepared and presented Pakistan's first in camera National Security briefing to a joint session of Parliament in 2008. This briefing led to the first formal political consensus resolution against terrorism in Parliament. She is also the current chairperson of the Pakistan Red Crescent Society.

Ms. Rehman's background as a senior professional journalist for twenty years has given her wide media outreach as an incumbent second term law maker with a frontline public position against religious extremism. Her most recent awards include formal recognition as "Democracy's Hero" by the International Republican Institute in the U.S. and the Jeanne Kirkpatrick Award for Women in 2011. The March 2011 issue of Newsweek Pakistan ranked Ms. Rehman on its cover as "Pakistan's Most Important Woman." The influential U.S. magazine Foreign Policy has also identified her on the list for 2011's "Top Global Thinkers."

Jameel Yusuf



Jameel Yusuf is the Founding Chief of Citizens Police Liaison Committee, Central Reporting Cell, a statutory institution assisting victims of crime, irrespective of their caste, creed, status or wealth. He has been a Member of the Law & Order Commission of Pakistan, the Federal Ministry of Interior & Narcotics Control and is currently a Member of Implementation Watch Committee of the National Commission on the Status of Women, Government of Pakistan.

Mr. Yusuf is further Chairman of a Multinational Group, TPL Holdings (Pvt.) Ltd. Mr. Yusuf is also Chairman of Steering Committee Al-Murtaza – Professional Development Center, a Charitable Trust affiliated with The Aga Khan University, Institute of Educational Development (AKU-IED) that focuses on teacher-training. He has been recognized for his services by the Government of Pakistan by receiving the Presidential Award for Public Service "Sitara-e-Shujaat" in Pakistan, as well as earning a nomination for the First United Nations Vienna Civil Society Award in 1999.

Ava Adeshir Cowasjee

Ava Cowasjee is a renowned philanthropist and trustee of the Cowasjee Foundation and Vice Chairman of Sindh SOS Villages, which runs the largest boarding and lodging school program for vulnerable and orphaned children in Pakistan. She is also Honorary Secretary of the Friends of Lady Dufferin Foundation Trust Hospital, which is the largest non-profit health facility for women and children in Pakistan. Ms. Cowasjee is also a partner in Cowasjee Shipping and holds the honor of being the first woman elected to the office of Chairperson of the Pakistan Shipping Association.

Salim Raza



Salim Raza was Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan from January 2009 to June 2010. Prior to that appointment, between 2006 and 2009, he served as CEO of the Pakistan Business Council – a research and policy group sponsored by 25 of Pakistan's largest business houses. To advance the institutional framework for business growth and investment, Mr. Raza was responsible for setting up joint committees with the Ministry of Finance, and the core regulatory agencies in Pakistan, SBP and SECP, to work on appropriate policy initiatives. More recently, Mr. Raza has been involved with governance metrics, regulatory frameworks and policy development in Pakistan.

Nadeem Hussain



Nadeem Hussain is CEO and President of Tameer Bank, Pakistan's first private sector microfinance bank and world leader in branchless banking. Mr. Hussain's model bank has impacted over a million people by extending credit and mobile banking to the poor and the unbanked in Pakistan, and has introduced the first health insurance program in rural areas to protect poor households from trauma.

Mr. Hussain has been on the Board of Governors of Institute of Business Administration, and is currently Vice-Chairman of Pakistan Microfinance Network, Trustee of Indus Foundation, and Member of the Renewable Energy Task Force for the Government of Pakistan. He has been in international banking for 27 years in Citibank/Citigroup in seven different countries and all major financial centers of the world. He has been chair of the United Nation's MDG Session on Financial Inclusion in New York in September 2010, and is a frequent speaker at international forums on branchless banking for the unbanked.

Iqbal Ali Lakhani



Iqbal Lakhani is Chairman, Aga Khan Economic Planning Board for Pakistan, Vice President of the American Business Council of Pakistan, and ranking member of the Pakistan Business Council. Mr. Lakhani is also chairman of the Lakson Group of Companies, one of the largest publicly listed manufacturing conglomerates in Pakistan, with high governance benchmarks. The Lakson Group is represented on many trusts and foundations in Pakistan, for their active corporate citizenship and philanthropy. Mr.

Lakhani is a phi beta kappa from UCLA Berkeley, and lectures widely on capacity building for business and development organizations.

Aziz Ahmad Khan



Ambassador (rtd) Aziz Ahmad Khan is a career diplomat who is consultant at the National Defence University in Islamabad. He travels extensively at the international level to lecture at strategic security conferences with particular reference to Pakistan's foreign policy challenges. He has served as Pakistan's High Commissioner to New Delhi from June 2003-2006, and was Additional Foreign Secretary (June 2000 to June 2002).

Mr. Khan joined the Pakistan Foreign Service in 1969 and has distinguished himself in high posts such as Pakistan's High Commissioner to

Malaysia (95-96) and Pakistan's Ambassador to Afghanistan(Nov 1996 to June 2000).

Mr. Khan has also served as Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from November 2001 to June 2003. He was Director General of the Foreign Service Academy from June 2002 to June 2003. Apart from his role as Deputy Chief of Mission at New Delhi and Consul General at Los Angeles, he has also served in various capacities in Pakistan Missions in Buenos Aires, Brasilia, Maputo, Vienna and Lisbon.

He is also Executive Advisor to the international relations quarterly, "The Criterion". He has also served on Jinnah Institute's Board of Advisors.

Board of Advisors

Ayesha Jalal



Ayesha Jalal is a leading historian on South Asia. She is a MacArthur Fellow and a professor at Tufts University. Her work primarily centers on the conception of modern Muslim identities in South Asia and the examination of the creation of the Pakistan state and its struggle to achieve democracy.

Dr. Jalal has been an Associate Professor at Columbia University (1991-1999), Visiting Associate Professor at Harvard University (1998-1999), Fellow of the MacArthur Foundation (1998-2003); Member Editorial Board, Third World Quarterly; Member International Advisory Committee, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Lahore School of Management Sciences (LUMS).

Her publications concentrate on the themes of decolonization, problems of sovereignty, identity, citizenship and democracy, Islam and Women. She has authored several books which include *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (2008), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense* (1990), *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (1985).

Ahsan iqbal



Ahsan Iqbal is the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission with the portfolio of Federal Minister for Planning and Reform. He has been a former Federal Minister for Education and elected member of the National Assembly representing the PML-N. Mr. Iqbal has previously been appointed as Chief Coordinator/Minister of State, Pakistan 2010 Program (1997 to 1999), Deputy Chairman of Pakistan Planning Commission (1998 to 1999), Chairman of Good Governance Group, Government of Pakistan (1997 to 1999), Chairman of Pakistan Engineering

Board, and Chairman of National Steering Committees on Information Technology and IQM and Productivity (1998 to 1999). Earlier he served as Policy and Public Affairs Assistant to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Dr. S Akbar Zaidi



Dr. S Akbar Zaidi is an independent economist based in Karachi, with specialisation in political economy. He is currently a Visiting Professor at Columbia University, with a joint position at SIPA, the School of International Public Affairs and at MESAAS, the Department of Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies. His research has focused on development and governance issues concerning South Asia.

Dr. Zaidi taught economics at the University of Karachi from 1983 to 1996 before becoming a Visiting Scholar at the University of Oxford (1998) and later a research fellow at the University of Pennsylvania's Institute for the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi (2002–03). From 2004 to 2005 he was a visiting professor at SAIS at Johns Hopkins University, and since 2010 has been at Columbia University.

He has written more than sixty academic articles and book chapters, and has authored or edited over a dozen books, including, *Pakistan's Economic and Social Development: The Domestic, Regional and Global Context* (2004), *Issues in Pakistan's Economy* (2005), and most recently, *Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan*, (2011).

Dr. Akmal Hussain



Dr. Akmal Hussain is an economist and specializes in development and institution-building for overcoming poverty. Currently, he is the Chairman of the Working Group on Poverty Reduction Strategy and Human Resource Development for the 10th Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan and a Professor of Economics at the Beaconhouse National University in Lahore.

Dr. Hussain has worked as the honorary CEO of the Punjab Rural Support Program (PRSP). He has also helped to establish the Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund and LEAD (Leadership for Environment and Development, Pakistan) as the founding member of the Board of Directors of both institutions.

In 2004, he was a member of the Prime Minister's Task Force on Poverty Alleviation and Employment Generation in 2004, member of the President Musharraf's Economic Advisory Board during 1999-2002 and earlier a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Affairs Committee as an independent economist working on an honorary basis, until May 1998. He was Chairman of the working group on Poverty Alleviation for the preparation of the Ninth Five-Year Plan 1998-2003 and

has also contributed to the Report of the National Commission on Agriculture. Dr. Hussain has been working for regional cooperation in South Asia as a member of the Board of Governors of the South Asia Centre for Policy Studies (SACEPS) and the Independent Group for South Asian Cooperation (IGSAC).

He has authored three books on economic policy and co-authored/contributed chapters to 27 other books, 29 publications in journals and contributed over 100 newspaper articles on economic and social issues; has also undertaken research for international agencies, including the World Bank, United Nations University, ILO/ARTEP, Swiss Development Corporation, Dutch Government and CIDA.

Ali Dayan Hasan



Ali Dayan Hasan before taking over as Pakistan Director, Ali Dayan Hasan served as Human Rights Watch's South Asia researcher since 2003 and has specialized expertise in Pakistan. Mr. Hasan is responsible for researching, authenticating and writing reports, briefing papers and news releases produced by Human Rights Watch on Pakistan. He advocates South Asian human rights concerns globally with regional bodies, national governments, international financial institutions and is a regular contributor on Pakistan in the international media. In addition to appearing frequently as a commentator on television, his opinion pieces have appeared in major international media.

Before joining Human Rights Watch, Mr. Hasan was a senior editor at Pakistan's premier independent, political news monthly magazine, Herald. During 2006 and 2007, Hasan was also a Visiting Research Fellow at the Leverhulme Changing Character of War Programme at the University of Oxford. He has a B.A. from the London School of Economics and a master's degree from St. Antony's College, Oxford.

Ishrat Hussain



Dr. Ishrat Husain is a renowned economist and former Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan. A recipient of Hilal-e-Imtiaz, Dr. Husain has served as Chairman, National Commission for Government Reforms reporting directly to the President and Prime Minister of Pakistan. He has also held the office of Dean and Director, Institute of Business Administration Karachi, the oldest graduate business school in Asia.

He is currently a member of Middle East Advisory Group of the IMF and the Regional Advisory Group of the UNDP, the Executive Board of Association of Management Development institutions of South Asia (AMDISA) and

the Chairman World Economic Forum Global Advisory Council on Pakistan.

Dr. Husain has maintained an active scholarly interest in development issues. He has authored 18 books and monographs and contributed more than three dozen articles in refereed journals and 27 chapters in books. His book "Pakistan: The Economy of the Elitist State" published by Oxford University Press enjoys a wide audience in Pakistan and abroad.

Jonathan Paris



Jonathan Paris is a London-based foreign affairs analyst covering Asia and the Middle East, as well as Europe, US foreign policy and international security. He is associated with several think tanks and universities including Senior Fellow with the South Asia Center of the Atlantic Council of the United States, Associate Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) at King's College London, and Adjunct Fellow at Legatum Institute, which recently published his Report, Prospects for Pakistan (2010).

Before moving to London in 2001, Mr. Paris was a Fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations in New York from 1995-2000, where he worked on the Middle East Peace Process and MENA Economic Summits. While at the Council, he also co-edited a book on Indonesia entitled The Politics of Post-Suharto Indonesia (Brookings/CFR 1999).

He taught on Islamic trends and on the Middle East at Yale University from 1994-1997; comments on BBC World News, CNN, Sky, CBS, NBC and ARY News; and has written for the International Herald Tribune, Wall Street Journal, Foreign Affairs, The Washington Quarterly, Financial Times, Asharq al Awsat and other periodicals. A Senior Associate Member at St. Antony's College, Oxford, from 2004-2005, he is a graduate of Yale University and Stanford Law School.

Stephen Cohen



Stephen Cohen is senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution. He is an expert on Pakistan, India, and South Asian security.

He is an emeritus professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He has published extensively on the politics of South Asia and on security issues in the region. His books include; The Idea of Pakistan (2004); The Compound Crisis of 1990: Perception, Politics and Insecurity (2003); India: Emerging Power (2001); The

Pakistan Army (second revised edition, 1998; Chinese edition, 1998; Urdu edition, 2001); The Indian Army: Its Contribution to the Development of a Nation (second revised paperback edition, 2001).

Dr. Cohen was a faculty member at the University of Illinois from 1965 to 1998. In 1992-93 he was Scholar-in-Residence at the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, and from 1985-87 a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Department of State where he advised on matters pertaining to South Asia, security, and proliferation issues. He has appeared on national radio and television, including All Things Considered and Nightline, and is a regular contributor to BBC radio and television. He has served on study groups examining Asia sponsored by the Asia Society (1994), the Council on Foreign Relations (1996), and the Asia Foundation (2001); he is currently a member of the National Academy of Science' Committee on International Security and Arms Control and is a member of the board of trustees of the Washington D.C.-based Public Education Center. Dr. Cohen was the co-founder and chair of the Workshop on Security, Technology and Arms Control for younger South Asian and Chinese strategists, held for the past eight years in Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and China, and was an original member of the Research Committee of the South Asian strategic organization, the Regional Centre for Security Studies, Colombo.

General Talat Masood



General Talat Masood served in the Pakistani Army for 39 years, retiring in 1990 as Secretary for Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence. Prior to this, Lt. General Masood was Chairman and CEO of the Pakistan Ordnance Factories Board. He writes regularly on security and political issues in national newspapers and foreign magazines and is a prominent commentator on national and international television and radio networks. General Masood is the chief coordinator for Pugwash and its council member.

Shahid Hafiz Kardar



Shahid Hafiz Kardar is an economist and currently serving as the 16th Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan. Mr. Kardar had also served as Minister for Finance, Planning & Development, Excise and Taxation and Industries & Minerals Development, Government of Punjab from November 1999 to January 2001.

Mr. Kardar has also served as Chairman of the Punjab Education Foundation from June 2005-October 2008 and a Member of the National Commission for Government

Reform (2006-2008); Banking Laws Review Commission; the Advisory Board of Kashf Microfinance Bank Ltd.; and several government Committees and Task Forces set up by the Federal and Punjab Governments. He has been a visiting lecturer at Pakistan School of Public Policy, National Defence College, Pakistan Administrative Staff College, NIPA and Civil Services Academy. He is also a regular guest speaker at seminars organized within the country and abroad by academic institutions, multilateral and bilateral financial institutions and NGOs. He has also advised international institutions such as the World Bank, ADB and DFID on economic issues. He has authored three books and several papers on economic matters pertaining to Pakistan.

Hasan Askari Rizvi



Hasan Askari Rizvi is an independent political and defense analyst. He is also Professor Emeritus in the Department of Political Science at the University of the Punjab, Lahore, and author of several books on the Pakistani army. He obtained an M.A. And Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from the University of Pennsylvania, USA, and an M. Phil. in Politics from the University of Leeds, UK. Earlier, he did his Masters in Political Science from the University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Dr. Rizvi has also served as the Quaid-e-Azam Distinguished Professor of Pakistan Studies at Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs from 1995-1999 and was a Visiting Research Scholar at Sandia National Laboratory in 2002. He was also a Visiting Professor with the South Asia Program of School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. (2007, 2008).

Shuja Nawaz



Shuja Nawaz is a political and strategic analyst. He has worked on projects with RAND, the United States Institute of Peace, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, The Atlantic Council, and other leading think tanks on projects dealing with Pakistan and the Middle East. In January 2009 he was made the first Director of the South Asia Center at The Atlantic Council of the United States.

Educated at Gordon College, Rawalpindi, where he obtained a BA in Economics and English Literature and the Graduate School of Journalism of Columbia University in New York, where he was a Cabot Fellow and won the Henry Taylor International Correspondent Award, he was also a member of the prize-winning team at Stanford University's Publishing

Program. He was a newscaster and producer for Pakistan Television and covered the 1971 war with India on the Western Front. He has worked for the World Health Organization and the New York Times and has headed three separate divisions at the International Monetary Fund. He was also a Director at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. Mr. Nawaz was the Managing Editor and then Editor of Finance & Development, the multilingual quarterly of the IMF and the World Bank and on the Editorial Advisory Board of the World Bank Research Observer.

His latest book is *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within* (Oxford University Press 2008), available on the web and from leading booksellers worldwide. He is also the author of *FATA: A Most Dangerous Place* (CSIS, Washington, D.C., January 2009).

His latest book is *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, its Army, and the Wars Within* (Oxford University Press 2008), available on the web and from leading booksellers worldwide. He is also the author of *FATA: A Most Dangerous Place* (CSIS, Washington, D.C., January 2009).

Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain



Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain is Professor and the Chair of the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. Prior to this, he has served as the Chair of the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the National University in Islamabad, and the Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Professor Hussain has also taught at the Political Science Department, Stanford University, California, USA. He has been a course director for International Politics at the Foreign Service Academy,

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamabad. He serves as a member of the editorial boards of many diverse publications, such as the *South Asia Journal* and the *National Defense University Journal* and *Regional Studies Quarterly*. Professor Hussain is the author of numerous books and publications, including *Afghanistan and 9/11: The Anatomy of a Conflict* (2002); *From Dependence to Intervention: Soviet-Afghanistan Relations During the Brezhnev Era (1964-1982)* (1994); *"Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE): An Elusive Quest for a "homeland" in the Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* (Spring 2009); *"Pakistan's Changing Outlook on Kashmir," in South Asian Survey* (2007) and *"The Indian Factor," in Maleeha Lodhi, ed. Pakistan: Beyond the Crisis State* (New York: Hurst Publishers, 2010). He received his M.A. and PhD in International Studies from the University of Denver, Colorado, USA.

Khawar Mumtaz



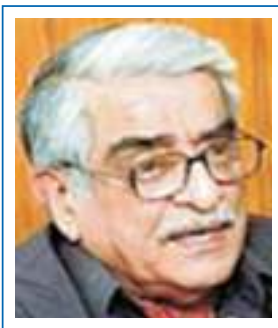
Khawar Mumtaz is currently serving as Chairperson National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW). She brings almost 30 years of experience in advocacy on human rights, women's empowerment and development issues. As one of the earliest members of the Women Action Forum (WAF), Ms. Mumtaz has played a pivotal role in shaping discourse on democracy and women's rights in the country.

Ms. Mumtaz has served as CEO of Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre and has been a member of ARROW, UNEP International Resource Panel, Punjab Rural Support Programme, and the PANOS South Asia Board among others.

She has authored several books which include Women's Rights and the Punjab Peasant Movement (2012), Informal Economy Budget Analysis Pakistan study (2009), Beyond Risk Management: Vulnerability, Social Protection and Citizenship in Pakistan (2008).

In 2006, Ms. Mumtaz was awarded the Sitara-e-Imtiaz for social service and promotion of women's rights. She has also been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005 as one of 1,000 collectively nominated women from around the world.

Najmuddin Shaikh



Ambassador Najmuddin Shaikh served as Pakistan's Foreign Secretary from April 1994 to February 1997. Having joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1961, Ambassador Shaikh has 38 years of service to his credit and has held several ambassadorial assignments including Ambassador to Canada (1987-89), Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany (1989-90), Ambassador to the United States (1990-91), and Ambassador to Iran (1992-94).

He obtained degrees of B.Com from Sindh University and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He is a political and security commentator, and is regularly published in international relations journals, and featured in local and foreign media.

Shahnaz Wazir Ali



boards, and universities.

Shahnaz Wazir Ali has an illustrious career as an educationist, development policy specialist, a member of the Pakistan Peoples Party twice elected to National Assembly of Pakistan, Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Sector and as a well known women's right activist. She served as a Senior Education Specialist on the World Bank; held the position of Minister of State for Education, Govt. of Pakistan; and is on the Board of a number of prestigious national and international organizations, trusts, advisory councils, educational

From 1988 to 1990, 1993 to 1996 and 2008-13 she had the unique opportunity to serve in key decision making positions in government, in the first term as Member of the National Assembly elected on the reserved seat for women and Federal Minister of State for Education and subsequently, in the second and third term, as Special Assistant to the Prime Minister on Social Sectors. From 1997-2001, she served as the Senior Education Specialist at the World Bank in Islamabad. Her career in and commitment to education can be traced back to 1965, when she commenced teaching primary school children of deprived communities in Karachi, and subsequently spent about 15 years in teaching and administrative positions in the private sector, which included being Principal at the Lahore American School. She is also a Trustee of the Education Trust which runs Nasra Schools for children of low-income families in Karachi and provides K10 education to more than 10,000 students.

Currently she is Provincial Coordinator for the Government of Sindh for all primary health care programs including maternal and child health and Family Planning Programs. She is also the President of the Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Sciences and Technology.

Nasim Zehra



Nasim Zehra is a prominent expert on foreign affairs and national security. As an analyst on Pakistan's political experiences and international security issues, Ms. Zehra has written and lectured widely nationally and internationally. She has written as a syndicated columnist for Inter-Press Services (IPS) and for national dailies and journals including The News and the Defence Journal. In the Arab world she has written regularly for the Gulf News, Dubai-based Khaleej Times and the Jeddah-based Arab News. Ms. Zehra regularly lectures at the National Defence

College, Command and Staff College, the Air War College, the Institute for Strategic Studies Islamabad and National Institute for Public Affairs. Ms. Zehra is

also a fellow of Harvard University Asia Center and has taught as an adjunct Professor at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. She has served on Pakistan's Presidential Advisory Committee on Foreign Policy and National Security from 2000-2002 and was appointed as Pakistan's Special Envoy on UN Reforms in 2005. Beyond writing for the press and teaching, Ms. Zehra is currently working on her book, *From Kargil to the Coup : 40 Days that Shook Pakistan.*

The Jinnah Institute Team

Sherry Rehman
Chairperson



Sherry Rehman is the founding Chair of the Jinnah Institute, a non-partisan public policy think tank committed to the strengthening of democracy, governance and an independent national security project in Pakistan. She co-chairs several track-two strategic dialogues with India, and is convener of a similar institutionalized dialogue process between Pakistan and Afghanistan

Sherry Rehman has served as Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States (Nov 2011- May 2013); Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting Pakistan (2008-09) and ranking member of the National Security Committee in the Parliament. Rehman is also an award-winning journalist from Pakistan with 20

years of experience in both the broadcast and the print media. In her capacity as a senior journalist, Rehman has been the first Pakistani media person to be recognized by the UK House of Lords for independent journalism at the Annual British Muslim Ceremony in 2002. Foreign Policy magazine has identified Rehman as one of 2011's Top Global Thinkers.

She is also the architect of the first parliamentary charter and bill for women empowerment, mover of the Hudood Ordinances Repeal Bill, mover of the Anti-Honour Killings Bill, as well as the Freedom of Information Act 2004. As Minister, she moved the first government bill of the 2008 National Assembly for the repeal of martial law-led anti-media clauses in the Electronic Media Regulatory Ordinance. In August 2008, Rehman's move to repeal similar amendments in the Print and Publication Ordinance paved the way for constitutional protection for the print media (RTI bill).

amending laws that mis-use the Pakistan's Blasphemy provisions. For her services to Pakistan, she has been awarded the state's highest civil award, the Nishan-i-Imtiaz in March 2013.

Syed Hassan Akbar

Director Programs

Syed Hassan Akbar is Director Programs at Jinnah Institute. Prior to joining JI, Akbar was Director Monitoring, Evaluation and Research for USAID's largest gender equity based grants program at Aurat Foundation, one of the largest rights-based organizations in the country. A Fulbright Scholar, Akbar has co-authored and supervised several nationally representative research studies on democracy, governance, gender and poverty alleviation.

He has been co-author of successive iterations of the UNDP's Social Audit on Public Service Delivery and Local Governments in 2010 and 2012 and has supervised the country's first nationally representative benchmark study on gender differentials in 2011.

Specializing in assessing impact of development interventions, Akbar has conducted impact evaluations of teacher training programs, community infrastructure interventions and disaster preparedness programs for leading national and international development organizations in the country.

He holds a Masters in International Affairs from the School of Public and International Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University and a Bachelors Degree in Economics from the Lahore University of Management Sciences.

Salman Zaidi

Deputy Director

Salman Zaidi leads JI's Strategic Security Initiative and works on the Indo-Pak and Pak-Afghan Track II dialogues, in addition the Institute's Water Security project. He has authored multiple institutional papers, including the report 'Pakistan, the United States and the End Game in Afghanistan: Perceptions of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Elite' as well as 'Extremism Watch: Mapping Conflict Trends in Pakistan 2010-2011'.

Mr. Zaidi holds an MSc. in Violence, Conflict and Development from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and a BSc. in Development Studies (Iqra).

Raza Rumi

Senior Research Fellow

Raza Ahmad Rumi is a Senior Research Fellow at Jinnah Institute. Raza is an international development expert, a renowned writer and journalist. Prior to joining

JI, he was working for the Asian Development Bank, Manila as an economist/governance specialist. Earlier, he has worked for the Government of Pakistan, a number of Pakistani NGO networks, the United Nations and has consulted extensively for various development agencies. Raza is also an academic adviser to Network of Asia Pacific Schools and Institutes of Public Administration and Governance; Public Policy Adviser to Leadership for Environment and Development, Pakistan; and a member of the Advisory Board of ASR Resource Centre and South Asian Institute of Women's studies, Lahore.

Raza's research interests and advisory skills include: security, justice and counter-terrorism, public policy, governance & anticorruption; decentralization; capacity development; and change management. He has authored several research papers and publications on governance, institutional development and South Asian arts and culture. Some of his writings are archived on www.razarumi.com. He also writes for the Pakistani and regional media. Rumi has been a consulting editor at The Friday Times and Himal SouthAsia. His columns are frequently published in daily Express-Tribune and The News in Pakistan; and The Hindu, Asian Age and other publications in India. Raza also founded popular blogs such as www.pakteahouse.net; and www.lahorenama.wordpress.com.

Zahid Hussain

Senior Research Fellow

Zahid Hussain is an award-winning journalist and writer. He has been a correspondent for The Times of London and The Wall Street Journal. He also has covered Pakistan and Afghanistan for several other international publications, including Newsweek, Associated Press, The Economist and India Today, and is a regular columnist for the Dawn newspaper in Pakistan.

He was Pakistan scholar at Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington. D.C (2011-2012). He has also been a visiting fellow at Wolfson College, University of Cambridge (1999) and at Henry Stimson Center, Washington D.C (1994)

Hussain has authored two books: Frontline Pakistan: The struggle with militant Islam (2007) and The scorpion's tail: The relentless rise of Islamic militants in Pakistan (2010). Both books have won widespread acclaim as seminal texts on the subject.

He has also contributed chapters: " Deliberate nuclear ambiguity" in the book "Pakistan and nuclear bomb". Notre Dame University Press (1999), and "Battling militancy" in the book "Pakistan-Beyond crisis."

Rabia Mehmood

Program Manager, ODI

Rabia Mehmood has been a freelance multimedia journalist, and has reported extensively on urban terrorism, persecution of religious minorities, banned militant outfits, human rights issues for television, newspapers and the web. For her reporting of human rights & social justice issues, Mehmood was awarded the International Women's Media Foundation's Elizabeth Neuffer Fellowship at the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2010.

Mehmood manages various research projects for the JI's Open Democracy Initiative, in addition to writing and editing content for the website. Mehmood holds a Masters degree in Mass Communication from the Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore.

Huma Yusuf

Associate Research Fellow

Huma Yusuf is an award-winning columnist and investigative journalist. She writes a weekly column in the leading Pakistani English-language daily, Dawn, on topics related to security, foreign relations, and human rights. Her column has twice won the Best Column Award from the All Pakistan Newspapers Society (2008 and 2010). She also contributes articles on a freelance basis to papers in the US and India, including The Christian Science Monitor and Indian Express.

In 2010-11, Yusuf was the Pakistan Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Washington D.C.) During her fellowship, she researched the impact of the independent Pakistani media on politics, foreign policy (particularly US-Pakistan relations), and society for a forthcoming book.

Previously, as a staff writer for Dawn and its current affairs monthly, the Herald, Yusuf specialized in human rights reporting and investigated subjects such as "honour" killings, gang warfare, ethnic conflict, and the state's ineffective prosecution of rape cases. Her reporting was awarded the UNESCO/Pakistan Press Foundation "Gender in Journalism" Award (2005) and the European Commission's Prix Natali Lorenzo for Human Rights and Democracy Journalism (2006).

Ahmer Naqvi

Editor and Research Analyst

Ahmer Naqvi is a journalist, filmmaker and blogger. He has worked as a reporter and producer for DawnNews TV in Pakistan and Ahlulbayt TV in the UK. He has also written for various Pakistani newspapers and magazines, including Dawn, Express Tribune, The News, Pique and others. His work has appeared on a range of national and international blogs and websites. Naqvi currently lectures on Pakistani film and visual media at NCA Rawalpindi, Fatima Jinnah Women's University and SZABIST Islamabad.

Mehmooona Bashar

Public Affairs Officer

Mehmooona Bashar is a Public Affairs Officer at Jinnah Institute where she is responsible for media outreach and strategic communications. She assists research on extremism in Pakistan and other SSI outputs. Ms. Bashar has a keen interest in social justice, human rights and women's empowerment. She holds an undergraduate degree in Business from the University of London.

Fahd Humayun

Project Manager, SSI

Fahd Humayun is the Program Manager for Jinnah Institute's Strategic Security track. In addition to managing the Chaophraya Dialogue – the longest consistently running Indo-Pak Track II initiative, he has also overseen strategic planning and research for transboundary water-sharing exercises in South Asia, and regional foreign policy mapping. In 2014 he attended a two-week RCSS summer workshop on Nuclear Security and Strategic Stability in Sri Lanka. At Jinnah Institute he assists on conflict proposal writing, donor outreach, and internal research on national security and countermilitancy. He holds an MPhil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge, and a BSc in International Relations and History from the London School of Economics. He has also taught a course on Foreign Policy at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Fahd Humayun tweets at @fahdhumayun and can be contacted on fahdhumayun@jinnah-institute.org.

Mona Khan

Visual Media Consultant

Mona Khan is a visual artist and curator who assists in all social and visual media output at JI. She has formerly worked as a gallery administrator at the Contemporary Art Gallery in Vancouver and more recently as curator at Rohtas gallery, Islamabad. With a focus on the socio-political role of Art, she also writes reviews on the contemporary art scene of Pakistan.

She holds a Bachelor of Fine Arts from Emily Carr University³ of Art and Design, Vancouver.

Mazhar Abbas Zaidi

Director Finance and Human Resources

Mazhar Abbas Zaidi is Director Finance and Human Resources at Jinnah Institute. He is an associate member of Institute of Cost and Management Accounts of Pakistan (ICMAP) and has attended various short courses and seminars organized by ICMAP, Institute of Chartered Accountants of Pakistan (ICAP) and the Institute of

Bankers. Mr. Zaidi has over 20 years experience in finance, accounts, taxation , corporate affairs and cost and budgeting activities in various large corporations.

Mr. Zaidi has previously worked at Saudi Pak Leasing Company Limited in the capacity of Chief Financial Officer.

Syed Mustehsan Rasool

Manager Finance

Syed Mustehsan Rasool works as a Finance Assistant at Jinnah Institute and has previously trained at Millennium Securities and Investments, Islamabad. He holds a Bachelors degree in Commerce from the University of Punjab.

Syed Mustehsan Rasool can be contacted on mustehsan@jinnah-institute.org.

Arsalaan Nazir

Admin & HR Officer

Arsalaan Nazir is the Executive Assistant at Jinnah Institute and handles procurement and managing the day-to-day functions and activities for the office. Mr. Nazir holds a Bachelors degree in Business Administration from Bahria University Islamabad majoring in Human Resources, and a Bachelors of Arts degree in Journalism and Sociology from the University of Punjab, Lahore. He has previously been organizing and planning events in collaboration with DreamNest productions.

Arsalaan Nazir can be contacted on arsalaanazir@jinnah-institute.org.

Palvashay Sethi

Program Officer

Palvashay Sethi is Program Officer for Jinnah Institute's Open Democracy Initiative. She holds an MSc from the University of Edinburgh and has a keen interest in human rights and social justice issues.

Fakiha Nadeem

Research Assistant

Fakiha Nadeem is the Research Assistant for Jinnah Institute's Open Democracy Initiative (ODI). She assists on a project titled 'State of Minorities and Freedom of Religion in Pakistan' and all other outputs of ODI. Her research interests include democracy, governance, human rights, gender and poverty alleviation. She holds Bachelors in Economics and Political Science from the Lahore University of Management Sciences.

Wilson William

Executive Assistant

Wilson William is Executive Assistant at the Jinnah Institute. William provides support in maintaining accounts and provides administrative support to the Institute while managing logistics and procurement.

Safwan Khan

Program Manager

Safwan Khan is a Program Manager at the Jinnah Institute, where he conducts policy research and advocacy on economic issues under the Open Democracy Initiative. He has over three years' experience as a think-tank professional and has previously worked as a Research Analyst with Business Recorder, Pakistan's premier economic and financial daily. Mr. Khan has also served on the Government of Pakistan's task force on Millennium Development Goals. He holds a Masters degree in Economics from the Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad.

