



Annual Report

2017-18

This material may not be copied, reproduced or transmitted in whole or in part without attribution to the Jinnah Institute (JI). Unless stated otherwise, all material is property of the institute.

Copyright © Jinnah Institute 2018

Annual Report



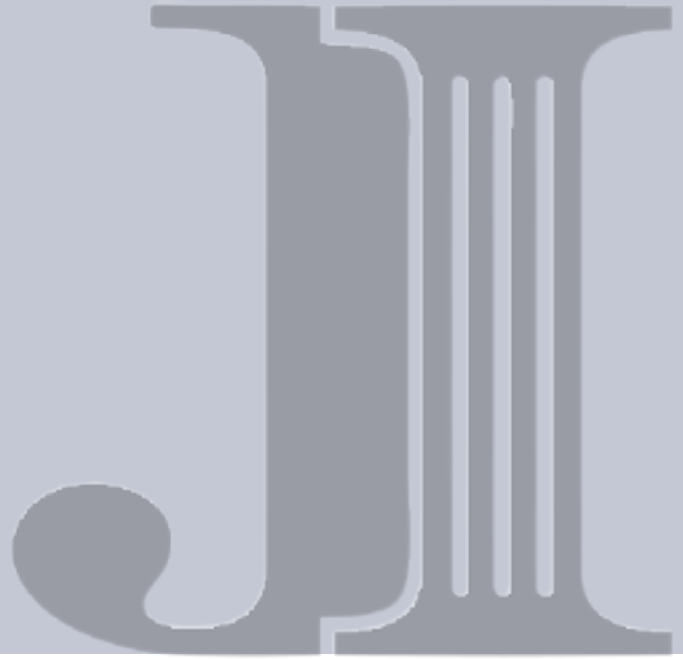
2017-18

CONTENTS

WHO WE ARE	6
About Jinnah Institute	7
WHAT WE DO	8
Year in Review	9
ODI and SSI Program Highlights	10
BUILDING BRIDGES	12
Chaophraya Dialogue	13
Regional Connectivity Dialogue	14
Emerging Leaders Dialogue	15
BUILDING CHANGE	16
Ideas Conclave 2018	17
University Town Halls	21
Twitter Café	24
Policy Round-tables	25
BUILDING KNOWLEDGE	28
Reports	29
Between War and Peace	29
In Her Own Words	30
Climate Change Task Force Report	31
Alternative Narratives in India and Pakistan	31
Policy Briefs	32
Policy Features	35
Chaophraya Essays	35
Seven takes at 70	35
Past the Red Noise	35
Policy Forecast 2017	36
Opinion Editorials	37
Take One	39
The Buzz	40
Infographics	41
BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND ADVISORS	42
TEAM	54



**WHO
WE ARE**



About Us

Jinnah Institute is an independent policy research and public advocacy think tank in Pakistan. The Institute advances the causes of:

- Democratic institution building and strengthening state capacity for delivery on policy goals;
- National and human security discourse with an emphasis on regional peace;
- Entitlement to fundamental rights and freedoms;
- Accountability of public bodies and government;
- 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 community, as well as policy and opinion makers.

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

Within this framework, the two overarching program areas under which the Institute undertakes a variety of projects and interventions are:

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

Under these operational streams, Jinnah Institute seeks to accomplish a series of different but complementary objectives that work towards achieving the Institute's overarching goal of establishing a more democratic, transparent and inclusive environment for policymaking and a more tolerant, open and peaceful Pakistan.



WHAT WE DO



YEAR IN REVIEW 2017-2018

1300

Direct involvement of over 1300 government officials, politicians, academics, journalists, policy analysts and students across different events



FOLLOWERS

7293 435



PEOPLE REACHED

21,200
views

316,363
reached



2.3 MILLION
IMPRESSIONS

7973
LIKES

14,200
FOLLOWERS

4084
RETWEETS

4524
LINKS CLICKED



OPEN DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE

Pakistan's interrupted encounters with democracy, and diminished public input in governance have arrested the growth of institutions and rendered public services either too fragile or too disempowered to respond to a growing population of citizens alienated from the state. The twin menaces of terrorism and extremism have further exacerbated the crisis in the country.

The goal of the Open Democracy Initiative is to bridge the gap between citizens and state and to formulate and articulate policy responses based on inclusive research. By pursuing these goals, Jinnah Institute is creating awareness, expanding the knowledge base 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.

The Open Democracy Initiative brings together academics, policy makers, media professionals and civil society activists on wide-ranging challenges confronting Pakistan. The Initiative undertakes policy roundtables, University Town Halls and other policy events based on research and advocacy products including reports, policy briefs, opinion editorials and online products that bring together expertise to advocate for a plural, progressive and democratic Pakistan.

AREAS OF FOCUS

Human rights and social justice, with a focus on women and minorities;

Civic engagement in strengthening democratic and social structures as well as constitutional entitlements;

Investing in the media through capacity building exercises and consultations;

Integrating youth cohorts in mainstream identity discourse;

Encouraging specific mediums of secular expression, including art and culture.

SSI

STRATEGIC SECURITY INITIATIVE

Current geostrategic realities have not only magnified Pakistan's global relevance, but have also repeatedly headlined the onerous challenges it faces today. A porous border with Afghanistan, the repercussions of proxy jihad, the militarization of foreign policy, the perception of an enhanced threat from India, the ongoing war on terrorism, and the radicalization of society are a few of the core concerns 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 dialogue, 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. 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 cooperation between parliamentary, government 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 and local policy communities to seek strategic convergences at multilateral and bilateral forums. Broadly speaking, the Strategic Security Initiative seeks to democratize the formulation of national security policy and build civil-military bridges in order to encourage a more open and inclusive security paradigm, with a particular focus on developing higher stakes in reversing the tide of religious extremism and violence.

AREAS OF FOCUS

Creating platforms for sustained dialogue between interlocutors on issues of regional peace and cooperation;

Engaging with partners to develop convergences for peace and democratic governance in the region;

Engendering support for the non-violence and de-militarization of foreign policy;

Establishing policy networks to promote inclusive national security policy paradigms;

Advocate countering violent extremism and terrorism strategies that build on government, civil society and academia policy inputs.



BUILDING BRIDGES

CHAOPHRAYA DIALOGUE

The Chaophraya Dialogue is one of the longest running uninterrupted Pakistan-India Track-II initiatives jointly managed by the Jinnah Institute and the Australia India Institute. 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. Initiated before the Mumbai attacks of 26/11, the process played a critical role in bringing together senior interlocutors from the two countries when the official dialogue process was suspended. Since then, the Chaophraya Dialogue has encouraged participants to share the conclusions of each round with their respective governments.



The 21st round of the Chaophraya Dialogue was held in Bangkok from March 2-3, 2017 under a tense bilateral climate. Participants discussed a wide range of bilateral issues including global power realignments and their impact on South Asia, Kashmir, Afghanistan and terrorism. Dialogue participants called for détente as the first step towards normalization of relations between both countries.

Along the side-lines of the 21st Chaophraya Dialogue, a Task Force on Alternative Narratives was held in Bangkok from March 4-5, 2017. The task force brought together four mid-career expert practitioners in the field of media to discuss the power of social media in shaping bilateral narratives.



The 22nd round of the Chaophraya Dialogue was held in Bangkok from December 8-9, 2017. The dialogue brought together senior policy experts, Foreign Office officials and journalists. This conference reviewed and discussed bilateral relations by recapping recent official and unofficial developments; global realignments under a new US administration; the issue of Kashmir; the shared challenge of terrorism and extremism facing South Asia; and the future of Afghanistan in light of a renewed Taliban insurgency.

The conference was chaired by Senator Sherry Rehman and Mr. Amitabh Mattoo, while senior policymakers from both sides reviewed and discussed the opportunities and challenges in the India-Pakistan relationship. The 22nd

Chaophraya Dialogue saw the induction of several first-time delegates who brought fresh perspective to the conference proceedings.

Conference agenda themes were finalized in consultation with key stakeholders from both sides, as well as high-ranking government officials, while taking into consideration wider developments at the official bilateral level, multilateral forums as well as efforts by civil society groups. At the end of the two-day conference, delegates jointly agreed upon and penned a list of six recommendations that have been uploaded on the Chaophraya Dialogue website. A dialogue report was also published.

The 24th round of the Chaophraya Dialogue was held in Bangkok from March 23-24, 2018, bringing together senior policy experts, former government and military officials, academics and journalists. The conference recapped the state of bilateral relations and evaluated the impact of forthcoming elections in Pakistan and India on the bilateral relationship. The conference was chaired by JI honorary Vice President Ambassador Aziz Ahmed Khan and Ambassador KC Singh. Participants released a joint statement



recommending NSA level back-channel talks to pave the way for restarting dialogue between the nuclear armed neighbors. Participants also called on both India and Pakistan to reaffirm their commitment to the 1992 agreement on treatment of diplomats in light of recent spate of harassment in Delhi and Islamabad.

REGIONAL CONNECTIVITY DIALOGUE



The first round of the Regional Economic Connectivity Forum was held in Bangkok on March 22nd, 2018, with the first time induction

of economists, businessmen, and academics. The delegates discussed a host of critical themes relating to trade, economic connectivity, commerce and co-production in South Asia. Participants highlighted that recent investments in regional corridors and highways have great potential to promote regional interconnectivity and trade between India and Pakistan. Participants also reviewed the current state of trade relations between both countries and examined bottlenecks to the granting of NDMA status, non-tariff barriers and explored non-traditional opportunities in start-ups and new economies for collaboration.

EMERGING LEADERS DIALOGUE



The first round of the Emerging Leader's Forum was held from March 25-26, 2018, which brought together a younger group of leading professionals in the fields of media, journalism, economic policy, youth parliamentarians, politics and academia.

The delegates discussed Indo-Pak futures, the shared challenge of climate change, women in security, the issue of Kashmir, extremism and terrorism in South Asia, and Indo-Pak narratives

in new media spaces. The emerging leader's forum is a new initiative of the Jinnah Institute that focuses on developing a new generation of political activists invested in the bilateral relationship between India and Pakistan. The initiative is aimed at generating new discourse on millennial challenges, understanding youth perspectives on South Asia's shared history and strategic gridlock, as well as developing new interlocutors for the future.



BUILDING CHANGE

IDEAS CONCLAVE



The Jinnah Institute convened its second Ideas Conclave on July 5th, 2018 in Islamabad, a day-long public forum that connected senior international and local policymakers, thought leaders and citizens to engage on issues currently pertinent to Pakistan and the region.

Speakers at the event included the eminent Professor Ayesha Jalal, Professor Adil Najam, former Senator Aitzaz Ahsan, former Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi, former Foreign Secretaries Riaz Khokhar and Salman Bashir, former DG ISPR Maj. Gen. (retired) Athar Abbas, Chinese Ambassador Yao Jing, Indian High Commissioner Ajay Bisaria, Afghan Ambassador Dr. Omar Zakhilwal, EU Ambassador Jean Francois Cautain, German Ambassador Martin Kobler, environmental lawyer and water expert Rafay Alam, and senior journalists Zahid Hussain, Nasim Zehra, Ejaz Haider and Arifa Noor.

The Conclave was split into five sessions that covered thematic areas of Pakistan's history and its implications, the current state of global unipolarity and the new world order, the Afghan War, Pakistan's bilateral relationship with India, and climate change. There was a high turnout for all sessions and the audience was able to engage with each panel during Q&A sessions that followed each session.

The event received widespread coverage in the mainstream English press, including major dailies such as DAWN, The Daily Times, Pakistan Today, as well as in Urdu dailies such as the Nawaiwaqt, providing detailed event coverage alongside other newspapers. The day's proceedings began with opening remarks made by Amb. Aziz Ahmed Khan, Honorary Vice President of Jinnah Institute, who lauded the Institute's efforts in providing public forums for discussion and public debate on issues pertinent to Pakistan.



The Conclave's first session titled **"The Legacy Straitjacket"** featured speakers Professor Ayesha Jalal, and senior journalist Zahid Hussain. Professor Jalal noted that Pakistan's trajectory had been a result of choices made by leaders over the years, adding that the mere assumption of our status quo as a "legacy" was an error in judgment in assuming that it was a change route. She stressed the importance of civil society's role in highlighting areas of conflict and the policy community in presenting possible measures for resolution. She further noted that Pakistan's leaders had allowed relations with the country's neighbors to run adrift, adding that it was impossible to have a safe country without safe borders. Our lacking foreign policy led to frayed relations with our neighbors, and the prevalent extremism and violence in our country was a symptom of the problem that needed to be addressed.



The second session of the day titled **"After Shanghai: The End of Unipolarity?"** included the former Special Assistant to the Prime Minister Tariq Fatemi, the Ambassador of China Yao Jing, former Senator Aitzaz Ahsan, and Dean of the Pardee School of Global Studies at Boston University Dr. Adil Najam. The session was chaired by Executive Editor of Indus News, Ejaz Haider, who opened the conversation on the premise that history is not static. He disagreed that China's objective was to limit US policy initiatives deemed detrimental to Chinese interests vis-a-vis Beijing's engagement in multilateral institutions, bilateral partnerships, and economic diplomacy. Former Advisor to the PM on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi took the view that a multipolar world order could suit the evolving needs of a global community in crisis, and that the SCO had the potential to emerge as a forum for regional engagement through dialogue rather than confrontation. Chinese Ambassador Yao Jing maintained that China believed in constructive engagement and had an important role to play in the evolving world order. He further added that the SCO epitomized China's approach towards regional cooperation, and that the basic principle of the Shanghai spirit was a community-based approach to international relations. Aitzaz Ahsan argued that the United States continued to be the world's leading economic and military global power, and that the demise of unipolarity should not be assumed to be a given. In his remarks, Professor Adil Najam observed that China's rise was a reality that the world had to contend with.



The third session of the day titled **“Warriors and Diplomats: Afghanistan War”** included Ambassador of Afghanistan Dr. Omar Zakhilwal, Former Ambassador and DG ISPR Major General Athar Abbas, Ambassador of the EU Jean Francois Cautain, and Former Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar. The session was chaired by anchor and journalist Arifa Noor. Afghan Ambassador Dr. Omar Zakhilwal said there was overwhelming public support for peace in Afghanistan, and that the government in Kabul was keen to engage rather than fight the Taliban. EU Ambassador Jean Francois Cautain said the EU was willing to play its role in contributing to peace in Afghanistan, and appreciated the recent APAPS framework as a model that could advance bilateral relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Former Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar, meanwhile, appreciated President Ghani’s intention to move forward with Pakistan and take the lead in the search for peace at home, and added that the lack of clarity on US objectives in Afghanistan was a complicating factor that eroded regional confidence-building efforts.



The fourth session of the day titled **“The Eastern Question”** included Former Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir, High Commissioner of India Ajay Bisaria, Professor of History Ayesha Jalal, and Former National Security Advisor Nasser Janjua. The session was moderated by senior journalist and author Nasim Zehra, who opened the session by asking the panelists to comment on how Pakistan’s bilateral relationship with its eastern neighbor seemingly panned in the future. Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir suggested that India and Pakistan should consolidate the ceasefire along the Line of Control (LOC) and seek to advance existing mechanisms for normalizing relations, including a liberalization of the visa regime. Indian High Commissioner Ajay Bisaria said that India’s foreign policy was increasingly driven by its economy, and that there was room to see bilateral commerce between the two countries surpass \$30 billion if both sides could take the necessary steps. He further said trade corridors; connectivity and common energy markets could help bring India and Pakistan closer. Former National Security Advisor Lt. General Nasser Janjua, meanwhile, said he had emphasized in his conversations with his Indian counterpart the need to rise above shared animosities and work towards peace and security.



The final session of the day titled **“Climate Security: Is Pakistan Prepared?”** included German Ambassador Martin Kobler and Dr. Adil Najam. The session was chaired by water specialist Ahmad Rafay Alam, who opened with his remarks on Pakistan’s pressing water shortage and current flooding in Punjab, that evidently lacked any coping mechanisms in such drastic climatic events. Ambassador Martin Kobler said that climate change and its impact did not stop at borders, and it was therefore important for Pakistan and India to address their shared challenge of water security and climate change. In particular, the unchecked population growth of both countries was troubling and had far reaching global implications, therefore divorcing the taboo from population control and family planning was of urgent importance. Dr. Adil Najam stated that a nation’s security was not limited to traditional aspects of security, however to stress the importance of climate change and preparedness was not to undermine the former. Water was the biggest shared security challenge for both Pakistan and India, and while two neighboring countries could negotiate with each other over their minimum shared bond, there was no negotiating with climate change. The threats posed by this phenomenon are thus unrelenting and would only worsen with the passage of time.



Addressing the panelists and participants at the conclave, President of Jinnah Institute Sherry Rehman said that ideas were one of the most powerful forces known across history, and were the new battlefield with the power to change the way states, people and societies engaged with each other. Foreign policy had to be understood and absorbed from the ground up, and Pakistan had to navigate strategically through its policy turmoil, all the while speaking to the structural realities of our system. The shared challenge of climate stresses called for immediate action, and was a topic that could be leveraged to force a positive conversation between India and Pakistan. In order to be effective and transcend the boundaries that we have ourselves reinforced, it is imperative to be more effective as individual nation states. South Asia’s rapid growth has resulted in growing inequalities, which would in turn fuel tension and violence in the region. In a world with rising hyper nationalism and extremism, Ms. Rehman urged the audience to engage in a public discourse that endorses empathy and sympathy, first domestically and then beyond our borders.



UNIVERSITY TOWNHALLS

Social Discourse: Building Counter Narratives to Terrorism



Faced with the increasing operational effectiveness of terrorism in Pakistan, and reports of increased militant recruitment in South Asia as a whole, the importance of combating systemic fissures has increased manifold. Speakers at Jinnah Institute's university town hall titled 'Social Discourse: Building Counter Narratives to Terrorism' engaged in constructive, analytical dialogue aimed at exploring alternative interpretations of socio-political subversion.

Despite the adoption of the National Action Plan two years ago, the government and

the state's ability to combat extremism and develop a counter narrative remain limited. A disproportionate focus on the military campaign against selected terrorist elements has led to a shunted counter-extremism campaign. Gaps in civilian capacity and a lack of political will to address and combat systemic reasons for continuing intolerance and radicalization have permeated across the National Action Plan. Given that the youth make up a large cohort of the population, they find themselves at a strategic position in society to combat extremism and build a counter narrative to terrorism in Pakistan.

From Ideas to Markets: How Start-Ups Are Reshaping Entrepreneurship

Pakistan's new crop of entrepreneurs must learn how to sell their ideas as a first step towards realizing their dream, said experts at JI's town hall titled 'From Ideas to Markets: How start-ups are reshaping entrepreneurship', held at Iqra University Karachi.

While the entrepreneurship landscape is changing in favor of start-ups through

improved access to funding, and mentoring through incubators and accelerators, experts felt that devising a viable business plan was necessary for investor support.

Jehan Ara of P@SHA highlighted the steady rise in the number of start-ups in Pakistan, including those led by women entrepreneurs. She felt that taking risks came at the heart of entrepreneurship and many start-ups



responded to social needs such as healthcare while utilizing the strengths of e-commerce and web based outreach. She emphasized that young, aspiring entrepreneurs need to have more rigorous business models to make it through stages of incubation, attracting seed funding and growth.

Muneeb Maayr of Bykea and co-founder of Daraz.pk, discussed the importance of sizing up one's market before starting out, while establishing customer acquisition costs, unit economics and then sourcing donor interest. He said that any entrepreneur must be willing to "remove their tie and get their hands dirty" in order to run a successful business venture.

Saif Akhtar of 10XC indicated that online markets have huge untapped potential for businesses to join. A common stumbling block for new entrepreneurs is the presumption of "too much competition" online, while underscoring that a business is sustained by the entrepreneur's personal interest in running it. "All of us may have good ideas,

but the passion in making them happen is actually half the job done," he said.

Nadia Patel Gangjee of Sheops encouraged young women in the audience to not be disheartened by family or social pressures, a common reason why potential entrepreneurs roll back their business plans. She advised that entrepreneurs must build self-discipline, learn time management, sift through their best ideas and execute them efficiently. Responding to queries from students, Salim Karim of PublishEX encouraged members of the audience to gain work experience before they launched their platforms, as that would give them important practical skills. "Fear of losing a stable job and fear of competition are always difficult to overcome, but you have to fail in order to succeed," he said. The event was part of Jinnah Institute's town hall series under the Open Democracy Initiative, which brings Pakistan's top experts to interact with youth on issues of policy interest.

Pakistan's Youth Bulge: Breaking the Growth Ceiling

Pakistan's youth cohort makes up over 60 per cent of the population, providing Pakistan an opportunity to leverage its strategic position to enhance the country's economic growth; this was the main focus of the speakers at the university town hall on "Pakistan's Youth Bulge: Breaking the Growth Ceiling" held by Jinnah Institute at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics.

Starting the dialogue, Qazi Azmat Isa of Pakistan Poverty Alleviation Fund indicated that Pakistan has not invested in citizens, and has failed to provide them with basic services such as education and health. He added that the main predicament facing the nation's growth is the exclusion of women and minorities from actively partaking in the state's economy. By strengthening



community-based approaches and increasing labor-incentive opportunities, he argued the need to rethink how we measure growth to ensure they account for inclusivity and equality in the system. Dr. Asad Zaman, Vice Chancellor of PIDE discussed the large potential of the youth cohort, asserting that each individual must work independently for social gain, in order to collectively make a difference in Pakistan's growth. He also advocated for a shift in education away from the capitalist growth model, to one which is more esoteric.

Haroon Sharif highlighted the presence of an economic and demographic trap in Pakistan, however he noted that demography alone does not lead to economic growth. Using regional countries as comparison, Sharif asserted the importance of policies and reform to maximize growth potential. For example, establishing an incentives structure for the human development of youth, and focusing on job creating sectors will assist in breaking the economic growth ceiling. Adding to the conversation, Syed Hassan Akbar, Director Jinnah Institute, highlighted the upcoming start-up culture in Pakistan, viewing it as an opportunity for growth.

The policy dialogue was followed by an interactive question and answer session. The audience questioned the space and opportunity available to youth in policy-making areas. Students felt that decisions for upcoming generations are being made without any input from citizens under the age

of 30. The audience also asked the panel why the 'youth bulge' is frequently associated with unrest, and how democratic processes can be amended to be more inclusive.

The session concluded by specifying that the youth policy in Pakistan is not implemented to its full potential. On the whole, Pakistan's economy is lagging almost 20 years behind regional counterparts. Improving access to finance and promoting networks to enable innovation are examples of policy areas which can catalyze youth transition to leadership positions, allowing greater access to economy, and ultimately breaking through the growth ceiling.

This event was part of Jinnah Institute's University Town Hall series under the Open Democracy Initiative, bringing Pakistan's top analysts and academics to universities for interactive dialogues on pressing challenges facing youth in society

TWITTER CAFÉS



#AlternativeNarratives



A Twitter Café was held on March 24th, 2017 on Alternative Narratives driven by a live panel with Amb. Aziz Ahmad Khan, Zahid Hussain, and Ammara Durrani who took questions from the audience. The two-hour long online conversation generated over 500 tweets and almost 2 million impressions, and the hashtag #IndoPakNarratives became the top trending hashtag in Pakistan. The event was live-streamed on YouTube.

#WomenInSecurityPolicy



Another Twitter Café was held on February 28th, 2017 on Women in Security Policy in the Indo-Pak context with the hashtag #WomenInSecurityPolicy. The two hour event was held simultaneously in Islamabad and Delhi, and garnered a wide audience engaging in an online conversation, becoming a top-trending hashtag in Pakistan. The event, chaired by director Jinnah Institute, included senior journalist Asad Hasim, civil society activist Marvi Sirmed and USIP country head Sehar Tariq as panelists discussing the role of women in shaping policy. Participants took a number of questions from the audience and from social media on why and how more women can be mainstreamed in policy making on critical issues such as counter-extremism and counter-terrorism.

#SharedHistory



On June 11th, 2018, Jinnah Institute held a Twitter Café in Islamabad with the objective of connecting social media users in India and Pakistan with the hashtag #SharedHistory. The event aimed at creating a policy-focused debate on social media on the state of Indo-Pak bilateral relations and history's role in shaping public discourse and political perceptions in South Asia. A live panel discussion at Jinnah Institute comprised of multimedia journalist Amber Rahim Shamsi, lawyer Yasser Latif Hamdani, social activist and commentator Ibrahim Qazi, television anchor Taimur Shamil, and Quaid-e-Azam University Professor Sadia Tasleem who helped moderate and steer an online discussion on the implications of shared historical legacy and conflict in South Asia.



POLICY ROUNDTABLES

Pakistan's Policy Options in Afghanistan



On July 14th, 2017, Jinnah Institute hosted a roundtable of senior policy experts to discuss Pakistan's policy options inside Afghanistan in light of new geopolitical challenges as well as an impending US regional policy review. The roundtable was chaired by Jinnah Institute President and former Ambassador to the US Senator Sherry Rehman.

Experts agreed that Pakistan's policy options in Afghanistan remain limited, and debated ways to break the bilateral stalemate in light of fresh border tensions as well as a growing trust deficit with Kabul. It was important to repair a frayed bilateral equation with Kabul, given that Pakistan continued to face the brunt of conflict overflow from across the border. It remained in Islamabad's interest to see a peaceful resolution to the war in Afghanistan. Participants agreed that military solutions to the conflict continued to be singularly unviable, and that it was imperative to explore political solutions in order to secure an enduring peace. The number of stakeholders in the Afghan conflict had multiplied over the years, and now included a motley mix of Taliban splinter groups that might be keen to adopt a policy of rapprochement with the government in Kabul. The mainstreaming of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar was cited as one possible roadmap for bringing repentant militants to the table.

With regard to the United States, a senior policy expert underscored the need to pursue a harmonised approach with Washington and Kabul, and argued that Pak-US tensions were equally damaging for regional consensus-building efforts. With regard to the possibility of a political settlement in Afghanistan, China's role as a potential mediator was highlighted. Participants also discussed the emergence of Daesh in the region, and the challenges that the group's Khorasan chapter posed to peace and security not just in Afghanistan but in Pakistan as well. It was in this context that the growing extra-regional involvement of Russia and Iran was viewed as significant, and participants argued that it was in the interest of all peripheral actors to see a stable and peaceful Afghanistan.

Commenting on the political dysfunction in Kabul, participants expressed their concern vis-à-vis the policy stasis within the National Unity Government (NUG) under President Ashraf Ghani, and asked whether the Afghan government was capable of overcoming the many challenges it presently faced. The survivability of the National Unity Government was a major talking point, and participants stressed the importance of rebuilding the Afghan economy and maintaining some modicum of political unity in order to withstand internal tensions. It was agreed that Pakistan should fully support the elected government in Afghanistan to help address the strategic disconnect, and that a tripartite and forthright dialogue with Kabul and Washington was perhaps the most viable way forward for Islamabad, with the caveat that Pakistan's concerns vis-à-vis India's involvement in Afghanistan must not be disregarded, and instead understood by both Kabul and the new administration in Washington. It was equally important to mainstream the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to help stabilise the region, and

to address the multiple sources of tension emanating from a largely unregulated border. The refugee crisis also continued to present socio-economic challenges to Pakistan, compounded by widespread anger and hostility amongst ordinary Afghans.

Gender and Sustainable Development



On July 7th, 2017, the Institute held a policy roundtable on Gender and Sustainable Development Goals. Participants included representatives from the UN, government agencies, NGOs, and civil society, who noted that although there is an existing parliamentary task force for the implementation of the SDGs, there is no monitoring system in place at the federal level. Despite a number of legislations having been passed since the SDGs came into force in January 2016, many of which are theoretically progressive, there is a lack of implementation and coordination between national and provincial governments. It was further noted that there is no official reporting resource to accurately determine Pakistan's current gender scorecard. It is therefore difficult to capture the State's key gender indicators and prioritize them accordingly.

On April 17th, 2018, Jinnah Institute held a roundtable on FATA reforms. As these reforms continue to face resistance from political groups, some participants felt that the government has not included people from FATA in the committee or the provincial sub-committees.

They added that in order to ensure that FATA reforms are implemented, it was necessary to

ensure that the rights of the people of FATA are secured in any future merger. Despite the establishment of a FATA Reform Committee, there is still no talk regarding the political inclusion of FATA in the 2018 election. Further, the government appointed Committee does not include any residents from tribal areas. Despite drafting a strong implementation mechanism for the development of tribal areas, participants also raised concerns regarding the lack of direct involvement from FATA in determining development projects outlined in the 10 year socio-economic development plan.

Tabling Anti-Discriminatory Laws



On November 8th, 2017, Jinnah Institute held a policy roundtable chaired by Jinnah Institute President Sherry Rehman on tabling an Anti-Discriminatory Laws bill in Pakistan. Participants, which included senior civil society activists, politicians and senior journalists discussed the lack of protection against discrimination in the constitution. Participants agreed that the draft bill should contain specific penalties for discrimination on the basis of age, sex, class, religion, color, gender identity, sexual orientation, pregnancy and those likely to become pregnant, disability, marital status, place of birth and residence. Participants also highlighted that another visible marker of discrimination is the membership of protected/vulnerable groups. Participants agreed that the thrust of the bill should be around discrimination at the workplace, strengthening labor laws, and covering the domestic sphere as well. Participants also

agreed to form a working group to discuss the anti-discrimination draft.

Climate Change and Security



A select group of climate change experts were also hosted for a policy roundtable on Climate Change on December 22nd, 2017, chaired by Dean of Boston University Dr. Adil Najam. Participants noted that climate and water stress were likely to be the two precipitating factors that could generate both internal and external conflict for Pakistan. Participants highlighted the lack of climate change literacy in government resulted in a small number of parliamentarians and government officials taking serious cognizance of the challenges that climate stress precipitated in Pakistan. The secretary climate change discussed a number of initiatives taken by the ministry to develop comprehensive strategies on disaster management and water management. He bemoaned a lack of government funding which was hampering significant strides in this area. Professor Najam noted that rising water levels, floods and changing weather patterns had security implications which were now being studied in the West, while there was little understanding of this in Pakistan. Participants agreed that greater knowledge sharing on the security implications on livelihood and geography would help create more effective advocacy platforms for triggering policy change. In his concluding remarks, Dr. Adil Najam highlighted how we need to develop common vocabulary to create demand for climate change investments by governments.

The Pak-US Disconnect



On February 20th 2018, Jinnah Institute President Sherry Rehman met with a delegation of senior US Congressional staffers and discussed the realities of the Pak-US disconnect and emphasized that while Islamabad has preferred engagement over estrangement, it expected greater understanding from the US in the future. The meeting also discussed pathways to peace between the two countries with respect to Afghanistan.

In her opening remarks, Senator Rehman, who has been Pakistan's ambassador to Washington highlighted that the constant demand to do more was resulting in lower leverage for the United States in Pakistan. She noted that Washington's new South Asia policy and its reliance on India as a security partner in the region were not adequate to meet security challenges of the region. She highlighted that US policy in Afghanistan must seek reconciliation as the end goal as the insurgency was gaining in the face of an increasingly defunct National Unity Government. Other participants highlighted Pakistan's contributions in the war against terrorism while acknowledging that the rise in extremism due to lack of action under the National Internal Security Policy posed serious challenges for any upcoming government.



BUILDING KNOWLEDGE



REPORTS

Between War and Peace: The Afghanistan Essays



This 2018 Essay Series, published in book form by the Jinnah Institute reflects a range of Pakistani thought leadership on Afghanistan and its complex history with Islamabad. With the region in the current crosshairs of a seemingly intractable conflict, these essays attempt to spur old and new thinking on the history of Pakistan's relationship with Afghanistan and existing challenges. The essays cover a range of subject matter on Afghanistan-Pakistan including efforts for peace and reconciliation, threats to security, the broader geopolitical dynamic, and the role of civil society and economy. Contributors and a short introduction of their respective essays are as follows:

Riaz Mohammad Khan, author of 'A History of Errors' - the first essay in this series - is a former Foreign Secretary and Ambassador to China, the European Union, Belgium, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. He is the author

of two books on Afghanistan. 'A History of Errors' provides context to the bilateral relationship by highlighting the choices made by Kabul and Islamabad at significant historical crossroads.

Najmuddin Shaikh is a former Foreign Secretary and Ambassador to the United States, Iran, Canada and Germany. His essay titled 'Understanding Afghanistan's Poppy Economy' examines the central role of opium production and trafficking in fueling warlordism and terrorism in Afghanistan.

Salman Bashir is a former Foreign Secretary, High Commissioner to India, and Ambassador to Denmark, Lithuania, China and Mongolia. 'Beijing as Broker,' contributed by Salman Bashir to this series, examines the evolving geopolitical role of external actors in the Afghan endgame; in particular it shines a light on China's rise as a central player in not just reconstruction but also reconciliation efforts geared at promoting political stability in the war-torn country.

Ammara Durrani is an independent public policy and sustainable development professional. Her essay titled 'The Woman Question: Gains at Risk' explores the critical importance of women in any viable settlement in Afghanistan, and highlights the role of gender in the country's current socio-political, economic and security discourse. It traces the gains made in recent years and the inherent dangers associated with reversals therein.

Zahid Hussain is an author, journalist, and Senior Fellow at Jinnah Institute. His essay titled 'Daesh in Afghanistan' situates the emergence of Daesh and the implications of its militant politics in the wider Afghan conflict, and the perils it presents for regional peace and stability. In particular, it poses questions

about the group's organizational prospects in an increasingly contested militant landscape, as well as security concerns for Pakistan. Rahimullah Yusufzai is a journalist and analyst based in Peshawar. He has written extensively on Pakistan's tribal areas and the conflict in Afghanistan, and is the author of the sixth essay - 'The Haqqani Question' - in this series. The essay situates the genesis and evolution of the Haqqani network within the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan. It examines their role in the insurgency and the growing disconnect between Washington and Islamabad.

Aziz Ahmad Khan is a former High Commissioner to India and Malaysia, and Ambassador to Afghanistan. His essay titled 'From the Trenches to the Table: Waging Peace in Afghanistan' outlines a chronology of recent attempts to reach a negotiated settlement to the conflict in Afghanistan. Sixteen years since a fateful US invasion, the country remains in turmoil and violence is on the ascendance. This essay charts the progress made, and challenges that befell multi-party talks at Murree, the Quadrilateral Coordination Group (QCG), and more recent experiments in dialogue in the guise of Moscow and Kabul-led negotiations.

Zamir Akram is a former diplomat who has served as Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations. He is currently an advisor to the Strategic Plans Division, and the contributor of the final essay in this series. 'Enemy at the Gates: The TTP in Afghanistan' examines the threat posed to Pakistan by the TTP from their terror sanctuaries in Afghanistan. It explores Pakistan's strategic anxieties and what can be done to address them.

New Media: Alternative Narratives in the India-Pakistan Bilateral Context

New media is fast reshaping the contours of how South Asians understand and interact with the state, their societies and with each



other. With high internet penetration, growing youth demographics and burgeoning urban centers, new media is creating platforms for interaction between Pakistanis and Indians that are free of traditional censorship and control. While these platforms have provided new opportunities to develop progressive alternative narratives, they have also contributed towards strengthening regressive discourse.

New media has added another layer of complexity to the already multi-layered and complex India-Pakistan relations. If until recently, foreign and security policy making was the sole preserve of secretive foreign policy establishments and 'discreet' traditional media, internet and new media has opened the floodgates of information, interpretation and opinion to the general public.

Foreign policy making in general and the highly contested bilateral relationship between traditional rivals such as India and Pakistan in particular then can hardly be comprehensively understood or influenced without a nuanced grasp on the manner and ways in which new media impacts the workings of the India-Pakistan bilateral equation.

Even though tens of millions of Indians and Pakistanis use new media on a daily basis, our

understanding of how these non-traditional platforms impact India-Pakistan relations is very limited. That is, we have not made many serious attempts at analyzing something that is making an undeniable impact on the Indo-Pak bilateral equation.

Climate Change



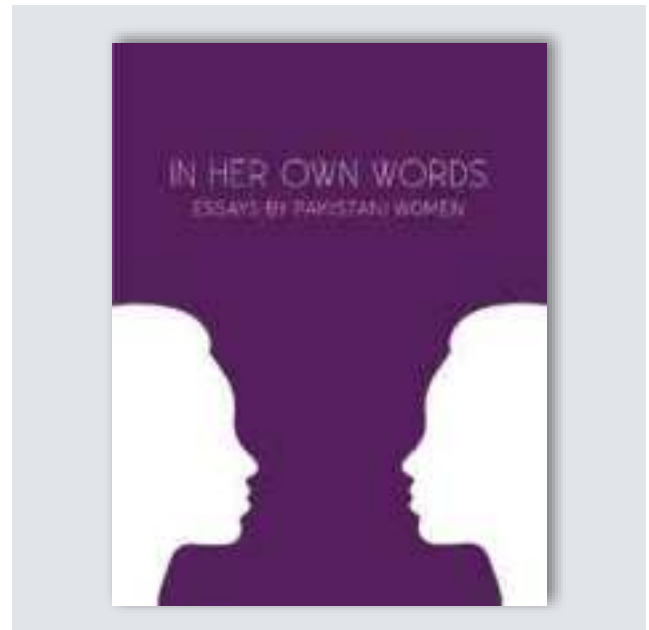
The Task Force on Climate Change was established from a realization of the critical impact of the adverse impacts of climate change and environmental degradation on the existing regional fault-lines in South Asia.

Given South Asia's natural vulnerability to the pressures of changing monsoon patterns, rising sea-levels and other effects of climate-change, the need for a sustained working group of climate change experts from India and Pakistan to devise policy recommendations was keenly felt. Ahead of the 21st U.N. Conference on Climate Change in Paris in 2015, the mainstay of the Task Force was to identify shared challenges of trans-boundary water sharing, aquifer protection, food insecurity, glacial melt, and wildlife conservation; bypass strategic differences to find common ground; and to generate recommendations for potential collaboration

that could gradually be mainstreamed into public discourse and taken up by policymakers on either side in a bid to bolster South Asian responses to climate change.

Over eight months, a senior body of experts from India and Pakistan engaged in Bangkok and Colombo, and worked on their respective chapters geared towards addressing climate change challenges in both countries.

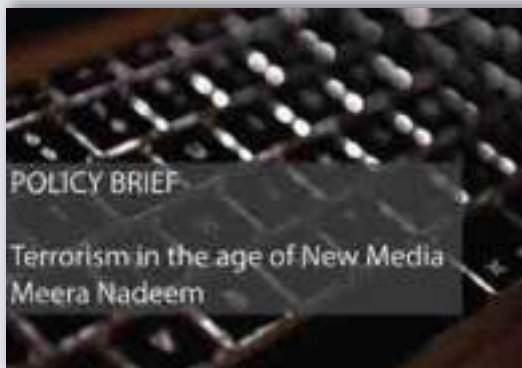
In Her Own Words



The Jinnah Institute under the Open Democracy Initiative published a series of essays by Pakistan's millennial women titled In Her Own Words. The report collates women's voices in politics, media, journalism and security to provide a unique perspective on Pakistan's present challenges and opportunities from the lens of Pakistan's own women. The report includes two essays on women in politics, an essay on women and terrorist recruitment, an essay on millennial women and their role in business and three essays on women and our society. Contributors to this report include Sadaffe Abid, Fifi Haroon, Maliha Zia and Marvi Sirmed among others.



Terrorism in the Age of New Media



In an age of connectivity and increasingly porous national borders, threats to global security transcend limitations imposed by geography and conventional application of force. The realm of new media provides a space for violent non-state actors to employ non-traditional tools for narrative building, propaganda and recruitment to their ranks unrestricted by geography or operational capabilities. This imposes new security challenges to the world, with an increased impact on existing human, resource and national insecurities. At the moment, the global response to this very imminent threat has been both inefficient, ineffective, and uncoordinated – with a significant gap in capabilities between countries that are leaders in information technology and those that bear the brunt of terrorist violence.

This paper examines the use of new media tools by modern violent extremist groups to build their narrative and develop self-sustaining “online” networks that allow them to increasingly impact the global information

environment, and maintain adaptive terrorist networks. The paper also reviews existing mechanisms being employed to counter these extremist ideologies within cyber terrorism, and identify the gaps that exist between the two, proposing possible policy measures and robust cross-disciplinary implementation strategies as a sustainable way forward towards ensuring global security and peace in the 21st Century.

Not Losing Advantage over India's Catch-22 on the Indus Treaty

India, Pakistan and the World Bank have reached an impasse over issues of the Kishenganga and Ratle hydropower power plants. Both countries met at Secretary level talks held in the Bank's Washington D.C. offices last month. The Bank's vague statement at the end of the talks confirmed both countries' continued commitment to the preservation of the Treaty, but also disclosed that no concluding agreement had been reached.

There are two opposing points of view regarding the forum to resolve Pakistan's concerns regarding the design of two power plants. While Pakistan has moved to establish an International Court of Arbitration, India argues that the matters must be heard by a Neutral Expert and no other. The Treaty provides for these two forums, in cases of disputes that may arise between the two countries with respect to the design of any hydropower projects proposed by India on any of the Western Rivers of the Indus Basin. Reports indicate India has refused four different options of forum presented by the Bank.



The determination of the Neutral Expert in the Baglihar difference (2007) and the Interim and Final Awards of the International Court of arbitration in the Kishenganga arbitration (2013) have clarified the law in several areas of the Treaty. The cases cast new light on the manner in which the Treaty assigns dispute resolution responsibilities between the Neutral Expert and the International Court of Arbitration. This paper seeks to explain the current impasse in light of these decisions, and recommends tactical and strategy options for Pakistan to negotiate with.

A Comparative Analysis of the Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill

Despite uncertainty and questions over implementation and investigation mechanisms, the Pakistan's Prevention of Electronic Crimes Bill (2016) became operational just days after it was passed. The first case of cybercrime surfaced in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where a man was arrested for blackmailing women by uploading fake videos on social media websites. Under the PECB, the accused was taken in for cyber-stalking and spoofing. More recently, a University professor was arrested for harassing a female teacher under Section 21 of the PECB, which

includes offenses against the modesty of a person.

In comparison to similar cybercrime bills around the world, PECB mandates harsher penalties for offenses, and goes one step further to criminalize acts which are not considered unlawful in comparable nation-states. Clauses aim to restrict internet freedoms, curbing freedom of speech, access to information and the right to privacy. The need to balance legislation on cybercrime while ensuring freedom of speech remain key concerns, and are likely to impact the already restricted space for public discourse.

For the scope of this brief, PECB has been compared to similar legislation in the United States, United Arab Emirates and India. The US law applies to majority of social media companies which have branched out to Pakistan in recent years and is therefore important to use as a comparative point for examination. India mirrors Pakistan's governmental structure, which allows for a political lens into the drafting of the PECB. And UAE's socio-religious stance, as incorporated into aspects of its national legislation, brings a different dimension to the legal analysis.

Bottlenecks in FATA's Mainstreaming



The urgency for carrying out the proposed reforms in the wake of growing terrorist violence within FATA assumes tremendous significance. There was an increase of 72 percent in violent incidents in FATA during the first quarter of this year. The federal government's indecisiveness to carry forward the reforms may dampen the people's aspirations and readiness to accept change. Pakistan is heading for general elections in 2018 and if the process is not initiated soon, the entire reforms exercise may face a similar fate to previous efforts aimed at mainstreaming FATA.

Dire Straits: Working through the Water and Energy Crisis

Pakistan's dependency on a single water source, the Indus River basin, and increasing effects of climate change on the environment have both contributed to the decline of water provision nation-wide. Further, Pakistan's thermal sector is responsible for over 60 per cent of energy provision, which increasingly requires more water to maintain production levels. Despite these concerns, the brief indicates that policy-makers have yet to focus on the economic and social backlash that

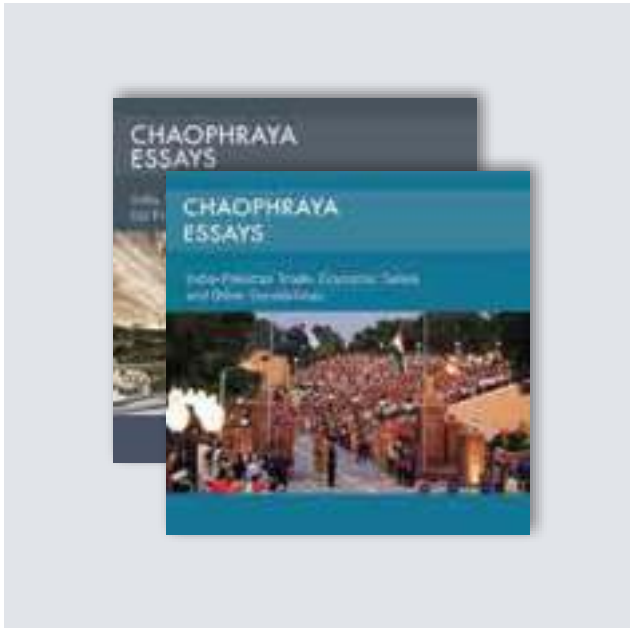


can be caused by water scarcity in the near future. Reports indicate that Pakistan could face mass droughts by 2025, and high rates of population growth and urbanization are adding to water demands. Lack of efficient water storage facilities, financial corruption in the water sector, and increasing political stresses with India have exacerbated the issue, left to the mercy of an already debilitating energy management committee.



POLICY FEATURES

Chaophraya Essays



The first of the Chaophraya Essays series titled Chaophraya Essays | India, Pakistan, Water and the Indus Basin, a series of essays on bilateral challenges to the normalization of India-Pakistan relations were published in July 2017. The series is a culmination of ideas and thoughts exchanged at the Chaophraya Dialogue task force and side meetings since 2014, when participants at the dialogue discussed sharing the wealth of information, ideas and solutions that have been generated through the Chaophraya Dialogue over the years. Each essay has been contributed by one of Pakistan's leading voices on policy who have regularly participated in the long running Chaophraya Dialogue, a joint India-Pakistan Track II initiative undertaken by the Islamabad-based Jinnah Institute (JI) and Melbourne-based Australia India Institute (AII). The second volume in this series titled Chaophraya Essays | India-Pakistan Trade was published in August 2017.

Seven Takes at 70



For Pakistan's 70th Independence Day, Jinnah Institute asked a select group of thought leaders to share their perspectives on Pakistan's journey so far and the road ahead, as well as targeted policy interventions they would like to see address pressing present-day challenges. These were compiled into a special feature titled 'Seven takes at 70'.

Indo-Pak: Past the Red Noise

A prospective special feature on the India-Pakistan bilateral relationship titled Past the Red Noise was also published in early January, in which Jinnah Institute asked a panel of five senior foreign policy experts to outline their expectations from the India-Pakistan relationship in 2017, and to signpost what they felt were the biggest challenges to the resumption of constructive bilateral engagement. The five experts were also



the government undertake in key areas of National Security and Counterterrorism, Democracy and Governance, Economy, Power and Energy, Climate Change, and Education. Contributors included Moeed Yusuf, Associate Vice President Asia Centre at USIP, Huma Yusuf, Global Fellow for the Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Khurram Husain, business and economy journalist, Baela Raza Jamil, Director Programs for the Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA), and Syed Hassan Akbar, Director Programs, Jinnah Institute.

asked to deliberate on the gamut of foreign policy options available to Islamabad as it navigates a new strategic normal with New Delhi.

Defining the Goalposts: Pakistan Policy Forecast 2017



As Pakistan set out to navigate 2017, Jinnah Institute asked thought leaders and policymakers to zero in on the most urgent policy interventions they would like to see



OPINION EDITORIALS

12th Jan 2017

Curtain to the East

<http://jinnah-institute.org/curtain-to-the-east/>

27th Jan 2017

Indo-Pak 2017: Past the Red Noise

<http://jinnah-institute.org/indo-pak-2017-past-the-red-noise/>

11th Feb 2017

From Moscow, with love

<http://jinnah-institute.org/from-moscow-with-love/>

26th March 2017

Spitballing the endgame

<http://jinnah-institute.org/spitballing-the-endgame/>

27th April 2017

The Rise of Vigilantism

<http://jinnah-institute.org/the-rise-of-vigilantism/>

4th May 2017

Silencing Kashmir

<http://jinnah-institute.org/silencing-kashmir/>

6th May 2017

How not to talk with India

<http://jinnah-institute.org/how-not-to-talk-with-india/>

22nd May 2017

Bad Choices

<http://jinnah-institute.org/bad-choices/>

4th June 2017

Between the Devil & the Deep State

<http://jinnah-institute.org/between-the-devil-the-deep-state/>

22nd July 2017

War machine

<http://jinnah-institute.org/war-machine/>

10th August 2017

Women in the TTP: Recruiting Across the Gender Divide

<http://jinnah-institute.org/women-in-the-ttp-recruiting-across-the-gender-divide/>

14th August 2017

Seven takes at 70

<http://jinnah-institute.org/seven-takes-at-70/>

17th August 2017

Revolutionizing Business: Women in Entrepreneurship

<http://jinnah-institute.org/revolutionizing-business-women-in-entrepreneurship/>

21st August 2017

Women in Politics: A Long Road Home

<http://jinnah-institute.org/women-in-politics-a-long-road-home/>

7th Sep 2017

The Right to Public Space

<http://jinnah-institute.org/the-right-to-public-space/>

13th Sep 2017

Endangered at Home: Domestic Violence and Provincial Legislation

<http://jinnah-institute.org/endangered-at-home-domestic-violence-and-provincial-legislation/>

15th Sep 2017

Inglorious Empire: Getting it Wrong in Afghanistan

<http://jinnah-institute.org/inglorious-empire-getting-it-wrong-in-afghanistan/>

29th Sep 2017

Women in the House

<http://jinnah-institute.org/womens-place-in-the-house-the-house-of-the-parliament/>

9th Oct 2017

High Drama: Retrogressive fictions and Pakistani soaps

<http://jinnah-institute.org/high-drama-retrogressive-fictions-and-pakistani-soaps/>

11th Oct 2017

No Country for Doves

<http://jinnah-institute.org/no-country-for-doves/>

14th Nov 2017

An Existential Threat

<http://jinnah-institute.org/an-existential-threat/>

16th Jan 2018

Say no to Sexual Abuse

<http://jinnah-institute.org/say-no-to-sexual-abuse/>

11th April 2018

Prospects for Detente

<http://jinnah-institute.org/prospects-for-detente/>

10th May 2018

Muzzling the Press

<http://jinnah-institute.org/muzzling-the-press/>

21st May 2018

A Legacy of Deficits

<http://jinnah-institute.org/a-legacy-of-deficits/>

7th June 2018

Who to Listen to on the Indus Treaty?

<http://jinnah-institute.org/who-to-listen-to-on-the-indus-treaty/>

14th June 2018

How to Fix the Economy

<http://jinnah-institute.org/how-to-fix-the-economy/>

22nd June 2018

The Anatomy of a Taliban Ceasefire

<http://jinnah-institute.org/anatomy-taliban/>



Take One | Countering Terrorism & Violent Extremism in the Age of Radd-ul-Fasaad
Sherry Rehman | Tariq Pervez | Moeed Yusuf |
Zahid Hussain



Take One | Configuring the Next Chapter in Pak-US Relations
Sherry Rehman | Moeed Yusuf | Salman Bashir |
Rabia Akhtar | Zahid Hussain



Take One | Beyond the Kabul Process
Ejaz Haider | Huma Yusuf | Amir Rana | Madiha
Afzal



Take One | Bracing for Impact: US Pullout from JCPOA & Prospects for Pak-Iran Relations
Zamir Akram | Najmuddin Shaikh | Arif Rafiq |
Huma Yusuf



Take One | Preventing Economic Meltdown: Priorities for the Incoming Government
Salim Raza | Sakib Sherani | Asad Sayeed

THE BUZZ



Endangered Census



Qatar in the Crosshairs



Doing More in Afghanistan



No More Do More



BOARD OF TRUSTEES



Sherry Rehman

Former Leader of Opposition in Senate, Senator Sherry Rehman, is a third-term Parliamentarian, diplomat, journalist, and civil society activist who has received Pakistan's highest civil award, the Nishan-e-Imtiaz.

Rehman is the Founding Chair and serving President of the Jinnah Institute, Vice-President of the Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians, Chair of the Climate Change Caucus in Parliament, Chair of the CPEC Committee in Senate and Chair of Pakistan Peoples Party Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Rehman has served as Pakistan Ambassador to the United States and Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting in the previous government. She has held additional portfolios of Health, Women Development, and Culture as a Federal Minister.

An award-winning journalist in both broadcast and print media, Rehman has been Editor of the Herald news magazine and is recipient of several awards, including the title of Democracy's Hero; The Freedom Award for her work for media independence; the International Peace Award for Democrats; and the Jeanne Kirkpatrick Award for Women. Identified as one of the Top Global Thinkers of 2011 by Foreign Policy magazine, she was cover-titled by Newsweek Pakistan as "Pakistan's Most Important Woman".

Rehman is a prime mover of progressive legislative measures on women and minority rights, RTI and press freedom in Pakistan.

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 Ardeshir 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



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



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.

Dr. Ishrat Husain



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.

Stephen Cohen



Stephen Cohen is senior fellow in foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institute. 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.

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.

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.

Ambassador 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



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 boards, and universities.

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 the author of 'From Kargil to the Coup'.

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.



TEAM

Sherry Rehman

President

Former Leader of Opposition in Senate, Senator Sherry Rehman, is a third-term Parliamentarian, diplomat, journalist, and civil society activist who has received Pakistan's highest civil award, the Nishan-e-Imtiaz.

Rehman is the Founding Chair and serving President of the Jinnah Institute, Vice-President of the Pakistan Peoples Party-Parliamentarians, Chair of the Climate Change Caucus in Parliament, Chair of the CPEC Committee in Senate and Chair of Pakistan Peoples Party Committee on Foreign Affairs. Rehman has served as Pakistan Ambassador to the United States and Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting in the previous government. She has held additional portfolios of Health, Women Development, and Culture as a Federal Minister.

An award-winning journalist in both broadcast and print media, Rehman has been Editor of the Herald news magazine and is recipient of several awards, including the title of Democracy's Hero; The Freedom Award for her work for media independence; the International Peace Award for Democrats; and the Jeanne Kirkpatrick Award for Women. Identified as one of the Top Global Thinkers of 2011 by Foreign Policy magazine, she was cover-titled by Newsweek Pakistan as "Pakistan's Most Important Woman".

Rehman is a prime mover of progressive legislative measures on women and minority rights, RTI and press freedom in Pakistan.

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

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."

Mubashar Ali

Director Finance

Mubashar Ali is Director Finance at Jinnah Institute. Prior to joining JI, Mubashar was CEO of SKIM Training & Consultancy and provided training and consultancy services to national and multinational organizations. Previously he held the position of national manager finance Paktel Limited. He is a fellow member of the Institute of Management and member of five other professional bodies.

Fahd Humayun

Program Lead, 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.

Meera Nadeem

Project Manager

Meera is Project Manager, Strategic Security Initiative (SSI) at Jinnah Institute where she is responsible for research and logistics for the SSI Project activities including its umbrella projects, and manages the Chaophraya Dialogue - the longest consistently running Indo-Pak Track II initiative and its operations. Additionally, she assists in ensuring the timely delivery of other SSI outputs, including managing media monitoring briefs. She is a McGill graduate with a double major in Anthropology and International Development with a focus on Economic Development. In the past, she has worked in the Oil and Gas sector and has professional work experience in technical writing and communications that spans over 2 years.

Meera is also the co-founder of the Islamabad Civic Innovation Lab, a dedicated volunteer run chapter of Code for Pakistan that is a part design lab, part community caucus, and part accelerator of civic startups with a focus on designing real solutions with-and-for communities in-and-around Islamabad by bridging the gap between technology and government interfaces for the public. She has an avid interest in the arts and enjoys creating some in her spare time.

Daanika Kamal

Project Manager, ODI

Daanika Kamal is Program Manager for the Open Democracy Initiative (ODI) at Jinnah Institute. She holds an LL.M. (with distinction) in International Law and Human Rights from the University of Warwick, and a BA (Hons.) in Political Science and Social Development from the University of Waterloo. She is an internationally published academic author and editor with Global Policy, the Daily Times, and numerous policy and law journals. Her recent e-book titled 'Climate Change and Human Rights' has been well-received by water and climate specialists world-wide. Her interests include constitutional law, human rights, and bridging the gap between development and the law in attempt to enhance governance, security, economic growth, and regional integration in developing countries.

Ayesha Akif

Communication Specialist

Ayesha graduated with a degree in Communication Design from the Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture in 2013. She then worked in publishing, the not-for-profit sector as well as a fashion start-up. During her short stay at Jinnah Institute, Ayesha was responsible for the organization's communications and design. She is currently pursuing an MA from SOAS, University of London.

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

Administration & Human Resource Officer

Arsalaan Nazir is the Administration & Human Resource Officer 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.

Seyhr Qayum

Graphic Designer

Seyhr Qayum is a visual artist, who graduated with a BFA in Painting, and minor in Art History, from Boston University in 2013. After gaining professional experience in the advertising industry in Pakistan and the UAE, Seyhr joined the Jinnah Institute as a part-time Visual Media Consultant. She currently lives and works in Islamabad, Pakistan, and has a diverse studio practice, ranging from making large-scale oil paintings, to creating mixed media installations. Seyhr has exhibited her art both locally and internationally, from the US, the UK to Japan. She frequently contributes articles to various publications commenting on select aspects of the art world.

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.

Yousaf Dilshad

Communication & Design Specialist

Yousaf Dilshad graduated from LUMS in Political Science with a minor in Economics in 2015, and since then has accrued experience in the fields of advertising, design, corporate mobilization and donor management in his work in the not-for-profit and educational sector.

He is currently responsible for the organizations design, social media presence and communications - along with providing support through policy events, and assisting with the institute's website.

Mariam Bokhari

Project Officer

Mariam Bokhari is a Project Officer at Jinnah Institute where she is responsible for providing research, logistical, and administrative support for Jinnah Institute projects, including the Economic Dialogue. She also assists in the planning, execution and delivery of Policy Events, Roundtables, Town Halls, and Twitter Cafes, as well as in-house research including data collection and analysis.

Mariam holds a bachelor's degree from the Lahore University of Management Sciences where she majored in Economics and minored in History.

