

ANNUAL
REPORT

2020

2019-20

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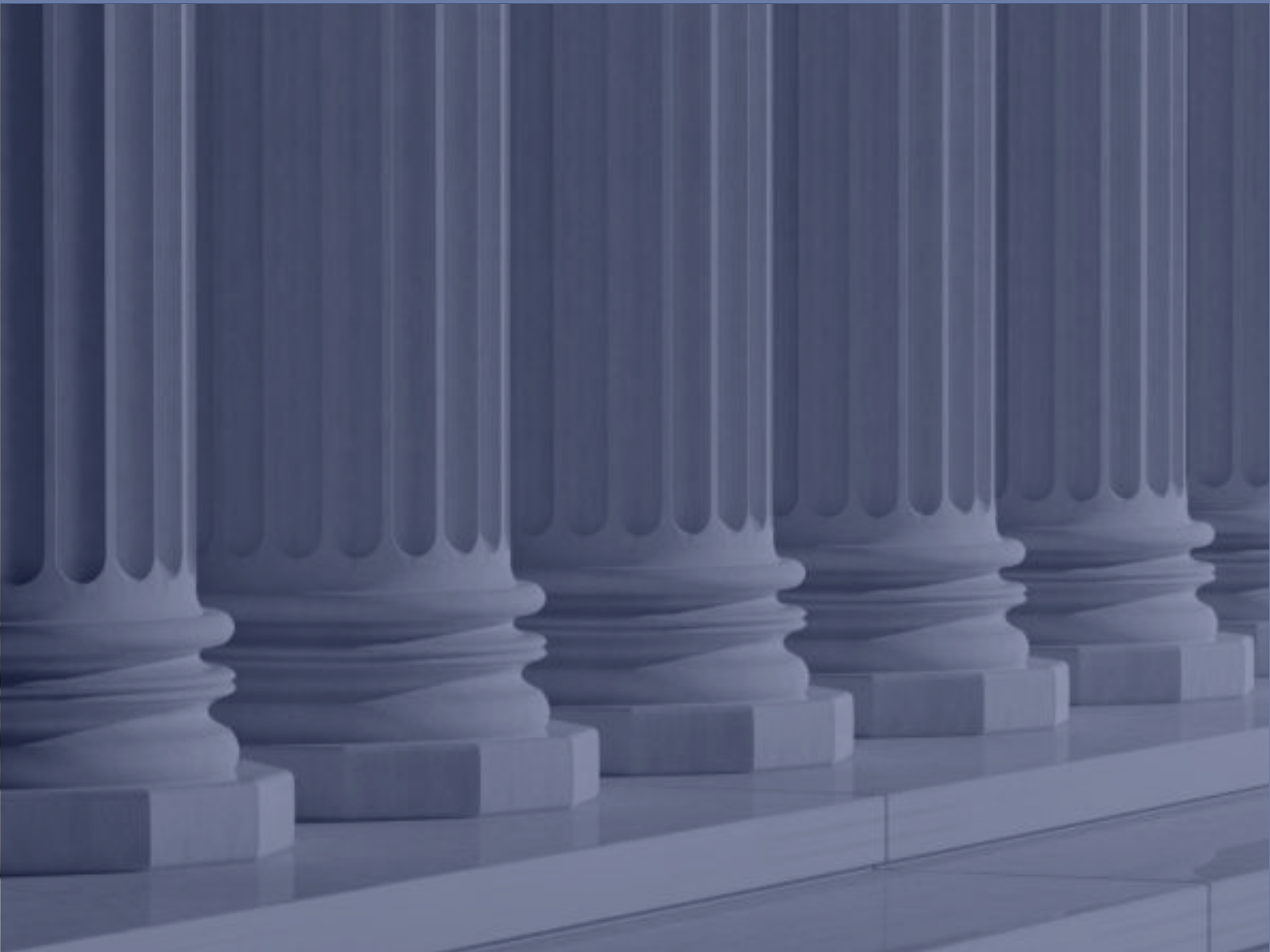
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WHO WE



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 creating 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, roundtables and caucuses.

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

Open Democracy Initiative

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.

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OVERVIEW

Current geostrategic realities have not only magnified Pakistan's global relevance, but repeatedly headlined the onerous challenges it faces today. A porous border with Afghanistan, the repercussions of proxy jihad, the militarisation of foreign policy, the perception of an enhanced threat from India, the ongoing war on terrorism, and the radicalisation 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 on divisive issues, there is little room for consensus. Key national goals such as countering terrorism require supportive pluralities on crucial policy issues if the national security agenda is to be addressed coherently. Given the sustained threat from terrorists, it is vital for Pakistan's national security environment to engage in robust dialogue, develop policy frameworks, and build civil-military equilibrium. In addition, inter-agency 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 community the local policy community to seek strategic convergences at multilateral and bilateral forums. Broadly speaking, the Strategic Security Initiative seeks to democratise 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;

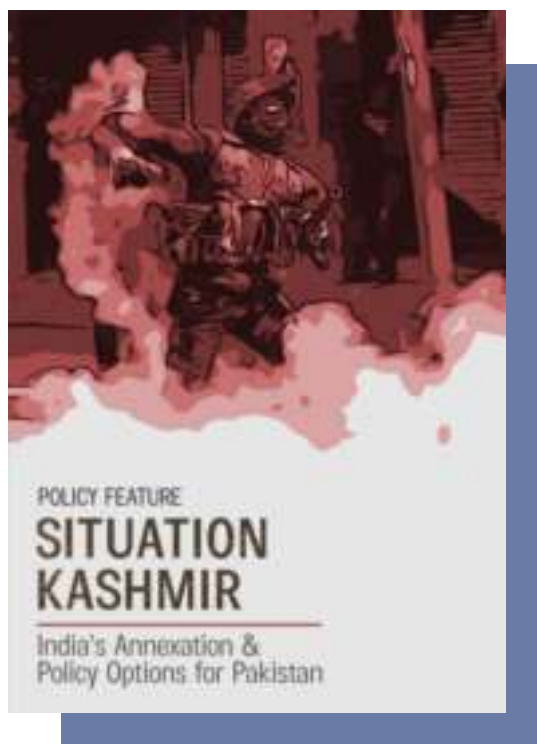
Engendering support for the non-violence and de-militarisation of foreign policy;

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.



REPORTS



Situation Kashmir

On August 5, 2019, the second BJP led government of Narendra Modi annexed Jammu and Kashmir by abrogating Article 370 and bifurcating the state into two separate Union Territories. This illegal annexation was preceded by one of the largest crackdowns in the history of Jammu and Kashmir. For over a week before Article 370 was revoked, India's Home Minister Amit Shah, worked surreptitiously to ferry nearly 180,000 fresh troops into Kashmir. Hundreds of Kashmiri politicians from the Hurriyat and other political parties, including former Chief Ministers were arbitrarily placed under house arrest and later shifted to jails. Internet services, mobile networks, land lines, cable television were closed down and a curfew imposed across Jammu and Kashmir.

Crackdown and curfew continue in Kashmir amid gross violations of human rights. Young women and men have been fired at for holding protests, pellet guns have blinded several hundred people, soldiers remain posted outside homes and along all major streets, mosques have been closed and Eid celebrations marred by a ban on large congregations. Pakistan has taken a grim view of developments in Kashmir. Prime Minister Imran Khan, opposition parties and the military have unanimously rejected India's unilateral actions. As the lockdown in Indian Occupied Kashmir continues, Pakistan's government has taken a number of actions to highlight the disputed nature of the region and the threat to peace and security posed by India's illegal annexation and continued human rights violations.

This Policy Feature examines recent developments in Kashmir and provides a list of political and diplomatic policy options for Pakistan in the weeks following the annexation.

Read the report [here](#).

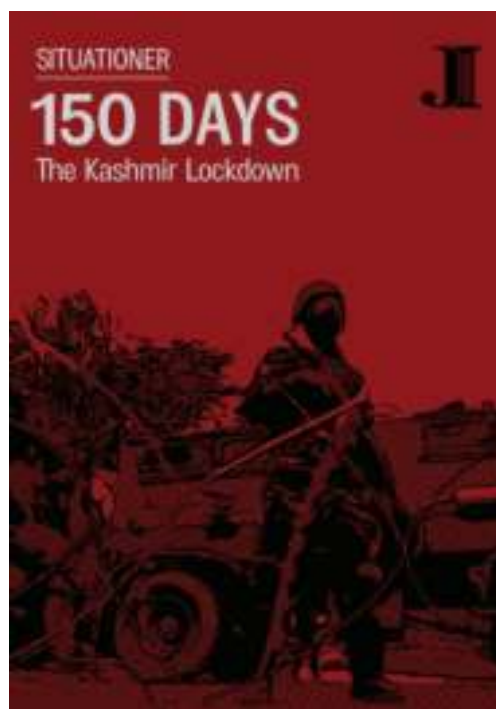


CPEC 2.0 | The Promise and the Peril

The China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is one of the largest bilateral investment projects underway anywhere in the world. Early harvest projects worth \$18.9 billion have already been allocated to Pakistan in its first leg, while the government in Islamabad points to much higher flows in the near-term. As the country navigates change in regional alignments as well as global and economic pressures on its economy, the choices it has seem limited. With an opportunity-pipeline estimated at over \$62 billion in investments in infrastructure, energy, communications and industry, CPEC clearly stands for more than just an investment platform. It is not a resource-channel Pakistan can afford to miss.

This report seeks to examine both external and internal challenges facing CPEC in Pakistan. It provides a set of recommendations for the government and policy makers to reach a level of optimisation of the opportunities presented by CPEC investments.

Read the report [here](#).



150 Days – The Kashmir Lockdown

More than 150 days have passed since the inhabitants of Indian occupied Kashmir were stripped of normalcy in their daily lives. Life remains grim and the mood somber in the Himalayan nest. Despite intermittent ease in movement and restrictions, mosques remain closed, schools empty, businesses shut and several thousand Kashmiri leaders, men, women and children under arbitrary arrest.

The lockdown arrests and protests of Kashmir have now spread to several cities of India, where thousands of people have braved police brutality to protest against the citizenship which, like Kashmir, is designed to exclude Muslims in India. As the situation worsens in several cities, 72 companies of paramilitary have been shipped out of Kashmir to bolster police forces in Assam and UP, where curfew remains in place.

With the information blackout continuing, sparse information trickles out from the valley. Continuing oppression and political manipulation are being used as state tools to orchestrate a new political reality in Indian occupied Kashmir, one that remains removed from the sentiments of the majority of Kashmiris who continue to reject the abrogation of Article 370 and Indian rule. This essay knits together disparate news from Kashmir to understand the situation on ground four months into the Kashmir lockdown.

Read the report [here](#).

POLICY BRIEFS



India, Pakistan and the Pandemic: Community of Shared Future?

Haroon Sharif

Crises are often the crucible for old challenges to be addressed in new ways. The COVID-19 pandemic may just force the region to re-think its political, strategic and development priorities in order to address the fragility of its structural weaknesses as well as the straitjacket of geo-politics it has been stuck in for several lost decades of regional disconnect. Prolonged conflict between India and Pakistan has been a binding constraint to South Asia's growth potential in catching up with the development levels of China and South East Asia. At the same time, profound changes are becoming visible with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to connect key regional economies with an objective of developing a "community of shared future".

Read the policy brief [here](#).



Love in the Time of Corona: A Time to Build South Asian Cooperation

Nazish Afraz

The COVID-19 crisis is leaving even the most advanced economies of the world reeling, testing the limits of cooperation between nations. The European Union, despite coming together to procure equipment jointly, share medical resources, finance research and support SMEs and workers, has come under criticism for not doing enough. Germany, for example, is being criticised for not offering adequate assistance to other overwhelmed European states and for rejecting a plea to share debt in the form of Eurobonds. ASEAN too, has struggled to come up with a solid joint response other than issuing statements of solidarity. In this context, while it was refreshing to see South Asia break the hiatus of five years and come together under SAARC to try to coordinate responses to COVID 19 and share resources, it was too little, too late.

Read the policy brief [here](#).



Leaving No One Behind: Including Women in the Afghan Transition

Ammara Durrani

Taking the February 29th 2020 deal and its ensuing politics as the main context, this brief looks at the responses by primary stakeholders towards the issue of Afghan women and where they stand to impact the larger peace process. Unbridled violence is eroding women's hard-won agency, and a political process without women will ultimately fail to create the 'Afghan-led and Afghan-owned' peace desired by all. To demonstrate that a peace deal need not become a reductive choice between power-centric traditional security concerns and real human needs, a practical road-map is further suggested comprising of immediate and mid-term policy interventions by primary stakeholders that will prevent the reversal of positive gains and enable them to make the process effective, representative and sustainable.

Read the policy brief [here](#).

OPINION EDITORIALS



Kashmir on the Front Lines Hassan Akbar

After days of troop surges, arrests, speculation and denials, Indian Home Minister Amit Shah introduced a presidential order and a bill in Parliament on August 5, 2019. Through the order, India has revoked Article 370 of the Indian Constitution thereby ending the special autonomous status of Jammu and Kashmir. The bill further bifurcates the Indian occupied state of Jammu and Kashmir into two Union Territories namely; the Union Territory of J&K and the Union Territory of Ladakh. While the Union Territory of J&K will have a legislature, the Union Territory of Ladakh will be without a legislature.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



CPEC 2.0: The Promise and the Peril Sherry Rehman

As Pakistan navigates changing power equations in the world, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) stands out as the one possible silver lining for Pakistan. Among the big signature projects, infrastructure and energy top the wishlist. While Thar coal has generated power that now feeds into the national energy grid, officials claim that Islamabad's full-throttle drive on CPEC has been eased up and work on the projects pushed down the priority list. Yet at the same time, the economic impact of CPEC is seen as potentially so game-changing, that it cannot be ignored. With the precipitous slide of an overvalued rupee, and public finances straining at crippling deficits, the prospect of Chinese-led investment growth is the only rainbow on a horizon clouded by high economic stresses for a fast-growing population. In best-case estimates, in fact, it is believed that Chinese investment can potentially stimulate an eight to 10 percent increase in Pakistan's GDP by 2030. In worst-case futures, that number may well be unreachable, given Islamabad's current inability to operationalise promised reform.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Beyond Kartarpur

Zahid Hussain

In the midst of the worsening stand-off between Pakistan and India, the opening of the Kartarpur Corridor has been a remarkable feat. The historical event may not break the ice, but it certainly shows a way forward. The opening of the corridor allowing Indian Sikh pilgrims secure and visa-free access to one of their holiest shrines has broken the barrier that was Partition's legacy. Coming at a time when not only all bilateral links between New Delhi and Islamabad have been broken, but also virtually every avenue of people-to-people contact has been closed, the opening of the Kartarpur Corridor is a most positive development. It shows that even in times of extreme tension, certain steps can help melt the ice or at the very least create some goodwill among the public.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Partition Redux

Syed Hassan Akbar

For South Asia, Kartarpur may represent a vision of hope. One in which the sentiments of minorities and their rights and privileges are respected. A vision where hostility can be overcome by goodwill gestures backed by political will and dogged persistence. Perhaps the first time in recent history, two countries so entwined in conflict have opened their borders to allow the free movement of pilgrims and citizens for religious rites. Despite decades of Kartarpur remaining an agenda item on the bilateral dialogue, so vehemently opposed by India today, Pakistan has led the way in ensuring that New Delhi's intransigence on dialogue, aggression in Balakot and continuing lockdown in Indian occupied Kashmir does not derail Kartarpur.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Corridor of Peace?

Fahd Humayun

Narendra Modi's emphatic re-election in 2019 proves that if there is a common thread that runs through South Asia, it is the voter's thirst for prosperity and power on the one hand, and their reserve of exploitable resentment on the other. In India while the promise of prosperity may have suffered because of economic slowdown, voter resentment has been diverted to fulfil some of the most divisive of the Bharatiya Janata Party's electoral promises. The region, meanwhile, has been left to contend with the externalities of Modi's domestic agenda, the most troublesome of which is the sharp increase in New Delhi's political and military appetite for calculated risk. Domestic audiences that experience democracy in the region inevitably do so under a miasma of war clouds and a politically motivated sense of revanchist injury. This has pushed South Asia onto a slippery ledge in which ordinary citizens discount peace overtures for aggressive chauvinism, while their representatives are feted by social media war rooms that have successfully weakened consumers' ability to distinguish between information and disinformation.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



The Struggle Continues

Sherry Rehman

The oft-forgotten but central party to the Kashmir dispute remains the Kashmiris themselves. They have once again demonstrated to the world that they reject the unilateral annexation thrust on them by a New Delhi in the throes of a saffron surge. August 5th 2019 and India's unilateral decision to revoke the special status of occupied Jammu and Kashmir is a turning point in the history of our region. Not only does it represent India's wish to force a substantive change in the Kashmir dispute, it also brings to light some of the worst human rights abuses, state torture and mass incarcerations witnessed since this century began. For Pakistan, that continues to support the right of self-determination for Kashmiris, August 5 has practically shut all doors for dialogue. August 5 is not merely an administrative action as India never tires to claim. It is, in fact, an attempt to bring a material change in the situation on the ground.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



The Promise of 29 February

Riaz Mohammad Khan

The 29 February 2020 Agreement may well set in motion a process bringing peace to Afghanistan and an end to America's longest war. The agreement marks a formal reversal of the wrong committed in early 2002 when a triumphant United States chose to lump the Afghan Taliban together with Al Qaeda even though the Taliban were not responsible for 9/11 and, by any measure, were integral part of the Afghan political landscape. The 29 February agreement can be a beginning for peace. But an uncharted course lies ahead, and this positive development can turn out to be a false dawn. We are reminded of the disappointment in the wake of the earlier promising junctures in the turbulent history of the Afghan conflict, such as the Soviet withdrawal (1989), the Peshawar Accords (1992) and the Bonn agreement (2002). The challenges ahead call for circumspection.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Modi's Hubris

Hassan Akbar

While collaboration is welcome in the face of one of the most dangerous pandemics in recent times, it is equally true that most countries have adopted an isolationist approach in tackling the threat. India is an exception. Unlike much of the rest of the world, which has focused on coordinating health responses within the country, Prime Minister Modi has privileged a video conference with regional leaders over meeting and coordinating with his own Chief Ministers. We must therefore be cautious in our assessment. This one-off use of the SAARC forum, which has been scuttled due to India's repeated attempts to isolate Pakistan, should not be read as a revival of regional collaboration in any larger sense. And while Pakistan should participate in such meetings, as it did, it should not take the eye off the longer-term implications of recent decisions by New Delhi.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Will the Pandemic Bring Peace?

Sherry Rehman

In this moment of epochal challenge, it is important to question fundamental choices that put us at risk, while looking at broader faultlines that caught us so badly unprepared. As countries lock down borders to fight the transmission rate, which they must do in a series of first-responses to suppress, contain and mitigate, an opportunity to review the 21st-century retreat from multilateralism has obviously arisen. With unpredictability as the new normal India and Pakistan, given their wide-ranging HDI and climate risks, both must return to thinking of themselves as a region before they take the sovereignty straitjacket as their only policy framework. First, like all natural disasters, pandemics like this one should delegitimise the science-denialist politics of ultra-nationalism.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



The Future of Global Governance

Fahd Humayun

In the absence of alternative poles and the world facing a de-globalising retreat, the reality for the time being may well be a leaderless world order. The heavy lift of global governance requires investment, and fostering dependencies that no single country – the US and China included – is likely to be able to afford or want, at least in the short term. Governments in Brazil and India are likely to remain subservient to toxic ultra-nationalisms that will keep them from stabilising their respective regions. For Pakistan, the fallout of the latter is already being felt on the LOC, where indiscriminate shelling by the Indian Army in the midst of the pandemic has claimed the lives of Pakistani civilians.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



'Dear World, How is the Lockdown?' - Kashmir

Victoria Schofield

When the winter set in, movement was inevitably even more restricted and the Jammu & Kashmir issue once more slipped down the international agenda. No sooner had the snows begun to melt that a totally new and unexpected phenomenon hit the headlines. The Coronavirus pandemic which put the entire world on lockdown took over our lives and continues to do so. The irony of the worldwide lockdown was not lost on the Kashmiris, variations of the message '“Dear World, How is the lockdown going?” Kashmir,' trending on Twitter and other social media outlets.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Will COVID-19 Reshape Afghan Peace?

Sherry Rehman

Pandemics have a way of sharpening existing social trends and political faultlines. As the Covid-19 virus sows its deadly harvest both in Pakistan and South-Central Asia, the prospect of renewed regional volatility hangs in the balance. Afghanistan is a classic case in point. While the US has invested billions in building public capital as well as infrastructure there over 18 years, the peace deal that could end this war now teeters on the edge of a fresh precipice. The Covid-19 pandemic carries the potential of a humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan. Afghanistan's health ministry estimates are extremely worrying. If containment protocols are not enforced, the ministry anticipates infections in staggering proportions, predicting 110,00 deaths. If the infection follows their model, this will mean that more Afghan civilians will have died from the pandemic than from the entire duration of the war.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Managing the Stand-Off

Sherry Rehman

News of a border stand-off between two restive nuclear neighbours is always worrying. Yet when US President Donald Trump's offer of mediation between India and China met with a studied chill from both sides, Himalayan snow was not the only signal of a sharp cooling in the air.

Given that potential for escalation is high, especially between border posts where local commanders report spiralling tensions amid physical clashes, it would not be reckless to assume that competing boundary claims between two Asian rivals could flair into a dangerous spiral if not managed.

The crisis is serious, but not out of control. In all public communications Beijing has signalled quite restraint, while New Delhi seems clearly to be caught unawares, both strategically and politically. Chinese FM Wang Yi stated that "China will never pick a fight", but at the same time said that China "will push back against deliberate insults", referencing the broader battle of allegations arising from the US over Covid-19.

Read the op-ed [here](#).

POLICY ROUNDTABLES

Deconstructing UNGA: Pakistan's Policy Options on Kashmir

4th October 2019

With the lockdown in Indian occupied Kashmir entering its ninth week, the Jinnah Institute hosted a policy discussion with leading experts on Pakistan's policy options after the UN General Assembly session. Participants felt that the human rights situation was increasingly untenable and could lead to a prolonged armed resistance in the Valley. It was also noted that India had moved an unprecedented number of paramilitary troops in the valley to quell Kashmiri resistance, and created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation for innocent civilians.

Chaired by Jinnah Institute President, Senator Sherry Rehman, the discussion focused on the intrinsic challenge posed by India's actions on August 5th, its long-term implications and the practicality of various diplomatic and political options for Pakistan. Participants emphasized that India's actions of August 5th should not be taken as fait accompli and that Pakistan decision makers must recognize the consequences of inaction. The government was urged to take a more proactive approach by launching a diplomatic offensive through meeting heads of state and foreign missions to highlight the Kashmiri right to self-determination. The probability of military escalation between India and Pakistan was discussed at length during the discussion.

The recent initiative by Afghanistan and Pakistan to restart peace talks was appreciated by the participants. With the Afghan election results set to be announced in November, against a backdrop of intensified political struggle, participants felt it was premature to expect any resumption of official talks between the Taliban and the United States.

Participants at the discussion included Tariq Fatemi, Salman Bashir, Ashraf J Qazi, Shafqat Kakakhel, Mariana Babar, Zahid Hussain, Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, and Talat Masood.

The Future of Dialogue and Escalation Dynamics in a Nuclear South Asia

14th October 2019

Plans to take military action against Pakistan were demonstrated by a wide array of policy thinking in India, even before Modi entered the arena. To keep the conflict at bay Pakistan must demonstrate conventional capability and re-iterate its commitment to peace and human rights. Crisis management in Indo-Pak relations and the role of track-II dialogues during conflict was discussed at a closed door roundtable held at Jinnah Institute on 14th October 2019. The discussion was attended by Peter Jones from the University of Ottawa and leading policy specialists, as well as retired civil and military officials. The importance of track-II dialogues in creating understanding among key stakeholders was underscored, but it was agreed that substantial and long-lasting progress can be made only if governments are willing to engage in conflict management and de-escalation.

Pakistan and Regional Developments

20th November 2019

Infrastructure development and trade offer Pakistan and Australia fertile ground in strengthening their relations. Australia does not intend to challenge China's influence in the region and realises the secondary role it will play in Pakistan's economic development. Jinnah Institute's roundtable held on 20th November 2019 with members of the Australian High Commission and leading policy specialists in Pakistan discussed opportunities that Australia and Pakistan can leverage to form partnerships that strengthen ties. Tensions between India and Pakistan and the conflict in Afghanistan were also discussed. Pakistani participants presented strong opposition to Indian annexation of Kashmir and condemned the neighbour's belligerent behaviour adding that the international community must take a stand against India's gross human rights violations in Kashmir.

ASIA ADVISORY



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Trade and Tribulations

The shift in US-China relations towards contestation, rather than cooperation, has expanded. Many within the US administration increasingly view China as an existential threat, from muscular militarism in the South China Sea to strategic competition in emerging technologies. The ongoing trade war with China is the most recent feature of this new cold war. President Trump's aggressive trade policy is now part of a broader US policy push aimed at containing China. China is currently standing at a crossroads as it seeks to spur new growth momentum, expand militarily and attain a preeminent place in the global order. The US's response to this is to game the system by imposing sanctions and tariffs. The rationale for the US led trade war rests on Washington's accusations that China's economic rise is closely linked with industrial espionage, technology theft and currency manipulation which has helped fuel its export led growth.

Read [here](#).

The Turkish Skirmish

President Trump's decision to pull out troops from Syria led to a new chapter in the country's long-standing war-torn history. On 6th October, over a phone call, President Erdogan informed President Trump that a cross-border action will be executed soon. The latter had long been considering ending the US participation in the civil conflict and informed

the Turkish president that the US would not take sides in the conflict. Trump defended his decision by saying that "it's not our border", at a White House press meeting, and called the Kurds "no angels". At a time when the SDF, America's reliable and frontline ally in the struggle against IS, needed them most, the US military's departure from Northern Syria signaled a "green-light" to Ankara. On 9th October, the Turkish offensive planned to cleanse its Southern borders from Kurdish influence and setup a safe zone for Syrian refugees was put into motion.

Read [here](#).

TRACK-II DIALOGUES

CHAOPHRAYA STRATEGIC DIALOGUE

January 19-20, 2020

Chao Track II dialogue between India and Pakistan on strategic issues was held in Bangkok on the 19th and 20th of January 2020. The dialogue was the first since India's revocation of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir on August 5th 2019. The dialogue themes and discussions reflect the multiple vectors affecting the bilateral relationship, including escalation along Line of Control, a growing deep freeze in bilateral relations, deteriorating situation in Kashmir, and rising rhetoric in India vis-à-vis Pakistan.

Reviewing bilateral relations delegates highlighted that since 2012 progress made through the NSA backchannel has been rolled back. Between 2014 and 2020 several civilians and soldiers have died on both sides due to escalation. India brought South Asia to the brink of a major conflict in February where Pakistan deescalated by returning the downed Indian pilot. India's actions on August 5th have almost shut all doors for a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute and will have implications for other issues that bedevil both countries. It was also noted that by depriving Kashmiris of statehood, India has endorsed a military solution to the Kashmir issue. Kashmiris have unanimously rejected this decision, and Indian actions have greatly minimised hope for normalisation. The delegates stressed that basic parameters for moving forward need to be in place. These foremost include India rolling back its actions of August 5th and normalising the situation within Indian Occupied Kashmir by releasing Kashmiri leadership and halting human rights abuses in the valley. India has gone against all bilateral and international agreements and resolutions on Kashmir. Pakistan will not accept Kashmir being presented as fait accompli as long as the Kashmiris continue to resist Indian occupation. Pakistan will also take all necessary measures to protect AJK/GB and will respond to any Indian misadventure. The delegates agreed that the onus now is on India to seek a way forward.

On Kashmir the delegates pointed out that India has expressly violated the Simla Agreement of 1972 which was the bases of bilateral dialogue between the two countries. Simla clearly called on both countries not to take any unilateral action to change the situation on the ground. India's annexation and removal of Article 370 is not just an administrative change, those have occurred on both sides previously as well but they have never infringed on the internationally and bilaterally recognised nature of the Kashmir dispute. Delegates made it clear that this fait accompli is unacceptable to Pakistan and unacceptable to the Kashmiri people who have been incarcerated and subjected to human rights abuses including sodomy, torture and electrocution. The fact that India needs 700,000 troops in Kashmir with a complete information lockdown, mass arrests and curfew is a clear indication of how the Kashmiris have rejected India. It was highlighted that Pakistan is also seriously concerned about what will happen next in Kashmir. There are news of RSS/BJP intentions to change the demographic nature of the Muslim majority valley. These will continue to be unacceptable to Pakistan.

ECONOMIC CONNECTIVITY DIALOGUE

January 21st-22nd, 2020

The second round of the Economic Connectivity Dialogue of the Chao Track convened in Bangkok, on January 21st and 22nd, 2020.

Discussing the present scenario and future prospects of the India Pakistan bilateral trade, delegates acknowledged that while South Asia is the most globally integrated region, it is also paying a heavy price for it, with internal trade making up only 8% of its total trade. The effectivity of restrictive measures is twice as much higher in the case of India, than Pakistan; despite Pakistan withholding MFN status to India, the effective barriers to trade are more binding on the Indian side than Pakistan. While the deteriorating political relationship between the two neighbours did impact bilateral trade, Pakistan found new trading partners, which resulted in very little impact on its trade volume, the only compromise having been made on pricing. In the continued failure of bilateral trade revival, multilateral trade should be looked into, with the involvement of partners like China and Middle Eastern countries. Agreements like the SAARC and SAFTA were lauded and their revival recommended.

Lessons were drawn from Pakistan and India's tumultuous history, and its economic impacts on the region; today, it is one of the least integrated regions of the world. While the rest of South Asia has used its geo-strategic location for east-west connectivity, with Pakistan's Balance of Payment crisis, and India's economic slow-down, the missed exports and trade on both ends have been a net loss. Most importantly, maintaining an inflated military due to increased conflict has a glaring opportunity cost, particularly a high human cost. Thus far, politics has trumped economics. Delegates spoke of building bridges, and to this end, suggested that the neighbouring countries could create peace constituencies by building economic stakes in each other's territories. True gains in the region will only be seen when there is a larger regional connectivity agenda, which is essentially China's model, where economics trumps politics. Another area of possible trade collusion was identified as renewable energy sources.

SPECIAL FEATURES

SECOND OPINION

Afghan Peace: Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better

Salman Bashir and Taimur Shamil

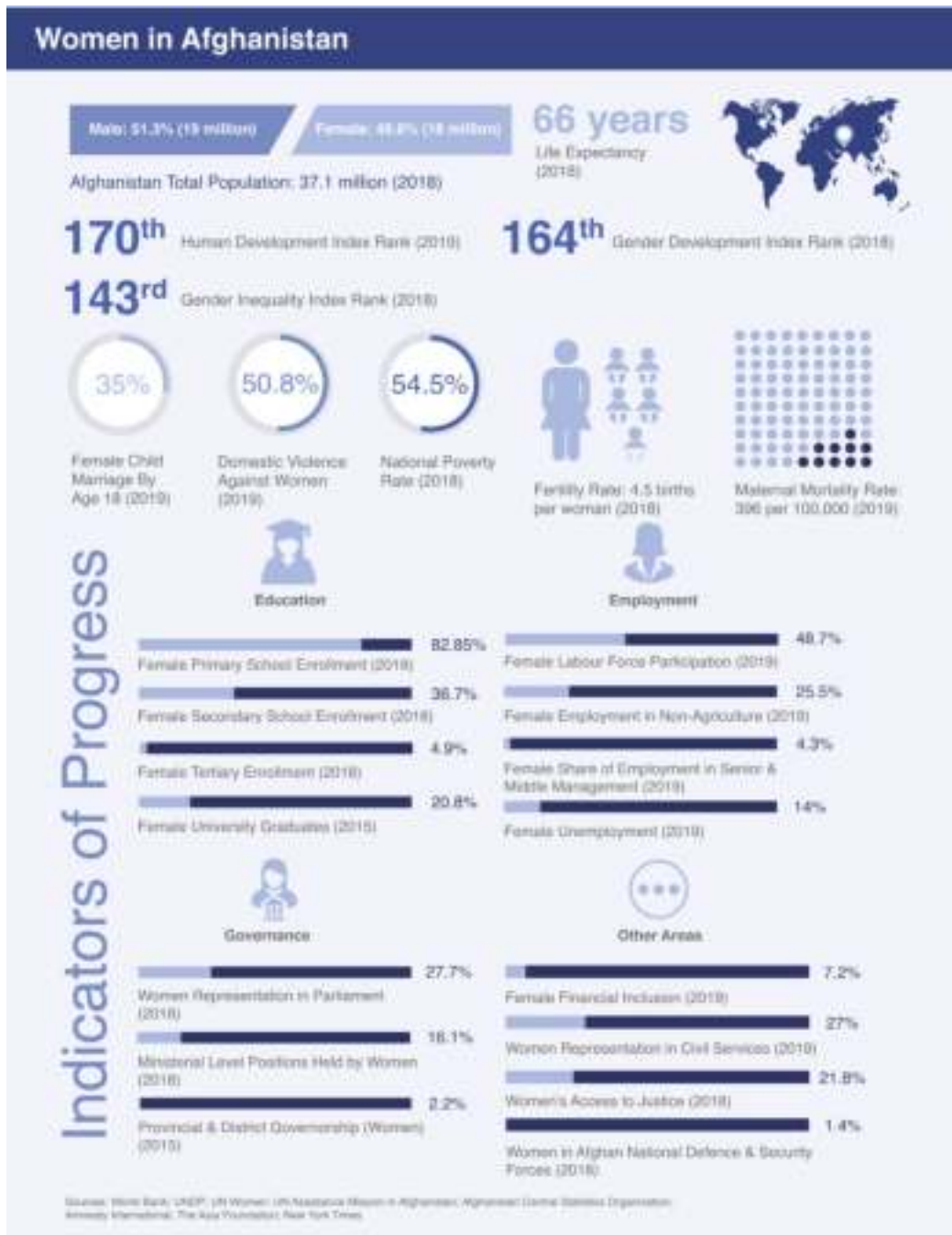


Apprehensions regarding a hastened US withdrawal from Afghanistan in the wake of coronavirus can seriously dent the prospects of peace. While the Doha agreement between the US and Taliban provided a clear direction for the launching of an intra-Afghan process for reconciliation and peace, differences within the Kabul Administration and among the Taliban now stand to jeopardize the process. The COVID-19 pandemic has stripped away any time for prolonged thinking, and necessitates urgent steps by decision makers in all camps. The US, immediate neighbours and the international community in general, have a moral responsibility to encourage the Afghan parties to take the requisite next steps.

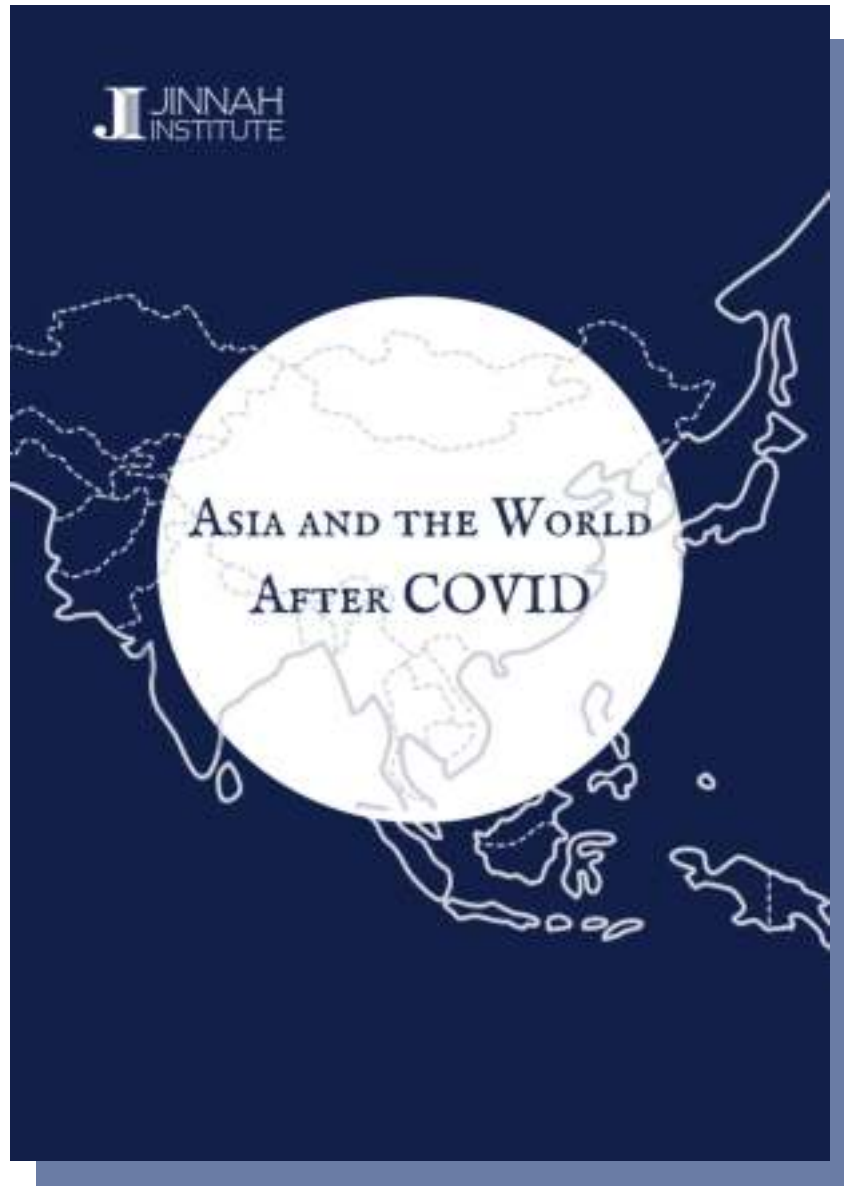
Read [here](#).

INFOGRAPHIC

Women in Afghanistan



ASIA AND THE WORLD AFTER COVID



How has the coronavirus pandemic transformed our societies thus far, and what new pressures will it spawn? Leadership responses have varied, as unprecedented demands on states, diplomacy and institutions create new trend lines for a new world. Global thought leaders Rajmohan Gandhi, Barnett Rubin, Peter Frankopan, and Parag Khanna share ideas on what to expect in Jinnah Institute's latest series "Asia and the World After COVID".

Struggling Times

Barnett Rubin

At first, it looked like China would be strengthened by the pandemic. But now there are growing questions about how the closed nature of the Chinese system contributed to the spread of the disease. China's aid diplomacy is faltering because of the large amount of faulty equipment it is supplying as it sends masks and other protective equipment around the world. There were already rising questions about BRI and CPEC, but now it is an open question how an economic policy based on connectivity will fare in an era of social distancing. Hence, it is not clear to what extent China will be able to benefit from the weakening of the US. The unfortunate conclusion is that just as transnational cooperation becomes more important than ever, there will be a vacuum in the leadership needed to produce it.

Compelled Solitude

Rajmohan Gandhi

COVID-19 has given a push to both multilateralism and scapegoating. The virus is bias-free. It is impartial over race, religion, nationality. It is against life, especially human life. But since something in human nature desires a scapegoat for a calamity, we should expect pressures in every country against particular groups of disliked people and/or against particular countries. In countries where popular media loves to target particular groups, we should expect the targeting to intensify, though, given the impartiality of the virus, the targeting may take subtler forms.

Like an Earthquake with Aftershocks

Parag Khanna

The further we look into the future, the more we can imagine how global society may well be reinvented by the coronavirus pandemic. The 14th-century Black Death caused millions of deaths across Eurasia, splintered the largest territorial empire ever known (the Mongols), forced significant wage growth in Europe, and promoted wider maritime exploration that led to European colonialism. These phenomena trace strongly to the plague even if they played out over centuries. The consequences of today's pandemic will emerge far more quickly, and with the benefit of foresight, we can try to mitigate them, capitalize on them, and build a more resilient global system in the process.

COVID-19 and the Future of Multilateralism

Peter Frankopan

The spread, extent and effects of CoVid-19 took many by surprise. With more than half the world's population in lockdown, it is not hard to see why. And yet those working on major threats to geopolitical security especially those specialising in emerging infectious disease have been warning about this for some time. When we think about the future of multilateralism, we are in fact thinking about the future of humankind. We should be trying to think big and beyond our national responses and local concerns to trying to find some joined up courses of action, of support and of medical, financial and humanitarian intervention. This is the moment to be drawing in resources, scholars, business people and to be creative in trying to steer away from the rocks and towards safety.

Read the full feature [here](#).



ODI

OVERVIEW

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.

AREAS OF FOCUS

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

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

Investing in the media through capacity building exercises and consultations to enhance its role as a key shaper of popular narratives and a constructive partner in democratic governance;

Integrating youth cohorts in mainstream identity discourse by exploring multiple realities and strengthening plural values;

Encouraging specific mediums of secular expression, including art and culture in order to build bridges between art and citizenship.



CONFERENCES

Ideas Conclave '19



The Jinnah Institute convened its third Ideas Conclave on August 7th and 8th 2019 in Islamabad, a daylong public forum that connected senior international and local policymakers, thought leaders and citizens to engage on issues pertinent to Pakistan and the region.

Speakers included Oscar winning filmmaker Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, former Advisor to the Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs Tariq Fatemi, former Foreign Secretary Riaz Khokhar, academic and writer Afiya Shehribano Zia, poets Khawar Mumtaz, Iftikhar Arif and Noor ul Huda Shah, economist Haroon Sharif, Chinese Ambassador Yao Jing, and senior journalists Zahid Hussain, Meher Bokhari, and Muhammad Malick. The Conclave was split into two days. Sessions on the first day focused on themes of democracy, human rights, and economy, while those on the second day focused on foreign policy and national security. There was a high turnout for all sessions with audience engaging 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. The keynote address was delivered by Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Hina Jilani on the first day and Sherry Rehman on the second day.



Khurram Dastgir



Syed Akbar Zaidi



Aisha Ghaus Pasha



Haroon Sharif



Mohammad Malick

Thin Red Line: Pakistan's Economic Trajectory

The conclave's session titled Thin Red Line: Pakistan's Economic Trajectory featured former minister for defence Khurram Dastgir, former director Board of Investment Haroon Sharif, senior economist Akbar Zaidi, and former MNA Aisha Ghaus Pasha. The session was moderated by veteran journalist Mohammad Malick who commented on the previous government's legacy of deficits and asked panelists to comment on the current state of Pakistan's economy.

Commenting on the structure of our economy the panelists noted that provinces are dependent on the federal government for the deployment of development funds, and this mobilisation mechanism hinders growth. Hiked interest rates along with an undervalued currency at 10 per cent are seriously damaging the economy and quick fix methods such as these and the manipulation of exchange rates to curtail imports further abet it.

The experts also analysed the current government's performance and projected growth to be as abysmal as the previous one year of their governance, with the highest inflation rate in five years expected to further rise; the lowest GDP recorded in nine years and expected to decline in the next year; a falling per capita income recorded to have decreased by nine per cent in the past one year; and an FDI rate that has gone down by 50 percent in just one year.



Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy



Afiya Zia



Dr. Farzana Bari



Amber Rahim Shamsi

Breaking Bad: Women and Modernity

This session featured prominent filmmaker Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy, academic Afiya Zia and women's rights activist Farzana Bari, moderated by journalist Amber Rahim Shamsi.

Opening up the conversation to the panel, Shamsi urged the audience not to talk about women as victims, but as fighters, and pointed out the false dichotomy between tradition and modernity.

Speaking of the structural realities of Pakistani society, Sharmeen Obaid Chinoy talked about the lack of support for women favourable laws in the country. There is a common false conflation of women's rights and feminism, and not all women's rights activists identify as feminists themselves. She pointed towards the shrinking role of women in Pakistan and their rights. While prevalent issues of child abuse and rape are slowly being taken up mainstream television, the media itself is also responsible for promoting problematic tropes about women.

Women's rights activist Afiya Zia talked about women's resistance through history, highlighting how women's groups have always mounted a resistance to Pakistan's military leaderships. She commented on the PTI government's vision of Pakistan and the Muslim woman's place in it, stating that she sees its to be one that is welfare and charity recipient rather than one that is empowered and autonomous. Women have always been present to confront the hegemony of patriarchy in public and private sphere, in variant forms of patriarchy. She identified two aspects of feminism: one that tackles patriarchy, and the other economics. You cannot claim a feminist politics unless you tackle capitalism, and have a critique of class and profit. Today, the military regime is greatly threatened by women dissenters. She noted that the post 9/11 era has been replaced by a confused term of 'liberalism' whereby political liberalism is synonymous with anti-Islam, while social liberalism is synonymous with sexual liberalism, and the present day focus is inter-personal liberation.



Iftikhar Arif



Kishwar Naheed



Noor ul Huda Shah



Harris Khalique

Language, Literature and Resistance

This session moderated by Haris Khalique, featured prominent poets Kishwar Naheed, Iftikhar Arif and Noor ul Huda Shah who discussed the role of literature in the political history of Pakistan, the interplay of language and identity politics, and of controls on free speech and literature.

Panelists highlighted the subcontinent's monumental literary heritage, recounting movements that had a profound impact on literary forms and political ideology in India and Pakistan. It was discussed that the Progressive Writers' Movement allowed writers to become effective social critics, and created space for public discourse that had never previously taken place in the public mainstream. The panelists who have had a lifelong experience of activism stated that art can speak truth to power more effectively than other political devices.

They noted that art that breaks through the binds of socio-political and cultural straitjackets is often decried as immoral or anti-traditional, but only through its wide consumption can social critique be accepted. Also cited were examples of television serials that were aired on PTV during military dictatorships which carried powerful messaging for social change and critiqued state policy.

The panelists also commented on the controversial nature of resistance literature and poetry by citing examples of Bulleh Shah and Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai whose poetry was not allowed on TV back in the day due to the criticism it received. They stated that this censorship persists because we are afraid of resistance and are quick to label those who persist as 'traitors' or 'kaafirs'. It is pertinent that local language and history are not separated, as distancing history from literature distorts history itself and the truth.



Bilawal Bhutto Zardari



Hina Jilani



Ali Dayan Hasan

Day 1 Keynote Address: Constitution, Security and Citizenship

The final session of the first day was a key note session titled Constitution, Security and Citizenship featuring PPP Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, and senior advocate and human rights activist Hina Jilani, moderated by Ali Dayan Hasan.

Hina Jilani began by speaking of the reflective nature of literature, and how it has mirrored the times we experience as citizens of Pakistan. Citizenship, while it does not cancel class differences or diversity, our experience has been one where we have been told repeatedly that homogeneity is the value we must hold fast to. This enforced homogeneity has led us to forget how to celebrate diversity. We forget that we are a pluralistic nation, homogeneity has led us to forget how to celebrate diversity. We forget that we are a pluralistic nation, and as individuals also contain many identities: if as a woman who has faced oppression, this experience does not bar me from containing other identities.

On the notion of sovereignty and the citizen-state relationship, she stated that it must be constructed, and from it springs the notion of participation. Citizens have the right to participate in every level of governance, a right that we must not forget or forgo. She deemed it worrisome when the state claims national security and interest at the expense of citizens' freedoms. However, dissent and resistance are not new to Pakistan, and it will always find its way. She noted that while there have been movements to protect rights all through our 70 year history, the difference between today and previous eras is the visible enemy we resisted against. Today, the enemy is well concealed. The rule of law is something to be valued, but when laws become a tool of oppression, it cannot be presumed good.

In his keynote address, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari alluded to the importance of democracy and the preservation of our rights as citizens in order to ensure national security. He argued that Pakistan had transitioned from an empathetic human rights conscious government to one that was apathetic towards it, to one today that is antipathic to human rights. He reiterated the ownership and stakes that citizens have in the state are essential to a true democracy, something that is a huge challenge at present. He was of the view that the reason no civilian Prime Minister had completed their term was not because of failure to deliver, but because anti-democratic forces conspired against them.

Both speakers deliberated on ways in which the full measure of citizenship can be afforded to Pakistan's citizens, discussing the importance of fundamental human rights as the premise of a secure state.



Yao Jing



Khurram Dastgir



Jalil Abbas Jilani



Tehmina Janjua



Mosharraf Zaidi

Cold War Lite: History's Shadow on Today's Chessboard

This session was moderated by Mosharraf Zaidi, a policy practitioner, and featured Tehmina Janjua, former diplomat and ambassador, Khurram Dastgir, politician and MNA, Jalil Abbas, former diplomat and Ambassador to the United States, and Yao Jing, Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, as speakers. The panel considered whether Pakistan is living in an age of a new Cold War, and reflected on what Pakistan's stakes in Eurasian global realignments are, further discussing the dividends of China's rise, and what it means for tensions in Asia and the subcontinent.

It was observed that there is a lopsided multipolarity today: while the United States continues to be a leading power, it has to contend with a rising China. The US-China rivalry is expected to affect interdependency of today, but it was noted that unlike in the Cold War, today's bipolar rivalry is not ideological. China is expanding its power without imposing itself too strongly on any country, not signalling any desire to change the global financial or military order.

The question of how Pakistan is to leverage its position in light of global realignments was also deliberated upon. Considering how China has been an all weather partner for Pakistan, the panelists recommended that despite US efforts to contain Chinese influence in Pakistan, the country must remember that China remains its most trusted strategic partner. It is equally important that Pakistan must make it known to China that it can continue to rely on Pakistan, as it has done so in the past on a number of multilateral issues. The panelists concluded that the United States and China are both rational players, both of whom can be leveraged by Pakistan if it plays its cards well.



Riaz Muhammad Khan



Rahimullah Yusufzai



Zahid Hussain



Meher Bokhari

From War to Exit Wounds in Afghanistan

This session was moderated by journalist Meher Bokhari, and featured Rahimullah Yusufzai, political security analyst and journalist, Riaz Muhammad, former foreign secretary, and Zahid Hussain, journalist, as speakers. The session revolved around the peace process in Afghanistan, with panelists deliberating on what it would take for peace to break in Afghanistan, what the US exit means for regional stability and for Pakistan's security, and whether gains in Afghanistan's security can be made permanent.

The panelists unanimously agreed that the peace process is now irreversible, noting that any side that pulls out of the talks will be heavily criticised. Pakistan's role in clinching an agreement was also discussed. It was noted that while Pakistan facilitated the peace talks by releasing Mullah Baradar and other Taliban leaders, it needs to recognise that it is not the most important country involved. Taliban is in the process of setting up the Asian Gulf for talks, and as that is being done, Pakistan's importance is diminishing.

Several recommendations regarding the way forward were also presented. Returning to the optimism expressed earlier in the conversation, the panelists said that they were confident that once a framework for the agreement is reached, the negotiations should conclude soon after. Panelists agreed that also pertinent to note is that without a regional agreement, peace in Afghanistan is a distant possibility; Pakistan, Iran, India, and China are all major regional players who need to be taken on board for there to be lasting peace in Afghanistan. The discussion concluded that peace after reconciliation is key, not only for Afghanistan, but also for other regional players including Pakistan who are invested in regional projects such as CPEC.



Tariq Fatemi



Riaz Khokhar



Rabia Akhtar



Ali Dayan Hasan

India, Pakistan and Kashmir: Where Do We Stand?

This session featured Rabia Akhtar, academic, Tariq Fatemi, and Riaz Khokhar, diplomats, with Ali Dayan Hasan, human rights activist, as moderator. The session took stock of India's annexation of Kashmir, termed as a constitutional, political, and security crisis, as panelists reflected on the implications of this move, and recommendations for a way forward.

Regarding the annexation, all panelists said that they expect the annexation to be normalised in the coming years, if not the coming months. This, they said, raises several questions for Pakistan, particularly, how it wants to proceed with dialogue, and how it will support a freedom struggle in the changed environment. The panelists also noted that in the coming years India as a Hindutva state can be expected to get much stronger, with a large Hindu presence in Kashmir; Pakistan needs to ask itself how it will counter India's strength.

Dialogue in the new conditions was also written off as highly unlikely in the near future. It was noted that for Pakistan to have dialogue with India, it will have to accept India's annexation of Kashmir-- a move that it should not take unless no other options remain. The question of the dialogue's agenda was also raised: the panelists asked that now India has annexed Kashmir, what else is there for the two countries to discuss?



President Jinnah Institute: Sherry Rehman

President's Address: Rethinking Global Power in the 21st Century

The keynote address for the conference was delivered by Sherry Rehman, President of Jinnah Institute. Rehman began her address by stating that what happened on the 5th of August in India must be read by its true label, which is neo-fascism. She pointed out that Article 370 was irrelevant to us, as we never accepted the accession of Kashmir, but we must use everything in our power to make known the illegal and forcible annexation that India has carried out in Kashmir this week. She reminded the audience that the core ethic behind diplomacy should be the ruthless negotiation of a country's rights, seeking to win equities for large constituencies. She added that we must continue to seek peace, but learn to manage our interests as well. Reminding the policy community of its responsibility, she pointed out that if the centre cannot coordinate our policy stances, then it is the responsibility of the policy practitioners to step up and provide a list of foreign policy options on Kashmir and the region. Rehman concluded the address with an incisive reminder that power must be rooted in legitimacy and all our strivings must be towards that.

Democracy and Inclusion



Jinnah Institute held an event in collaboration with DAI-Tabeer on 3rd March, 2020 titled 'Inclusion and Democracy'. The event brought together diverse stakeholders to debate the quality of democracy, and ways in which democracy programming, institutional reform and policy implementation can be coordinated for the benefit of marginalised communities. The event was aimed at presenting gains made through DAI-Tabeer's multi-year democracy strengthening process, which has brought about critical shifts on ground, in addition to assessing larger qualitative impacts on service delivery and inclusion of marginalised groups.

Session 1| Delivering Inclusive Governance: Benefits for Whom?



Harris Khalique



Nighat Siddiqui



Jawairia Jilani



Mukhtar Ahmed

Encouraging strides have been made in Pakistan's democratic practices through initiatives aimed at increasing inclusiveness and remedying structures that have historically excluded minority groups from decision making processes. Assessing the milestones achieved by the DAI-Tabeer project, speakers asserted that the contribution of key institutions such as the Election Commission of Pakistan, NADRA and parliament must be acknowledged for their positive role in helping marginalised groups overcoming hurdles in political participation. Although the gains seem modest when seen against the backdrop of multi-dimensional exclusions experienced by women and other marginalised groups, speakers agreed that these policy course corrections were hard won achievements. The mobilisation of over 300,000 women and socially excluded persons, and the registration of over 184,000 women's CNICs were highlighted as significant gains of the process. Other initiatives such as the training of over 370,000 ECP officials and polling staff in improved election practices, and more than 150 political party officials on the Elections Act 2017 (prior to the 2018 elections) were also mentioned. The effectiveness of a gender and disability group constituted by the ECP was instrumental in increasing the voter turn-out and registration of women, transgender persons, and persons with disabilities.

Several shortfalls still remain, and speakers cautioned that development programming must be taken over by state authorities hereafter. It was noted that the voter registration gap between men and women is at least 12.5 million owing to cultural barriers and issues of mobility that hinder many women from obtaining CNICs, a prerequisite for voting. The NADRA Ordinance, 2000 shifted the onus onto citizens to register for their identity cards and hence, also to vote. This allowed NADRA to operate as a commercially viable institution, but speakers advised that the organisation must be retooled and its strategic priorities redefined to reach out and facilitate citizens in registering as voters obtaining identity cards. Other speakers noted that exclusionary practices against women and minority groups are quite evident within political parties, especially during election cycles. Citing an example from the 2018 elections, speakers elaborated that several women candidates were allotted party tickets to contest the general elections, but only 16 of them won as they were made to run from heavily contested constituencies where even stronger male candidates could not have succeeded. Exclusionary mindsets towards women and minorities' political participation need to change, and institutional interventions are one way of bringing that about.

It was agreed that Pakistan does not lack the capacity to bring about inclusion or democratic strengthening in its political system, given its strong bureaucratic practice and institutional procedures that can commendably carry out implementation of strategic objectives when needed. It is unfortunate that Pakistan lacks all commitment towards this end, as the state does perceive a benefit from programming inclusion or democratic values. Speakers noted that currently three of Pakistan's major governance institutions, namely the bureaucracy, military, and judiciary, are run by officials who have permanent appointments. As they are not elected, they are neither obliged nor incentivised to be accountable to citizens. For democracy to flourish in Pakistan, it was agreed that institutions must run according to constitutional safeguards and principles, and new incentives should be offered to stakeholders who can bring about meaningful procedural reform. Speakers pointed out that this had been done successfully in other sectors like education and rule of law, where international donor support had helped turn around both policy and implementation processes with markedly improved outcomes.

Session 2 | Pakistan's Emerging Trends: Conversation with Sherry Rehman



Ali Dayan Hasan



Sherry Rehman

In a conversation with human rights defender Ali Dayan Hasan, Senator Sherry Rehman discussed Pakistan's major trends for the next decade, focusing on the climate crisis, the demographic boom, and food insecurity, amongst other governance and rights challenges. She pointed out that Pakistan will have absolute water scarcity by 2025, adding that the climate crisis will hit women and the poor disproportionately. At least 60 percent of Pakistanis suffer from food insecurity and if the dangerous nexus of poverty, climate stress, and the demographic boom is not addressed Pakistan will surely struggle to remedy the country's destitution. Pakistan is witnessing the impacts of climate change everyday. Putting statistics on climate change in perspective, Senator Rehman revealed that from being the 7th most vulnerable country to climate change, Pakistan is now the 5th most vulnerable. More concerted efforts at an institutional level are the need of the hour, said Senator Rehman, lauding civil society organisations on mobilising community support and creating awareness among citizens.

Countries face a serious crisis when their population and growth rate curves collide, a fate soon to befall Pakistan if its population growth of 2.4 percent is not contained. With the population boom and the food crisis coinciding, Pakistan is proving the Malthusian trap correct, observed Senator Rehman.

Drought like conditions in Pakistan are likely to worsen till at least 2024, according to global advisories. Pakistan must look at countries in the region, particularly Bangladesh and take lessons on how the country has controlled its population. The Senator pointed out that Pakistan would have had at least 40 million less people in poverty today had its population growth rates resembled those of Bangladesh in the last three decades.

The need to improve human development outcomes through investments in young people was also noted. Pakistan's youth demographic, one of the largest in the world, is considered to have immense promise and potential for providing the country with economic gains similar to those received by South Korea and other nations that had large youth populations. However, the Senator pointed out that Pakistan can only benefit from this demographic if it makes appropriate and timely investments in healthcare, education, training and employment. 4.5 million jobs need to be created in Pakistan over the next five years to ensure that Pakistan experiences a demographic dividend. This is a tall order and requires concerted efforts by all private and public institutions, she explained. Statistics reveal that currently less than 40 percent of the country's youth is employed, out of which only 7 percent are women.

Senator Rehman noted that population, climate, and food security are very often dismissed as 'NGO subjects' that even legislators fail to question governments over, or bring up in parliament. These themes form the bedrock of governance in any democracy, especially ones that are transitioning through a crisis of governance. How far are the policy elite willing to go with changing their own water consumption habits? Or bring about behaviour change in their constituencies and communities of influence? She stated that the climate crisis highlighted Pakistan's worst governance tendencies, whereby vulnerable population groups are daily suffering the impact of polluted environments and damaged ecosystems, and policy leaderships are withholding public data on water and air quality for fear it may be used for nefarious ends. The need of time is to generate informed public discourse, and utilise platforms where concerned stakeholders can help each overcome these challenges. The Climate Council was meant to perform this role but has not been established four years after the Climate Act was passed by parliament. She stated that generating anger and fear is not productive. Instead, bringing attention to critically important challenges is both a duty for governments, and right to information for citizens.

Session 3 | Democratic Process and Policy: Pathway Forward



Shahnaz Wazir Ali



Dr. Farzana Bari



Ghazi Salahuddin



Ali Dayan Hasan

Pakistan has fared moderately well in increasing space for marginalised groups in its electoral process. Being eligible to vote through virtue of a CNIC should be the minimal benchmark of a functioning democracy that can provide many other benefits to its citizens. Panelists speaking in the final session of the day stated that democratic strengthening must realise outcomes such as health coverage, socio-economic opportunity, population welfare and social protection as indicators of a responsive political system. Being a voter is only meaningful if the system can provide egalitarian access to institutions, decision making and benefits.

Population, healthcare, and other socio-economic issues that have historically been relegated to the 'development sector' must be reclaimed by the state as these have significant repercussions on citizen well-being. Additionally, the panelists said that any initiatives aimed at increasing inclusion must constantly consider structural and systemic forces behind exclusion as the two issues go hand in hand. It was recognised that Pakistan's institutions have always experienced an elite capture, with elections constantly throwing feudals and elites back into power. For initiatives to make significant gains in inclusion and democratic strengthening, it is important to realign governance priorities to consider the needs and voices of those at the lowest rungs of society.

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Challenges like food insecurity and demographic stress constitute the most basic litmus test for democracy. With so many denied basic food, shelter and health services it is likely that mass non-cooperation and resistance movements will emerge. Citing statistics, panelists stated that currently 60 percent of Pakistan's population lacks access to a nutritious diet. They added that Pakistan has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, the largest gender wage gap, rapidly depleting water tables, and worsening food security. All these issues pertain to inclusion and human rights, and it is vital that initiatives aimed at democratic strengthening take these into account. What happens before and after the vote is of immense importance, said the panelists. Institutions need to be equipped with the expertise to remodel themselves and provide basic services to all persons, starting from those who are at the margins- that is the only way that the country can hope for a representative government and inclusive society.

Panelists pointed out that Pakistan's institutions have been operating on exclusionary frameworks heavily influenced by a neo-liberal and patriarchal ethos, shutting out underprivileged groups. The panelists explained that there is an inherent hierarchy in agenda setting, resource allocation, and resolution of public issues corresponding with groups wielding power, influence and resources. When these relationships are questioned or scrutinised, their reaction is often brutal and violent. It was agreed that Pakistan must focus on making institutions more inclusive, increasing representation at all levels, and undertaking economic reforms that benefit the marginalised in better ways.

POLICY BRIEFS



Integrating Transgender Persons: Towards Inclusive Policymaking

Mariam Ali Bokhari and Muhammad Amir Khan

The transgender community is perhaps the most disadvantaged among excluded groups. Their plight has been documented in several policy and academic publications, as well as an increasing number of government documents that recognise the challenge confronting transgender persons in Pakistan. This brief explores some of that ground by looking at physical violence and threats to life experienced by transgender persons; low health and education indicators despite provisions for their access to schools and hospitals; their primarily stereotypical representations on the media and thus the formation of biased public perceptions; and their low voter turn-out and political representation. This brief advances the idea of social cohesion and integration as a necessary step in stemming violence, discrimination and prejudice against transgender persons. It charts the interventions undertaken through legislation and jurisprudence that have had a net positive impact on their protection and socio-political participation. It also highlights areas that need redress, such as access to justice and healthcare, in addition to seeking a normalisation of transgender portrayal in popular media through sensitive and informed programming.

Read the policy brief [here](#).



Parliament and the Pandemic

Sherry Rehman

Parliament's role in managing, scrutinising and leading Pakistan's fight against COVID-19 and its potential dangers is critical to coherent outcomes. With the situation in Pakistan still at a stage where the virus is spreading without knowledge or capacity to test, isolate, treat, the necessity of different levels of responses confronts every sector of the economy and every aspect of human life, heavily dependent on social activity for everything including the business of government. At many levels, urgent choices have to be made, with limited resources. This policy brief addresses the capacity and need of Pakistan's parliament to adapt to an evolving set of issues based on its central constitutional role in making the country's democracy work.

Read the policy brief [here](#).



Social Protection and COVID-19

Safiya Aftab

As this human tragedy unfolds, more material concerns are also being debated alongside. Along with much of the global economy, Pakistan too, is expected to undergo a recession – only the second in its 73-year history (the first was in 1951-52). The implications of this for a workforce of almost 60 million are staggering. In the event that the pandemic does not abate in the near future (and this indeed is what is likely), it falls upon the State to ensure that the basic needs of at least the poorest sections of society are provided for. This paper argues that social protection and relief are the State's key weapons in this fight against COVID-19. Rather than endangering lives by rushing to allow economic activity, the emphasis has to be on devising the means to cover the most vulnerable sections of the population.

Read the policy brief [here](#).



Farthest Field: Women and COVID-19

Dr. Farzana Bari and Sara Malkani

Around the world, COVID-19 has brought deeply entrenched inequalities, including gender inequality to the fore. While the virus itself may be blind, we know that it is affecting people differently based on their gender, race, class or ethnicity. These inequalities are mediating the pandemic's impact in very significant ways, highlighting more prominently the structural failures of our political and economic systems. There is a strong fear that COVID-19 will reinforce gender inequality around the world, and this apprehension is fully justified in Pakistan. As lockdowns and social distancing measures have been imposed, the risk of gender-based violence has increased drastically, with countries around the world reporting significant increases in the rates of domestic violence.

Read the policy brief [here](#).

OPINION EDITORIALS



Tolerance as a Political Value

Radha Shah

Fostering tolerance is not a realistic goal where decades of extremism have to be overturned if not done without self-appraisal. This requires a careful examination of deeply rooted institutional and socio-political exclusion, as per the cautionary vision of Pakistan's founders whose agenda is still unfulfilled. Respect for minority rights and advancement of vulnerable groups were presumed to be confirmed universal values of that founding vision. These very values have proven to be the toughest purchase in Pakistan's daily contest with fundamentals. The laudable move to reopen Kartarpur by the Prime Minister may well point in the direction of minority rights now, but the lapse of seven decades in marginalising religious communities cannot be undone easily.

Read the op-ed [here](#).

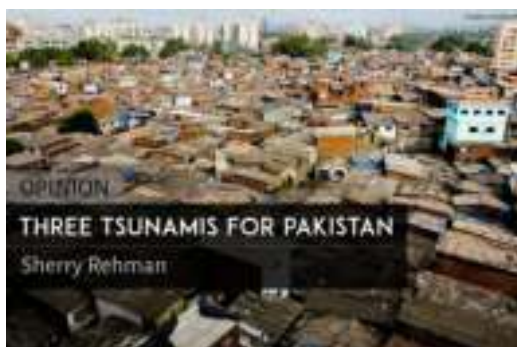


Human Rights in an Imperfect Democracy

Tahira Abdullah

In 1948, the newly created state of Pakistan participated in the adoption of the UDHR, along with other newly-decolonized states. 71 years later, the UDHR is still striving for compliance by member states, and is now in need of revision, inter alia on gender-biased semantics[2] and content regarding the emerging forms of gender identity, family, work, migration, asylum, trafficking, religious extremism, terrorism, poverty, income inequality, information and communication technology, media, climate change and the existential environment crisis. In comparison with the UDHR's 30 Articles, the 33 Articles pertaining to "Fundamental Human Rights and Principles of Policy" in the much-lauded (but much-amended and occasionally suspended, abrogated or mutilated) 1973 Constitution of Pakistan go beyond the UDHR, by articulating the inviolability of human dignity; and providing a detailed articulation of religious minorities' rights.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



The Three Tsunamis for Pakistan

Sherry Rehman

Like many parts of the world, Pakistan is going through a populist moment. A key trait of such campaigns is big-ticket promises of transformational reform in stark contrast to regime-outcomes.

One of these outcomes mapped globally is a reliance on autocratic rule, the demonisation of dissent, rescinded civil liberties and media freedoms. A hallmark of the growing illiberalism such models foster is an embrace of thought-binaries. With a polarising tone set from the top, the public conversation becomes divisive and strident, igniting public anger and fear generated by declining standards of living and access to fundamental entitlements. The result is little or no public attention on social and development crises, let alone goals.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Womansplaining Rights

Sherry Rehman

As millennial women join every year now to celebrate their womanhood on 8th March, and to bond in solidarity for defining the rights to their lives and choices, many people in Pakistan still actually ask, why women march? This is not the only question. A great number of people, including influencers, still ask why women even want the right to their bodies, and more broadly, life choices. One of the most insidious de-railers is invariably couched in class-sanctimoniousness. Why focus on body politics, don't Pakistani women need basic social services, first they say, as if feminists don't demand that. In doing so they ignore the diversity of women in these movements, or the fact that economically vulnerable women face a disproportionate impact of rights deprivations.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Lockdown? Pakistan Not Convinced

Mariam Ali Bokhari and Ayesha Mush-taq

From its earliest outbreak in China in late December 2019, and thereafter to the rest of the world, the Coronavirus pandemic has panned out in full public knowledge through social media, down to its latest developments today in each city across Pakistan. Television channels have been dedicating most of their programming to discussion and updates on the disease; and it is without question an unprecedented emergency causing greater loss and disruption than any other global crisis. Except that this information has left a cross section of Pakistani citizens unmoved, who perceive this analysis to be exaggerated and misleading.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Parliament and the Pandemic

Sherry Rehman

For democracy to be meaningful, its institutions must adapt to the future and to public needs in real time. Pakistan's economy is on ventilator, and little coordination is visible from Islamabad. Our informal sector and daily wagers are in urgent need of social protection, while health professionals are in desperate need of equipment. Parliaments must seek answers on economic transparency and aid inflows while ensuring the delivery of government benefits with both care and compassion. For web hosting large numbers, many Parliaments are turning to commercial providers offering cloud-based solutions such as Office 365, including UK, Netherlands Senate, the Danish Folketing, and Norway's Stortinget. Bhutan is using G-Suite from Google Cloud, while Zoom was used by Pakistan's parliament.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Labour Interrupted

Mariam Bokhari

There is no doubt that daily wagers and labourers are among the worst impacted by the pandemic, and estimates suggest that Pakistan will experience layoffs somewhere between 12.3 million to 18.5 million, disproportionately affecting those toiling in the informal sector whose interrupted wages mean reduced disposable income for food and healthcare. With little to no social capital and negligible bargaining power against private employers – mass layoffs have occurred in well-known incidents – these workers have no contractual security let alone health coverage. The Prime Minister appealed to private organisations not to re-trench employees during this period, as the lives of workers and their dependants hang in the balance, threatened by the virus and destitution in equal measure.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Democracy and the Pandemic

Fahd Humayun

Fahd Humayun

While democracies around the world have varied widely in their ability to cope with the pandemic, the one takeaway that stands out across the world is that local governments are better placed to understand the needs of affected communities and better equipped to service those needs when backed by revenue streams that do not run dry. This is an important lesson and one that should be benchmarked because once the pandemic ends, both the Center and the provinces must face the reality that greater devolution and fiscal discretion for local governments will be imperative if representation and decision-making are to impact at the country's grass roots and improve the lives of ordinary Pakistanis.

Read the op-ed [here](#).



Ripple Effects of a Changing Oil Market

Saad Rajput

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused some bizarre distortions in markets across the globe. One such aberration occurred on 20th April, when the price of a barrel of WTI crude – the benchmark for North American markets – fell to negative \$40. While Brent crude – the European benchmark – and WTI are usually very closely correlated, this event was specific to WTI due to falling storage capacity at a facility in Cushing, Oklahoma. With supplies piling up at the Cushing oil storage hub amid global lockdowns, traders with May-dated WTI futures contracts were willing to pay other parties to take the oil off their hands. Even though prices have managed to recover some ground over the past few trading sessions, with WTI up to about \$20, the oil market continues to face significant challenges that are very likely to persist over the long term.

Read the op-ed [here](#).

SPECIAL FEATURES



Explainer | An Overview of Persons with Disabilities in Pakistan

Persons with disabilities constitute the largest minority in the world, but there is a severe deficiency in the understanding of their needs and challenges. This is aggravated by a confusion at the policy level, particularly in Pakistan, of the definition of PWDs, their population, and non-medicalised language to describe their impairments. Lack of reliable data also poses a challenge to the mainstreaming and inclusion of PWDs as equal citizens of the country. Promising initiatives have been taken by the state in recent years, introducing provisions to make education, health and other social rights more accessible for the community, but many challenges remain.

This explainer provides an overview on persons with disabilities in Pakistan, discussing their needs, obstacles faced, and major policy interventions undertaken.

Read [here](#).



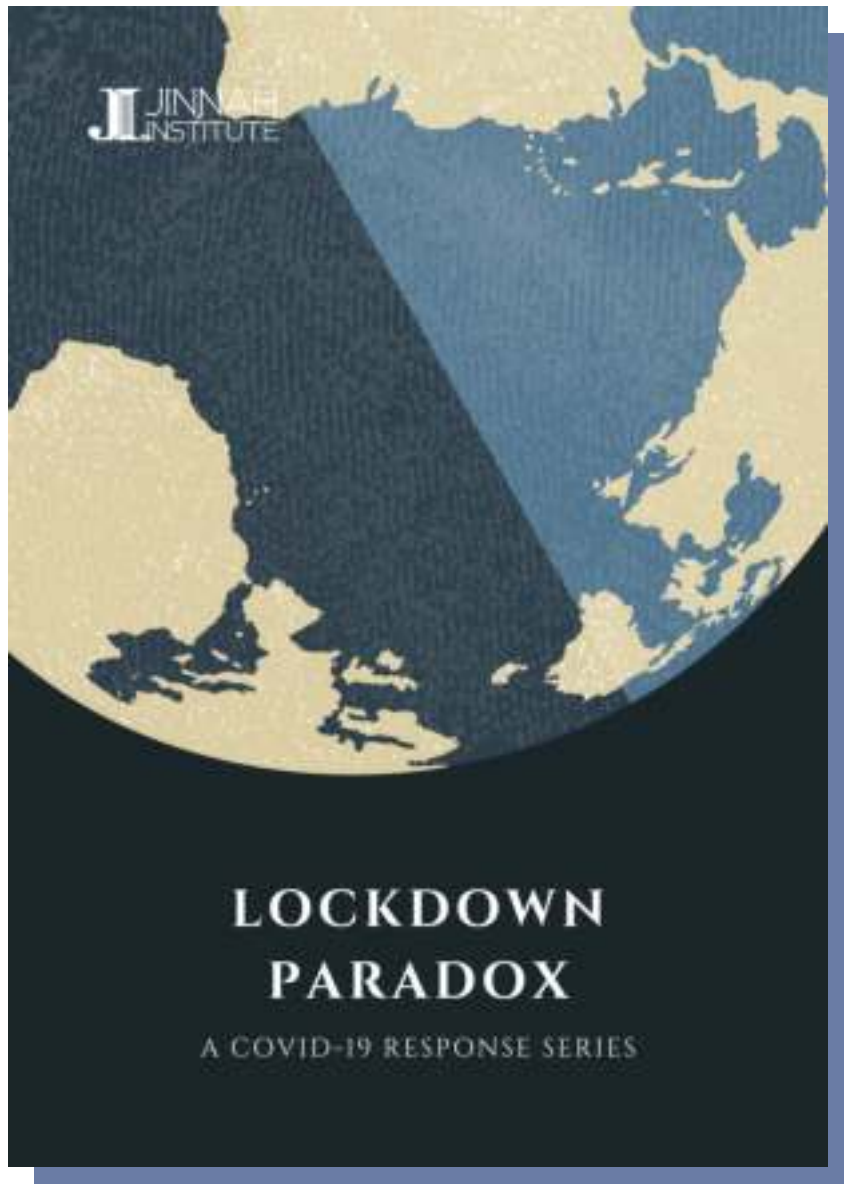
The Road to 2020: Forecasting Change in Pakistan

To mark the new year Jinnah Institute asked thought leaders and policy practitioners to comment on areas likely to dominate 2020. Themes under discussion covered key areas in foreign policy, governance and social protection, human rights, and the climate crisis.

Ghazi Salahuddin, journalist, writer and literary figure, provides a forecast for the state of media freedom and progressive expression in Pakistan, commenting on curbs on Pakistan's mainstream media. Saroop Ejaz, lawyer and country representative for Human Rights Watch, writes on the state and quality of democracy in Pakistan, recommending that Pakistan return to constitutional rule and parliamentary supremacy. Sakib Sherani, former advisor to the Prime Minister on economic affairs, comments on the continuing impact of the IMF program on key sectors of the economy, forecasting a sluggish economy in 2020. Safiya Aftab, economist, writes on Pakistan's direction with regards to social protection and poverty alleviation. Hassan Akbar, Director Strategic Security Initiative at Jinnah Institute, considers Pakistan's role and expectation from CPEC the coming year. Jamal Aziz, Executive Director at Research Society of International Law (RSIL), provides a forecast for brinkmanship on the LoC, predicting a tumultuous 2020 for Indo-Pak relations. Arif Rafique, non-resident fellow at the Middle East Institute, writes on the turbulence in Afghanistan examining expectations from the Afghan elections and Pak-Afghan relations. Rimmel Mohyidin, Pakistan/South Asia Campaigner at Amnesty International, writes on the way forward for Pakistan's climate justice, charting a path to ensure the country deals with the climate crisis effectively. Rabea Malik, research fellow at the Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives (IDEAS), reflects on the direction of education policy in Pakistan. Benazir Jatoi, lawyer and human rights activist, writes on child protection and welfare suggesting that 2020 should see decision makers reviewing incentives from the perspective of rights. Jahanzaib Haque, Chief Digital Strategist and Editor at Dawn, explores the country's digital landscape commenting on the future of internet penetration, online banking and e-commerce as well as cybercrime.

Read [here](#).

LOCKDOWN PARADOX



The contentious and consequential lives versus livelihood debate occupied governments worldwide as the coronavirus pandemic worsened. Jinnah Institute engaged leading policy specialists for their expertise on the issue. Titled Lockdown Paradox, the compendium includes views by S Akbar Zaid i, academic and political economist; Sakib Sherani, former member of the Prime Minister’s Economic Advisory Council; Haris Gazdar, economist and senior researcher; Asad Sayeed, senior economist, Abid Hasan, former operations advisor, World Bank; and Safiya Aftab, economist and public policy expert.

Killing the Virus and Saving the Economy

S. Akbar Zaidi

The trade-off being presented of saving lives through a lockdown to eliminate the coronavirus and killing the poor on account of the closure of economic activity is a false one. There is no denying the fact that the spread of the virus and the action taken to protect the lives of people have had severe economic consequences on all, irrespective of social class, but most affected are the working poor and others who have no savings and are dependent on daily employment. Pakistan's majority of workers belong to the informal sector, have no job or social security, are socially and economically vulnerable, and have been hit hardest at a time of complete shutdown. While a lockdown is essential, ways can (and have been) found which allow some relief to those who have been affected most.

Hard Choices Only

Sakib Sherani

In dealing with the crisis, hard choices have been imposed on government and society – none more impossible and Hobsonian than the 'forced' tradeoff between lives and livelihoods. This issue treads complex social choice questions that are intergenerational as well as involve income and power inequities within society. To complicate the societal and policy response, there are no 'smart' options given Pakistan's institutional atrophy and weakened state capacity that preclude the fundamental building blocks of any 'smart' response: surveillance, mass screening and testing, contact-tracing, ability to enforce quarantines, etc.

Analytics or Values

Haris Gazdar

For communities and countries, the analysis of a trade-off between saving lives and saving livelihoods is even more complex than it is for individuals. For individuals we can and do take shelter behind the manufactured assumption of people being free to make their own choices. But for a community or a country the choice involves saving Person A's life over Person B's livelihood or vice versa. Because there is no simple technical way of resolving this problem, it makes sense to pay attention to collective choices already made.

Economic Dynamics and Resource Envelopes

Asad Sayeed

Like many other countries, Pakistan continues to debate the trade-off between lives and livelihoods in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic. Much of this debate, it appears, has had two distinguishing features in Pakistan; (i) that it is static – in the sense that it views immediate losses in comparison to immediate gains in terms of lives and livelihoods, rather than its impact over clearly defined short and medium terms; and (ii) that a muddled narrative is being put out by different stakeholders – the federal and provincial governments, other state agencies, doctors, big business and small traders.

Expand Ehsaas, Extend Lockdown

Abid Hasan

Pakistan's health crisis could explode, gravely crippling the economy and national security, if the lockdown is lifted prematurely. The whole world is grappling with the lives vs. livelihoods debate. Everyone agrees that in developing countries, the balance should be in favour of livelihoods. At the same time, all epidemiologists fear that non-scientific easing of lockdown is a dangerous strategy. In Pakistan's case, the debate is driven by the misplaced views of the economic team that "we cannot have a prolonged lockdown as we are poor and can only afford a modest relief program." A safer option for Pakistan is to expand the Ehsaas and business employment protection programs, follow a smart lockdown for at least another month or so, and as far as practicable, enforce social distancing and wearing of homemade masks in markets.

Read the full feature [here](#).

UNIVERSITY TOWNHALLS



Changing Nature of the State and its Relationship with Citizens

Jinnah Institute held a university townhall on 27th September 2019 with students and faculty members at the University of Lahore on the 'Changing Nature of the State and its Relationship with Citizens'. Speakers at the event included veteran journalist and anchor Fahd Husain, prime time talk show anchor Munizae Jahangir, prominent lawyer and legal expert Feisal Naqvi. Salman Zaidi, Director Programs at Jinnah Institute moderated the discussion.

Munizae Jahangir gave her opening remarks by outlining the idea of the state, and the rights and responsibilities of citizens. She argued that there is a fair degree of vagueness in what the state appears to be, given its shifting priorities that frequently undermine fundamental freedoms. The ambiguity in the Pakistani state's posture towards citizens arises from an unwillingness to subscribe to its own constitutional mandate and the international conventions it has ratified. One example is the unwillingness to define a child's age at 18 years as per the UNCRC, which results in thousands of deaths of young girls every year through child marriage. Jahangir observed that state claims its citizens are all equal before the law, but the law is interpreted and meted out not on the basis of equality but political expedience. She suggested that citizens must find ways to agitate their demands from the state, particularly on its delivery of constitutional entitlements. There is a distinguished history of Pakistani citizens demanding their rights from the state, whose foremost reaction was brutality and use of force against them. What citizens articulate as their right will eventually find voice and representation on media.

Fahd Husain noted that the state and its relationship with citizens is well defined in the constitution, but paid scant attention to by those responsible for implementing it. There is a gap between promises made by the state to its people and the duties it successfully undertakes, resulting in a "do-say gap" that undermines the social contract. Ensuring fundamental rights is a duty of the state, not a favour, and if these rights are not given then the social contract is broken. He brought up the recent example of Rahim Yar Khan's Salahuddin Ayubi, who died in police custody after extreme torture. What kind of state allows this in the name of law and order? He observed that the state often justifies policy brutality by listing the

limitations it faces in terms of training, forensics and improved methods of investigation. The Pakistani state will not come forth and say how it will secure rights, but will justify why it cannot, he stated, adding that it is extremely difficult to bring about reforms to a state unwilling to admit its own complicity in undoing its constitution. He also added that engendering democratic ethics among citizens is just as important as making demands for rights, whereby citizens themselves uphold the law and bear responsibility for their actions. If developed countries present citizenship models to aspire for, then Pakistanis themselves have to adopt that course and find ways to get there.

Feisal Naqvi pointed out that the relationship between citizens and state has significantly evolved since the constitution was drafted. The rights promised in the 1973 Constitution outline 'negative freedoms', whereby protections from certain socio-economic and political ills are desired, such as freedom from poverty and tyranny. The expectations and demands of Pakistani citizens have changed over time to ask for positive freedoms, such as the right to education. The constitution has an error correction mechanism – the legislature – that allows new laws to be enacted, and respond to issues like child marriage. He emphasized that citizens must not look towards saviours in the judiciary or other institutions of the state to improve the quality of rights. Systems need to be reformed and repaired by citizens themselves, who have far more access to information now through the rise of social media, in addition to the means of demanding reform.

The session ended with a vote of thanks to the faculty and students of University of Lahore, who participated in the discussion and shared perspectives through questions and comments. 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 policy issues.



Cultural Expression and Political Identity

“The purpose of political culture is to create an inclusive environment conducive to the participation of all kinds of people; much of democratic continuity rests on this,” said linguist and professor Dr. Ali Kumail Qazalbash at Jinnah Institute’s townhall titled Cultural Expression and Political Identity. The townhall was held at Fatima Jinnah Women’s University, Rawalpindi and was attended by 200 students.

Political debate is also made more meaningful through investments in indigenous culture that have traditional mechanisms for reconciliation, he stated. Cultures are not inherently good or bad; but the adoption of inauthentic practices corrode traditional values, create stress, and prove regressive for identity formation. There have been forced attempts to create an artificial Islamist culture in Pakistan; these exercises compounded the ideological confusion among people, but did not fundamentally alter traditional culture. Whereas scientific and technological innovations can be ‘imported’, culture cannot assumed to be an import commodity that will change according to political preferences. He warned that cultural preservation is important, but should not be carried out at the expense of cultural diversity, folk heritage, or access to global cultural products. He also noted that culture is ever-evolving; forcing it to remain static and unchanging will result in its eventual extinction, be it a language, dress, cuisine, or any other cultural element.

Much of the rejection that Pakistan’s local languages and culture have experienced can be traced back to the age of colonialism where Enlightenment thinkers wrote off non-Western cultures as inferior and regressive. Hassan Akbar, policy specialist and Director Strategic Security Initiative at Jinnah Institute, discussed the history of the Indian sub-continent and pointed out that politics has a duty to accommodate and provide patronage to different cultures. Even a cursory glance at Pakistan’s origins reflects a strong connection with Muslim culture. Drawing on historical developments, he argued that Pakistan’s dismemberment in 1971 was based on cultural faultiness, whereby the identity and practices of citizens in East Pakistan were undermined and created popular resentment among them. Fifty years on, contemporary political culture in Pakistan shows every sign of intolerance and extremism. The use of social media has created isolated echo chambers that are known to strengthen people’s biases, subvert dialogue and tolerance for differing points of view. The revival of student unions is a positive step in the creation of a much needed enrichment of political discourse, but Hassan Akbar noted the likely risk of campus students being exploited by political parties.

This was followed by an interactive session where students asked the panelists questions and presented their viewpoints on the subject. The townhall concluded with a vote of thanks to the organisers and an informal networking session of students with panelists.



Never Telling the Truth: Challenges to Citizenship in a Time of Misinformation

“The flip side of media credibility is that news organisations must be able to make money, as they are business ventures before all else,” stated journalist and anchor, Arifa Noor at Jinnah Institute’s University townhall on the theme Challenges to Citizenship in a Time of Misinformation. The media industry has structural constraints that make it excessively dependent on government advertising revenue to keep it going. Across the world newspapers have found it challenging to stay afloat, as there is shrinking offline subscription, and advertisement revenue is generated for online versions only. This impacts salaries, time devoted to fact-checking, and editorial quality, she stated. “As media persons, we also harbor biases that are reflected in the composition of headlines, in space devoted to news items, in what is published on the front page. We struggle with this of course, and it is a choice to work with organisations where editorials are not dictated,” she said.

For many decades, print and electronic media have maintained a monopoly over information, but the advent of new information technologies such as the internet have altered this. Social media breaks the news instantly, and its users consume both misinformation and disinformation in equal measure, explained Sadaf Khan, co-founder of Media Matters for Democracy. She cited an incident from the 2018 general elections, whereby a viral Whatsapp message misguided voters on how to mark their ballot papers, rendering them invalid if the instructions were followed. Media literacy amongst Pakistanis is deficient, particularly among older age groups who are more susceptible to disinformation. She stated that Pakistan’s information ecosystem has evolved in ways that information can easily lend itself to conflict; it turns into an instrument of control or weapon of war. Sadaf stated that journalists working honest jobs are forced to prove their credibility and loyalty whereas a tiny minority of anchor persons become the face of media in Pakistan. Journalists operate under industrial pressures that are never considered by outsiders demanding credibility. “It is not the job of journalists to formulate solutions to problems, that demand must be raised with the policymakers,” she said.

Media person and social activist, Tanzeela Mazhar, stated that social media has enabled young people to engage in political discourse but their bolstered numbers should not be taken to mean an informed participation. Critical thinking is not taught in most schools, and the State’s many narratives over time have compounded ideological confusion among the electorate. It is without surprise that we lurch from one political experiment to the next. She explained that the State is a composite of its institutions, its people and laws that govern their interaction, but unfortunately this idea needs to be rehashed every few years with greater emphasis, because the State has been diminished to the handiwork of a few groups. No state is so weak that it cannot withstand criticism, neither should progressive criticism be interpreted as anti-state activity. “Patriotism is not a box to trap people in. How is it that citizens immediately turn into anti-state elements if they place one foot outside the box?” she asked. Tanzeela advised the participants of the townhall that their greatest advantage was their education, which gives them the ability to verify news from disinformation.

TEAM

**BOARDS OF GOVERNORS
AND ADVISORS**

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.

Salman Zaidi, Director Programs

Salman Zaidi works as Director Programs at Jinnah Institute. He was part of the Institute's founding team and led its Strategic Security Program from 2010-2015 where his work concentrated on Track 2 diplomacy between Pakistan, India, Afghanistan and the United States. He has led research projects on security sector reform, radicalization, youth, democratic governance and resource conflicts. Zaidi has previously worked with international development agencies and INGOs on recasting federal and provincial policy frameworks for national security, rule of law, youth affairs and climate change. He has authored and edited multiple publications and holds an MSc in Violence, Conflict and Development from SOAS, UK.

Syed Hassan Akbar, Director SSI

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 organisations 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. Specialising 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 organisations 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.

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.

Mariam Ali Bokhari, Project Officer

Mariam Bokhari is a Project Officer at Jinnah Institute and assists in the execution of research and advocacy programs under the Open Democracy Initiative and the Strategic Security Initiative, including policy roundtables, university townhalls, conferences and dialogues, extremism watch and other research and social media products. Mariam is also managing the editing and compilation of Jinnah Institute's forthcoming book which is a compilation of essays by leading women rights activists and thinkers, as well as providing support in the Institute's business development. She also writes for the organisation on issues of human rights, democracy, and inclusion. Mariam holds a Bachelor's degree from the Lahore University of Management Sciences where she majored in Economics and minored in History.

Muhammad Amir Khan, Junior Project Officer

Muhammad Amir Khan is a Junior Project Officer at the Jinnah Institute where his responsibilities involve providing logistical, administrative and research support for projects, including development of digital content for the institution's documentaries and explainer videos. He also assists in the research and data collection for the Timelines, Hate Tracker, assisting the President's office in preparing talking points, execution of events hosted by the Institute, as well as reviewing literature and legislation relevant for the Strategic Security and Open Democracy program streams. Amir holds a bachelor's degree from Bahria University Islamabad, where he majored in International Relations.

Ayesha Mushtaq, Communication & Design Specialist

Ayesha Mushtaq is a Design and Communications Specialist at Jinnah Institute. Her responsibilities include developing JI's design products to maximize Institute's outreach and enhance its advocacy efforts as well as managing Institute's communications platforms.

Previously, she worked in the education sector where she advocated for the implementation of Article 25-A in Pakistan through digital media and engagement with government representatives. This also involved leading training programs on Digital Media and Security for school-going students. A keen interest in research and journalism has been common in all roles that she's fulfilled so far.

Ayesha holds a Bachelor's degree from National University of Sciences and Technology in Mass Communication where she specialized in Advertising and Public Relations.

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 mobilisation and donor management in his work in the not-for-profit and educational sector.

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

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.

Syed Mustehsan Rasool, Manager Finance

Syed Mustehsan manages finances at Jinnah Institute. With 10 years of experience in the field of Accounting and Finance, he is responsible for; managing treasury functions of the Jinnah Institute, monitoring cash flows, creating forecast statements, preparing annual budgets, developing investment strategies, financial reporting to donors, managing monthly payrolls, developing institutional financial statements, and supervising day-to-day accounting operations. Mustehsan holds an Executive Masters of Business Administration (EMBA) from the Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology (SZABIST).

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.

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

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."

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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

Mr. Jameel Yusuf S.St is a businessman by profession and is the Chairman of TPL Corp Ltd. He has had a long and illustrious career spanning of more than half a century. Having a phenomenal success in business and has made a mark for himself in the service of humanity.

He was the Founder Chief of Citizens Police Liaison Committee (CPLC), Central Reporting Cell, a statutory institution, assisting Victims of Crime on a Voluntary and Honorary basis since its inception i.e. September 1989 – March 2003. In recognition of his exemplary services he was invested with the prestigious National Award of "Sitara-e-Shujaat" (S. St.) for Bravery, by the President of

Pakistan, in 1993, for his role leading to recovering over 100 Kidnapped Victims and apprehending more than 500 Kidnappers / Terrorists at the risk of his and his family's life.

He served as a Member of the Law & Order Commission of Pakistan, Member, Advisory Council Fellowship Fund for Pakistan (FFFP), Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars (WWC) since 2004 – 2015. He is the Member, BOG and Chairman, Steering Committee, "Al-Murtaza – Professional Development Centre" a Charitable Trust operated institution imparting training to teachers and heads of other Trust Operated Schools, established in 2001. Member, Board of Directors Aga Khan University Examination Board (AKU-EB). He is also the Founding Trustee of "PANAHA TRUST" a Shelter Home for Women who are victims of domestic and societal violence in Karachi since its establishment in 2001, Trustee, Guardians Trust for restoration of Heritage building and premises of Frere Hall and Gardens w.e.f October, 2018 and Member, Executive Committee: Public Interest Law Association of Pakistan (PILAP).

Nadeem Hussain

Nadeem Hussain is one of Asia's leading social impact entrepreneurs, technology investors and financial inclusion pioneers.

Nadeem is the founder of Telenor Microfinance Bank, lauded by the World Bank as one of the most socially impactful banks in its field. Its EasyPaisa offering is the world's second largest branchless banking payments solutions, moving over 5% of Pakistan's GDP in 2017. In its first entry into the Pakistan market, Alibaba-Ant Financial has recently acquired a 45% stake in the company at a \$410m valuation representing a 41.0x multiple of the initial 2005 founding capital of the business.

Nadeem's subsequent venture Planet N Group is an emerging markets social impact and technology investment firm with portfolio companies in Pakistan, Egypt and the UAE. Key sectors include: nano & micro finance, fintech, data science & analytics, machine learning & AI, blockchain, e-health, e-education e-media and e-commerce: Link: Planet N Group Planet N is dedicated to the goals of furthering financial inclusion and fostering development through digitization.

Technology is presenting emerging markets with an entirely new path to development, enabling them to leapfrog and be at the forefront of global innovation with businesses that are scalable, profitable and socially impactful.

Nadeem sees Pakistan, Egypt and the UAE as markets where digitisation, data and nano-finance can have a particularly transformative social impact, furthering financial inclusion and ushering millions into the mainstream economy, while simultaneously boosting business efficiency and profitability.

Nadeem previously spent 27 years at Citigroup in eight countries in regional management within commercial, consumer, retail and investment banking and has a BA from Muhlenberg College, Pennsylvania, USA.

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.

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. 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).

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).

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 has served on Jinnah Institute's Board of Advisors through 2010-2011.

Salim Raza

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Syed Salim Raza is an international banker with a Masters from Oxford University and a distinguished career spanning many countries. He was CEO of Citibank in Pakistan in the mid-1980s. Most recently Raza has been involved with governance metrics, regulatory frameworks and policy development in Pakistan.

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Ayesha Jalal

Ayesha Jalal is a leading historian on South Asia. She is a MacArthur Fellow and a professor at Tufts University. Her work primarily centers on the conception of modern Muslim identities in South Asia and the examination of the creation of the Pakistan state and its struggle to achieve democracy. Dr. Jalal has been an Associate Professor at Columbia University (1991-1999), Visiting Associate Professor at Harvard University (1998-1999), Fellow of the MacArthur Foundation (1998-2003); Member Editorial Board, Third World Quarterly; Member International Advisory Committee, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Lahore School of Management Sciences (LUMS). Her publications concentrate on the themes of decolonization, problems of sovereignty, identity, citizenship and democracy, Islam and Women. She has authored several books which include *Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia* (2008), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective*, *The State of Martial Rule: The Origins of Pakistan's Political Economy of Defense* (1990), *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (1985).

Ahsan Iqbal

Ahsan Iqbal is the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission with the portfolio of Federal Minister for Planning and Reform. He has been a former Federal Minister for Education and elected member of the National Assembly representing the PML-N. Mr. Iqbal has previously been appointed as Chief Coordinator/Minister of State, Pakistan 2010 Program (1997 to 1999), Deputy Chairman of Pakistan Planning Commission (1998 to 1999), Chairman of Good Governance Group, Government of Pakistan (1997 to 1999), Chairman of Pakistan Engineering Board, and Chairman of National Steering Committees on Information Technology and IQM and Productivity (1998 to 1999). Earlier he served as Policy and Public Affairs Assistant to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Dr. S Akbar Zaidi

Dr. 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).

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.

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.

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 of Sciences and Technology 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.



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