

PAKISTAN 2020

**A Vision For Building a
Better Future**

HASSAN ABBAS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

May 2011

**ASIA SOCIETY
PAKISTAN 2020 STUDY GROUP REPORT**

AsiaSociety.org/Pakistan2020

Foreword

Pakistan's population of more than 180 million ranks sixth highest globally. Pakistan is the second-largest country in the world with a predominantly Muslim population and holds a key geostrategic location, sharing international borders with India, China, Iran, and Afghanistan, as well as a 700-mile coastline along the Arabian Sea touching on the Persian Gulf. With a standing army of half a million, the Pakistani government is one of very few in the world in possession of nuclear weapons—more than 100 by some estimates. Beset with serious challenges, including terrorism, religious extremism, underdevelopment, and chronic political instability, Pakistan's future is of vital importance, both regionally and globally.

A relatively new state, Pakistan is in the process of establishing itself as a nation that can cope with the pressures of globalization, which can involve massive institutional changes and fierce resistance. The blueprint for a modern state is already in place, but upheavals caused by ongoing regional rivalries, insurgency in the Afghanistan–Pakistan tribal belt, and Iran's contentious relations with the West all are contributing to an increasingly volatile regional environment. While Pakistanis repeatedly have succeeded in reverting to democratic governance after long periods of martial law, it remains to be seen whether the dominant civilian political forces in the country have the capacity to create an atmosphere that is conducive to the establishment of resilient democratic institutions.

This Asia Society report, *Pakistan 2020: A Vision for Building a Better Future*, assesses the myriad political, economic, and security challenges facing Pakistan today and provides a set of recommendations for how the country can begin to pave a prosperous path toward peace and stability in the coming decade. While acknowledging that the security situation in Pakistan has linkages with the ongoing war in Afghanistan, this report focuses primarily on Pakistan's internal crises and offers a road map for establishing stability, a sustainable democratic order, and a pluralistic society as a way to strengthen and develop the country in service of its population.

The report reflects the overall thinking of a Study Group convened by the Asia Society to focus on seven core issues that are essential to realizing a sound future for Pakistan by 2020. By examining what is possible and projecting a vision of what the country should strive to be working toward in the coming decade, the recommendations presented in this report focus on democratic institutions, the rule of law, the development sector, the energy infrastructure, recovery from the 2010 floods in Pakistan, internal security, and the peace process with India.

Given ever-increasing concerns about Pakistan's stability and its impact on the region and beyond, it is not surprising that there has been a flurry of studies on Pakistan in recent months and years. The Asia Society Pakistan 2020 Study Group seeks to contribute to the thinking about Pakistan's future by offering three unique and mutually reinforcing dimensions. First, this Study Group is the first in recent years to include a significant number of leading experts from Pakistan *and* the United States, representing a range of sectors in both countries. Second, rather than viewing Pakistan exclusively through a security lens, the Study Group set out to examine the crises in Pakistan in a broader and more comprehensive context. A myopic focus on security challenges is problematic, as economic challenges, perennial political tussles, and resource scarcity problems in Pakistan are of equal, if not greater, concern to the future of the country. Finally, rather than dwelling on what is going wrong and resorting to quick fixes, the Study Group focused on generating pragmatic and durable policy recommendations aimed at improving Pakistan's future prospects with a long-term vision.

This report, however, is not meant to represent a consensus among all the members of the Pakistan 2020 Study Group. It presents the findings and conclusions reached by the project director and the report's principal author, Hassan Abbas, through consultations with Study Group members. While individual members may disagree with some parts of the report, the Group broadly supports the overall set of recommendations.

This report went to print as the news of Osama bin Laden's death surfaced. As the United States and Pakistan face an extremely difficult moment in their bilateral relationship, our hope is that the recommendations provided here will help policy makers in both countries and in the broader international community to formulate the best and most effective decisions to set Pakistan on a progressive path by 2020. Moreover, the ideas for reform contained in this report are directed at civil society actors in Pakistan, who in recent years have started to play an increasingly important role.

On behalf of the Asia Society, I would like to thank the members of the Pakistan 2020 Study Group for dedicating their experience and expertise to this enterprise. I am especially indebted to Hassan Abbas for ably directing the project and for bringing his deep knowledge of Pakistan to bear in penning this report. My thanks go as well to Suzanne DiMaggio, Vice President of Global Policy Programs at the Asia Society, for skillfully overseeing all aspects of this initiative, and project manager Robert W. Hsu for supporting the many moving pieces from the initial stages to the final product. Special thanks are due to Shahan Mufti for his help in writing this report, Timothy Orr for coordinating meetings with Study Group members, and Yasser Kureshi, Kinza Hasan, and Cynthia Lee for providing research assistance.

During the course of this project, valuable insights were gained from interviews with senior Pakistani government officials, including Tariq Pervez, former Director General of the National Counterterrorism Authority; Tariq Khosa, former Director General of the Federal Investigation Authority; Khawaja Mohammad Asif, Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan; Ambassador Nazar Abbas; Amjad Bhatti, Advisor in the Ministry of Information, Islamabad; and Owais Ahmed Ghani, former Governor of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Province. I gratefully acknowledge their valuable insights. Useful feedback

for the report was also gained from interviews with students at Government College University in Lahore, Pakistan and the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York. I also wish to thank the Lotte Group for generously supporting this effort.

Finally, this effort began under the keen eye and passionate commitment of Asia Society's former Chairman, the late Richard C. Holbrooke. Asia Society dedicates this report, and our ongoing work and programming on South Asia, in his memory, with deep gratitude for his legacy in international relations and his service in this region in particular.

Vishakha N. Desai

President, Asia Society

Executive Summary

In recent years, Pakistan has stumbled from one crisis to another. A number of political and socioeconomic challenges threaten to further destabilize a country that already is reeling from insurgencies along its northwestern border. Pakistan's newest democratic government is struggling to maintain control over parts of its territory where militant religious groups are intent on challenging its authority and legitimacy. The country's conflict with India over Kashmir, now in its seventh decade, appears as intractable as ever, and the war in neighboring Afghanistan has deepened instability throughout Pakistan. The transition from a near-decade-long rule under a military dictatorship is slow and complicated, as rampant corruption and politicization of the bureaucracy present huge obstacles to the state-building process.

Although Pakistan's vibrant civil society, relatively open media, and the rise of an independent higher judiciary provide some glimmers of hope, poor economic and development indicators coupled with worrying demographic trends pose serious challenges to the well-being of millions of Pakistanis. Energy shortages have worsened in recent years, and the destruction caused by the floods of 2010 has exacerbated the country's many strains. In short, how Pakistan manages these challenges in the coming years will have great consequences for its future prospects.

While recent reform efforts in the higher judiciary and constitutional amendments to strengthen democratic institutions and expand provincial autonomy signal a positive trajectory for the country, sustaining democratic governance is complicated by radicalization and violence perpetrated by an intolerant and extremist minority in the country. Terrorist attacks on respected and cherished Sufi shrines throughout Pakistan and high-profile assassinations—including the January 2011 killing of Salman Taseer, the governor of Punjab, and the assassination of Shahbaz Bhatti, Pakistan's only Christian cabinet minister, in March 2011—illustrate the lengths to which religious extremists in Pakistan will go to silence opposition voices in the country. And rather than condemning these acts of vigilante justice as un-Islamic, the government's slow and timid response to the violence has allowed voices of intolerance to gather strength.

Preventing Pakistan from further deterioration will require a sustained, long-term commitment from the government of Pakistan, the United States, and other international stakeholders to promote genuine reform in the coming decade. This commitment must be enshrined in a comprehensive package of policies aimed at promoting sustainable constitutional democracy, credible and effective rule of law and law enforcement, a significant expansion and improvement of the education and health sectors,

and a peaceful resolution of the conflict with India. Economic growth and foreign investment in Pakistan arguably will follow such progress.

In Pakistan, there is a growing consensus about the need for reform, but the resources and will that are required to plan, support, and implement such an agenda remain elusive. In this context, the role of private and public sector media in preparing Pakistani society and the state for competition in the global economy and in creating a culture of innovation cannot be overlooked.

For this report, the Asia Society Pakistan 2020 Study Group focused on seven core issues that are essential to realizing a sound future for the country by 2020: (1) strengthening democratic institutions; (2) strengthening the rule of law; (3) improving human development and social services, especially in health and education; (4) developing the energy infrastructure; (5) assisting the victims of the 2010 flood in their recovery; (6) improving internal security; and (7) advancing the peace process with India. This report is not meant to represent a consensus among all the members of the Pakistan 2020 Study Group. Rather, it presents the findings and conclusions reached by the project director and the report's principal author, Hassan Abbas, through consultations with Study Group members. While individual members may disagree with parts of the report, the Group broadly supports the overall set of recommendations.

Civil-Military Relations and Democracy

The democratic leadership of Pakistan is struggling to consolidate and strengthen civilian-led democratic institutions in a country that has been ruled by military generals for half of its existence as an independent state. In this context, one of the most important challenges facing Pakistan is the military's dominance of the country's fiscal priorities and strategic calculus. For civilian institutions to take root and flourish over the next decade, the process of democratization must continue. The following course of action should be pursued to strengthen democratic governance in the country:

- A strict adherence to term appointments for armed forces personnel by the civilian leadership will support the professionalization of the Pakistani military.
- Making the expenditures of the Pakistani military more transparent is critical and will require enacting parliamentary legislation through a legislative process similar to those followed by many governments worldwide.
- Civilian supremacy in the Pakistani army can be established through the development of internal mechanisms, for example, by emphasizing democracy in military academies, making the Pakistani military's budget transparent, and involving civilians in strategic decision-making processes.
- The interests of the United States and other important allies of Pakistan will be better served by giving priority to strengthening relations with the democratic leadership and institutions of the country.
- Achieving stability in Pakistan and strengthening democratic traditions in the coming decade will require all major Pakistani political parties to hold regular elections and enact term limits for

their leaders, limit the areas where candidates can contest an election to their home constituencies, and establish a transparent mechanism by which funding can be provided to low-income candidates.

Rule of Law and the Judiciary

The weaknesses of Pakistan's judicial system not only pose a serious challenge to access to justice, but also hinder the fight against terrorist groups. In the most basic sense, the rule of law in Pakistan must aim to protect the rights of citizens from arbitrary and abusive use of government power. A functioning judiciary is a fundamental element of any society's rule of law. Expanding reform efforts from higher to lower judicial levels of the system will be critical for Pakistan in the coming years. The following measures should be carried out to strengthen the rule of law in Pakistan over the coming decade:

- The 2002 Bangalore Principles of Judicial Conduct—which stipulate that, in addition to independence, the values of impartiality, integrity, propriety, competence, diligence, and equal treatment of all before the courts are essential to proper judicial conduct—must be followed.
- Respecting the separation of powers enshrined in the constitution, as well as placing reasonable limits on the Supreme Court's use of *suo moto* powers, will contribute greatly to the enhancement of the rule of law in Pakistan.
- Security for judges, especially for those in lower courts hearing sensitive cases such as those concerning blasphemy and terrorism, must be enhanced.
- The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women needs to be ratified without delay.
- The National Judicial Policy should be implemented, with an emphasis on provisions calling for oversight, disciplining corrupt and inefficient judicial officers, setting a timeline and establishing special benches for prioritizing cases that can be fast-tracked, and funding courtroom construction and the hiring of judicial officers and administrative staff.
- In the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the Pakistan government and Supreme Court must establish as a matter of priority a functioning judicial system with civil and criminal courts and a reformed legal code to replace the outdated and irrelevant Frontier Crimes Regulation.

Human Development

Poor governance and weak institutions have eroded the Pakistani public's confidence in the government's capacity to address their everyday needs. Pakistan currently ranks 125th (out of 169 countries) on the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Index. The government is investing little in socioeconomic development, which also is hindering the growth potential of Pakistan's economy and depriving people of opportunities to live a satisfying life.

Education

Given the dire crisis in education in Pakistan today, the country will not achieve universal primary education by 2015, as set forth in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. The focus should

be on getting as close to the goal as possible by 2015, with a renewed commitment to achieve universal primary education by 2020. As a first step, Pakistan must immediately raise its public expenditures on education from less than 1.5% to at least 4% of gross domestic product, and by 2020, the expenditures should be set to at least 6%. Without making this minimal commitment, a reversal of the worrying trends in the education sector is unlikely to occur. An immediate increase in public expenditures on education to at least 4% of gross domestic product should target the following priority areas:

- Devising and implementing an accountable and predictable system of teacher recruitment, hiring, payment, retention, and training, as well as promotion based on merit, achievement, and outcomes will greatly improve the quality of education and teacher performance in Pakistan.
- The introduction of curriculum reform focusing on a life-skills-based approach to education will promote real-world applications of creative thinking and analytical reasoning.
- Developing a robust central regulatory system will contribute to the maintenance of standards and the collection of timely data on service delivery, operations, infrastructure availability, fiscal flows, learning achievements, teacher performance, and school outcomes in the education sector.
- A dynamic set of institutionalized relationships should be established between the central regulatory mechanism and the autonomous and independent subnational government units responsible for service delivery.
- Separating the higher education function completely from the primary education function and enacting legislation to provide specialized management and authority over higher education institutions will ensure greater regulatory control.
- Madrasa reform can be achieved through strategies for curricular improvement. Public school curricula should be devised, designed, and monitored by provincial governments and combine religious and secular education.
- The government of Pakistan can fulfill its education reform plans if foreign donors and international agencies focus their aid efforts on establishing a single coherent approach to providing significant budget support in this sector.

Health

Pakistan is in need of deep-rooted reform in its health care system, which must include systems of governance outside the public health sector that affect the performance of health systems. While universal access to basic public health facilities is an ambitious goal that many Pakistanis desire, investments now must begin to build a strong infrastructure by 2020 to make this goal attainable. Immediate action in the following priority areas should begin to address health needs in Pakistan:

- Proactive steps to improve health governance will be greatly enhanced by the development of a national consensus on a health reform agenda.
- In addition to devolving service delivery responsibilities from the federal level to the provincial and district levels, capacity building at the provincial level will allow for the planning, evaluation,

and implementation of alternative service delivery and financing mechanisms. Key national functions for health should be retained by the federal structure.

- Collecting, analyzing, and swiftly scaling up successful best practices from existing examples of public service delivery reengineering at the primary health care and hospital levels will contribute greatly to health sector improvement in Pakistan.
- Separating policy-making, implementation, and regulatory functions in the health sector, as well as adopting market-harnessing regulatory approaches, will lead to an improvement in service delivery.
- Concrete steps for increasing public financing in health must begin alongside measures to improve utilization and limit pilferage. Strengthening essential services, enhancing social protection for the informally employed, and pooling insurance for the unemployed are priority areas for any increase in revenues in the health sector.
- An innovative system of private–public, employer- and sponsor-subsidized, and pooled group health insurance can be introduced nationwide, especially for low-income groups.
- Investments must be made to leverage the full potential of health information technology in mobile health systems, with the aim of improving transparency in procurements, increasing philanthropic subsidies, enhancing quality assurance, and promoting access to medical education. Technology such as telemedicine can help bridge the gap between rural and urban access to quality health care.
- Collecting, analyzing, and disseminating health information for shaping policy and planning at the decision-making level can be achieved through the development of an apex institutional arrangement.
- By adopting market-harnessing regulatory approaches, the first point of contact in primary health care will be broadened while enabling equitable access and the purchase of health care for many Pakistanis.
- Strengthening government oversight and regulations in private sector health care delivery will prevent and check problems such as malpractice and facilitate public–private collaborations in health delivery.

Energy Infrastructure

Pakistan faces chronic infrastructure challenges when it comes to energy sources. In addition to nurturing social and political instability, Pakistan's poor energy infrastructure imposes enormous economic costs in the form of unemployment and loss of revenue. An uninterrupted supply of energy to fuel the nation's economy should be the highest priority for Pakistan's economic managers. To meet its current and future energy demands, the government of Pakistan should invest a minimum of \$5 billion in energy production by 2020. Additionally, the following measures in the energy sector should be implemented:

- Pakistan must enhance its capacity to cultivate more power from renewable energy sources, particularly by improving its ability to harness wind energy along its southern coast and by making use of solar power.
- Along with proper upkeep and maintenance of existing hydropower dams, more dams are needed to meet current and future energy requirements in Pakistan. This can be achieved by directing investments toward the construction of a very small number of large dams (Kalabagh dam is one project that has been stalled) or a larger number of small reservoirs. At the same time, these plans must be integrated into a broader strategy to improve water resources management throughout the country. Additionally, Pakistan can dispel the impression that big dam projects will benefit only larger provinces by exploring ways to reach a consensus among all the provinces on its water infrastructure and providing provinces with legally binding guarantees.
- Energy efficiency in Pakistan can be improved if government-owned power generation infrastructure is refurbished technologically and power infrastructure is upgraded with a modern efficient grid.
- Foreign donors can play a key role in building Pakistan's energy capacity by providing expert advice to the public and private sectors in Pakistan on energy development and management. The United States, in particular, should explore investing in a large energy infrastructure project in Pakistan, which will not only deepen strategic ties with Pakistan but also create goodwill in the country.

The Floods of 2010

The massive floods in Pakistan during the summer of 2010 set back all development indicators in the country. The enormity of the humanitarian crisis caused by the floods requires concerted planning and a seamless transition to the rehabilitation and reconstruction phase. Securing resources for the post-relief phase continues to be a challenge, but every effort should be made in the next two to three years to ensure that reconstruction in Pakistan proceeds effectively. The following steps should be taken to ensure that Pakistan fully recovers from the flood and is adequately prepared for future disasters:

- Pakistan's vulnerability to disasters can be addressed by immediately implementing sound building regulations, starting land rehabilitation, de-silting canals and waterways, and constructing dikes.
- Integrating climate change scenarios into the Pakistan government's annual development plans will help develop a well-coordinated strategy to address the impacts of global climate change in the country while ensuring progress toward meeting the Millennium Development Goals targets for poverty reduction.
- Regional as well as global support for reconstruction in flood-hit areas is critical. To improve its credibility and potentially attract more funds for reconstruction, Pakistan must be fully transparent about the use of international funds.

- Stabilizing and improving access to steady, affordable, and nutritious food supplies in Pakistan is essential, especially for the 6 million people most affected by the floods.
- Enhancing access to health services and medicines for flood-affected areas has to be a government priority, in addition to evaluating and addressing the health risks caused by the flood, including the spread of waterborne diseases.
- The losses incurred by displacement, migration, or damage to income-generating assets as a result of the floods highlight the need for introducing alternative mechanisms for flood survivors to reestablish their source of livelihood, especially for those whose primary source of income has been obliterated. Future asset-protection mechanisms need to be introduced concurrently—for example, through livestock insurance and weather-indexed crop insurance.
- Developing a comprehensive management framework for disaster prevention and mitigation in all aspects of national planning will help reduce Pakistan’s vulnerability to natural calamities. The National Disaster Management Authority needs to be strengthened and properly resourced to function as a national focal point. In this context, Pakistan must follow the Kyoto Convention’s recommendations on disaster prevention and management diligently.

Internal Security

Achieving internal security is of paramount importance to ensuring a stable and prosperous future in Pakistan. The significant rise in terrorist activity throughout the country, besides being a serious threat and demoralizing fact for its people, has dampened economic growth in Pakistan. At the core of internal security is the creation of a capable, well-resourced, structurally coherent, and institutionally autonomous police and law enforcement infrastructure. At the same time, any strategy must include measures that tackle the root causes of insurgency and violence in the first place, such as poverty, illiteracy, a sense of injustice, and a widely held perception that “external forces” are attacking Pakistan. The following steps should be taken to ensure internal security in Pakistan:

- De-radicalization programs and the effective use of law enforcement backed by military force must be enhanced to reduce religious militancy.
- The Pakistan government will have to confront the multiple insurgent and terrorist groups operating simultaneously in the country and prevent these groups from establishing a sanctuary.
- Establishing an efficient, professional, and accountable law enforcement infrastructure will require fully implementing the 2002 Police Order to reorganize the police into a politically neutral force and discarding the controversial amendments made in 2004. Police safety commissions—already provided for under the new law—should be empowered to monitor police performance. An efficient police force can be created by devising and implementing procedures and policies aimed at improving conditions for police officers, establishing citizen–police liaison committees, and enhancing police and intelligence services cooperation.
- Military and civilian intelligence agencies must follow guidelines provided by law when gathering information and conducting interrogations. Human rights violations, especially in

Baluchistan, where reports of abductions of political activists by security forces are common, must end.

- A robust witness protection program that also protects investigators, prosecutors, and judges—particularly in major criminal and terrorism cases—can be created through amendments in the Criminal Procedure Code.
- Rigid and impartial enforcement of the law will help ameliorate ethnic strife and sectarian killings in cities, especially in Karachi. This strategy will require revising the curriculum in public schools, as well as in madrasa networks, in ways that encourage pluralism and deter any dissemination of intolerance.
- Curricular improvement in Pakistan along scientific lines can be modeled on similar efforts in Indonesia and other countries. In this context, progressive religious scholars who challenge violent extremists must be provided full security as well as state support for their independent research work and publications.
- Internal security can be achieved if the international community directly targets its assistance toward helping Pakistan in this area. Half of U.S. funding allocated for counterterrorism and counterinsurgency support in Pakistan, for example, can be directed toward supporting scientific investigations and enhancing forensic capabilities in law enforcement. Additionally, the rules of engagement of coalition forces and policies on drone attacks should be reassessed.

Relations with India and Neighbors

Pakistan's development is almost impossible without regional cooperation, and China and India play a very important role in this context. An optimistic scenario in the next 10 years would be for Pakistan's economy to grow at a rate of approximately 5% annually, which would provide a cushion so that the country could begin investing in long-term human capacity development. However, without a sustainable peace deal with India that includes an amicable resolution of the Kashmir dispute, this is unlikely to happen. There is a growing realization in India that a failed Pakistan is not in its best interest. Peace in South Asia is attainable if Pakistan, its neighbors, and international stakeholders focus on the following measures:

- Pakistan must set a goal of increasing annual direct bilateral trade with India to more than \$5 billion by 2020, as increased economic interactions will expand the space for peace constituencies in both states. As a first step, India should unilaterally lower nontariff barriers to trade with Pakistan. In turn, Pakistan can accord India most-favored-nation trade status.
- Reforming the visa issuance process will help support and strengthen people-to-people contact from both countries, as will further encouraging contacts between civil society groups and student exchange programs in both countries.
- Enhancing energy cooperation between India and Pakistan is a potential avenue of dialogue between the two countries. Cooperative energy projects, such as joint natural gas pipelines, joint electricity-generation projects, and the development of a common grid system, will go a

long way toward demonstrating that the people of both countries can benefit from improved relations.

- The governments of Pakistan and India should place a moratorium on the expansion of their nuclear weapons programs. Pakistan's military leaders must realize that more nuclear weapons will neither improve the country's nuclear deterrence capabilities nor help in its fight against terrorism. Furthermore, Pakistan must ensure the safety and security of its nuclear materials.
- By reposturing militarily and becoming less Pakistan focused, India can help ease Pakistan's insecurity. War doctrines such as "Cold Start" should be reviewed and Pakistan's apprehensions about Indian interference in Baluchistan need to be addressed. At the same time, Pakistan must dismantle all armed groups focused on Kashmir.
- Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and other external powers must recognize that terrorism is by no means a state-specific problem; the entire region will have to confront it together. Cooperation between civilian law enforcement agencies in South Asia should be institutionalized.
- The United States cannot promote an amicable resolution of the differences and disputes between India and Pakistan by supporting one side or the other; it must remain objective. In the case of Afghanistan, a more proactive role for the United States must include bringing all the regional stakeholders to the table, ideally under a United Nations umbrella and with the aim of ending the India–Pakistan rivalry and proxy war in Afghanistan.

Pakistan faces enormous challenges in the years ahead. But the people of Pakistan have shown a remarkable resilience in addressing some of these challenges, and there is a high potential for reform and development in the country. Progressive and constructive policy shifts, as suggested here, are what truly matter in the long term. Moreover, internal and regional factors will define and drive Pakistan's path toward reform, and the international community, especially important allies such as the United States, must play a supportive role.

Pakistan 2020 Study Group

Project Director

Hassan Abbas, Bernard Schwartz Fellow, Asia Society; Quaid-i-Azam Professor, South Asia Institute, Columbia University

Project Manager

Robert W. Hsu, Assistant Director, Global Policy Programs, Asia Society

Members

Samina Ahmed, South Asia Project Director, International Crisis Group

Graham Allison, Douglas Dillon Professor of Government and Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

Peter Bergen, Journalist; Director, National Security Studies Program, New America Foundation

Christopher Candland, Associate Professor of Political Science and Co-Director, South Asia Studies Program, Wellesley College

Stephen Cohen, Senior Fellow for Foreign Policy Studies, 21st Century Defense Initiative, Brookings Institution

Suzanne DiMaggio, Vice President, Global Policy Programs, Asia Society

Asad Durrani, Lieutenant General (Ret.), Pakistan Military, and Former Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence; Former Pakistan Ambassador to Germany and Saudi Arabia

C. Christine Fair, Assistant Professor, Center for Peace and Security Studies, Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University

Asher Hasan, Founder and CEO, Naya Jeevan

Andrew Hess, Professor of Diplomacy and Director, Program for Southwest Asia and Islamic Civilization, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University

Pervez Hoodbhoy, Chairman and Professor, Department of Physics, Quaid-i-Azam University

Mir Ibrahim, Founder and CEO, Geo TV

Asma Jahangir, President, Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan

Jehangir Karamat, General (Ret.) and Former Chief of Pakistan Army; CEO, Spearhead Research Institute

William Milam, Senior Policy Scholar, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Former U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan

Adil Najam, Director, Frederick S. Pardee Center for the Study of the Longer-Range Future, Boston University

Nigar Nazar, Cartoonist; CEO, Gogi Studios Ltd.

John D. Negroponte, Vice Chairman, McLarty Associates; Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State

Sania Nishtar, Founder and President, Heartfile

Amir Rana, Director, Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies

Ahmed Rashid, Journalist and Author; Former Correspondent, *Far Eastern Economic Review*

Eric Rosenbach, Faculty Affiliate, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

Babar Sattar, Founding Partner, AJURIS Advocates and Corporate Consultants

Ayesha Siddiqi, Political Analyst; Author, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy*

Shirin Tahir-Kheli, Former Senior Advisor for Women's Empowerment, U.S. Department of State, and Senior Director for Democracy, Human Rights, and International Operations, U.S. National Security Council

Frank Wisner, Foreign Affairs Advisor, Patton Boggs, LLC; Former U.S. Ambassador to India and U.S. Undersecretary of Defense for Policy

Moed Yusuf, South Asia Advisor, Center for Conflict Prevention and Analysis, United States Institute of Peace

Mariam Abou Zahab, Lecturer, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales

Mosharraf Zaidi, Columnist, *The News*; Policy Analyst

Nasim Zehra, Director, *Current Affairs*, and Host, *Policy Matters*, Dunya TV