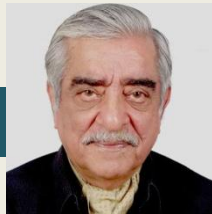


J Policy Interventions 2015

As Pakistan weathers the impact of multiple transitions in 2015, Jinnah Institute asked thought leaders and policymakers at the close of the year to suggest the most urgent policy interventions they would like to see the government undertake in the areas of Foreign Policy, National Security, Economy, Energy, Health, Extremism and Radicalisation, Education, and Human Rights.

Foreign Policy

Amb. Najmuddin Shaikh



The three interventions that I see as crucial for 2015 will heavily influence the course of relations with three of our neighbours, and with the United States. Only one is a foreign policy intervention, but its success is contingent upon what we do domestically.

Push for Afghan stability. Use the influence and coercive powers we have to persuade the Afghan Taliban on our soil to commence negotiations with the National Unity Government in Kabul, taking the Roadmap for Peace presented by Chairman Afghan High Peace Council Salahuddin Rabbani in November 2012 as a starting point. Restore government control over refugee camps in Balochistan and establish the government's writ in Taliban-dominated suburbs of Quetta, such as Pushtunabad and Khrotabad. Continue building the ditch along the Pak-Afghan border. Clear the seminaries from which Lashkar-e-Jhangvi launches attacks on Shia pilgrims.

Expedite the Mumbai trials. Follow up on the appeal against the grant of bail to Mr. Lakhvi, expedite the hearing of the case against the alleged

perpetrators of the Mumbai attack and use the recent decision on hate speech to control the public appearances of Hafiz Saeed and his cohorts.

Restore internal security. Be more candid with the public about Pakistan's need for assistance in waging war against internal terrorists. Emphasise, in briefings and news stories, that our principal trading partners will provide assistance if they see us pursuing the campaign seriously because it is in their own interest to ensure that Pakistan becomes the moderate tolerant state it was meant to be, since in their perception there can be nothing more dangerous than an unstable nuclear-armed state. At this time it is also important because they perceive Pakistan's stability and return to a moderate tolerant polity as an indispensable element in restoring stability in the Middle East towards which the epicenter of terrorism is shifting.

Curb the flow of funds to extremist organisations. Launch a special campaign in the Gulf Cooperation Council countries to eliminate the flow of funds from Pakistanis and private Arab philanthropists, to suspect organisations in Pakistan. Recognise that a positive response will come only if our internal measures are seen to be as indiscriminate and as ruthless as the situation demands.

Amb. Najmuddin Shaikh is a former Foreign Secretary.

National Security

Dr. Moeed Yusuf



The three most crucial policy interventions to address counterinsurgency and counter-terrorism in 2015 can be laid out as thus:

Develop a narrative. The state will have to develop a clear narrative that effectively challenges and dispels the misinterpretations of religion and geopolitics that have been thrown out by militants and terrorists alike to confuse the Pakistani mind and make it ambivalent. Pakistani policymakers will have to unequivocally push a proactive state narrative, and this cannot just be a reactionary counter-narrative. This narrative will need to be geared to achieve three tasks: correct the definition of religion that militants depend on; challenge anti-Americanism, since militants have conflated the religious aspect of their crusade with anti-Americanism; address perceptions of state misgovernance, since one of the conflating points that is used to propagate anti-state sentiment is the idea that the state does not deliver. The state will have to use the media and schools to communicate this narrative at all levels.

Build the police. In order to win the fight against terrorists, policymakers will have to make a concerted effort to place the police at the front-line, and improve basic police functioning. The state will have to ensure that the police is given its space to function effectively on the counter-terrorism front. Parallel institutions won't work: the Rapid Response Force, for instance, will only suffice as a short-term TOR, but cannot be a long-term substitute for urban police deployment.

Reform the criminal justice system. While military courts will operate, it is crucial that the state uses these two years to actually fix the criminal justice system, set up working witness protection programmes, empower and protect judges to overcome intimidation by criminals and terrorists. The goal here should be speedy justice and improved conviction rates.

Dr. Moeed Yusuf is a counterinsurgency expert and South Asia Director at the United States Institute of Peace.

Economy

Sakib Sherani



Three policy interventions the government needs to make, and the economy desperately needs to see, in 2015 can be summed up as follows.

Prioritise the supply of energy to the export sector. Pakistan's industrial sector – and principally its manufacturing and export-related industries – has been suffering from acute shortages of electricity and gas for the past several years. Though some attempts have been made by the PML-N government to prioritise the supply of energy to the sector, the policies have been implemented inconsistently. As a result, the industrial sector is not getting uninterrupted supply of energy.

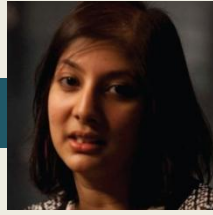
Follow up on the tax list of 3.2m. Pakistan suffers from an inequitable and unfair taxation system in which only 0.4 percent of the entire population 'chooses' to register for tax and file a return. The 800,000 people on the tax register are a fraction of the estimated 5 to 6 million citizens who are eligible to be enrolled for tax purposes. In 2012, the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) queried NADRA's database and allied databases of government agencies (immigration, motor vehicle registration etc.) to identify Pakistanis living an affluent lifestyle but not appearing on the national tax register. The exercise identified 3.2 million such Pakistanis. Follow up by FBR on this list should be made a national priority.

Inducting professional external management in SOEs. One area of economic management where the government has been too slow and not focused enough has been the completion of the process of professionalising state owned enterprises (SOEs). Inducting well-reputed senior management from outside these organisations, and bringing in professional boards, will go a long way in turning around these entities, which are currently a massive burden on the country's fiscal resources. This is especially urgent for those entities that are not on the government's immediate privatisation list.

Sakib Sherani is a former principal economic adviser, Ministry of Finance.

Strengthening Democracy

Huma Yusuf



Many legal and policy interventions are required to strengthen democracy in Pakistan, ranging from electoral reform to improving intra-party democracy. But after a year defined by a tense showdown between the civilian government and military, which has left the government weakened, the democratic process is likely to be strengthened most by policy interventions that reinstate the credibility and relevance of the government. These interventions must respond to the urgent challenges the country will face in 2015 and the issues that most affect the people.

Increase GDP allocation for education to 4 percent. From the Peshawar school attack to threats to English-medium private schools in Balochistan to opposition to Malala Yousafzai's Nobel Prize, events in 2014 highlighted how vulnerable the education system in Pakistan is to terrorism and obscurantism. Increasing the GDP allocation for education will enable the government to acknowledge the aspirations of millions of Pakistanis while also giving pushback to obscurantist forces. It will also demonstrate the government's capacity for visionary thinking: the greatest challenge Pakistan will face in the coming years is youth unemployment, and universal education is key to reaping the benefits of our youth dividend.

Cut power and gas subsidies. Pakistan's energy crisis is stunting the economy and demonstrating the civilian government's weakness in bringing about meaningful economic reform. Foreign investors are wary of the Pakistani market, and growing environmental awareness means that coal may not be the panacea the government wants it to be. The Pakistani electorate is increasingly urban and, thanks to the growth of the broadcast media, informed. Rather than pander to populist politics for fear of public unrest, the government should cut subsidies and use Pakistan's communications infrastructure to explain why this is necessary to the public.

Legislative reform in FATA. Several committees and task forces have called for the Federally

Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to be brought under the parliamentary system, and 2015 is the year to act on these recommendations. Following the military operation in FATA in 2014, the civilian government must implement a comprehensive reforms package for the tribal belt. This will demonstrate commitment to the people of FATA as well as the government's capacity to take a holistic counter-terrorism approach. This step would also help address the civilian-military imbalance that is plaguing security policymaking in Pakistan. A first step as part of this process should be to extend the Pakistan Electronic Media Regulation Authority (PEMRA)'s authority to FATA, allowing for more independent journalism from the tribal areas to increase the transparency of transition processes.

Huma Yusuf is a Global Fellow of the Woodrow Wilson Centre for Scholars, and Pakistan analyst at Control Risks.

Power & Energy

Khurram Husain



The following are the top three interventions I'd like to see in the power sector in the year 2015.

Prioritise privatisation. Privatizations should go smoothly and on schedule. The government is committed to handing over three generation and distribution companies to private management. If it goes as planned, it will help break the hold of the power bureaucracy on our power sector; creating more spaces that lie outside the control of the bureaucracy is crucial in raising efficiency and rectifying the misallocation of resources, which is a hallmark of the power crisis.

Greater transparency. The second reform measure crucial to repairing the power sector is greater transparency. In 2015 we need greater information disclosures mandated upon the power sector – a critical weakness that is holding back reform efforts. The power sector is the only major area of government that operates in almost complete darkness – in other words, it has no legal compulsion to release information at any time. We need regular disclosures from the bureaucracy, telling us how

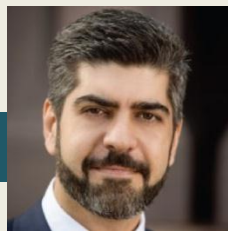
much electricity is being produced in each power plant, how much is going to each distribution area, how many units are being billed in return and so on. Only when such a disclosure requirement is mandated upon them will the power bureaucracy acquire a sense of focus and discipline. Until then, all decisions will be made in a highly discretionary environment, which contributes heavily to the inefficiencies and misallocation of resources that contribute to Pakistan's power crisis.

Greater adherence to predetermined gas allocation schedules. It is critical that our power sector be prioritised in gas allocations. Currently gas is given to sectors like textiles and fertiliser while the power sector is neglected. Nobody needs the gas more than our power plants.

Khurram Husain is Assistant Editor with Dawn Newspaper. He was Pakistan Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington D.C., where he researched the history of Pakistan-IMF relations.

Climate Change

Rafay Alam



Pakistan is extremely vulnerable to climate change which, coupled with environmental pollution, costs innumerable and precious lives and approximately \$1 billion per annum to the national exchequer. Increasing water scarcity and quality issues reverberate from the household to the national level and raise considerable, amongst other things, food security issues. In my opinion, three short term policy interventions the government can make in 2015 are:

Formulate a National Food Security Policy. Food security in Pakistan is currently not a production issue but an availability and affordability issue. However, an increasing population, water scarcity and changing climate patterns could detrimentally impact agricultural productivity by as much as 13 percent unless climate adaptive agricultural practices are not widely practiced. A National Food Security Policy is needed to address these challenges and to ensure climate adaptive agricultural practices continue to provide ordinary Pakistanis with access

to food. The Ministry of National Food Security and Research was created following devolution. This policy intervention can be its initiative.

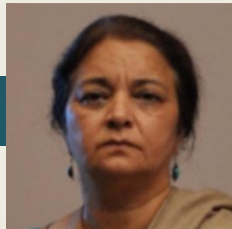
Build national consensus on benefit sharing from hydropower. Water scarcity is best addressed through better water management and farming practices as well as developing water resources. Whilst not entering into a debate about the environmental suitability of large dams, large storage reservoirs are also used to generate cheap renewable electricity on scale. Currently, there is inter-provincial controversy about the suitability and viability of proposed hydropower projects. In my opinion, much of the controversy can be addressed through a review of how our Constitution shares the benefits of hydropower amongst the federating units. The Constitutional provisions that govern such benefits were written in 1973 and do not meet present demands, let alone those of the future. The government could initiate an inter-provincial dialogue and iron out a new benefit sharing mechanism that is equitable, sustainable and transparent. It could earn some political brownie points by addressing long-standing but equally resolvable inter-provincial disharmony on this issue.

Provincial climate policies. The 18th Amendment makes environmental protection and regulation a provincial subject. In light of the Amendment, all four provinces have enacted new provincial environment legislation. However, their new responsibilities extend far beyond this. The provinces must understand that climate adaptation is as much their responsibility as the Federal Government's Climate Change Division. The provinces need to formulate and implement new environment policies, and must address climate change, adaptation and, importantly, flood protection. Provincial Environment Protection Councils are responsible for approving such policies, and they are required by law to meet at least once a year. The onus is on them. I understand this final proposal is not a 'national' one. However, it is made in light of new provincial responsibilities post-18th Amendment, and inaction of provincial governments in the face of immense environmental pollution.

Rafay Alam is an environmental lawyer and partner at Saleem, Alam & Co; member Punjab Environmental Protection Council and Vice President of the Pakistan Environmental Law Association.

Education

Dr. Baela Raza Jamil



2015 has to be a turning point for education; all facts are stacked against the state's failing enterprise. These include: Alif Ailaan's report on '25 million broken promises' and ASER's 2013 report on appalling learning challenges where more than 50 percent children in Grade 5 do not know the basics of literacy and numeracy required for Grade 2 level competencies. Only 68 percent children aged 6-10 are in primary school, 38 percent in middle school and 26 percent in matriculation. The fundamental right to education, guaranteed under Article 25-A, is being violated blatantly. Urgently, we need:

Higher budgetary allocation. It is imperative that budgetary allocation for education should rise to 4 percent of GDP in real terms during 2015. This can only be achieved with a commitment to Article 25-A and finding new resources for education through innovative domestic sources. This includes raising the tax to GDP ratio to 15 percent in 2015 as well as reserving a percentage of profits from extractive industries within Pakistan, which should then be reinvested in education with a commitment to quality and learning at all levels.

Actions for Right to Education. Five years have passed since Article 25-A was inserted in our constitution, yet there has been no implementation to date. While three provinces and ICT have enacted legislation under 25-A, no rules have been framed to ensure effective implementation. This raises serious question on why progress has been so slow in all provinces. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa should immediately table the bill for enactment, which has been lagging, and Gilgit-Baltistan, FATA and AJK should be included in the constitutional loop on Article 25-A.

Bridging low transition from primary to post primary stages. The government continues to falter in provision of education at post primary levels. The latest Economic Survey of Pakistan (2013-14) reveals that there are 150,000 primary schools in Pakistan compared to 42,000 middle schools. This leads to a perforated education system where millions of primary graduates remain out of school each year due to non-availability of middle and high schools.

Many more middle and high schools are urgently required to raise the net enrolment rates at middle and secondary levels by one third at least. In the interim, the government can address this gap through innovative arrangements of public-private partnerships, and by identifying funding partners that can facilitate higher transition rates from pre-primary to primary to secondary and eventually tertiary education.

Ending child marriages. Nearly 40 percent girls are married before they reach the age of 18. This is the worst form of violence against children, often a result of low service provision and customary practices against girls. To offset such traditions, Sindh, has recently enacted the Child Marriage Restraint Act 2013, raising the age of marriage for both girls and boys to 18. All provinces and the federal government must urgently pass legislation to raise the age of marriage to at least 18 years immediately and ensure that functional schools are available in each village of the country for girls to be educated up to middle and secondary levels.

Baela Raza Jamil is the Director Programs for the Idara-e-Taleem-o-Aagahi (ITA).

Health

Dr. Sania Nishtar



Health sector outcomes and the functioning of the health sector are emblematic of a nation's priorities, the nature of social policy commitments made by the state and the capacity of its governments. For course-correction we must first stop tinkering at the margins, and transcend above the project-centric mentality in health. My three policy asks would be: a long-term commitment to Universal Health Coverage (UHC), an enabling governance reform; and a commitment to evidence-based decision making.

Long-term commitment to Universal Health Coverage. Universal Health Coverage is a nation's promise to its people. Successive governments have been tinkering at the margins over the last six decades. With the MDGs coming to term, and the Sustainable Development Goals, post-2015, now on

the anvil, Pakistan must commit to UHC. This, however, is a social policy agenda and one that necessitates commitment and action at a level much higher than health.

Enable governance reform. There are complex institutional ramifications of such reform where respective institutional hierarchies have to play a part in a post-18th amendment context, with a local government system that has yet to evolve. Both astute health and governance skills are needed to marshal the needed reform. Furthermore, the solutions to problems faced by the healthcare sector lie outside sector's capabilities. For example, systems and technologies that can improve public finance management, fiduciary oversight, transparency, and procurement systems all sit outside of health, as do new and novel technology-enabled opportunities. These, and other complex inter-sectoral interdependencies in public policy implementation in the health sector, have to be managed concurrently.

Enforce evidence-based decision-making. There has to be a commitment to basing decisions on evidence and ensuring policy consistency so that the intended reform can see itself through and the policy vacillations with changing governments, which have been one of the core impediments to reform, can be overcome.

Dr. Sania Nishtar is President Heartfile, former Federal Minister, and WHO Commission co-chair.

Extremism & Radicalisation

Raza Rumi



Reboot the narrative. Pakistan needs a new narrative of nationhood and its security. This requires a parliamentary debate and resetting the public discourse. If the civil-military leadership is serious about changing the future course of the country, a public debate should be initiated, led by Prime Minister Sharif on the role of *jihad* as a tool of foreign policy. This will enable us to build a national narrative against extremism and reduce space for

militants in Pakistani society. Political parties and the military should be part of the national conversation, given their immense influence in society and the military's capability to implement the policy. The constitutional bar on private militias of any kind, meanwhile, is mandatory, and the civil-military elites must not continue to subvert the constitution.

Protect moderate voices. Pakistan's Islamic identity has become a reality. Presently there is no space for moderate, progressive Islamic scholars. In 2014, we saw the murder of the Dean of Islamic Studies at Karachi University who was arguing in favour of a rational interpretation of Islam. Protecting such voices is crucial. In addition, Muslim scholars from around the world should be invited to Pakistan in 2015 to exchange ideas and experiences with Pakistani ulemas. Malaysia and Indonesia are two Muslim countries that have achieved remarkable economic growth and prosperity with a deeply religious society. Such an exchange of ideas and meetings with ulemas and scholars from Muslim nations would go a long way in addressing the issue.

Regulate the mosque-madrassah nexus. Militancy and extremism are directly linked to the unregulated mosque-madrassah complex that operates with impunity, with functional and ideological linkages with private militias. Mosques and madrassas need to be registered for the sake of regulation. All mosque leaders must operate according to and meet certain standards before they can lead congregational prayers. Hate speech should be dealt with an iron hand. The use of the loudspeaker must also be monitored and regulated, as per the laws on the statutes, which are rarely implemented.

Raza Rumi is a columnist and Senior Fellow Jinnah Institute.

Human Rights

Marvi Sirmed



The state of human rights is one of the most critical issues Pakistan continues to face in 2015. The trend of rights violations has been on a steady increase, and 2014 was no exception. Religious and ethnic

minorities, children, women and rural and urban labor – all vulnerable groups – faced blatant abuse at the hands of not only non-state violators but also the state itself. It is high time that the state owns responsibility and commits to fulfill its social contract with citizens.

Develop a National Strategy for Human Rights.

First and foremost, a National Strategy for Human Rights needs to be developed, preferably at the level of the Council of Common Interests. The strategy must include three major steps for taking the human rights agenda forward: the development of state institutions for protection of human rights; legislative measures; mass education and human rights advocacy.

Build state monitors. The creation and activation of state structures to monitor and address human rights violations is a very important requirement, and one that had been long awaited. These state structures need to be independent and autonomous bodies, along the lines of the National Commission of Human Rights, National Commission on Minorities and National Child Rights Commission.

Legislative and policy audit. A thorough legislative and policy audit at federal and provincial levels needs to be instituted to identify existing gaps in laws and policies, supplemented by the appropriate legislative and policy proposals to remove these gaps. This includes mechanisms to oversee the strict implementation of laws, bringing law enforcement and security agencies under the watch of both the legislature as well as human rights bodies, and criminalizing violence in all forms.

Build a discourse. Lastly, it is imperative to make human rights advocacy part of Pakistan's national discourse. Be it through media and conventional awareness campaigns, or through human rights education curricula at all levels and in all areas of education, the message of human rights needs to be spelt out strongly.

Marvi Sirmed is a columnist with The Nation and a human rights defender.

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