

*Roundtable
Discussion
Series*

Israel-Palestine War:
Challenges for Pakistan's
Foreign Policy



National Institute of Public Policy



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at National School of Public Policy, Lahore.

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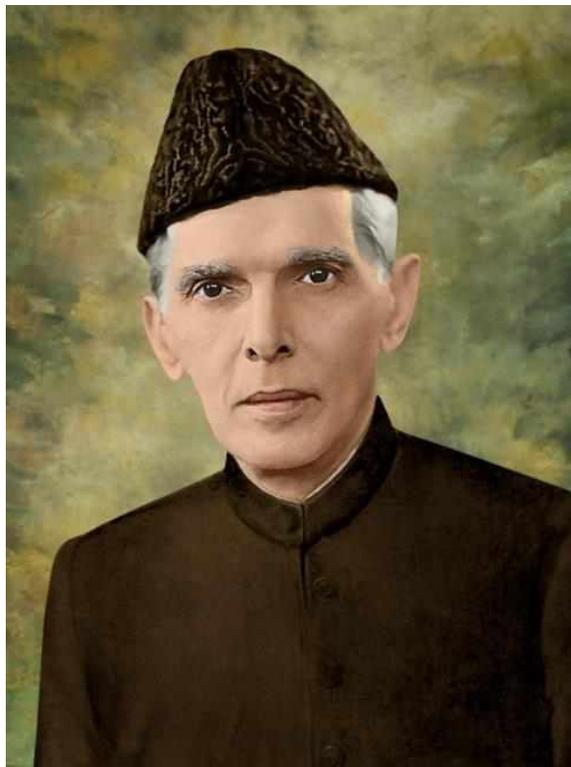
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Roundtable Discussion Series

Israel-Palestine War: Challenges for Pakistan's Foreign Policy

National Institute of Public Policy

Quaid-e-Azam's Message



“ My...message to our brother Muslim States is one of friendship and goodwill. We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting a united front that we can make our voice felt in the counsels of the world.”

Eid Message, August 7, 1948

Statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan Anwaar-ul-Haq Kakar



“...urged the world powers to play their role in ending the brutal killing of innocent people, including the minors, saying a ‘children holocaust’ was being witnessed in Gaza.”

Express Tribune, November 21, 2023

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Rector's Message

NIPP has taken a timely step to gather the experts to discuss a very delicate and important issue of Israel-Palestine War: Challenges for Pakistan's Foreign Policy. The analysis presented by the NIPP team, at the outset of discussion, aptly highlighted the vision of the



founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on Palestine issue. Its content analysis made it clear that he had adopted a strong and sustained approach on Palestine issue. Quaid's vision provides guidance and direction to our policy makers and decision makers to formulate the policy on this critical issue.

The discussion clearly brought forth the fact that balancing the relationships with the powers that be, while upholding principles of justice and support to Palestine, remains a formidable task. Pakistan ought to pursue diplomatic solutions for safeguarding Pakistan's interests and contributing to regional stability. As the situation in the Middle East remains dynamic, it is imperative for Pakistan to maintain a proactive and nuanced foreign policy approach. In navigating these challenges, Pakistan must remain steadfast in its commitment to Palestinian cause, human rights, and the principles enshrined in international law. The path ahead requires strategic diplomacy, a proactive engagement with global stakeholders, and a continuous commitment to advocating for a just and sustainable resolution to one of the most enduring conflicts in contemporary history.

This report, considering the discussion that took place in the roundtable and the content analysis conducted by the NIPP researchers, is cogent and credible. The recommendations offered in it can be useful for the decision makers.

I am indebted to all the panelists and participants for their time and valuable views. NIPP deserves felicitations for holding this roundtable and formulating this report which will guide the foreign policy of the country on this vital issue.

Dr. Ijaz Munir

Foreword

NIPP is mandated to provide policy recommendations to the government of Pakistan on vital national issues. It uses various research tools, ranging from research papers to roundtable conferences, to develop credible and comprehensive reports. Israel-Palestine war and the unprecedented barbarities by the Israeli Defense Forces in Gaza badly bruised the world conscience. Pakistan being a Muslim country, which has profound sympathy for the oppressed Palestinians and a strong stance on the Palestine issue, could not remain unaffected. It had to adopt a clear and categorical stance on this issue, particularly over the grave violation of human rights and grim humanitarian situation in the occupied Palestinian territories.

To facilitate this process, NIPP arranged the roundtable “Israel-Palestine War: Challenges for Pakistan's Foreign Policy”, attended by wise and knowledgeable men and women from different strata of life, to discuss the issue to firm up thoughts and ideas for Pakistan's stance and approach in such turbulent, taxing and testing times. We were fortunate to gather diplomats, intellectuals, strategists, and politicians around the table who gave very cogent input from various angles which helped us prepare this report. Prior to that, NIPP research team analyzed the statements and stance of the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder of Pakistan, which provided strategic principles for the foreign policy of Pakistan, especially pertaining to the Palestine issue. The second pillar of our foreign policy, i.e. Constitution of Pakistan, was also taken into consideration.

Quaid-e-Azam crafted the strategic principle pertaining to Palestine issue at a critical juncture: when increasing political complexity threatened to confuse priorities and obscure the essence that truly highlighted the stance over this issue.

Though no policy or strategy is static and eternal, the fundamental principles and the essence ought to remain the same. Article 40 of the Constitution of Pakistan is a strategic principle. It articulates and embodies the essence of the foreign policy of Pakistan, providing direction to the policy makers.

These principles have the ability and potential to promote and guide action. It has been proven in 1967 Israel–Arab wars when Pakistan provided moral and material support to the latter. The analysis of the stance, statements, and actions of the government of Pakistan during this Israel war, conducted by NIPP research team, shows that Pakistan has adopted a sane and strong posture as per the guiding principles. Many quarters, genuinely hurt by the Israeli brutalities, however, demand of the government to adopt a stricter posture. They argue that this is not only a matter of self-determination of the Palestinians and grave human rights violations, but an issue of desecration of the second most reverent place of the Muslim world. The panelists Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani, Former ISI Chief & Author, Dr. Musadik Masood Malik, Senator, Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Former Foreign Secretary, Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Defense Analyst, Mr. Javid Husain, Former Ambassador, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan, Senator, and Ms. Nasim Zehra, Anchor & Analyst expressed pertinent and penetrating views and comments. Their prudent suggestions can enable the government to tread the path with confidence and caution to navigate through the troubled waters. The recommendations given in this report have been formulated considering all these research and discussion endeavours. This document can act as a catalyst, promoting ongoing dialogue and fostering understanding among those seeking insights into the issue.

I would like to express my appreciation to all the panelists for actively participating in this challenging yet crucial conversation. Additionally, I extend my sincere gratitude to the NIPP team for organizing the event and conducting very useful research. We are indebted to Rector NSPP for his vision and support to build NIPP as the credible think tank of the government of Pakistan.

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Panelists of the Roundtable Discussion



Dr. Musadik Masood Malik
Senator



Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry
Former Foreign Secretary



Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani
Former ISI Chief and Author



Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi
Defense Analyst



Mr. Javid Husain
Former Ambassador



Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan
Senator



Ms. Nasim Zehra
Anchor and Analyst

Summary of the Proceedings

This roundtable discussion was the first event of the series of Roundtable Discussions organized by NIPP.

By the time this Roundtable was held about 18000 Palestinians, out of the population of 2.2 million, had been killed in Gaza by the Israeli Defense Forces. Israel launched a brutal attack on Gaza on October 7, 2023, after Hamas fighters rampaged through southern Israel, killing 1200 people, and taking some 240 hostages. As a result of IDF attacks not only thousands of Palestinians were killed, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave their homes.

The objective of roundtable discussion on Israel-Palestine war and challenges to Pakistan's foreign policy was to glean the pragmatic ideas, pristine thoughts, and valuable views of the wise and knowledgeable persons of this country. It was an attempt to put together the right information at the right time and think critically about it.

The Roundtable started with a presentation based on analysis conducted by NIPP research team on four distinct aspects. The first two angles were analysis of Quaid-e-Azam's stance on Palestine issue and the Article-40 of the Constitution of Pakistan. These constitute the primary foundations upon which the structure of our foreign policy is built. Third was the content analysis of the recent articles published in the Pakistani dailies on Israel-Palestine war from October 11 to November 30, 2023. Lastly, an analysis of the stance and statements of the government of Pakistan on the issue during the same period.

After presentation of these four aspects a general guideline for discussion 'Points to Ponder' was shared. Later the discussion ensued, and the panelists, Lt- Gen (R) Asad Durrani, Former ISI Chief & Author, Dr. Musadik Masood Malik, Senator, Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry, Former Foreign Secretary, Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi, Defense Analyst, Mr. Javid Husain, Former Ambassador, Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan, Senator, and Ms. Nasim Zehra, Anchor & Analyst gave their views, analysis, and suggestions one by one. They also responded to questions raised by other panelists. It was a 3-hour session which ended with a note of thanks by the Rector NSPP.

The details of proceedings are given as the "road map".

Road Map of the Roundtable

1. An Analysis of Quaid-e-Azam's Stance on Palestine
2. Article-40 of the Constitution of Pakistan
3. Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles on Israel-Palestine War
4. Government of Pakistan's Stance on Israel-Palestine War
5. Points to Ponder
6. Discussion by the Panelists

1. An Analysis of Quaid-e-Azam's Stance on Palestine

The NIPP research team conducted a comprehensive analysis of twenty-two (22) statements and positions taken by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding the Palestine issue from 1934 to 1948. This data, (given as *Annexure B*), reveals his resolute and evolving stance on the matter.

Quaid-e-Azam's involvement in the Palestine issue spanned from 1919 to 1948, encompassing various forms of expression such as statements, letters, resolutions passed at the Muslim League's forum, and active participation in events like observing Palestine Day, etc. Notably, from 1934 to 1948, his stance on the Palestine issue solidified, becoming remarkably robust, steadfast, and sustained. Even in his final Eid message before his death, he continued to address the Arab world and the ongoing Palestine predicament.

In summary, the key aspects of Quaid-e-Azam's activities include:

- i. Condemnation of Balfour Declaration:* He expressed clear condemnation of the Balfour Declaration, indicating his disapproval of the British government's stance on Palestine.
- ii. Solidarity with Arabs of Palestine:* Quaid-e-Azam demonstrated unwavering support and solidarity with the Arab population of Palestine, aligning himself with their cause.

- iii. *Warning and Condemnation of British and U.S. Policies:* He issued warnings and condemnations against the policies pursued by both the British and U.S. governments, indicating his dissatisfaction with their respective approaches to the Palestine issue.
- iv. *Advocacy for Sovereignty and Independence:* Quaid-e-Azam consistently urged for the restoration of sovereignty and independence for Muslim States, emphasizing the right of self-determination.
- v. *Call for Restoration of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon:* His stance included a call for the restoration of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon to their respective people, emphasizing the importance of autonomy.
- vi. *Opposition to Jewish Reconquest of Palestine:* Quaid-e-Azam strongly opposed the Jewish attempt to reconquer Palestine, aligning himself against any efforts that threatened the rights and autonomy of the Palestinian people.
- vii. *Warning of Severe Consequences:* He issued warnings of severe consequences, underlining the potential ramifications of actions taken in disregard of the rights and sovereignty of Muslim States.
- viii. *Critique of UN Decision on Partition:* Quaid-e-Azam criticized the UN decision on the partition of Palestine, considering it ultra vires and invalid, showcasing his skepticism about the efficacy of the international organization's approach to the issue.
- ix. *Appeal to U.S. President:* He made appeals to the U.S. President, seeking intervention or a reconsideration of decisions that impacted the political landscape in Palestine.
- x. *Highlighting Global Political Challenges:* Quaid-e-Azam broadened the scope of his concerns, addressing global political challenges in regions beyond Palestine, including Indonesia and Kashmir.

2. Article-40 of the Constitution of Pakistan

Article-40 of the Constitution of Pakistan provides strategic principle of Pakistan's foreign policy. On the strengthening bonds with Muslim world and promoting international peace, the Article 40 states that

"The State shall endeavor to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means."

3. Content Analysis of Newspaper Articles on Israel-Palestine War

NIPP research team conducted a content analysis of the newspaper articles on this issue, written by leading analysts, published in the national dailies of Pakistan. Thirty articles were selected from national dailies from October 11, 2023 till November 30, 2023, randomly (see *Annexure C*). The objective was to look at the thoughts, views, sentiments, and approaches of the intelligentsia in Pakistan.

The newspapers consulted were Dawn, The News, Express Tribune, and Business Recorder.

Sr. No	Newspaper	Frequency
1	Dawn	13
2	The News	8
3	Express Tribune	7
4	Business Recorder	2
	Total	30

For the content analysis five variables were employed i.e., 'Mood', 'Lens', 'Points' of concern, 'Expectations from Pakistan' and 'Recommendations'.

Mood: It reflects the tone and approaches used by the authors in their articles. Most of the authors criticized the situation (23.33%), expressed frustration (20.00%), remained emotional (16.67%), aggressive (10.00%), pragmatic (6.67%), helpless (6.67%), supportive (6.67%), sympathetic (3.33%), realistic (3.33%) and dispassionate (3.33%).

Words	Frequency	Percentages
Criticism	7	23.33%
Frustration	6	20.00%
Emotional	5	16.67%
Aggressive	3	10.00%
Pragmatic	2	6.67%
Helplessness	2	6.67%
Supportive	2	6.67%
Sympathetic	1	3.33%
Realistic	1	3.33%
Dispassionate	1	3.33%
Total	30	100%

Lens: It means the perspective and approach of the authors. Mostly authors viewed this issue from the lens of foreign policy (36.67%). Several authors had perspectives including humanitarian (23.33%), historical (16.67%), legal (10.00%), factual (6.67%) and media role (6.67%).

Words	Frequency	Percentages
Foreign policy	11	36.67%
Humanitarian	7	23.33%
Historic	5	16.67%
Legal	3	10.00%
Factual	2	6.67%
Media role	2	6.67%
Total	30	100.00%

Points of concern: These are the apprehensions about specific aspects of the conflict. Mostly authors were concerned about human rights violation in Gaza (60.00%), Western support of Israel (16.67%), questioned Hamas role (10.00%), lack of objective journalism (6.67%), political apathy (3.33%) and war expansion (3.33%).

Words	Frequency	Percentages
Human Rights Violation	18	60.00%
Western Support of Israel	5	16.67%
Questioning Hamas role	3	10.00%
Objective Journalism	2	6.67%
Political Apathy	1	3.33%
War Expansion	1	3.33%
Total	30	100.00%

Expectations from Pakistan: 43.33% of the authors showed expectations from Pakistan in their articles. Pakistan Army was mentioned by 13.33% authors, other mentioned independent foreign policy (13.33%), peace talks (13.33%), international forums (6.67%), muslim unity (3.33%), media role (3.33%), political and economic stability (3.33%).

Words	Frequency	Percentages
Pakistan Government	13	43.33%
Pakistan Army	4	13.33%
Independent Foreign Policy	4	13.33%
Peace Talks	4	13.33%
International Forums	2	6.67%
Muslim Unity	1	3.33%
Media Role	1	3.33%
Political and Economic Stability	1	3.33%
Total	30	100.00%

Recommendations: Most of the authors recommended Ceasefire (33.33%) for the Israel-Palestine war and some recommended world support for Gaza (16.67%), while 16.67% authors did not give any kind of recommendations. Others recommended two-state solution (10.00%), role of political parties (6.67%), defense strategy (3.33%), fair journalism (3.33%), international law (3.33%), Muslim unity (3.33%), protest and boycott (3.33%).

Words	Frequency	Percentages
Ceasefire	10	33.33%
World Support	5	16.67%
No Recommendation	5	16.67%
Two-State Solution	3	10.00%

Role of Political Parties	2	6.67%
Defense Strategy	1	3.33%
Fair Journalism	1	3.33%
International Law	1	3.33%
Muslim Unity	1	3.33%
Protest and Boycott	1	3.33%
Total	30	100%

4. Government of Pakistan's Stance on Israel-Palestine War

Lastly, the government's stance and statements on the issue were discussed and analyzed through a sample of 18 random official statements given by the President of Pakistan, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) from 7th October, 2023 to 30th November, 2023 (see *Annexure D*). Mostly Pakistan's stance included emphasis on ceasefire (27.78%), condemnation of human rights violation (22.22%), two-state solution (16.67%), raising issue at international forums (11.11%), aid for Gaza (5.56%), no intention to send its army (5.56%), Pakistan has also supported Palestine through official statements (5.56%) and closely monitoring the situation (5.56%). So, this was the stance of the government of Pakistan on this issue.

Word	Frequency	Percentages
Ceasefire	5	27.78%
Condemned Human Rights Violation	4	22.22%
Two-State Solution	3	16.67%
International Forums	2	11.11%
Aid from Pakistan	1	5.56%
No Intention to send Army	1	5.56%
Pakistan's support	1	5.56%
Closely Monitored Situation	1	5.56%
Total	18	100%

5. Points to Ponder

A few questions were posed which could be answered in the discussion by the panelists:

- i.* Who should be blamed for the catastrophic situation in Gaza and beyond? Before reacting to the situation, it is imperative to see who is responsible for the situation. Were the Palestinians (Hamas) too constrained and compelled to react to Israel's decade's long atrocities to initiate the attack? Is the response by Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) hugely disproportionate, in utter violation of *Jus in Bello*? Why the U.S and the West feel justified to support Israel in its barbaric bombing on Gaza?
- ii.* What are the reasons of lackadaisical response of the Muslim World? How can the Muslim world, especially the Arab states, stand united on this critical issue? Has the rubric of Abraham Accords been reduced to rubbles in the aftermath of Gaza bombing?
- iii.* What has been historical stance of Pakistan over Palestine issue and Israel's belligerent behaviour? What has been the foreign policy of Pakistan on this issue? How far Pakistan has toyed with the idea to join Abraham Accord or establish diplomatic relations with Israel?
- iv.* What should be Pakistan's stance over the ongoing Israel-Palestine war? How can the government strike a balance between the ignited public sentiments and the strategic interests of Pakistan strategic? What should be role of our embassies abroad in this regard? What stance should be adopted by Pakistan on this issue in the international forums like the UN, OIC etc.? Would it be prudent to link Kashmir issue and atrocities perpetrated there with the ongoing situation in Palestine, at this stage?

6. Discussion by the Panelists

Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry was of the view that the ongoing Israel-Palestine conflict was of multi-dimensional nature i.e., territorial, political, and ideological. Both, Israelis and Palestinians claim the same territory based on their ancestors' historical presence. The issue extends beyond territorial disputes; it is deeply political, as evidenced by the UN General Assembly Resolution 181 advocating a two-state solution. This resolution, a result of the Balfour Declaration initiated by Great Britain in 1917, had set the stage for the current geopolitical landscape. Today, Great Britain and primarily the US strongly support Israel's right to exist and expand. The conflict is also ideological, illustrated by the map of the old city of Jerusalem, which features Muslim, Christian, and Jewish quarters. The significance of Al-Aqsa Mosque holds special importance for Muslims. This serves as groundwork for understanding the complexities involved.

On the point, why did Hamas attack Israel, he maintained that primarily, it was an act of resistance to the occupation and an attempt to impede the Arab-Israel normalization process gaining momentum. Israel's response appears disproportionate, aiming not only to eliminate Hamas but also inflicting collective punishment on all Palestinians. The unwavering support of the United States is a key factor behind Israel's stance. The Arab response, largely rhetorical, further emboldens Israel.

Referring to the pressure on Israel, he stated that global voices, particularly in the West, express concerns. Financially, Israel was bearing a significant cost, estimated at \$250 million per day. This financial burden prompted Israeli businesses and individuals to leave the country, highlighting an opportunity cost.

While touching on the impact of this war on global geopolitics, he was of the view that the Arab-Israel normalization process was on hold, affecting the balance of power in the Middle East. The receding influence of the US opened possibilities for China and Russia to fill the void. The Arab and Muslim world's perceived inaction exposed geopolitical vulnerabilities, and the UN's role remained debated. However, recent UN General Assembly voting indicated its continued relevance in voicing majority opinions.

Turning to Pakistan and the Israel-Palestine conflict, historical references include Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's instructions for Sir Zafarullah Khan's impassioned speech at the UN General Assembly in 1947. Pakistan has consistently

supported Palestinian rights. Despite debates on recognizing Israel, no concrete steps have been taken. Similarities between the Palestine and Kashmir disputes exist, both involving people under occupation and the right to self-determination. However, differences arise in the level of support from Palestinian leadership for the Kashmiri cause.

On the ongoing war, Pakistan's position remains unwavering, standing firm in support. Credit is due to Pakistan for maintaining principled positions, not only in the Israel-Palestine conflict but also during the Arab Spring. Pakistan's consistent stance against the use of force in regime changes demonstrates its principled approach. Despite deep sadness, Pakistan emerges with strengthened resolve.

Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi addressed the Gaza crisis by condemning the humanitarian disaster and deliberate killing of civilians, particularly children and women by Israel. He clarified that the Israeli argument that the Hamas is using civilians as the shield for itself is not an argument well grounded, as there is limited space available in a territory with a lot of population. A question was also raised on Israel's actions against Palestinians in West Bank.

He delved into the intricate dynamics of global politics and international laws, with critically examining the involvement of the United States in the conflict. He pointed to the supply of weaponry and diplomatic support to Israel as actions that not only fuel the ongoing crisis but also contribute to a diminishing confidence in the effectiveness of international laws.

While identifying three pivotal factors contributing to the current crisis, he first addressed the internal divide within Palestinian politics. The ongoing confrontation between Hamas and Al-Fatah weakens their collective response to external pressures, thus hindering a more coordinated and effective strategy in dealing with the challenges posed by Israel.

Secondly, he shed light on the shift in Israel's objectives, noting that the nation has transitioned from causing damage to seeking the complete destruction of Hamas. This shift aligns with broader U.S. interests in the region, as the destruction of groups like Hamas is seen as a strategic move to safeguard American interests.

Lastly, he criticized the lack of courage and leadership among Muslim and Arab states. He contended that these nations prioritize narrow regime interests over the

collective well-being of the region. This approach, characterized by a failure to present a united front, further exacerbates the challenges faced by the Palestinian people.

In conclusion, he turned the focus towards Pakistan's stance on the matter. Describing it as cautiously pro-Palestinian due to economic dependencies, he underscored the complex geopolitical considerations that nations must grapple with in navigating the delicate balance of regional and international relationships.

He also emphasized the broader implications of Israel's actions, asserting that they not only perpetuate the suffering of the Palestinian people but also shake the foundations of faith in the efficacy of international organizations to address and resolve global crises.

Ms. Nasim Zehra explained that Israel-Palestine War was a very critical issue in terms of global, regional and in the Pakistani context.

She presented historical perspective on the issue and maintained that there had been no change in Israel stance on the question of Palestine. Israel policy had been consistent to drain the Palestinian land of Palestinians and was the foundational stone of the Zionist outlook where one may recall the slogan "a land with no people for a people with no land." As they had been moving the Jews into the area after the Balfour Declaration in an area which was clearly the Palestinian homeland.

The Israel settler terrorism has been a consistent pattern and anybody who does not look at that is not looking at reality. She maintained that Henry Kissinger's main contribution to the Middle East policy was the Salami Tactics that he introduced, where the idea was to change the Arab Israeli conflict into Palestinian- Israeli issue. The United State policy has also been consistent toward supporting Israel with sending weapons in the name of self-defense. It is vivid from the fact that United State has used a veto 45/46 times the UN Security Council on the issue. The voice of 150 countries in UNGA was not translating into anything substantive other than empty statements.

She explained that as far as the Arab states were concerned, they were looking inwards. They were looking towards their economic development and the elite was looking towards how to move forward economically and engage with Israel. The ideology and the ideological factor for policy makers in the Arab world was a secondary factor. Palestinian issue has a domestic people's position and proclivity, but

that hasn't affected government policies.

From the Pakistan's perspective and policy on the matter, there were two tracks. One was Munir Akram's track and second was Islamabad's track. Pakistan Deputy PR submitted four points in the UNGA on 29th November 2023. These were: i) establishment of special tribunal, accountability mechanism to investigate Israel's atrocities; ii) deployment of international protection force in Gaza and in West Bank; iii) restore and reinvigorate the peace process and Israel going to pre-June 1965 borders with Al-Quds as capital; and iv) Pakistan will support an international conference on Palestine to resolve the issue of Palestine. While looking at these four points by Munir Akram, it seemed that Pakistan was still standing by the legacy of Quaid-e-Azam. However, the response and statements in Islamabad were nothing more than excessive soft peddling.

The soft peddling was exhibited on three occasions. One, when the speech was made at the OIC Summit, it was strikingly limp; two, Pakistan is a member of the United Nations Human Rights Council and one just needed fifteen members to call a special session to discuss human rights violations but Pakistan held back on that also; three, there was a recommendation to send a flotilla by sea, humanitarian aid, which wouldn't be violating international law etc., but none of this was done.

Ms. Nasim Zehra concluded her talk with three comments. One, nobody is saying "to get kinetic", there is power to words, of course not kinetic power, but power in terms of legacy, history, and impact. Therefore, the words that are articulated are important. Two, foreign policy is not about peoples' passion, it must be in terms of how the state, government and people representatives develop a consensus to promote national interest. Thirdly, there is a requirement for articulate communication in Islamabad, and this factor does indeed make a significant difference. Pakistan must exhibit increased self-confidence and better articulation.

Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani started the discussion by delving into the complex dynamics of the asymmetrical conflict between Hamas and the Israeli Defense Forces. He opened with a reflection on the historical perspective of Pakistan, once seen as a formidable force, especially during conflicts involving Israel. However, he noted a shift in the geopolitical landscape, observing that even Arab nations, once considered adversaries, are now aligning themselves with Israel.

He emphasized on the need for a more substantial and strategic approach. Despite reservations, he acknowledged the power dynamics at play, characterizing the situation as a "Frankenstein monster" where global powers, including the United

States, were seemingly unable to act without considering Israel's stance. This, he argued, led to a state of paralysis in the international community.

Reflecting on Pakistan's historical role, he recalled a time when Pakistan was perceived as a force to be reckoned with, particularly during conflicts involving Israel. He cited instances such as Pakistani pilots' impressive performance during the wars in Syria and Jordan against Israel. However, he noted a significant shift in Pakistan's stance, with some leaders now advocating for appeasement towards Israel, a departure from historical positions.

He questioned the effectiveness of global appeals, protests, and condemnations. He argued that these actions, while well-intentioned, often contributed to the frustration of the Palestinian people. He suggested that the world's vocal support for Palestine, without tangible actions, might create a false sense of hope and empowerment among the Palestinians, ultimately leading to disillusionment.

Drawing parallels with the 'Animal Kingdom', he painted a vivid picture of a predator attacking zebras. He suggested that the world's response to the Palestinian crisis was akin to the predators attacking one zebra at a time, with the rest feeling a temporary sense of relief. He emphasized the need for a collective and strategic response to effectively counter the aggressor, drawing parallels with historical examples such as the Taliban's resistance against the United States.

In the context of asymmetric warfare, he commended the Taliban's approach in Afghanistan as a successful example. He noted that the Taliban, without resorting to protests or appeals, strategically neutralized the superior military power of the United States. He highlighted the importance of unconventional tactics, such as guerrilla warfare and diplomacy, in countering powerful adversaries.

He criticized the lack of a comprehensive policy to address the Palestinian crisis. He contended that rhetoric and blame games were insufficient and called for the creation of a well-defined policy with a clear end goal. Drawing from past experiences in Bosnia and Chechnya, he suggested that a mobilized force, equipped with diplomatic cover, could significantly impact the dynamics of the conflict.

He also touched upon the evolving global geopolitical landscape. He noted a clear North-South divide emerging after the Middle East crisis, adding another layer to the existing East-West dynamics shaped by China and the United States. He urged a thoughtful positioning for Pakistan in this changing landscape, emphasizing the need to protect its interests in the face of shifting global alliances.

Dr. Musadik Masood Malik examined the Israel-Palestine war through historical, contextual, moral, legal, and strategic lenses. He underscored the multifaceted nature of the conflict, rooted in territorial, political, and ideological dimensions.

Drawing on historical parallels between the creation of Pakistan and the Palestinian cause, he noted Quaid-e-Azam's early emphasis on Palestine. He highlighted Pakistan's significant role in past conflicts, specifically its pilots engaging in kinetic actions during wars.

He placed the conflict within the current global context, emphasizing China's rising influence and Pakistan's alignment with China in various strategic initiatives. Simultaneously, he noted the U.S.'s growing focus on India, leading to a shift in alliances and security agreements, excluding Pakistan.

Examining the conflict from moral and legal perspectives, he described the situation as a genocide and apartheid. He questioned the global pressure on Israel and the impact on geopolitics. He cited the Arab-Israel normalization process, now on hold, as altering the Middle East's power balance.

Relating the conflict to Pakistan, he highlighted historical support for Palestinian rights, drawing parallels with the Kashmir issue. He acknowledged the challenges in aligning with either side due to geopolitical shifts.

Delving into strategic scenarios, he envisioned three possibilities. The first involved a potential crushing of Palestine, posing challenges to Pakistan's stance on Kashmir. The second contemplated Pakistan going kinetic, risking isolation and strategic realignment. The third scenario explored an expanded conflict, including Iran, with repercussions for Pakistan.

He suggested to create temporary provincial status for Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK) and Gilgit-Baltistan (GB). This move aimed to settle territorial claims and avoid isolation in the shifting geopolitical landscape.

He outlined the need for Pakistan to realign its trade infrastructure, anticipating shifts in economic partners and emphasizing the potential political and social consequences of aligning with certain blocs.

He concluded by urging a strategic understanding of the evolving geopolitical landscape and the need for proactive measures. He emphasized the importance of anticipating disruptions and adjusting policies to safeguard Pakistan's interests in a rapidly changing global scenario.

Ambassador Javid Husain emphasized that the Hamas attack on October 7, did not take place in a vacuum. It was the consequence of the military occupation of the territory by Israel. There was also a stalemate regarding progress towards a two-state solution, leaving Palestinians in a state of hopelessness. This led them to engage in some form of activity that would shake up the entire regional and international scenario. Hamas has succeeded in doing just that, and their attack has slowed down the process of normalization of relations between Israel and the Arab states.

He was of the opinion that the disproportionate attack by Israel amounts to a severe violation of humanitarian law and equates to genocide. Therefore, it cannot and should not remain uncensored or without an appropriate response by the international community.

He maintained that Israel was facing growing international isolation. The first UN General Assembly resolution, adopted on the issue of the Gaza conflict, garnered 121 votes in favor, 14 against, including the U.S, and 44 abstentions. The one adopted on 12th November, received 153 votes in favor and only 10 against, including the U.S. Therefore, the trend at the international level was that Israel and the U.S were facing growing isolation. This may be the reason behind President Joe Biden's statement urging Netanyahu to change his government and remove the very extremist, rightest minister from his cabinet. The President agreed to the fact that in the long run, a two-state solution cannot be ruled out. Over the last two months, public opinion regarding this war quietly changed and these developments were in favor of Palestinians.

He explained that the U.S had vested geopolitical interests in the area, and Israel served as outpost of the U.S-led West in the heart of the Middle East. Israel was created for serving the neo-colonial agenda, representing the influence and control of the US-led West over specific countries in the region for their vast energy resources and trade routes.

The Arab world and the Muslim Ummah appear to be divided. The outcome of OIC-Arab League summit held in Riyadh in November 2023, was disappointing.

Recent developments in Gaza and West Bank indirectly showed how distant the Arab leaders were from the views of the Arab masses.

Under the circumstances, Pakistan needed to carefully tread the conduct of its policy towards Israel. Pakistan must continue to extend full support to the Palestine cause in close coordination with major Arab and Muslim countries. This support must be reflected in our policy statements in international forums like UN and OIC as well as in the conduct of our embassies at bilateral level. Under the present circumstances it would be unwise on the part of Pakistan to establish diplomatic relation with Israel.

Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan elucidated that the situation of Gaza-Israel conflict was of paramount importance for the Muslim Ummah in terms of their complete unity. He said that there was an old saying about the land of Palestine that it is a "plate of gold with scorpions in it," with scorpions symbolizing Zionists and illegal settlers of the area.

In terms of the history of Jews, there are two main tribes at the grassroots level. The first is '*Ashqanazi*,' further divided into 1000 or more sub-tribes, literally meaning refugees. They are not descendants of Ibrahim but are Zionists converted from other religions. Prominent figures like Newton and Netanyahu belong to this Jewish tribe. The second tribe is Hispanic, also known as Arabic Jews or Sephardic Jews. They maintain reasonably good relations with Muslim communities in their neighborhood, and even Hamas does not target them, as they have been living together for centuries.

Examining the historical background of Pakistan on the Gaza issue, he maintained that it was apparent that we once had a stronger and more resolute stance, advocating for the needs of Palestinians. In the past Pakistan was more courageous in issuing statements. However, the current narrative blaming the entire situation in Gaza solely on Hamas was incorrect. Prior to the October 7 attack, Israeli forces had brutally killed 250 Palestinians within two months. Therefore, conducting surgical strikes in the name of retaliating against what Hamas did was a vicious and unjust act.

Speaking of Arab countries, he explained that they were predominantly characterized by kingdoms that often lacked support of the public.

Arabs typically refrain from expressing or discussing their views on such issues. Even in prominent places like Tahrir Square and Jamia Al-Azhar, we did not witness any engagement or addressing this issue. The impression was that Arabs were overlooking the Palestinians and were more interested in fostering relations with Israel.

While criticizing the current government of Pakistan and its stance on the issue, he observed that on social media, a significant number of western individuals were expressing solidarity with Palestinians. However, there hadn't been many protests or mass gatherings in Pakistan. Even the President could not participate in a three-day parliamentary session held in solidarity with the people of Palestine.

Pakistan's current policy was to align with the Arab countries on such occasions, resulting in a lack of vocalization even during the OIC summit. This policy was a step behind, especially when countries like Colombia, Bolivia, and South Africa had issued bold statements on the issue. Why couldn't Pakistan consider airlifting of injured people or establishing a hospital for the people of Gaza?

Today, we were not embodying the visions of Quaid and Iqbal. If we compare our current situation with that of 1947 and 1948, we were performing much better, actively supporting Kashmiris, and maintaining a stable stance for the people of Gaza. From 1947-48 until the independence war in Bosnia, Pakistan had a stable foreign policy stance. There are three recommendations for Pakistan: firstly, correct its statements and deliver more stable and confident messages on the international forum; secondly, call for an urgent ceasefire and lastly, include discussions about the Holocaust and anti-Semitism in their stances against Jews.

Analysis

This discussion offers five sets of data and ideational factors to the decision makers to make evidence-based interventions wisely.

Relying on the vision of the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the Constitution of Pakistan as the two strategic principles of Pakistan's foreign policy, Pakistan gets clear and categorical directions for formulating its approach to Palestine issue.

The posture and approach of the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on Palestine issue was loud and clear. He adopted a steadfast and strong stance for good thirty years, especially during the last 14 years, starting from 1934 to his death in 1948. He remained stiff and straight on his stand even in testing and 'perilous' times. He conveyed his views, without mincing the words, to the powers including UK and USA. He termed the UN decision of partition of Palestine ultra vires of the UN Charter, basically wrong, invalid in law, unfair, morally untenable, and politically, historically, geographically, and practically unenforceable. In essence, Quaid-e-Azam's multifaceted involvement in the Palestine issue underscores his commitment to justice, self-determination, and the protection of Muslim interests on the international stage. It gives a strategic clarity. His actions underscore the importance of diplomatic engagement, solidarity, and a comprehensive understanding of global political dynamics.

The content analysis of the articles written by the experts, intellectuals, and analysts in national dailies in Pakistan, revealed that the elements of frustration, helplessness and anger against the brutalities committed by Israel dominated in their thought process. Mostly authors saw the issue from foreign policy, historical and international human rights violation perspectives. Their main points of concern were the blatant and unhindered support to Israel by the west especially the US, in the name of self-defense. Interestingly, most of the authors did not write much about the desired response of the government of Pakistan or how it should handle this challenge. The recommendations by the experts were quite generic and stereotyped, showing lack of fresh knowledge and out of the box solution for resolving the issue.

Regarding the Government of Pakistan's position, its statements primarily consisted of condemnation, appeals for a ceasefire, and advocacy for a two-state solution. Many quarters of the public voiced concerns that Pakistan's efforts to curb human rights abuses by the Israel Defense Forces in Gaza were insufficient. The

perception emerged that Pakistan's stance gained strength gradually, particularly as more nations spoke out, labeling the situation a genocide of Palestinians by Israel. The submission of four points by Pakistan's Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN indicated a commitment to Quaid-e-Azam's legacy. However, responses and statements from Islamabad appeared excessively cautious, contributing to an ambivalent posture that diminished Pakistan's relevance on the international stage, particularly in the Middle East.

The deliberations among the distinguished panelists indicated a shared agreement that brutal assaults by the Israeli Defense Forces on civilians had resulted in a humanitarian crisis, likened to acts of genocide and apartheid. A unanimous call was made for an immediate ceasefire to halt gross human rights violations.

From the panelists discussion it was inferred that the conflict was multi-dimensional in nature i.e., territorial, political and ideological and more importantly the historical perspective as well. There were reservations and concerns about the strong support of the US and UK to Israel at every international forum, both diplomatically and militarily.

On the aspect of Hamas attack on Israel, albeit the panelists condemned civilian casualties in this attack, consensus prevailed among them that it was meant to impede the Arab Israel normalization process. There was strong evidence that the Arab states were divided on the issue and their inaction exposed the geopolitical vulnerabilities. The Arab world must show spine and represent the aspirations and sensibilities of their people. The Muslim organizations like OIC and Arab League could not play strong and tangible role in raising concerns of the Muslims at international fora. Conspicuous lack of adequate action by the Arab and other Muslim countries caused frustration and despondency among the Palestinians.

Albeit the voting pattern in the UN General Assembly underscored its ongoing significance in representing majority views, the supply of weapons and diplomatic backing from the U.S and the Western nations to Israel eroded confidence in the ability of international organizations to effectively tackle and resolve global crises. This further led to a decline in trust in the effectiveness of international laws.

Historically, Pakistan has consistently supported Palestinian rights and maintained a principled position. In the ongoing war, Pakistan firmly adhered to the stance and legacy of the Quaid-e-Azam on Palestine at international forums. This was reflected in the four-point strategy proposed by Pakistan in the UN for the resolution of Palestine issue.

However, despite consensus on the above points the panelists differed on the approaches to address the issue. Dr. Askari advocated that Pakistan needed to strike a balance between international relationships and economic dependencies. Though Dr. Musadik Malik agreed with him on the need to align with the challenges of shifting geopolitical dynamics, he characterized the conflict as a genocide and apartheid. He highlighted historical support for Palestinian rights, drawing parallels with the Kashmir issue. Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani highlighted lack of comprehensive policy to address the issue. He was bit concerned about the significant shift in Pakistan's stance and on advocating appeasement towards Israel, considering it as departure from historical position. On the other hand, Ms. Nasim Zehra and Senator Mushtaq Ahmad called Pakistan's response excessively soft and shy. Conversely, Ambassador Javid Husain advised the government to carefully tread the conduct of its policy towards Israel, but the support for Palestine must be reflected in policy statements in international organizations like OIC and UN.

Generally, all the panelists and the research conducted by NIPP underlined the importance of considering the vision of Pakistan's founder, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and the Constitution of Pakistan as guiding strategic principles for the country's foreign policy. They advised Pakistan to navigate its policy effectively in coordination with Arab and Muslim countries. At the same time all acknowledged the challenges posed by shifting geopolitical dynamics and underscored the need for a balanced and strategic approach.

Conclusion

The Roundtable Discussion not only contributed to raising the issue in the public policy discourse but also reflected on how Pakistan's government, intelligentsia, foreign policy analysts and media see the issue. The Quaid-e-Azam's stance and Article-40 of the Constitution of Pakistan, serve as guiding principles and basis for the Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan is adhering to this stance, but there are still concerns that Pakistan has not played its role as it used to play in the past. Unprecedented brutalities, as more than twenty thousand Palestinians had been killed till the filing of this report, demanded harsher and stronger stance. The Israel war triggered regional conflagration therefore the regional actors of Middle East and North Africa (MENA), like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, UAE etc., must take the lead. As per the guiding principles, Pakistan should match the stance and steps taken by the MENA countries. Nevertheless, it should refrain from jumping over them into the fray.

To be relevant in the international affairs, Pakistan needed not only to hold a strong and consistent stance as an inspiration from the founder of Pakistan, but also to keep a close watch on the transformation that is taking place in Middle East. Progress towards satisfactory solution of the Palestine issue would be a key factor necessitating the review of Pakistan's policy toward Israel. Pakistan's principled position would strengthen the cause of Kashmir.

Recommendations

- i. Pakistan needs a well-articulated policy statement on the Israel-Palestine war issue. Pakistan may adopt a cautious anti-Israel stance due to economic dependencies and complex geopolitical considerations but must not hesitate to remind the US of the rueful repercussions of Israeli barbarities against the Palestinians.
- ii. Pakistan's foreign policy should maintain its principled positions and unwavering stance against the use of force in geopolitical conflicts. It will emit Pakistan's diplomatic consistency and commitment to certain values in navigating complex geopolitical situations.

- iii. Pakistan must adopt a more confident, unambiguous, and assertive approach to call for an urgent ceasefire.
- iv. Pakistan should adhere to the sustained and strong stance of the Quaid-e- Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on Palestine issue, in close coordination with major Arab and Muslim countries.
- v. To have relevance and say in the international affairs, Pakistan needs a strong economic and stable political environment. All political forces should unitedly strive to achieve these goals.
- vi. Currently, by drawing comparisons with the Palestine conflict, Pakistan has the chance to highlight the Kashmir issue on the global stage. Both scenarios entail populations residing under occupation and share a common thread in advocating for the right to self-determination.
- vii. Pakistan should take a judicious position in the UN to emphasize the far-reaching consequences of Israel's actions, which not only prolong the suffering of the Palestinian people but also diminish confidence in the effectiveness of international organizations to address significant humanitarian crises.
- viii. The four points submitted by Pakistan Deputy PR to UNGA on November 29, 2023, should be part of Pakistan's policy.
- ix. Israeli Defense Forces' aerial and ground attacks on civilians must be termed genocide and ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. It should be likened to apartheid.
- x. It is not the time for advocating appeasement towards Israel. Abraham Accord is doomed for many years to come. At this stage Pakistan should emphasize the need for an appropriate response from the international community to address the gross human violations of Israel.
- xi. While the people across the world are rising in solidarity with the Palestinians, reminiscent of the 1960s anti-Vietnam war movement, Pakistan can officially observe 'Palestine Day', as Muslim League had done under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam.

- xii. To highlight the gravity of the issue, again emulating Quaid-e-Azam's strategy, Prime Minister of Pakistan may write letters to the US President, British Prime Minister and Secretary General UNSC to resolve the issue.
- xiii. The Arab and Muslim world should adopt a cohesive and united stance to dispel the perception of inaction, addressing concerns about geopolitical vulnerabilities associated with the issue.
- xiv. As the Muslim world needs to stand united at this crucial time, Pakistan can suggest to the OIC to hold an Islamic Summit Conference on the Israel- Palestine war.
- xv. A proper media strategy should be formulated to cover the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza. PEMRA, and media organizations should jointly agree on a realistic approach in this regard. The atrocities in Kashmir can be highlighted in the same flow.

Annexure A

Strategy for Implementation of the Proposed Recommendations

S. No.	Recommendation	Modus Operandi	Responsibility	Stake Holders	Timeline
1.	Policy Statement	Develop a comprehensive policy statement on the Israel-Palestine conflict, adopting a cautious anti-Israel stance while highlighting the ramifications of Israeli actions.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), PM Office	Think tanks, Media, Scholars	Immediately
2.	Foreign Policy consistency	Maintain principled positions and unwavering stance against the use of force in geopolitical conflicts, showcasing diplomatic consistency and commitment to certain values.	MoFA, PM Office	Think tanks, intellectuals, media, former diplomats	Intermittently, as per the developments pertaining to the issue

3.	Assertive Ceasefire Advocacy	Adopt a more confident, unambiguous, and assertive approach to call for an urgent ceasefire, aligning with international calls for peace	MoFA, PM Office, President Secretariat, National Assembly, Senate	Think tanks, intellectuals, media, former diplomats	Immediately
4.	Coordination with Arab and Muslim Countries	Coordinate closely with major Arab and Muslim countries to uphold the sustained and strong stance of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the Palestine issue. Send delegations Phone calls Embassies to play their role	MoFA, PM Office	Friendship associations, influentials	Persistently

5.	Economic & Political Stability	Focus on achieving a strong economic and stable political environment to enhance Pakistan's relevance and influence in international affairs. Unite political forces to work towards these goals. All parties conference. Charter of Economy. General elections.	PM Office, Ministries concerned with economic subjects, CMs of all provinces Political parties	Trade associations, Chambers of Commerce, Economists	On war footing
6.	Global Advocacy for Kashmir	Seize the opportunity to draw parallels between the Palestine and Kashmir conflicts, emphasizing the common thread of advocating for the right to self-determination. Elevate the Kashmir issue on the global stage. Activate embassies. Hold seminars. Observe Kashmir day with fervour.	MoFA, PM Office	Human Rights Associations	Sustained efforts

7.	UN Position and Adoption of Four Points	Take a judicious position in the UN, emphasizing the far-reaching consequences of Israel's actions, and work towards restoring confidence in the effectiveness of international organizations in addressing humanitarian crises. Incorporate the four points submitted by Pakistan Deputy PR to UNGA on November 29, 2023, as a crucial part of Pakistan's policy.	PM Office, MoFA	Think tanks, Media	Immediately
8.	Labelling Israeli Brutalities in Gaza	Term Israeli Defense Forces' attacks on civilians as genocide and ethnic cleansing, drawing parallels with apartheid policies. Avoid advocating appeasement towards Israel. Hold peaceful gatherings.	PM Office, MoFA	Media, Intellectuals, Human Rights organisations Researchers	Immediately

		Seminars			
9.	Emphasis on International response	Emphasize the need for an appropriate international response to address the gross human rights violations committed by Israel, rejecting the viability of the Abraham Accord in the current context.	MoFA, PM Office	Human Rights Organisations, Media	
10.	Observance of 'Palestine Day'	Officially observe 'Palestine Day' to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian cause, echoing the historical approach of the Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam.	PM Office	CM Offices	February 2024
11.	Diplomatic Letters	Emulate Quaid-e-Azam's strategy by having the Prime Minister write letters to the US President, British Prime Minister, and the Secretary General of UNSC to underscore the gravity of the issue and call for resolution.	PM & President	Speaker National Assembly	Immediately

12.	OIC Islamic Summit Conference	Suggest to the OIC the idea of holding an Islamic Summit Conference specifically focused on the Israel-Palestine conflict to promote unity among Muslim nations. On the pattern of Rabat Summit Conference which was held after Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. Lobbying should be done for it.	PM Office MoFA	Media	March 2024
13.	Media Strategy	Formulate a comprehensive media strategy to cover the humanitarian catastrophe in Gaza, collaborating with PEMRA and media organizations to highlight atrocities in both Gaza and Kashmir within the same narrative.	PEMRA PM Office ISPR	CPNE APNS	Persistently

		<p>This strategy aims to leverage media channels to advocate for a just resolution to the Israel-Palestine conflict while simultaneously addressing the Kashmir issue and strengthening Pakistan's global standing.</p>			
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Annexure B

Quaid-e-Azam's Stance on Palestine

S. No	Year	Activity	Statement/Content
1.	April 1934	The first meeting of the Council of the Muslim League, under presidentship of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. it was resolved:	"The Council strongly supported the proposal of a strong and influential deputation to wait on the Viceroy to lay before him the facts of how the Balfour Declaration had supported the Jews of the world to buy land and settle down in Palestine, which had deprived their original Arab inhabitants, Muslims and Christians, of their rights, and had ruined the peace of the Sacred Land. The Council also expressed its whole-hearted sympathy and support for the Arabs of Palestine".
2.	1937	Lucknow session of the Muslim League. Quaid-e-Azam condemned the partition of Palestine recommended by the Royal Commission.	"The Muslims of India will stand solid and will help the Arabs in every way they can in the brave and just struggle that they are carrying on against all odd".
3.	21 st September 1937	Quaid-e-Azam wrote a letter to Maulana Shaukat Ali, who was attending the Palestine Conference and the Bengal Muslim Conference.	"I am sure that the Musalmans of Bengal will stand solid by the Arabs of Palestine who have been most grievously wronged from the very inception of the Mandatory Power having been imposed upon them and the iniquitous Balfour Declaration.--- we will do all that we can in their (Arabs of Palestine) struggle to help them in resisting their enemies who wish to destroy their legitimate aspirations for the freedom of their country".
4.	26 August 1938	Under the directions of the Quaid-e-Azam "Palestine Day" was observed throughout the Subcontinent.	Meetings were held all over condemning the unjust, repressive, and inhuman policy that was pursued by the British Government and special prayers were offered for the complete success of the Arab brethren in their honourable and just struggle.
5.	December 1938	'Quaid-e-Azam's Presidential Address to the Muslim League Session at Patna	"No nation, no people who are worth living as a nation, can achieve anything great without making sacrifice such as the Arabs of Palestine are making. All our sympathies are with those valiant martyrs who are fighting the battle of freedom against usurpers. They are being subjected to

			monstrous injustices which are being propped up by British Imperialism with the ulterior motive of placating the international Jewry which commands the money bags".
6.	1938	The Muslim League sent a delegation to Egypt, Palestine, and England to deal with the problem of Palestine. The delegation consisted of veteran leaders like Abdur Rehman Siddiqui, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and Maulana Irfan.	The full account of the activities of the delegation and the laudable work done by it has been recalled by Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman in his book Only if They Knew it?
7.	March 1940	Presidential Address by Quaid-e-Azam, at the Historic Lahore Session of the League in March 1940.	Quaid'-e-Azam said that the Muslims wanted "that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine". It was urged at the Session that the British Government and its allies should declare unequivocally that the sovereignty and independence of these Muslim states would be restored as soon, as circumstances permitted.
8.	June 1940	The Quaid-e-Azam made strong representation to the Viceroy and had various interviews with him regarding the Palestine question. When the Quaid-e-Azam received a letter from the Grand Mufti of Palestine he again wrote to the Viceroy who in his reply dated 27 June 1940, while	He concluded: "You may rest assured that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by HMG to legitimate Arab claims".

		explaining the British point of view.	
9.	October 1942	Eid message by the Quaid-e-Azam	"It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that just as we have taken an abiding interest in the freedom and prosperity of the Muslim States, such as Turkey, Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and other countries and our sympathies have always gone out to them, so I find that the people of Muslim countries today have similarly displayed their concern and sympathy in our struggle for Pakistan. Therefore, while we are engaged in our struggle for freedom and independence, let us not forget our brethren who in other parts of the world are doing likewise. Let us pray for their success. Let us also pray for those Muslim states who are independent and sovereign that God may help them to preserve and maintain their independence and sovereignty"
10.	9th March 1944	Addressing the Aligarh Muslim University Union, Quaid-e-Azam warned.	"If President Roosevelt under the pressure of the powerful World Jewry, commits the blunder of forcing the British Government to do injustice to the Arab in Palestine, this would set the whole Muslim World ablaze from one end to another". He hoped that "the US will revise their attitude towards Palestine".
11.	December 1943	Muslim League Resolution	Demanded the abolition of the vicious system of Mandates and the restoration of Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon to the peoples of those countries and to enable them to set up their own sovereign governments.
12.	1945	Quaid-e-Azam's telegram to the British PM Attlee	"President Truman's reported Palestine immigration proposal is unwarranted, encroaching upon another country, monstrous and highly unjust. Any departure from the White Paper and British pledge will not only be sacrilege and a breach of faith with Muslim India but an acid test of British honour. It is my duty to inform you that any surrender to appease Jewry at the sacrifice of Arabs would be deeply resented and vehemently resisted by Muslim World and Muslim India and its consequences will be most disastrous".
13.	10 th October 1945	In a speech at a meeting held under the auspices of Baluchistan Muslim	"Jews are also suffering from the same disease as the Congress. Over half a million Jews have already been accommodated in Jerusalem against the wishes of the people. May I know which other country has

		League at Quetta, the Quaid-e-Azam talked about the Palestine affairs and Indonesian struggle for freedom and said:	accommodated them? I have great sympathy for them and have no ill-will against the Jews, but the question is that they have entered Palestine with a set motive to reconquer Jerusalem (which they lost 2,000 years ago) with the help of British and American forces. I hope the Jews will not succeed in their nefarious designs and I wish Great Britain and America should keep their hands off from them, and then I will see how the Jews conquer Jerusalem. Every man and woman of Muslim World will die before Jewry seizes Jerusalem".
14.	November 1945	Another Palestine Day was observed. Addressing a mammoth public meeting the Quaid-e-Azam observed	"The Muslims in India were doing all in their power to help the Arabs, large sums of money had been sent to them. Jews do not want a national home; they want to reconquer Palestine which they lost 2000 years ago. He had no ill will against the Jews. He knew they were badly treated in some parts of Europe. But that was no reason why they should be dumped on the Arabs. They could as well be accommodated in other countries where there was plenty of room. It was neither justice nor fair play. As far as the Muslims of the Subcontinent they could not continue to be mere spectators and must help their Arab brethren".
15.	1947	The question of partition of Palestine came before the United Nations in 1947. The Pakistan delegation was utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to its partition, among other, on the grounds:	It was contrary to the principles of self-determination and beyond the competence of the United Nations. Secondly, it was unfair and impractical, and Thirdly that if implemented it would lead to strife within Palestine and embitter the Arabs.
16.	1947	Quaid-e-Azam sent a letter to the US President Truman	At this hour when the Muslim World has received a terrible shock owing to the most unfortunate decision of the United Nations Organization to enforce partition of Palestine. I would like to address to you, Mr. President this personal appeal.

			2. The decision is ultra vires of the United Nations Charter and basically wrong and invalid in law.
17.	Oct 1947	Quaid-e-Azam sent one-man delegation Malik Feroz Khan Noon as his special envoy to some of the countries in the Middle East.	The aim of the mission was to introduce Pakistan, to explain the reasons of its creation, to familiarize them with its internal and external problems and to get their support.
18.	19th Dec 1947	Quaid-e-Azam's interview to BBC	"...our sense of justice obliges us to help the Arab cause in Palestine in every way that is open to us"
19.	24th Dec 1947	Quaid-e-Azam's telegram to the King of Yemen, Imam Yahya, in reply to his telegram of thanks for Pakistan's support to Arabs on the Palestine issue.	"I once more assure you and our Arab brethren that Pakistan will stand by them and do all that is possible to help and support them in their opposition on the UNO decision which is inherently unjust and outrageous".
20.	December 1947	Quaid-e-Azam's response to the speech by Mohammad Pasha el-Shuraiki, the Jordanian Minister Plenipotentiary.	"Islam is to us the source of our very life and existence and it has linked our cultural and traditional past too closely with the Arab World that there need be no doubt whatsoever about our fullest sympathy for the Arab cause".
21.	February 1948	Quaid-e-Azam's broadcast talk to the people of the USA.	"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter".
22.	August 7, 1948	Just before his death, Quaid-e-Azam's Eid message.	"We are all passing through perilous times. The drama of power politics that is being staged in Palestine, Indonesia and Kashmir should serve as an eye opener to us. It is only by putting a united front that we can make our voice felt in the councils of the world"

Annexure C

List of Articles for Content Analysis

Sr. #	Date	Author	Newspaper	Article	Affiliation/Contact
1	30.11.2023	Anwar Iqbal	Dawn	<u>Pakistan seeks international tribunal to probe Israel's war crimes</u>	
2	28.11.2023	Irfan Ali Larik	Express Tribune	<u>The human cost of conflict: Reflecting on the Gaza war</u>	The writer is an Edmonton (Canada) based Higher Education Administration professional.
3	20.11.2023	Maleeha Lodhi	Dawn	<u>Crisis of Humanity</u>	The writer is a former ambassador to the US, UK, and UN.
4	15.11.2023	Zahid Hussain	Dawn	<u>Shameful capitulation</u>	The writer is an author and journalist.
5	15.11.2023	Rafia Zakaria	Dawn	<u>The Underground Arena</u>	The writer is an attorney teaching constitutional law and political philosophy.
6	15.11.2023	Mahir Ali	Dawn	<u>If not now, When?</u>	<u>Mahir.dawn@gmail.com</u>
7	08.11.2023	Farhan Bokhari	The News	<u>After the carnage</u>	The writer is an Islamabad-based journalist who writes on political and economic affairs. He can be reached at: <u>farhanbokhari@gmail.com</u>
8	07.11.2023	Jawed Naqvi	Dawn	<u>A fitting metaphor for Gaza</u>	The writer is Dawn's correspondent in Delhi.

9	06.11.2023	Maleeha Lodhi	Dawn	<u>War, Hypocrisy and Tragedy</u>	The writer is a former ambassador to the US, UK, and UN
10	01.11.2023	Rafia Zakaria	Dawn	<u>Intertwined struggles</u>	The writer is an attorney teaching constitutional law and political philosophy.
11	29.10.2023	Dr. Muham mad Ali Ehsan	Express Tribune	<u>Gaza is a minnow: the big fish they are after in Iran</u>	The author is postdoctoral scholar at the International Affairs Department of Kazan Federal University (KFU) Russia
12	28.10.2023	Pervez Hoodbh oy	Dawn	<u>No innocents in Gaza</u>	The writer is an Islamabad-based physicist and author
13	26.10.2023	Javid Husain	The News	<u>Victims of geopolitics: Palestine and Kashmir</u>	The writer is a retired ambassador. He can be reached at: javid.husain@gmail.com
14	25.10.2023	Fiza Khawar	The News	<u>Gaza: Where is the ICC?</u>	The writer is a lawyer specialising in international human rights law. She can be reached at: f.khawarkhan@gmail.com
15	24.10.23	Rashed Rahman	Business Recorder	<u>The Palestinian Resistance</u>	rashed.rahman1@gmail.com, rashed-rahman.blogspot.com
16	23.10.2023	Maleeha Lodhi	Dawn	<u>Dangers of escalation</u>	The writer is a former ambassador to the US, UK, and UN
17	19.10.2023	Kamila Hayat	The News	<u>Fake news, Palestine, and local response</u>	The writer is a freelance columnist and former newspaper editor. She can be reached at:

					kamilahyat@hotmail.com
18	19.10.2023	Inam Ul Haque	Express Tribune	<u>The inevitability of Palestinian state</u>	The writer is a retired major general and has an interest in International Relations and Political Sociology. He can be reached at tayyarinam@hotmail.com and tweets @20_Inam
19	18.10.2023	Zahid Hussain	Dawn	<u>Western media and the war</u>	The writer is an author and journalist.
20	18.10.23	Ozer Khalid	Express Tribune	<u>A practical way out for Palestinians</u>	The writer is a senior consultant, foreign policy expert and a columnist. He can be contacted at ozzerkhalid@gmail.com and tweets @OzerKhalid
21	17.10.2023	Mosharr af Zaidi	The News	<u>Palestine exposes a vacuum in Pakistan</u>	The writer is an analyst and commentator.
22	16.10.2023	Maleeha Lodhi	Dawn	<u>A predictable tragedy</u>	The writer is a former ambassador to the US, UK, and UN
23	16.10.2023	Malaika Raza	The News	<u>Beyond a two-state solution</u>	The writer is a political activist and human rights defender. She tweets/posts @MalaikaSRaza
24	14.10.2023	Sherry Rahman	The News	<u>What happens in Gaza won't stay in Gaza</u>	The writer is the former federal minister for climate change and environmental coordination.

25	14.10.2023	Shazia Anwer Cheema	Express Tribune	<u>Israel-Palestine conflict and complex web of recent actions</u>	The writer is a PhD scholar of Semiotics and Philosophy of Communication at Charles University Prague. She can be reached at shaziaanwer@yahoo.com and tweets @ShaziaAnwerCh
26	13.10.2023	Aneela Shahzad	Express Tribune	<u>Unprecedented Gaza – Israel war</u>	The writer is a geopolitical analyst. She also writes at globaltab.net and tweets @AneelaShahzad
27	13.10.2023	Abdul Sattar	The News	<u>Arab Israel conflict through history: Part-1</u>	The writer is a freelance journalist who can be reached at: egalitarianism444@gmail.com
28	12.10.2023	Shahab Jafry	Business Recorder	<u>War and change in the Middle East</u>	
29	12.10.2023	Imran Jan	Express Tribune	<u>No innocent occupier</u>	The writer is a political analyst. Email: imran.jan@gmail.com . Twitter @Imran_Jan
30	11.10.2023	Zahid Hussain	Dawn	<u>Israel's new war</u>	The writer is an author and journalist.

Annexure D

Government of Pakistan's Stance on Israel-Palestine War

Sr. #	Date	Ministry/ Department	Statement
1	7 th October	MoFA	Pakistan is closely monitoring the unfolding situation in the Middle East and the eruption of hostilities between Israel and Palestinians. We are concerned about the human cost of the escalating situation.
2	7 th October	Prime Minister	We urge restraint and protection of civilians. Enduring peace in the Middle East lies in a two-state solution with a viable, contiguous, and sovereign State of Palestine.
3	12 th October		The international community must work in concert for a just, comprehensive and lasting two-state solution with a viable, sovereign, and contiguous State of Palestine based on pre-1967 borders, with Al Quds Al-Sharif as its capital. Peace in the Middle East will remain elusive in the absence of such a solution.
4	15 th October	Prime Minister	Pakistan is closely coordinating with "OIC" and its member states on deteriorating situation in Gaza.
5	17 th October	COAS	The Palestinian people have unequivocal diplomatic, moral, and political support of the Pakistani nation and we will continue to support the moral stance of our brethren for enduring resolution of the Palestinian issue and end to the unlawful occupation of their territories and Muslims' sacred places.
6	19 th October	MoFA	A chartered aircraft carrying 100 tons of essential medical supplies, tents, and blankets will depart from Islamabad for Egypt this afternoon. From Egypt, these items will be transferred to the people of Gaza.

7	20 th October	MoFA	Pakistan has no intention of sending the army to Gaza.
8	24 th October	COAS	Fresh spate of violence in Gaza is the result of unabated repression, continued human rights violations and state-sponsored sacrilege of Al Aqsa Mosque.
9	26 th October	MoFA	We regret that despite the rising death toll, flagrant violations of international humanitarian law, war crimes and calls for ethnic cleansing, the UN Security Council has failed to even call for a cease-fire and put an end to the carnage in Gaza. Pakistan believes that durable peace in the Middle East will emerge from a two-state solution.
10	1 st November	MoFA	Pakistan vehemently condemns Israel's barbaric attack on the "Jabaliya refugee camp" in Gaza that resulted in dozens of deaths and injuries including women and children.
11	2 nd November	MoFA	For the last 3 weeks, the massacre of Palestinians has continued unabated, with the death of over 8000 civilians of which 70 percent are women and children.
12	10 th November	MoFA	"Prime Minister" vehemently condemned the incessant and lethal bombardment of Gaza by the Israeli occupation forces. He called for the resolution of the Palestinian issue in accordance with the relevant UNSC and OIC Resolutions. The Prime Minister also invited international attention to the growing intolerance, xenophobia, and Islamophobia, called for building political and legal deterrence against the abhorrent rise of Islamophobia and for fostering mutual respect, interfaith harmony, and peaceful coexistence.

13	10 th November	President	<p>"If two states solution was not acceptable to Israel then a one-state solution was the only way where Jews, Muslims and [a] good percentage of Christians could live to exercise equal political rights".</p> <p>REVISED STATEMENT</p> <p>The presidency's revised statement later said President had assured his Palestinian counterpart that Pakistan would continue its support for resolving the Palestinian dispute in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).</p>
14	16 th November	MoFA	Pakistan condemns the bombardment by Israeli Occupation Forces in the surroundings of a Jordanian field hospital in occupied Gaza.
15	16 th November	MoFA	"We are appalled by the Israeli incursion into "Al-Shifa hospital", placing patients, medical staff, and civilians at risk".
16	20 th November	PM	"This appalling and atrocious act has to end. This children's holocaust has to stop, and it has to stop".
17	23 rd November	MoFA	We call for the protection of children of Gaza who are the prime victims of the indiscriminate bombing campaign and will live the rest of their lives affected by immense loss and trauma.
18	30 th November	MoFA	Prime Minister of Pakistan and His Royal Highness Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed discussed and focused mainly on the dire situation of human rights and humanitarian situation in occupied Palestine.

Introduction of Team NIPP

Dr. Naveed Elahi	Dean NIPP. Prior to this he served in the public sector in various departments for more than three decades. He did his master's and PhD from King's College London, UK. He is the author of several books and taught national security, public policy, and foreign policy of Pakistan in various universities.
Mr. Habib Ullah Khan	Additional Director Publications and Archives at NIPP. Prior to this role, he has also served as Additional Director of Administration and Finance at the National Institute of Management Lahore. Previously held positions as Director I.T. and Deputy Director I.T. at the National Management College Lahore.
Dr. Saif Ullah Khalid	Senior Research Associate at NIPP. He completed his Ph.D., from Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, where his doctoral thesis was "Theory and Practice of police corruption control in Pakistan Case studies of three Police Departments". He has also served as a Strategic Planning Expert in USAID projects in Pakistan.
Mr. Jahanzeb Waheed	Research Associate at the NIPP. He is currently a PhD candidate in Development Studies at the University of Lisbon. Holding an MSc in Development Studies from the University of Glasgow (2007) and an MS in Project Management from COMSATS University, Islamabad, Lahore Campus, his 15+ years in research focus on policy processes and implementation challenges.
Dr. Sumreen Khalil	Research Fellow at NIPP. She has completed her PhD from University of the Punjab, Lahore-Pakistan. She has ample experience of teaching at various Universities. She has also served in Administrative Functional Unit of Local Government Service.
Dr. Muhammad Abdullah	Research Fellow at NIPP. He graduated with a Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS) in 2011 from Lahore Medical and Dental College and later obtained a master's in public health (MPH) from Griffith University, Australia, in 2017. He has also been awarded by governor as a "Best volunteer" for healthcare in Punjab.
Mr. Sajid Sultan	Statistical Analyst at NIPP. Prior to that he was Data Analyst at Population Welfare Department, Govt of Punjab. He has also served in many other institutions as Lecturer as well as Controller of Examination. He has done MPhil in Statistics from Minhaj University Lahore.

Introduction of Panelists of the Roundtable Discussion

<p>Dr. Musadik Masood Malik</p>	<p>Dr. Musadik Masood Malik is a Member of the Senate of Pakistan since March 2018 and served as the Minister of State for Petroleum. He has extensive international experience in public policy with a focus on economic transformation, industrial development, labour reform, employment generation, education, and healthcare. He earned his PhD and Master of Science in Healthcare Administration and Policy and an MBA also from the University of Illinois.</p>
<p>Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry</p>	<p>Mr. Aizaz Ahmad Chaudhry served as a member of the Foreign Service of Pakistan for 37 years at various important assignments. He rose to the rank of the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan and participated actively in high level foreign policy discussions from December 2013 to March 2017. He has served as Ambassador of Pakistan to United States of America and Netherlands. He also served as the Foreign Office Spokesman and interacted with Pakistani and international media.</p>
<p>Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani</p>	<p>Lt-Gen (R) Asad Durrani served as Director General of the Military Intelligence (MI) and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). He served on many Command and Staff appointments and retired in 1993. He is a graduate of the German General Staff Academy and was later Defense Attaché in Germany. After leaving the Army he was Pakistan's Ambassador to Germany (1994-1997) and Saudi Arabia (2000-2002). He is the author of: The Spy Chronicles: RAW, ISI and the Illusion of Peace (2018); Pakistan Adrift: Navigating Troubled Waters (2018); and Honor Among Spies (2020).</p>
<p>Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi</p>	<p>Dr. Hasan Askari Rizvi is Professor Emeritus, Political Science, Punjab University, Lahore. He has a vast experience of working with</p>

	<p>international think-tanks, universities, and Pakistani and foreign media. He was conferred "Sitara-i-Imtiaz" by the government of Pakistan. He also served as caretaker Chief Minister of Punjab in 2018. He is the author of many books including Military, State and Society in Pakistan (2000); Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy (1993); and The Military and Politics in Pakistan (2009).</p>
Mr. Javid Husain	<p>Ambassador Javid Husain retired, has a distinguished diplomatic career spanning about 37 years during which he served on diplomatic assignments in important capitals including Paris, Washington and New York, Netherlands etc. During his posting at Tehran, he was also the Pakistan Permanent Representative to the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). He is the author of several papers on foreign policy and international issues. His latest book is on "Pakistan and a World in Disorder---A Grand Strategy for the Twenty-First Century" (published in 2016).</p>
Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Khan	<p>Mushtaq Ahmad Khan is a Senator elected in 2018. He has served as provincial amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami and remained a student leader and later served for years as provincial general secretary and naib amir of the party. He has recently visited Middle East where he analyzed the situation personally and raised voice against the brutalities being committed by Israel in Gaza.</p>
Ms. Nasim Zehra	<p>Ms. Nasim Zehra is Director Diplomatic Affairs/ Senior Anchor Person, Analyst and Executive Producer at Channel 24. She is trained in International Security and Business Management and writes and lectures internationally and nationally on national and international political and security issues. She is an Associate at Harvard University Asia and visiting Professor at NUST and Quaid-e-Azam University. She is the author of the book "From Kargil to the Coup: 50 Days that Shook Pakistan" (2018).</p>



NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC POLICY
Round Table Discussion on
The Israel-Palestine War: Challenges for Pakistan's Foreign Policy
 December, 13, 2023



1st Row:	Mr. Mushiq Ahmad Khan, Sardar	LT Gen. (R) Asef Durani, Former ISI Chief	Mr. Aziz Ahmad Chaudhry, Former Force in Secretary Dr. Naveed Ullah Dean NIPP	Dr. Musazik Masood Malik, Senator	Dr. Ijaz Minir, Rector NSPP	Ms. Nasim Zehra, Anchor/Analyst
L to R	Mr. Jayid Hussain, Former Ambassador	Dr. Hasan Askan Rizvi, Former Caretaker CM Punjab	Dr. Naveed Ullah Dean NIPP	Dr. Jahanzeb Vahneed, Research Associate	Dr. Sumreen Khaili, Research Fellow	Ms Adeela Younas ADS (MCMC)
2nd Row:	Dr.Muhammad Abdullah, Research Fellow	Mr. Saqib Sultan, Statistical Analyst	Dr. Saif Ullah Khaili, Research Associate	Mr. Jahanzeb Vahneed, Research Associate	Dr. Sumreen Khaili, Research Fellow	Ms Adeela Younas ADS (MCMC)
	Ms. Sarosh Elaz ADS (MCMC)	Mr.Habib Ullah Khan, Additional Director				

The Panelists and Team NIPP

National Institute of Public Policy (NIPP)

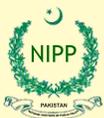
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