

[Working Paper Series: Pandemic Crisis and Democratic Governance in Asia – Part I]

## Pandemic Crisis and Democratic Governance in Pakistan

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### Pakistan – An Overview<sup>1</sup>

With a population of over 220 million people, Pakistan is the 5<sup>th</sup> most populous country in the world and its population is equivalent to 2.83% of the world's total population. The total land area of Pakistan is 770,880 Km<sup>2</sup> (297,638 sq. miles) and its population density is 287 per Km (742 people per mi<sup>2</sup>).<sup>2</sup> A country situated in South Asia, Pakistan is bounded by Iran to the west, Afghanistan to the northwest, China to the northeast, and India to the east and southeast. The coast of the Arabian Sea forms its southern border.<sup>3</sup>

Pakistan is an Islamic Republic and has a federal parliamentary democracy. It has a bicameral legislature at the federal level while each of the 4 provinces has unicameral legislatures. At the federal level, the Prime Minister is elected from the National Assembly, a population-based house, where seats are allocated to each province and federal capital based on population. In the National Assembly, elections are held by the First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) system while seats reserved for women and non-Muslim population are chosen by the proportional representation (PR) system. The National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies each have a 5-year term. The executive authority of the federation is exercised in the name of the President by the Federal Government, consisting of the Prime Minister and the Federal Ministers. This is similar in the provinces where Chief Ministers, together with provincial cabinets, exercise executive authority on each of the 4 provinces. Seats in the Senate of Pakistan are equally allocated to each of the 4 provinces and are filled through PR system through the single transferable vote. The Senate does not dissolve while election on half of its seats is carried out after every 6 years.

Since 2018 when the latest general election was held in Pakistan, the Federal Government and Provincial Governments in 3 out of 4 provinces in Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, and a coalition government in

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the year, ADRN members will publish a total of three versions of the Pandemic Crisis and Democratic Governance in Asia Research to include any changes and updates in order to present timely information. The first and second parts will be publicized as a working paper and the third will be publicized as a special report. This working paper is part I of the research project.

<sup>2</sup> "Pakistan Population Live", *Worldometer*, <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/pakistan-population/> (accessed 28 January 2021).

<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Ziring, "Pakistan", *Britannica*, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Pakistan>. (accessed 28 January 2021).

Balochistan are led by Prime Minister Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) while the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) has formed a separate government in Sindh, the fourth province.

Despite being an electoral democracy and possessing functioning institutions, Pakistan is continuously characterized as a "Hybrid Regime" in the Economist's Democracy Index Regime.<sup>4</sup> This characterization could be said to be due to the role and influence of the military in politics and the ongoing concerns regarding the rule of law in Pakistan.

## The Phenomenon of Coronavirus Pandemic

Even though the first statement regarding the cluster of pneumonia cases in Wuhan, China was announced on January 8, 2020, it took the World Health Organization (WHO) over 8 weeks to declare the COVID-19 outbreak as a global Pandemic. This declaration was made on March 11, 2020, as more than 118,000 cases were detected in more than 110 countries and territories. By the end of May 2020, more than 5.5 million COVID-19 cases had been reported around the world. Everyday life around the world, as well as the global economy, was upended. The growing uncertainty forced governments and systems to grapple with policies and actions that are feared to leave behind significant geopolitical wreckage.

Several leading studies from as early as May 2020 indicated that COVID-19 was undoing years of progress in curbing global poverty as the number of the poverty-stricken, which showed a pattern of a steady decrease earlier in the year, increased rapidly.<sup>5</sup> Studies stated that the pandemic started a human development crisis that was equivalent to levels of deprivation during the mid-1980s. The sectors that were affected were the following: *income* (with the largest contraction in economic activity since the Great Depression), *health* (directly causing a death toll of over 300,000 and indirectly leading potentially to an additional 6,000 child deaths every day from preventable causes over the next 6 months) and *education* (with effective out-of-school rates – meaning, accounting for the inability to access the internet – in primary education expected to drop to the levels of actual rates of the mid-1980s levels).<sup>6</sup>

Many countries have had to declare a state of emergency to protect public health. At least 62 countries and territories have had to postpone national and subnational elections, out of which at least 18 countries and territories have decided to postpone national elections and referendums.<sup>7</sup> In countries with weak democratic safeguards, there were concerns of autocrats using COVID-19 as an excuse to grab and hold onto power.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "Global democracy has a very bad year," *Economist*, <https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2021/02/02/global-democracy-has-a-very-bad-year> (accessed 28 April 2021).

<sup>5</sup> "Covid-19 is undoing years of progress in curbing global poverty." *The Economist*, May 23 2020, <https://www.economist.com/international/2020/05/23/covid-19-is-undoing-years-of-progress-in-curbing-global-poverty> (accessed 28 May 2020).

<sup>6</sup> "COVID-19 and Human Development: Assessing the Crisis, Envisioning the Recovery." *United Nations Development Programme*, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/hdp-covid> (accessed: 28 May 2020).

<sup>7</sup> International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, "Global overview of COVID-19: Impact on elections," *Idea.int*, May 2020, <https://www.idea.int/news-media/multimedia-reports/global-overview-covid-19-impact-elections> (accessed 28 May 2020).

<sup>8</sup> Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development And Transparency, "Is Democracy snapping under COVID-19?" *Youtube.com*, April 14, 2020, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D\\_b9YEME5y4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_b9YEME5y4) (accessed 03 June 2020); The Economist, "Would-be autocrats are using covid-19 as an excuse to grab more power," *Economist.com*, April 23, 2020, <https://www.economist.com/international/2020/04/23/would-be-autocrats-are-using-covid-19-as-an-excuse-to-grab-more-power> (Accessed: 28 May 2020).

Through the utilization of political predictions, social scientists and analysts argued that the pandemic might disrupt national politics leading to political instability, especially in developing countries already suffering from economic crises.<sup>9</sup>

## The Coronavirus in Pakistan

### The First Wave

From the last week of February 2020, when the first Pakistani citizen was diagnosed with the virus, to the third week of June, when COVID-19 cases are said to have peaked, Pakistan witnessed what is called the “First Coronavirus Wave.”

COVID-19 started figuring in news cycles in December 2019. By January 2020, China was groaning under its pressure and by February 2020, it was clear that the pandemic was spreading fast across the globe and specifically in Pakistan’s neighbourhood. Yet even as Iran saw a spike in cases and it was well known that it was only a matter of time before the infection would appear in Pakistan, Federal and Provincial governments remained relatively slow in their response. Precious time was wasted in debating the pros and cons of a lockdown which led to confusion in the context of ‘lives vs. livelihood’ framing of a response. It was only on March 13, 2020 that Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan convened a meeting of the National Security Committee on the “emerging public health threat of coronavirus pandemic.”<sup>10</sup> This confusion at the top percolated down to government policymaking and the administrative machinery leading to half-hearted measures at a time when a firm handling of the situation could have saved time, and possibly lives. Federal and Provincial governments experienced a non-ending series of crises, challenges and uncertain policy outcomes. These months also witnessed a steep learning curve for decision-makers as they struggled to fight against the virus weighed down by weak governance structures and acute political polarisation.<sup>11</sup>

However, the curve of coronavirus began to flatten by August 2020 in what many internationally called a “dramatic” reverse of coronavirus cases and deaths down from more than 80% from their peaks. In its peak, wrote the Wallstreet Journal, Pakistan appeared to be ‘headed for disaster’ as it was at a peak of nearly 7000 new infections a day in June 2020, compared with Brazil, another developing country with a similar population size. In August 2020, it recorded 903 new cases and the lowest death count of 27 in months. This happened despite India and Iran, Pakistan’s neighbouring countries, with peaking infections and deaths at the time and while Pakistan

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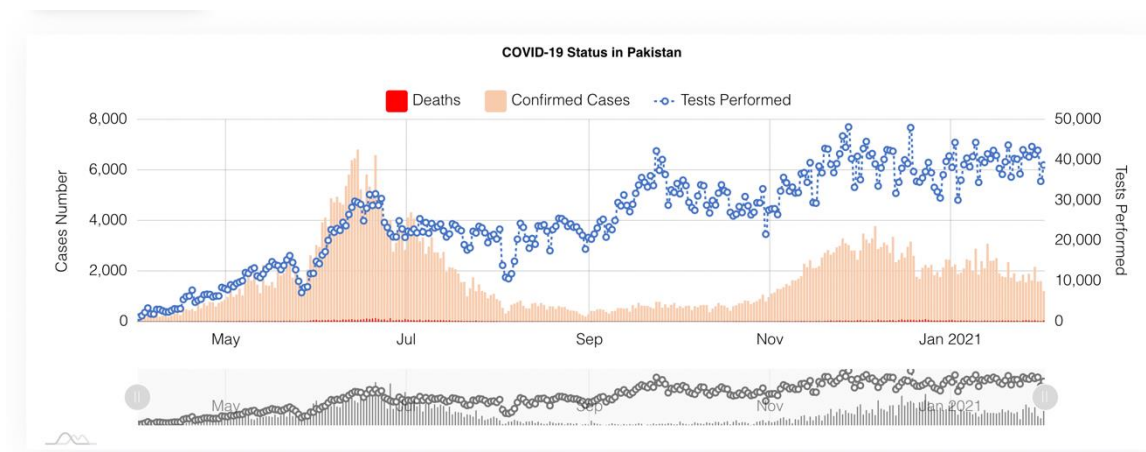
<sup>9</sup> Alice Wenner, “Our Democracy Depends On A Safe Election in November.” *Fsi.stanford.edu*, Stanford University, May 26, 2020, <https://fsi.stanford.edu/news/our-democracy-depends-safe-election-november> (accessed May 28 2020); Nic Cheeseman, “The Coronavirus Could Topple Governments Around the World.” *Foreign Policy*, March 31, 2020, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/03/31/coronavirus-regime-change-could-topple-governments-around-the-world/> (accessed: 28 May 2020).

<sup>10</sup> Prime Minister’s Office, “Prime Minister Imran Khan chaired the National Security Committee meeting, especially called to review the current status of and Pakistan’s response to the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic,” *Pmo.gov.pk*, PMO, March 13, 2020, [https://pmo.gov.pk/press\\_release\\_details.php?pr\\_id=3344](https://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=3344) (accessed 15 August 2020).

<sup>11</sup> Fah Husain, *Policy Issues relating to COVID-19 and Need for Policy Formulation by Political Parties*, (Pakistan: PILDAT, 2020), 10.

Prime Minister Mr. Imran Khan had ‘resisted advice from the World Health Organization, declaring in May that lockdowns are too costly for the poor and reopening the economy.’<sup>12</sup>

**Figure 1.** Status of Coronavirus Cases in Pakistan



Source: National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC)<sup>13</sup>

The Wallstreet Journal termed the success in flattening the curve of infections and deaths in the first wave to a strategy of targeted lockdowns, closing the economy, schools and marriage-halls. However, it noted that modelling had predicted that in August 2020 Pakistan might see a scenario of 30,000 deaths a day.

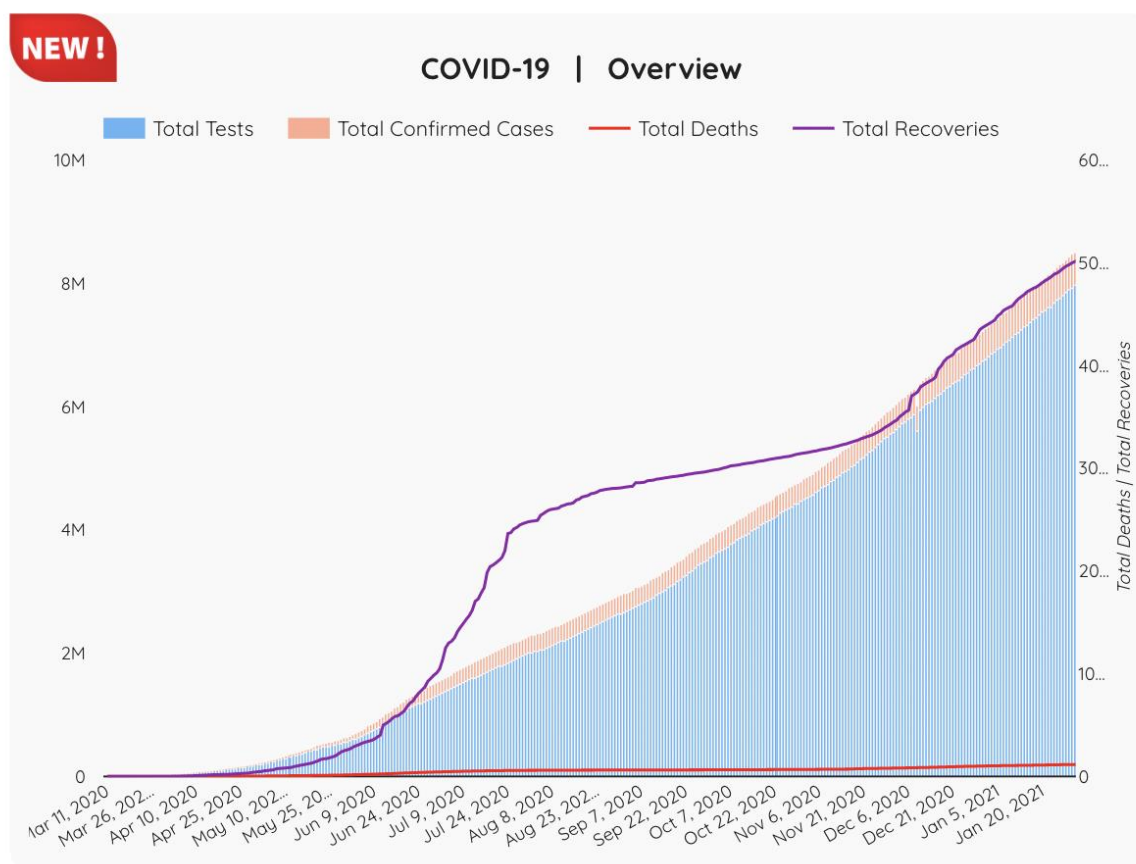
### The Second Wave

A more lethal second wave, however, began in October 2020. On October 29, Pakistan reported over 1,000 coronavirus cases — the first time since July 2020, when it got the pandemic pretty much under control. In February 2021, the daily reported cases peaked to 1245. Pakistan was late in ordering vaccines but began administrating Chinese vaccines in February. Much like the rest of the world, there is little public appetite for strict lockdowns, considering the impact on economy and a large population believes academic institutions should open while economic activity should not be halted.

<sup>12</sup> Saeed Shah, “Why Youthful, Conservative Pakistan Is a Coronavirus Bright Spot,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 1 2020, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/why-youthful-conservative-pakistan-is-a-coronavirus-bright-spot-11596297600> (accessed 20 January 2021).

<sup>13</sup> National Command and Operation Center Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Status of Coronavirus. (2021) Status of Coronavirus Cases in Pakistan. <https://ncoc.gov.pk/> (accessed February 1, 2021).

Figure 2. Status of Coronavirus



Cases in Pakistan

Source: National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC)<sup>14</sup>

### Response: From Democratic Governance to Hybrid Structures

Pakistan's response to the management of COVID-19 has had a deep impact on democratic governance. Despite being an electoral democracy with functioning institutions, it is perhaps the role and influence of military in politics and concerns about rule of law which characterise Pakistan consistently in the Economist's Democracy Index as a Hybrid Regime. The COVID-19 management has further exacerbated the hybrid nature of Pakistan's de-facto system of democratic governance.

In the case of Pakistan, even before the descent of COVID-19, democracy was facing multiple crises: electoral legitimacy and electoral meddling, populism and partisan accountability, institutions overreaching their constitutional domains, weak political parties, public distrust of politics, and performance of democratic governance. In short, Pakistan's fledgling democracy, struggled to evolve out of authoritarian shadows of the past

<sup>14</sup> National Command and Operation Center Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Status of Coronavirus. (2021) Status of Coronavirus. <https://ncoc.gov.pk/> (accessed February 1, 2021).

and appeared to forever fall short of delivering promises to citizens to construct a perfectly just and egalitarian society.

In understanding the scale of this global public health crisis, comparisons have been drawn to earlier plagues and pandemics in the history of the world. One such comparison is drawn with the mid-1300 bubonic plague that resulted in the loss of half of Europe's population and the fall of the Roman Empire.<sup>15</sup> The second, and most recent comparison is made to the deadly influenza pandemic of 1918 and 1919, that infected 500 million and killed 50 million people, with ensuing global trends of xenophobia, the collapse of the global economy to the Great Depression, and an arms race culminating in World War II, the greatest calamity in modern times.<sup>16</sup>

However, in drawing such comparisons, historians have cautioned that crises like plagues and pandemics do not break societies, systems, and global order but instead they only exacerbate a crisis by revealing what is already broken.<sup>17</sup>

Applying this analogy to the current challenges Pakistan's democracy means that COVID-19 has only revealed what was already strained in the system of democratic governance in Pakistan. Citizens' elected representatives forming government or occupying backbenches in Parliament and Provincial Assemblies are unable to effectively carry out their responsibilities, political parties as institutions that should draw up plans for delivering effective governance do not fully focus on public policy issues, and despite some progress youth and women remain grossly under-represented in democratic structures. Democratic institutions continued to suffer from weaknesses and performance issues while some institutions continued to interfere in the constitutionally demarcated domain of others. While accelerating these trends, COVID-19 has also created a scenario in which the likely economic decline will further strain Pakistan's democratic governance, intensify authoritarian tendencies, and may result in eroding the already-strained public trust in democracy and democratic institutions.

The most glaring example of further entrenchment of Pakistan's hybrid governance system in the COVID-19 management took place through the establishment of a military-led National Command and Operations Centre (NCOC). An interesting set of events precedes the establishment of NCOC. The issue of COVID-19 management was first raised by the Federal Government in a meeting of the National Security Committee (NSC) on March 13, 2020. It must be noted that the set-up in 2013, National Security Committee is the principal *decision-making* body on National Security matters in Pakistan since 2013.<sup>18</sup> It is fashioned after National Security Councils that exist in many other countries around the world, but function as key *advisory* institution chaired by elected heads of government and, in almost all cases, meet on a *weekly basis*. While Pakistan's National Security Committee includes as members Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and three Services Chiefs alongside key federal ministers, National Security Councils around the world do not always have services chiefs as members, including the NSC in neighboring India.<sup>19</sup>

The press release issued by the Prime Minister's Office stated that "*it was the first time that an NSC*

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<sup>15</sup> Patrick Reis, "Ask an Expert on the Fall of Rome: Are we F-cked?" *Rolling Stone*, March 26, 2020, <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/coronavirus-black-plague-fall-of-rome-973211/> (accessed: 28 May 2020).

<sup>16</sup> Colin H. Kahl and Ariana Berengaut, "Aftershocks: The Coronavirus Pandemic and the New World Disorder." *War on the Rocks*, April 10, 2020, <https://warontherocks.com/2020/04/aftershocks-the-coronavirus-pandemic-and-the-new-world-disorder/> (accessed May 28 2020).

<sup>17</sup> Patrick Reis, "Ask an Expert on the Fall of Rome: Are we F-cked?"

<sup>18</sup> NSD, "National Security Division." <http://www.nsd.gov.pk/index.php?page=nationalSecurityDivision> (Accessed August 15 2020).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.



meeting was called on an emerging public health threat.”<sup>20</sup> The meeting was joined by Federal Ministers on Foreign Affairs, Religious Affairs, Aviation, and Education, Advisor for Finance, Special Assistants to Prime Minister on Health, National Security, and Information, all Chief Ministers along with Chief Secretaries, and Provincial Health Ministers, Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and the three services chiefs.<sup>21</sup>

Initially, in the meeting of the NSC, it was decided to form and convene a National Coordination Committee for COVID-19 (NCC) under the Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Health. The NCC was to include representation of all provinces and relevant civilian and military stakeholders, to monitor the situation and make necessary decisions on a daily basis.<sup>22</sup>

However, things did not go as planned as the initial meetings of the NCC were not attended by many key actors. The attendance thinned out even further in subsequent meetings as the Chief Ministers delegated their Chief Secretaries to attend the meetings. However, the NCC was not getting the traction required for the challenge. On April 1, 2020, through a press release by the Pakistan Military’s Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR), it was announced that a National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC) was established to work as a nucleus for the one-window operation to manage COVID-19 with Commander Army Air Defence Command as its Chief Coordinator.<sup>23</sup> The first-ever meeting of the NCOC was chaired by the Chief of Army Staff while those who attended, in addition, included Federal Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Planning and Development, Interior, Economic Affairs, Communications and Postal Services, Aviation, National Food Security, Maritime Affairs, Advisor to PM on Finance and Revenue and Special Assistants to Prime Minister on Information, Health, National Security and Poverty Alleviation.<sup>24</sup>

Prime Minister only visited the NCOC on April 3, three days after its establishment was announced by the ISPR. Press release by the Prime Minister’s office noted that the NCOC “is nerve center to synergize and articulate unified national effort against COVID-19, and to implement the decisions of National Coordination Committee on COVID-19. The center is one window operation to collate, analyze and process information based on digital input and human intelligence across Pakistan through all Provinces, AJ& K, GB & ICT dedicated representatives and centers.” It also noted that “recommendations based on information/ data is then processed including health, finance, and all matter related to COVID-19 to NCC for real time projections and timely interventions by NCC headed by PM.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Prime Minister’s Office, “Prime Minister Imran Khan chaired the National Security Committee meeting, especially called to review the current status of and Pakistan’s response to the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic.” *Pmo.gov.pk*, PMO, March 13, 2020, [https://pmo.gov.pk/press\\_release\\_details.php?pr\\_id=3344](https://pmo.gov.pk/press_release_details.php?pr_id=3344) (accessed August 15 2020).

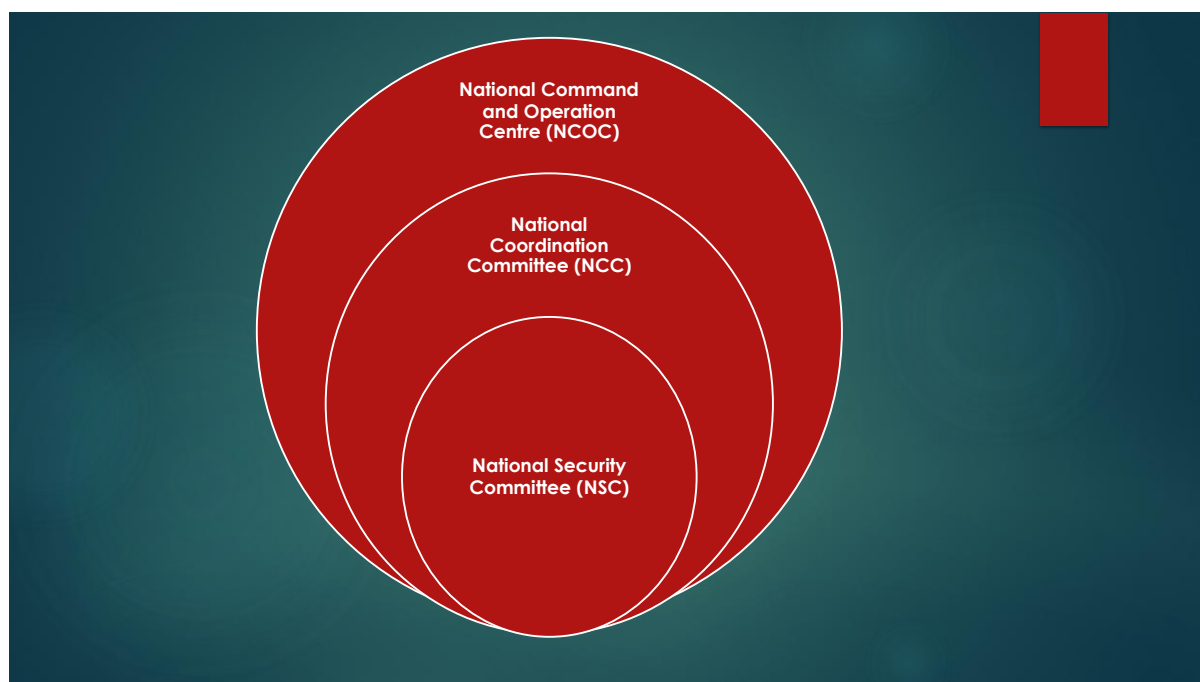
<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> DG ISPR, Twitter Post, April 1 2020, 22: 37, <https://twitter.com/OfficialDGISPR/status/1245344582029713411> (accessed May 4 2020).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Prime Minister’s Office, “Prime Minister Imran Khan visited National Command and Operation Centre (NCOC) for COVID-19 in Islamabad today.” *Pmo.gov.pk*, PMO, April 03, 2020, [https://www.pmo.gov.pk/news\\_details.php?news\\_id=1068](https://www.pmo.gov.pk/news_details.php?news_id=1068) (accessed August 15 2020).

**Figure 3: Hybrid Governance: Structures within Structures**

Source: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency <sup>26</sup>

Reportedly, the Prime Minister also directed the NCOC to focus on Health Management, Financial Impact, socioeconomic and Food Security, Strategic Communication and awareness while suggesting the calibrated and measured response paradigm with the evolving scenario in the wake of COVID-19.

According to its official website, NCOC (<https://ncoc.gov.pk/>) is described as follows:

*“NCOC is nerve centre to synergize and articulate unified national effort against Covid-19, and to implement the decisions of National Coordination Committee on Covid-19. The centre is one window operation to collate, analyse and process information based on digital input and human intelligence across Pakistan through all provinces, AJ&K, GB & ICT dedicated representatives and centres.”<sup>27</sup>*

The NCOC was constituted with the aim of leveraging the resources, manpower, and expertise of multiple institutions all working as a team under one roof. The staffing of the organization reflects this aim. According to the official organogram, the NCOC reports to the National Coordination Committee (NCC) which in turn reports directly to the Prime Minister. The NCOC is led by the Federal Minister for Planning, Development and Special Initiatives, and the National Coordinator for the body is the commander Army Air Defence Command who is a three-star general. The Chairman of the National Disaster Management Authority (NDMA) was also a

<sup>26</sup> *PILDAT Monitor on Inter-Institutional Relations in Pakistan*. Pakistan: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency. 2020. <https://pildat.org/inter-institutional-relations/pildat-monitor-on-inter-institutional-relations-in-pakistan-april-2020> (accessed January 28, 2021)

<sup>27</sup> National Command and Operation Center Government of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. (2020) NCOC. <https://ncoc.gov.pk/>



member. On the civilian side, the notified members of the NCOC were:

1. Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs
2. Federal Minister for Aviation
3. Federal Minister for Economic Affairs
4. Federal Minister for Federal Education, Professional Training, National Heritage and Culture
5. Federal Minister for Industries and Production
6. Federal Minister for Information and Broadcasting
7. Federal Minister for Interior
8. Federal Minister for States and Frontier Regions
9. Advisor to Prime Minister on Finance and Revenue
10. Advisor to Prime Minister on Commerce and Investment
11. Special Assistant to Prime Minister on National Security Division and Strategic Policy Planning
12. Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Poverty Alleviation
13. Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Information and Broadcasting
14. Special Assistant to Prime Minister on Health

On the military side, the National Coordinator was assisted by the Chief of Staff (COS) of the Army Air Defence. Other regular members included representatives from Military Operations (MO), Military Intelligence (MI), Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan Navy, Pakistan Air Force, as well as Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR).

The Provinces were represented by the respective Chief Ministers or Chief Secretaries and other relevant civil and military officials. Joining by video link, the Provinces would provide situation reports to the main headquarter in Islamabad and coordinate in policymaking as well as its implementation

The case of NCOC is the first hybrid response to management of coronavirus at a time when the political government and civil administration were ill-prepared for a crisis of such proportions. However, it did not remain the only hybrid model for long. When Pakistan began facing the threat of locust, a National Locust Control Centre (NLCC) was also established with the Army's Engineer in Chief as its Chief Coordinator. Much like how the NCOC managed the pandemic, the NLCC was also being run by the Pakistan Army with Chief of the Army Staff and Corps Commanders pledging all possible support of the Pakistan Army in combating locust threat.<sup>28</sup>

Although no similar body was created by the Pakistan Army to manage national campaign against poliovirus Pakistan Army's supported the national anti-polio drive across Pakistan as there have been are repeated references to telephone calls between Chief of Army Staff, and Bill Gates, Co-Chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF).<sup>29 30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> ISPR, "Chief of Army Staff (COAS), General Qamar Javed Bajwa, visited National Locust Control Centre (NLCC) Rawalpindi today." *ISPR*, June 4 2020, <https://www.ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail.php?id=5726> (accessed 7 July 2020); "Bajwa promises help in anti-locust measures." *Dawn*, June 5 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1561434/bajwa-promises-help-in-anti-locust-measures> (accessed July 7 2020); Baqir Sajjad Syed, "Army vows to continue foiling Indian designs." *Dawn*, June 18 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1564272/army-vows-to-continue-foiling-indian-designs> (accessed July 7 2020).

<sup>29</sup> "General Qamar Javed Bajwa, Chief of Army Staff (COAS) and Mr. Bill Gates, Co-Chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) had a telephone conversation, today." *ISPR*, June 10 2020, <https://www.ispr.gov.pk/press-release-detail.php?id=5737>

While Pakistan has not used its existing institutional structures of democratic governance, it has, instead, allowed newer structures such as the NCOC and NLCC to take charge of the twin challenges of coronavirus and locust threat. This has given rise to a new model of ‘hybrid governance’<sup>31</sup> that brings with it worrying trends for a democratic country that has suffered four military coup d’état since its creation and a complex inter-institutional relationship despite clear constitutional demarcation on executive authority of the federation.

The impact of COVID-19 on democratic governance in Pakistan, therefore, shows that the crisis has highlighted what was already broken in Pakistan’s system of democratic governance. The management of the virus merely exposed and brought to the fore the weaknesses that exist in Pakistan’s democratic governance structure.

The elected governments, public representatives, and civil administration have not pondered over some critical questions that must be answered if Pakistan wishes to overcome the critical weaknesses of democratic governance. These questions include, but are not limited to, areas such as a candid analysis of weaknesses that might exist in political leadership’s decision-making, of civilian administrative structures, and what lessons, if any, can be learned from the establishment and working of NCOC. ■

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(accessed July 7 2020).

<sup>30</sup> DG ISPR, Twitter post, August 15 2020, 13:30, <https://twitter.com/OfficialDGISPR/status/1294491591906861059> (accessed 17 August 2020).

<sup>31</sup> Fahd Husain, “Command & Control Governance.” *Dawn*, July 11 2020, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1568272> (accessed August 14 2020).

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