



Stop Enabling Pakistan's Dangerous Dysfunction

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As the United States begins to look to the end of its heavy fighting role in Afghanistan, it needs to confront the more important question of Pakistan's future. The United States has been a major player there for sixty years; if Pakistan is dangerously dysfunctional, Washington helped enable it to get this way. Because withdrawal from Afghanistan means that the United States will be less dependent on Pakistani supply lines into that country, this is a rare opportunity to reconsider and dramatically revise American policies and practices in this strategically important country of almost 200 million.

The United States has frequently cited its interests in Pakistan: securing Pakistan's growing nuclear arsenal; preventing war between it and India; counterterrorism; inducing Pakistan's cooperation in stabilizing Afghanistan; and fostering development and democratization in what will soon be the world's most populous Muslim-majority state. But overwhelmingly, these interests all boil down to one: the security of Pakistanis. If Pakistanis are more justly governed, more educated, more employed, and therefore more able to define and pursue a constructive national identity and interest, they will expunge terrorists to secure themselves. The United States will be better off as a result. Getting from here to there may be impossible, but it certainly will not happen if the United States continues to treat Pakistan as it has until now: as the means to pursue U.S. security interests *outside* the country.

For decades that posture has had the unintended but undeniable effect of empowering Pakistan's grossly oversized and hyperactive military and intelligence services at the expense of the country's civil society and progress toward effective governance. Washington's collusion with the Pakistani security establishment has amounted to enablement—the indulgence and augmentation of a friend's self-destructive outlook and actions. To stop doing harm, the United States would first have to give up the illusion that it can change the Pakistani military's mindset, and stop offering money to do so. It would have to pause and then redesign a large aid program so hamstrung by anti-corruption and security measures that it antagonizes recipients and seems designed to fail. It would mean removing barriers to Pakistani imports into the United States, and, not least, undertaking determined efforts to correct the impression that Pakistani interests and lives mean less to the United States than Indian interests and lives.

First Tragedy, Then Farce: The U.S. Role in Pakistan

Since the early 1950s, American administrations and Congresses have seen Pakistan as a base for intelligence collection and martial cooperation against enemies of America. In the 1950s and 1960s, the United States allied with Pakistan to contain and gather intelligence against the Soviet Union. (From this, Pakistan gained resources for fighting India.) In the 1970s, Pakistan's military president, General Yahya Khan, helped open U.S. relations with China (and the Pakistan army conducted a brutal repression of East Pakistan, leading to the Indo-Pak war and subsequent initiation of Pakistan's nuclear-weapon program to balance India). In the 1980s, the United States worked with the Pakistan army and intelligence services to arm the *mujabideen* to drive the Soviets from Afghanistan (while Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) cultivated the most radical groups for later use against India).

After the Soviet Union left Afghanistan, the United States imposed sanctions on Pakistan in 1990 for acquiring nuclear weapons and then largely withdrew from the country. (Pakistan then pivoted fighting forces and resources away from Afghanistan and toward Kashmir.) The 9/11 attacks in 2001 brought U.S. and Pakistani power centers back into wary cooperation to defeat the Taliban government and drive al-Qaeda out of Afghanistan. As before, the United States chose the expediency of depending on the double-gaming Pakistani army over its recognition that the army's obsession with India and determination to control Pakistani politics and budgets were leading to the sort of internal crisis that the country now faces.

Of course, throughout this history the United States also wanted Pakistan to develop into a prosperous democracy. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Washington provided Pakistan with more economic assistance and development aid than military assistance. This contributed to Pakistan's widely praised economic growth at the time.

But even in this early period, military cooperation mattered most to both governments. In 1954, the United States and Pakistan completed a mutual security agreement, making Pakistan an official ally. But American officials worried that Pakistan could not sustain the military it was building. By 1956, according to declassified U.S. government files summarized by historian Robert MacMahon, "the Eisenhower administration found itself supporting not a true nation in any meaningful sense but a ruling group, and one whose base of support remained as shaky as it was narrow. The gulf between rulers and ruled, not an unknown phenomenon in the developing world, assumed staggering dimensions in Pakistan."¹ The American ambassador did not see how "we end up with [a] military establishment useful [to] United States objectives [in] this

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area and substantially within [the] ability of [the] Pakistanis to support.”²² The plot of the story has changed little in the intervening fifty-five years.

An Enemy Is Not Enough To Make a Nation

Behind American anxiety in the 1950s and today is the reality that Pakistan has been a Punjabi army without a nation. Pakistan was originally composed of two wings—West Pakistan and Bengali East Pakistan—separated by 1,000 miles. India stood between them. The cultural, linguistic, and economic differences between the two halves of Pakistan were as great as the geographic ones. The Bengalis of East Pakistan were a majority of the population but felt disempowered and exploited by the elites of the West from the outset. Within West Pakistan, multiple fissures ran between the biggest province, Punjab, and the other three, Sindh, Balochistan, and the Northwest Frontier Province. Religious and ideological differences made politics unruly along secular-Islamist and right-left lines. Landed interests dominated the economy, but owners paid no taxes on agriculture. Elites from all provinces neglected public education in part to avoid cultivating a population that might challenge their privileges. In short, Pakistan was a state of myriad injustices with little hope that leaders were creating either institutions for rectifying them or a progressive national ideology that could supersede them.

Following the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, seven prime ministers came and went through 1958. Frustrated by the messiness of democratic politics as a process for reconciling diverse ethnic, regional, economic, and ideological interests, the army sought to impose coherence. In 1958, General Ayub Khan assumed the presidency under martial law as chief of the army.

Ayub Khan and other top generals and bureaucrats built the state from the top down. While limiting the influence of religious figures and resisting calls for Sharia rule, these men nonetheless exploited religious sentiment in consolidating their own power and rallying the population against perceived threats from India. “The civil-military complex adapted the ideology of Pakistan to mean demonization of India’s Brahmin Hinduism and a zealous hostility toward India,” writes Husain Haqqani in *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*.³ “Domestic political groups demanding provincial autonomy or ethnic rights were invariably accused of advancing an Indian agenda to dismember or weaken Pakistan.”⁴

The first crisis in U.S.-Pakistani relations came in 1965, after “irregular forces” nurtured by Pakistan infiltrated the Indian-controlled areas of Kashmir seeking to exploit Muslim unrest there. India retaliated and widened the war along the border. The United States suspended arms supplies to both countries, which disadvantaged and dismayed Pakistan as it was supposed to be favored by Washington. The war ended in a stalemate.

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In prosecuting the war, Ayub Khan accused India of aggression that was “only a preparation for an attack on Pakistan,” giving “final proof of... the evil intentions, which India has always harbored against Pakistan since its inception.”⁵ Pakistani leaders and the media invoked a narrative of jihad in this conflict, appropriating an Islamist discourse that previously had been consigned to religious ideologues excluded from political power. Ayub Khan later admitted that the war had been triggered by Pakistan’s incursions. However, the military elite’s propagation of India-phobia and Islamic nationalism did not wane.

Still, the Pakistani center would not hold. The lack of political process to mediate the conflicting aspirations of frustrated groups could not be overcome by a largely unrepresentative army that based its position on threats from India. The population of East Pakistan grew increasingly militant over its unfair treatment by West Pakistanis and agitated for self-government. Elections in December 1970 gave a large majority of parliamentary seats to the Awami League of East Pakistan. The West Pakistanis refused to abide by the result. As the leader of the West Pakistani Peoples Party (PPP), Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared, “Punjab and Sindh are the bastions of power in Pakistan. Majority alone does not count in national policies.”⁶ East Pakistanis called a general strike and demanded that each half of the country have its own constitution and self-government. In March 1971, the Pakistani army then unleashed thousands of troops to repress the East Pakistani uprising. In the bloodshed, 10 million Bengalis fled toward the Indian border. India mobilized its forces and by November, war looked inevitable. The Pakistan air force attacked India on December 3. Thirteen days later, after the war spread into West Pakistan, the Pakistan army admitted defeat and surrendered. Bangladesh was born and the original idea of Pakistan was shattered.

Amputation traumatized the rump Pakistan, but the army remained the most muscular part of the state. New limbs of representative governance did not grow. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had the legitimacy of election by West Pakistanis but governed his party and state like a feudal baron. He inaugurated Pakistan’s nuclear weapon program one month after the war, in January 1972, partly in hopes that the power of a civilian-run nuclear program would enable him to stand up to the army. But after a rigged election in 1977, the army reclaimed the government through a coup led by General Zia ul-Haq.

An especially devout general, Zia promptly injected unprecedented doses of religiosity and jihad into the education and training of the army. Zia sought to mobilize the Islamist identity and competition against India in the unending quest for a unifying ideology and mission. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 gave Zia the opportunity to retry the earlier strategy of winning massive U.S. assistance to serve a mutual end—expelling the Soviet Union—while building Pakistan’s capacity to fight India. Pakistan would take several billions of dollars from the United States (and more from Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries) and channel it mostly through the ISI to build and support networks of freedom fighters to expel the Soviets. The process was largely

Fortunately, mutually beneficial transparency about tactical nuclear weapons is possible in a much shorter timeframe than a treaty limiting them.

covert. The ISI was unencumbered by transparency or rigorous accounting. The United States largely left it to ISI leaders to choose which *mujabideen* to favor with largesse. In turn, the ISI naturally favored the most motivated and effective fighters who would also share the Pakistani establishment's interests in Afghanistan over the long term. Zia's fervid dictatorship and the burdens of the Afghan war—millions of refugees were fleeing into Pakistan—stunted any prospect of progressive political development in Pakistan. Heavily resourced and emboldened, the ISI ensured that political opposition to the military regime could not be organized and further cultivated obedient Islamist groups as a tool against more democratically inclined political voices and groups.

In 1987, as the Soviet Union was withdrawing from Afghanistan, the Indian Congress Party made the fateful mistake of manipulating elections in Jammu and Kashmir. This ignited major agitation by Muslims in the state. New Delhi responded by imposing direct rule and marshaling a heavy-handed repression of the protests. Violence escalated. Meanwhile, cadres of highly experienced and well-supported freedom fighters in Afghanistan were now available for redeployment. The ISI naturally seized this opportunity to do in Kashmir what had just been done in Afghanistan—expel the occupier, in this case India. The Indo-Pak proxy war in Kashmir was on.

Obsessions Are Not Easily Cured

The Pakistani army and ISI are obsessed with contesting India's pretensions of superiority and its assumed determination to undo Pakistan. Indian possession of the Kashmir Valley and the maltreatment of its Muslim residents have long dignified the army and ISI causes. The increased Indian presence in Afghanistan is a more recent motivation of the proxy war. The Pakistani establishment cannot stand India on its eastern flank and claims, with little credibility, that India is using Afghanistan as a platform to supply the Baloch insurgency in Pakistan. In all, the Indian threat animates the psychology and actions of the security establishment and justifies its interference in politics and unsustainable consumption of national resources.

Deeper sources also fuel the security establishment's obsession with India. As Pervez Hoodbhoy and Zia Mian have written, there is nostalgia "for a time when Muslims ruled India and were carriers of a great civilization."⁷⁷ There is frustration over the failure to fulfill the hopes of creating a singular national identity and a progressive modern state that were the promise of Pakistan's creation. India's recent steady rise as a world power presents a tormenting comparison for Pakistan's establishment.

Diplomat and journalist Maleeha Lohdi recently explained the tragedy of the Pakistani state as a case of domestic under-reach and external over-reach. The

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DENIAL AS DEFENSE

Denial is the last psychological defense against painful realities and there is still plenty of it in Pakistan, sometimes of a tragic-comedic nature.

...A Pakistani taxi driver recently volunteered that Pakistan was a good country but that a few hundred Taliban extremists were ruining it for everyone. He then volunteered that the United States says it is Pakistan's friend, "but friendship is based on trust. If you are my friend and trust me, then you do not come into my house in the middle of the night without telling me and shoot someone." He was of course referring to the raid on Osama bin Laden. "This is also very bad for the army. People say 'you are the great Pakistani Army but how could the Americans get into our house and shoot someone and you stay asleep and don't even know that they have come until after they have left?'" All of this has made Pakistanis very angry at the United States, the man exclaimed.

"I can understand this," I offered. "But the United States came into the house one night. I wonder why people do not pay more attention to asking how the army let Osama bin Laden live in the house for five years, unless of course he was a guest."

"Oh, he really wasn't there," the man said. "The Americans didn't really kill him. Where are the pictures? Even when a common criminal is killed, there are pictures in the newspaper. Bin Laden is still alive."

... Cricket is the national passion in Pakistan. The country's prowess inspires pride when many other things are going wrong. In late August 2010, news broke in England that three members of the Pakistani national team had taken money from a bookmaker to underperform at specific times in matches ("spot-fixing," as opposed to trying to lose a match, which is "match-fixing"). This scam was uncovered by the British newspaper the *News of the World*, which clandestinely videotaped the fixer predicting when in the match the two Pakistani bowlers would deliberately bowl "no balls." His "prediction" came true, apparently authenticating the allegation. Soon Pakistani media outlets began speculating that Indian intelligence services, or other Indians, were behind the scandal. A Pakistani diplomat in London told a reporter, "We cannot overlook the Indian aspect in this entire episode."⁸ One paper's "investigation" indicated that "The *News of the World* and notorious Indian intelligence agency RAW were the mastermind behind all this planned mess."⁹ In February 2011, the International Cricket Council, having weighed the evidence, found the players guilty and banned them from international cricket for, in effect, five years.

... It is not rare in Pakistan to hear someone, including military officers who live modern lives and have spent time abroad, say that the November 2008 terror attacks on Mumbai were really the work of Indian agents. When asked how this could be true, the answer is, "who came out looking bad? Pakistan. Who gained international sympathy? India."

state, led by the army, has done too little to redress domestic injustices, economic failure, and poor governance. At the same time, the army-dominated state has done too much to project power against India directly and in Afghanistan.

Lohdi and other Pakistanis now conclude that external projection will no longer work and, indeed, is killing Pakistan. The army's claim to power depends on India being the omnipresent cohering threat and the army being the virtuous competent defender against it. The creation of violent extremist groups now attacking Pakistan from within, the humiliation of the American raid on Osama bin Laden, and the May 22 insurgent attack on the Mehran Naval Base near Karachi have exposed the weakness of both claims. India is a rising global success and the idea that it is behind all of Pakistan's problems is no longer credible. The army's competence is no longer evident.

The security establishment's centrality in Pakistan's governance and actions is too deep and longstanding to allow it to escape responsibility. This became evident at the June 9 meeting of the Corps Commanders Conference following the U.S. raid to kill bin Laden. In reporting on the gathering of Pakistan's most powerful body, the ISI's public relations directorate noted great concern that the people were turning against the army. "In order to confront the present challenges, it is critical to stand united as a Nation. Any effort to create divisions between important institutions of the Country is not in our national interests . . . All of us should take cognizance of this unfortunate trend and put an end to it."¹⁰

Seeking to deflect public disapproval of the army, the chief of staff, General Ashfaq Parvez Kayani, reportedly declared that "economic rather than military aid was more essential for Pakistan. . . . It is being recommended to the Government that the US funds meant for military assistance to the Army, be diverted towards economic aid to Pakistan which can be used for reducing the burden of the common man." The report went on to dispute perceptions that the army had received anything close to \$13 to 15 billion in U.S. funding since 2001. In a further effort to shift attention to an external source of threat, Kayani declared that the number of U.S. troops stationed in Pakistan had been "drastically cut down," and that "no intelligence agency can be allowed to carry out independent operations on our soil." He closed by insisting that Pakistan has "no room for terrorism," and that the army will "continue supporting the democratic system without any preference to any particular party."

Mirrored in each part of this remarkably defensive declaration appears an implicit admission of the army's past policies and roles. Yet the attempt to substitute the United States for India as Pakistan's *bête noir* indicates that the army and ISI have not given up the habit of relying on an external threat to rally support for the security establishment. Blaming the United States for Pakistan's problems now could provide more room for Pakistan to try to normalize relations with India, but the statement still positions the army as the most

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important, privileged institution in the country, against which no opposition will be tolerated. The army will remain more of a problem than a solution in Pakistan's effort to heal itself. It is incapable of creating a positive national identity or leading political processes to reconcile the myriad internal conflicts that cause Pakistan's decline.

The eminent Pakistani writer Ahmed Rashid trenchantly summarizes the challenge facing Pakistan and those who care about it. "What Pakistanis desperately need is a new narrative by their leaders—a narrative that does not blame the evergreen troika of India, the United States, and Israel for all the country's ills, that breaks the old habit of blaming outsiders and instead looks at itself more honestly and more transparently." Psychology is at the heart of the matter. "Pakistanis," Rashid writes, "as a nation seem incapable of self-analysis, or apportioning blame according to logic and reason rather than emotion."¹¹

Can Washington Learn?

If Washington is smart, it will stop enabling the Pakistani security establishment's dysfunctional domination of state and society and truly help Pakistanis who increasingly realize that the source of their ills is internal. To do this, the administration and Congress must accept the bountiful evidence that behaviorist policies of incentives and punishments will not change the army's psychology and actions. The army's and ISI's obsessions are too neurotic to be affected by American techniques of behavior modification. And it would be exceedingly dangerous for anyone to seek to defeat the army and ISI in war.

The only constructive alternative is democratization. The creation and protection of space for people and groups who offer a more positive identity for Pakistan could enable them to dislodge less constructive actors and reform the state's mission and actions. The military's psychology and exploits have put the country into a tailspin from which democratization offers the only rescue.

What Can Be Done?

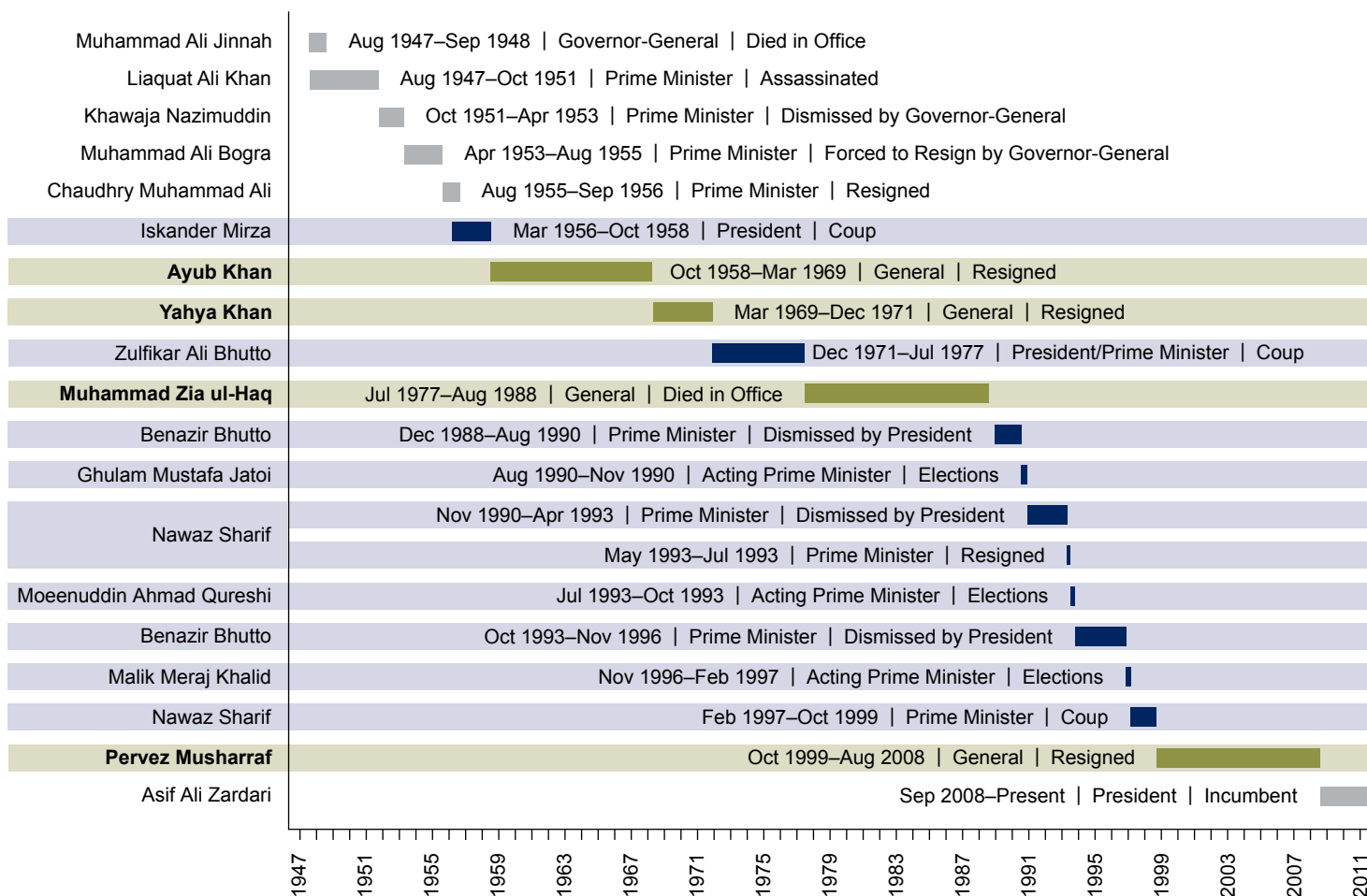
Pakistan's previous interludes of democracy have not evolved into promising governance that could genuinely displace the military. This does not negate the potential strategic value of gradual democratization and civilian empowerment. It merely means that the odds of success are quite low and progress will take many years if it occurs at all.

There have been tenuous periods of civilian governance following the Zia era and the expansion of the ISI's role both internally and in nurturing violent jihadi

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organizations. The first two occurred after Zia's death in 1988 when elections brought Benazir Bhutto and the PPP into office. Two years later the security establishment managed her dismissal under a presidentially declared state of emergency. Elections then brought Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League to the fore. Sharif's government was dismissed in 1993 by President Ishaq Khan with the army's backing. A caretaker technocratic government was then installed, headed by the former International Monetary Fund official Moeen Qureshi. Elections followed later that year, bringing Benazir Bhutto back into office. Trying to cling to power, Benazir adopted a tough line against India, championed the Kashmir insurgency, and did nothing to interfere in the ISI's nurturing of the Taliban's rise in Afghanistan. This proved insufficient. Amid charges of corruption, Benazir was once again removed from office and new elections were called in 1997. With about 30 percent of the eligible population voting, Nawaz Sharif returned as prime minister and governed fitfully until the October 1999 coup led by Army

PRIMARY PAKISTANI POLITICAL LEADERSHIP SINCE 1947*



* Green signifies periods of military rule, while blue is used to signify military involvement in the leader's departure from office. Bold indicates a military leader.

Chief of Staff Pervez Musharraf. Musharraf ruled until 2008 when, after the assassination of Benazir, her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, led the PPP to victory.

Each period of elected-civilian rule featured credible allegations of widespread corruption, relentless internecine political conflict, and failed promises of development. None of the country's major political parties practices internal democracy. Instead, with the partial exception of the Karachi-based Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), they are familial enterprises, or, in the case of Imran Khan's Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf Party, personality-based machines. None, again with the exception of the MQM, which itself has mafia-like tendencies, has seriously pursued structural changes such as land reform and taxation of agriculture, without which the Pakistani state is unsustainable. The established parties have offered little more than patronage to win followers.

The political past and present leave many Pakistanis dispirited that their desire for effective democratic governance can be achieved. This is one reason why Ayub Khan and Musharraf were hailed after their coups and why some sophisticated moderate Pakistanis now whisper that intervention by the Supreme Court to impose a technocratic government offers the only positive way forward. They have had enough of military-run governments and have no trust in the existing political parties.

Still, the fact that many Pakistanis believe that Asif Zardari should serve a full term despite his universally perceived corruption and fecklessness suggests a desire for democratic alternatives. A retired high-ranking general recently asked in Karachi, "Whose fault is it that 63 years after the formation of Pakistan, we don't know who we are, who we want to become?" He continued, "Our problem in this country begins with the identification of who we are and where we want to go." This man—robust, fighting trim, and exceptionally familiar with the higher ranks of the Pakistani establishment—was speaking to a group of predominantly young people. He was echoed by a retired senior admiral who insisted, "let us stop blaming the government alone. Let us stop blaming outside powers for every mistake or every failing in Pakistan. Let us vote. Let us demand more of political parties."¹²

However, progressive Pakistanis are not organized, whereas violent extremists are. Former officials, businesspeople, intellectuals, NGO leaders, students, labor leaders, and progressive individuals speak out in newspapers and on television, in universities and clubs. But they have not yet transcended the multiple regional and other divisions in Pakistan to cohere into a movement, let alone an organization.

In this, Pakistani progressives resemble the Egyptians who spontaneously mobilized in Tahrir Square to depose the Mubarak regime and later set upon the Interior Ministry. Yet Egypt is much more homogenous and less conflicted and

violent than Pakistan. Pakistanis may never organize themselves into political parties or reform the most promising existing parties, the PPP or the Pakistan Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif. If they fail to do so, Pakistan will continue its downward spiral.

There is little the United States can or should try to do to organize Pakistani progressives. The struggle is theirs. The U.S. government has become so unpopular in Pakistan that efforts to favor any group there would condemn those who share the value of progressive democracy. U.S. democracy promotion institutions such as the NDI and IRI have operated in Pakistan for years, but this has been supply-pushed rather than demand-pulled activity. If and when truly democratic-minded Pakistanis mobilize to form parties, the United States would do well to applaud them from a distance.

Yet there are two strategic shifts the United States could make to help Pakistanis. The most important and easiest is to stop making things worse—stop enabling Pakistan’s dysfunctional actors. The second is to diminish the U.S. footprint in Pakistan and its fingerprints on the civilian assistance that it offers, and instead pool efforts with Pakistanis and other state and multinational actors who share the goal of building a peaceful democracy. Both require a mental and physical retrenchment of American officials and security contractors from Pakistan.

Stop Pushing and Funding the Pakistan Army to Fight America’s Battles

Washington should recognize the futility of demanding that the Pakistan army enter North Waziristan to fight the Haqqani Network and other insurgents who are projecting violence into Afghanistan. Pakistanis see this as America’s war.¹³ The army already is overstretched trying to hold other Pakistani territory from which the Pakistani Taliban has been cleared and also contributing to reconstruction from the June 2010 floods. The army therefore will not do what the United States asks.¹⁴

Once Washington stops pressing Pakistan to conduct military operations along the Afghan border, it can also fairly withdraw the pledge of billions of dollars in military assistance that has been tied to Pakistan’s combat operations in this theater. The June announcement that the United States is withholding \$800 million slated for such operations reflects this logic. If Pakistanis do not welcome the mission, they do not need the funding for it.

The United States would accomplish more by encouraging the Pakistani security establishment to concentrate on defending the people of Pakistan from violence and ensuring that their constitutional and civil rights are protected.

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Here American and Pakistani interests coincide much more clearly. Even if the Pakistan army and ISI do not lose their obsession with contesting India (or the United States), their mobilization to pacify Pakistan is a necessary condition for democratization. Therefore, the United States would be wise to continue to make financial and other resources available for the army, the ISI, and the police to contest the operation and recruitment of violent extremists in the country. Such assistance would need to actually be tied to performance, which thus far has not been the case.

Making Pakistan safe for the conduct of peaceful politics requires a much more effective police force. This will not occur if the army and ISI will not redirect resources to the police and let them define their own success in terms of making Pakistan safe for non-violent democratic politics. Today, the police can only go after violent extremists if the more powerful security establishment endorses it.¹⁵ The army and the ISI control not only the provision of resources police need, they also populate the leading ranks of the police with their own people—often retirees—whose loyalties run back to the military. This naturally impedes investigations and actions against jihadi groups that have been cultivated and/or tolerated by the ISI.

Political parties are also implicated. They have treated the police as a vehicle for patronage and a tool to repress their opponents. In this sense, the security establishment and the leading parties have colluded to deny Pakistan the police institutions and personnel that effective, peaceful government requires.

The United States should stand ready to assist Pakistan's police with material, technology, training, and policy advice if and when political leaders introduce the regulatory and legislative changes necessary to guarantee police autonomy and professionalism and the security establishment embraces them. If such assistance would be better received politically through a consortia led by other countries, Washington should welcome making contributions to such efforts.

Stop Blocking Pakistani Imports

Concentrating U.S. security assistance on the project of protecting Pakistanis is one element of a “stop-doing-harm” strategy. A second is to lower tariffs on Pakistani textile and apparel exports to the United States. Textile and apparel products make up almost all of Pakistan's exports, but less than 0.2 percent of U.S. imports.¹⁶ Pakistani goods suffer from extremely high tariffs that make it difficult for Pakistan to compete with other low-income, textile-producing nations such as China. Protectionist interests in Congress have kept the United States from reducing tariffs. Yet the United States also preaches that trade is better than aid, and that employment is a way to counter extremism. Lowering tariffs on Pakistani apparel and textiles would not be a panacea but it would

help attract investments and spur economic growth in Pakistan without the psychological baggage attached to aid that is perceived as charity. Most of the ensuing Pakistani imports into the United States would displace products from China and other Asian suppliers, not American producers.¹⁷ Congress's unwillingness to let this happen makes the professions of goodwill toward Pakistan seem like a lie.

Stop Over-Indulging India

A third way to stop doing harm is to minimize unintended and unnecessary consequences of Washington's courtship of India. India's growing economic importance and the basic alignment of its security interests and democratic values with those of the United States make it natural that Washington should seek to deepen ties with it. India's power will inevitably grow and Pakistan will have to realize that it cannot match India in any domain except nuclear weaponry. Yet the United States and India must be more sensitive to the legitimate difficulties Pakistan will experience in coming to terms with this.

Many Pakistanis feel that their dignity and the moral worth of Muslims are disrespected as a result of the war on terror, as defined by the United States and India. In 2007, one year before the Mumbai attack, 42 Pakistanis were murdered in a fire-bombing of the Samjauta Express, a train traveling from India to Pakistan. Responsibility for this terrorist act still has not been established in a court as the Indian investigation continues four years on, but the outside world does not seem to care. This is in contrast to the attention given to India's victimization in the Mumbai attack. Pakistanis understandably feel that the world has ignored the terrorism inflicted on their countrymen on the Samjauta Express. The disparity suggests that Pakistani lives are not of equal value. Further, the readiness of the United States, India, and others to hold Pakistan to account for the Mumbai attack is not matched by demands for India to vigorously investigate the allegations that its nationals are responsible for the Samjauta Express murders. (Nor have the perpetrators of anti-Muslim riots and murders after the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Uttar Pradesh in 1992 and in Gujarat in 2002 been brought to justice.¹⁸) All of this fuels aggressive impulses to deny or compensate for Pakistan's own misdeeds, which in turn make Pakistani society less receptive to the remonstrations of its own progressive voices.

In courting India, American politicians, businesses, and media have seemed blind and deaf to India's imperfections and mute in calling India to account for actions that do not coincide with global interests, including vis-à-vis Pakistan. The recent uprising of Kashmiris against Indian security forces represents a challenge and an opportunity for the United States and India to positively affect Pakistani hearts and minds. Indian officials and media wisely have not blamed this indigenous "intifada" on Pakistan. But if the disaffected Kashmiris win no

redress and Washington's silence on the issue is seen as disregarding the rights and well-being of Kashmiri Muslims, Pakistanis will naturally be drawn to militancy. It could be counterproductive for the United States to publicly upbraid India, so private diplomacy should be tried. But if Indian actions or policies do not show signs of change, then the United States should show solidarity with the dignity and rights of Kashmiri Muslims by publicly acknowledging abuses.

Washington will exacerbate the backlash in Pakistan if it does not balance its interest in military sales and cooperation with India with concerted efforts to reassure Pakistan that this will not threaten Pakistan's security against offensive military operations. Similarly, the United States and India will need to cooperate diplomatically to reassure Pakistan that India would not exploit its ongoing role in Afghanistan to directly or indirectly challenge Pakistan's internal security, including in Balochistan. In a rational world this would be doable. Both the United States and India share defensive rather than offensive interests toward Pakistan. This was demonstrated in the energetic American diplomacy to persuade India not to respond militarily to terrorist attacks emanating from Pakistan in 2001 and 2008, and India's concurrence in that position. But rational perception and analysis are not what drive the Pakistani security establishment's attitude toward India and U.S.-Indian cooperation.

This is one reason why the effort to reassure Pakistan cannot mean giving its military a veto over Indo-American or Indo-Afghan cooperation, any more than China has a veto over U.S. cooperation with Taiwan. But it does require that the United States and India proceed slowly and carefully while providing Pakistan the opportunity to participate constructively in bilateral and trilateral dialogues to establish that India's intentions are defensive and that the military means the United States might provide it with would be used accordingly. In considering whether to supply India with advanced military capabilities, the United States could conduct and publish assessments of how each particular sale would affect the stability or instability of Indo-Pak deterrence.

The United States has never had much sway over Indian policies and it will not gain more as India's wealth and power grow. India's rise should be welcomed for many reasons, most of all because it is due to the vision, talents, and exertions of Indians themselves in extraordinarily difficult conditions. While the United States cannot compel India to do anything in Kashmir or elsewhere (much as Pakistanis might wish otherwise), it can nonetheless identify steps India could take if it wished to increase the chances of progress in Pakistan. And Washington can help redress Pakistanis' aggrieved sense of being treated as morally unequal. By speaking truth to Indian power when it is abusive or non-constructive, Americans can help build confidence among Pakistanis that justice can be applicable in their affairs.

Washington will exacerbate the backlash in Pakistan if it does not balance its interest in military sales and cooperation with India with concerted efforts to reassure Pakistan that this will not threaten Pakistan's security against offensive military operations.

Pause and Reinvent U.S. Assistance

The foregoing shifts are the easiest way to bring U.S. policy into closer alignment with the interests of the Pakistani population. More difficult will be changes that transform the way the United States seeks to help Pakistanis build a more secure, economically viable, and just polity. The objective is profoundly in the U.S. interest. Terrorism will not wane if the Pakistani people and state do not feel motivated and secure enough to challenge violent extremists. Building Pakistanis' confidence that a better future is possible under progressive leadership is the only way to steadily reduce the risk that Pakistan's nuclear arsenal will be taken over by extremists. U.S. capacity to improve Pakistan is inherently limited, but withdrawing from the country completely is untenable for strategic and humanitarian reasons.

Given that Washington remains committed to trying to help Pakistanis, it is important to recognize that the current model of U.S. aid is counterproductive. As the Center for Global Development Study Group on a U.S. Development Strategy in Pakistan recently concluded,

After two years, the new U.S. approach cannot yet boast a coherent set of focused development priorities or the organization and tools to manage and adjust those priorities as conditions require.... Transparency has not been a priority, and the lack of clear information generates skepticism and mistrust in Pakistan.... The focus on the dollar size of the aid program has raised expectations in Pakistan and created unreasonable pressure in Washington to spend quickly.¹⁹

Money is not the problem. Under the "Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act" (also known as Kerry-Lugar-Berman), the United States has authorized \$7.5 billion in development aid over five years. This civilian assistance clearly reflects Congress's and the Obama administration's awareness that U.S. involvement had tilted way too heavily to the military and ISI, and that democratization is vital to Pakistan's future. The act also encourages funding Pakistani organizations to do the work wherever possible to correct the tendency of foreign assistance funds to wind up in high-priced American contractors' accounts.

Yet, notwithstanding these wise intentions, the rules and procedures governing this aid are so focused on preventing fraud and abuse and so reflective of American priorities that few Pakistanis see the benefit of them. The heavy-handed requirements and bureaucratic presence associated with the aid, paired with its very slow dispersal, reinforces the impression that the United States is interfering in Pakistan more than it is helping it. Officials in Washington and Pakistan know it's not working, but dysfunction in both capitals inhibits them from calling time out to regroup.

By speaking truth to Indian power when it is abusive or non-constructive, Americans can help build confidence among Pakistanis that justice can be applicable in their affairs.

Of course, corruption is so widespread in Pakistan that large teams of aid administrators with extensive experience and contacts in Pakistan would be needed to distinguish truly beneficial projects from scams and boondoggles. Yet security precautions and the related tendency to post U.S. officials in Pakistan for only one-year appointments prevent the acquisition of grassroots knowledge necessary for effective aid under the current model. To help reassure Congress and make up for Pakistani organizations' lack of Western-level management personnel and accounting systems, each recipient organization undergoes a "pre-award" assessment by a Pakistani Certified Public Accounting (CPA) firm. Organizations that are not equipped to manage U.S. government grants (meaning any lean organization) will then have a Pakistani CPA embedded in them. The net effect is an impression of U.S. occupation and that the United States is searching for Pakistanis who are willing to do the things Americans think they should do under conditions that satisfy the politicians and accountants back home but are unrealistic in Pakistan. Indeed, the U.S. program would be more aptly named the "Enhanced Employment for Accountants Act."

If the current aid programs are not working from the perspective either of the United States or Pakistan, they should be paused. The administration and congressional leadership should cooperate to communicate to the Pakistani people that the United States is not abandoning them, but rather wants to stop spending resources in ways that Pakistan does not welcome. A pause in making new project commitments would allow U.S. officials to explore a different model of engagement with Pakistan. Reneging on the \$7.5 billion commitment would unfairly punish Pakistanis collectively and seriously harm U.S. interests. But extending the duration of its flow would avoid wasting more money on a model that neither side thinks is effective.

Ideally, U.S. lawmakers and bureaucrats would be willing to do what Warren Buffett did and give his philanthropic billions to someone better equipped to manage their distribution, in Buffett's case the Gates Foundation. If the U.S. government were this modest and efficiency-minded, it would invite the most effective elements of Pakistani government in each province and Islamabad, along with Pakistani philanthropists and civil society leaders, to join with international development experts experienced in Pakistan to identify programs and projects that already demonstrate effectiveness and could be expanded productively if they had additional funding. The prospect of U.S. funding could encourage effective Pakistani and multinational actors to design and implement additional projects in previously unserved geographic or functional domains.

Thinking primarily like a multinational, public-private foundation rather than an originator of development projects or a sole donor could help overcome many of the counter-productive features of current U.S. assistance. The logic would not

be to disperse a set amount of money in a five-year period, but rather to create a resource bank with expert multi-national staff to develop criteria of measurably successful projects and then to invite and vet proposals for grants that would meet these criteria. Not the United States coming and setting up office in Pakistan and deploying accountants to help them, but rather Pakistanis coming to a resource bank for assistance.

Transparency is vital to encourage quality control and discourage scams. Publication on open websites and indigenous language materials of grants made, to whom, with what measurable objectives, and in what amounts needs to be a norm. Publishing reports and evaluations allows independent verification by journalists, NGOs, and others. (The United States Agency for International Development does some of this already, but keyed more to an American audience. Mobilizing Pakistanis to monitor programs meant to help them requires more attention.)

Scams or ambiguities in accounting and outcomes are inevitable. Congress's temptation to seize on them actually causes a tremendous waste of time, money, and effectiveness by adding overhead and red tape on the giving and receiving ends of projects. Satisfying Congress also leads to the channeling of great percentages of assistance funding to high-priced American operators and now, Pakistani accountants, rather than average Pakistanis, which further undermines public approval. It is therefore worth exploring whether pooling U.S. donations with those of other countries and of Pakistani philanthropists would make it more difficult to sensationalize both the U.S. fingerprints on particular projects but also U.S. losses on bad projects. Congress will resist this, but the conditions now being applied to avoid scandal-mongering almost certainly cost more than they save.

Moving to a lower-profile, pooled investment approach to assistance would require rising above the natural political proclivity to take credit for things—to stick “provided by the USA” labels on projects. The desire to advertise American friendliness and thereby improve relations is understandable, but its effect may be counterproductive, at least in the current environment. Pakistanis fear that receiving highly visible American support could lead to being targeted by violent extremists. This is another reason why pooling resources with other donors can be helpful. Over time, if U.S. assistance is contributing to projects that truly are benefiting the Pakistani people (more than foreign contractors), and the criteria for evaluating effectiveness are public, then local publics will turn against violent extremists who would try to interfere with them, either by taking matters into their own hands or demanding that the state do so. If the local publics would rather accord with the extremists than welcome international projects in their area, the United States and other donors should focus on those districts and regions that want cooperation.

Conclusion

In 1957, only several years after heavy U.S. involvement in Pakistan began, President Eisenhower remarked that the military commitment to Pakistan was “perhaps the worst kind of a plan and decision we could have made. It was a terrible error, but we now seem hopelessly involved in it.” Fifty-four years later, little has happened that would persuade Eisenhower to revise this conclusion. With good intentions, successive administrations and Congresses have colluded with the Pakistani army and intelligence services to maintain their oversized, dysfunctional roles in Pakistan and South Asia. There is no evidence that U.S. blandishments or threats will motivate this security establishment to change its mindset and provide space and resources for Pakistani civilians to create a national identity around internal reconciliation, justice, development, and democratization.

Pakistanis must save themselves. But the United States can help Pakistanis and itself by reversing its past practices and designing its policies to stop doing harm. Instead of continuing to enable the Pakistani military’s dysfunctional obsessions and power, Washington can more decisively demonstrate solidarity with progressive-minded Pakistanis. If and as they step forward to invite U.S. assistance in reclaiming the promise of their state, Americans should provide resources to this constructive end.

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Notes

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- 2 MacMahon, 209.
- 3 Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque to Military* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 37.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ayub Khan address to the nation, September 6, 1965, quoted in *Ayub: Soldier and Statesman*, edited by Rais Ahmad Jafri (Lahore: Mohammad Ali Academy, 1966), 138–39.
- 6 Quoted in Christophe Jaffrelot, “Islamic Identity and Ethnic Tensions,” in *A History of Pakistan and Its Origins*, edited by Christophe Jaffrelot (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 25.
- 7 Pervez Hoodbhoy and Zia Mian, “Pakistan, the Army and the Conflict Within,” Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP), July 12, 2011, www.merip.org/mero/mero071211.
- 8 Kamran Yousaf, “Pakistan Launches Covert Diplomatic Offensive,” *Tribune*, September 4, 2010, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/46430/pakistan-launches-covert-diplomatic-offensive>.
- 9 “The Lord’s episode another RAW ploy,” *Daily Mail*, September 1, 2010.
- 10 Statement by Inter Services Public Relations Directorate, June 9, 2011.
- 11 Ahmed Rashid, “Cry, the Beloved Country,” *New Republic*, May 26, 2011.
- 12 These quotes are from author notes of meetings in Karachi.
- 13 Pew Research Center Global Attitudes Project, June 2011.
- 14 Sixty-nine percent of Pakistanis polled after the Osama bin Laden raid believe the United States could be a military threat to Pakistan; Pew Research Center Global Attitudes Project.
- 15 For an insightful analysis of the challenge of reforming and empowering the police, see Frederic Grare, “Political Dimensions of Police Reform in Pakistan,” Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 14, 2010.
- 16 *Beyond Bullets and Bombs: Fixing the U.S. Approach to Development in Pakistan*, Center for Global Development, June 2011, 27.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 As Indian think tank leader P. R. Chari has noted, these unaddressed injustices have “resulted in greater militancy being encouraged and revenge terrorism being strengthened.” See “Defining India’s Security: Looking Beyond Limited War and Cold War Strategies,” Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Issue Brief, July 2011.
- 19 *Beyond Bullets and Bombs*, 1.

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