

## PAKISTAN

### The Current Situation

The year 2011 saw progressive deterioration in the U.S.–Pakistan relationship, beginning with the killing of two Pakistani citizens by U.S. contractor Raymond Davis, and ending with a NATO airstrike on a Pakistan border outpost that killed twenty-four Pakistani soldiers, with multiple crises in between. In response, Pakistan shut down NATO supply routes, demanded that the U.S. vacate the Shamsi airbase in Pakistan, boycotted the December 5 international Bonn conference on Afghanistan, and initiated a parliamentary committee review to “reset” the U.S.–Pakistan relationship. As anti–U.S. sentiment grew in Pakistan, anti-Pakistan sentiments continued among U.S. policymakers increasingly frustrated by the perceived failure of Pakistani authorities to crackdown on militant safe havens in Pakistan.

Despite these problems, both sides still indicate a desire to mend ties and continue working together, even if under new terms. Pakistan’s importance in an Afghan peace settlement and for long-term stability in the region is well understood, as is the need for Pakistan to not become internationally isolated due to a rupture in its relations with Washington. The recent acrimony and the negative popular perceptions of the “other” in both countries, however, will not make it easy for the two to work through their difficulties.

In contrast to the deteriorating U.S.-Pakistan relationship, there has been a marked improvement during the past year in Indo-Pak relations, although this progress remains fragile and could easily be derailed by another terrorist incident similar to the 2008 Mumbai attacks linked to Pakistan-based militant groups. Domestically, while the number of terrorist attacks has declined over the past few months, Pakistan still remains home to a number of Islamist militant outfits that continue to threaten the state and citizens alike.

Against this background, USIP’s Pakistan program remains focused on supporting policy-relevant analytical work that contributes to greater understanding of conflict and peace dynamics in Pakistan. The Institute’s programmatic work helps support initiatives that promote tolerance and prevent and mitigate violent extremism and conflict. A number of our current initiatives are detailed below.

### Our Goals

- Enhance understanding of Pakistan’s peace and conflict dynamics for policymakers and practitioners.
- Build local understanding of and capacity in conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution for individuals, groups, and institutions.
- Support innovative project ideas and new approaches to inform and catalyze larger efforts to counter violent extremism and manage conflict.

## Enhance understanding of Pakistan's peace and conflict dynamics for policymakers and practitioners

- *Research and Analysis:* Despite its geopolitical importance, Pakistan remains understudied. The understanding of its extremely complex conflict dynamics tends to be fairly superficial. Therefore, USIP's Pakistan program focuses on supporting policy-relevant analytical work that contributes to greater understanding of peace and conflict dynamics in Pakistan to enable more informed policymaking.
  - *Assessing Pakistan's Counterterrorism Challenge:* USIP has engaged Pakistani, American, and international experts as contributors to an edited volume that analyzes Pakistan's counterterrorism effort in a holistic manner. In addition to assessing the military's performance, it delves into the hitherto ignored aspects of counterterrorism: police capacity, legal impediments to countering terrorism, preventing financial flows to militants, and use of cyberspace.
  - *Understanding Violence in Karachi:* Karachi, Pakistan's largest city and commercial hub, saw a surge of ethno-political violence in 2011. In light of Karachi's importance for the overall stability of Pakistan, a USIP Special Report outlines the causes of the violence; identifies major players and their economic and political interests in the city; identifies systemic issues that prevent the cessation of violence and prosecution of various perpetrators; and makes policy recommendations to address and check violence in the city.
  - *Pakistan's Upcoming Generation: Hope or Despair:* The Institute's Pakistan program seeks to focus attention on Pakistan's youth by mapping youth perceptions and preferences for the country's future and linking these to policy options that would put Pakistan on the path to progress. A USIP Special Report examines the current state and views of Pakistani youth, the threat of radicalization among this demographic, and the possible avenues for U.S. policy to positively influence their future.
  - *Addressing Pakistan's Energy Crisis:* Pakistan is currently suffering an acute energy crisis. A combination of poor planning, flawed financial management of the energy sector, domestic instabilities, and regional tensions adds to the challenges faced by the struggling energy sector. This Special Report examines these issues, connecting the challenges raised by regional and domestic conflict to planned pipelines and possible energy sector innovations.
  - *The Quest for Women's Legal Empowerment:* Six decades ago, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder, stated that "man must be made to understand that a woman is his equal." A USIP Special Report examines how Pakistan's legal framework has responded to this edict since the country's founding, charting the development of legal regimes for the protection of women's rights and suggesting areas that need further exploration. It provides policy recommendations aimed at preventing competing narratives from contributing to domestic instability.
- *Convening Power:* To facilitate regular and candid dialogue between the U.S. and Pakistan, USIP's Pakistan program provides forums for officials and experts from both countries to come together and discuss important policy questions relevant to this bilateral relationship. The Institute conducts public events and internal seminars at USIP and public seminars and invitation-only roundtables in Pakistan. Over the past two years, more than eighty experts have spoken at Pakistan-related events. The Institute's Pakistan experts are also invited to brief and prepare recommendations for policymakers and Congress, with the aim of generating innovative ideas and developing synergies in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship.
- *Expert-level Consultations on Key Policy Questions:* The mutual lack of understanding in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship pervades even some of the most critical policy questions. There is very little appreciation of the positions adopted by the two governments on particular issues and the concerns and constraints that may dictate their decisions in certain eventualities. The Institute has commenced a series of projects based on expert-level consultations that aim to improve understanding of U.S. and Pakistani policies. Most recently, a project examining Pakistan's view of the situation in Afghanistan and its likely role was undertaken in collaboration with the Jinnah Institute in Pakistan.
- *Support for Track 1.5 and II diplomacy:* Track II diplomacy denotes unofficial dialogue and problem-solving activities aimed at building relationships and encouraging new thinking that can inform the formal process. Track 1.5 diplomacy includes high-ranking politicians and decision makers who employ track II approaches in an attempt to bridge the gap between official government efforts and civil society. The Pakistan program supports a number of Track 1.5 and II initiatives between India and Pakistan to facilitate peacebuilding between these two South Asian powers.
  - *The Ottawa Dialogue on Nuclear Conflict Prevention:* USIP is collaborating with the University of Ottawa to bring together influential Pakistani and Indian participants in a series of dialogues on courses of action for nuclear conflict

reduction and stability. Issues discussed in these dialogues include escalation control, arms control, nuclear deterrents, and civilian nuclear cooperation, among others. The Dialogue meets biannually.

- *India-Pakistan Confidence Building Measures*: USIP is supporting a Track II process coordinated by the Atlantic Council and the University of Ottawa which brings together a distinguished group of recently retired former military officials, senior officers, and retired senior diplomats from India and Pakistan. Members have embarked on an intensive review of existing military confidence building measures (CBMs) between the two sides, as well as discussions of what can be done to make them more effective, and identification of other CBMs that might be possible and useful under the present circumstances.

## Build local understanding of and capacity in conflict prevention, mitigation, and resolution for individuals, groups, and institutions

- *Developing a Network of Conflict Management Facilitators*: While many conflicts in Pakistan must be managed at the central and provincial government levels, there is also an urgent need for bottom-up conflict resolution so that Pakistanis resolve issues that have the potential to escalate and further threaten their country's stability. USIP has brought its concept of building a network of facilitators to Pakistan with the aim of mediating and managing conflict nonviolently. Since 2009, USIP has trained approximately ninety-three Pakistanis in the troubled tribal areas of FATA, the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, and the Sindh province, including the southern city of Karachi. The network includes twenty-nine women—all of whom are devoted to women's empowerment in Pakistan.
- *Peace Education Textbook & Teacher Training*: In the last fifteen years, Sunni and Shiite militias have caused devastating violence in Pakistan. To counteract sectarian violence, the Institute's Religion and Peacemaking Program worked with Sunni and Shiite religious scholars to produce an Islamic peace education textbook for religious schools in Pakistan. The textbook, now published in Urdu, is directed at the high school level, and seminary teachers in the five major Islamic sects in Pakistan will use it to teach a course on Islamic peacemaking and conflict resolution. In collaboration with local partners USIP is also training these teachers, thereby developing the capacity in peacebuilding and conflict prevention for the current and next generation of religious leaders. Master trainers will impart training to seminary teachers who are adopting this textbook, with the knowledge of the Itahad Tanzeem Deeni Madaris Board (IMTP), the Pakistani board overseeing all registered religious schools, as part of their curricula.
- *Pakistani Religious Mediators*: To prevent sectarian violence, and in particular religious extremism in Pakistan, USIP is developing a new cadre of religious mediators among Sunni and Shiite religious scholars and practitioners. In collaboration with European partners, the Institute trains Pakistani religious leaders as mediators. Religious leaders will learn preventative strategies to apply to conflict reduction. This training will produce a new civilian alternative to current practices and a new generation of religious leaders actively involved in mediation.

## Support new approaches to inform and catalyze efforts to counter violent extremism and manage conflict

- *Civil Society Capacity Building*: USIP has been operating a micro-grants program in Pakistan since spring 2007, working in partnership with civil society and international nonprofit organizations to develop local capacities for peacebuilding and conflict resolution. The Pakistan Priority Grant Competition strategy includes support for civil society organizations to promote dialogue against religious extremism and advance public education on understanding Pakistan's diversity across key religious, cultural, regional, gender, and generational divides. The program's current focus is on countering violent extremism in Pakistan, and grants are being awarded to organizations proposing innovative work in this field. Recently awarded grants include:
  - *College of Youth Activism and Development* will take six hundred youths of diverse backgrounds from two districts of Baluchistan through a training process focused on issues of identity formation, conflict prevention, citizenship, and counter-extremism. The youth will apply their knowledge and skills to act and participate in community-based peacebuilding processes.
  - *BARGAD Society for Human Resources* will create a trained pool of young faculty members and youth activists in peacebuilding and nonviolent methods of countering extremism within twenty universities across Pakistan. The trained alumni of the project will use mass and social media tools to inspire other youth and lay the foundations of a nationwide movement against youth extremism and intolerance.

- *Equal Access International* will foster dialogue among at-risk youth and women who are marginalized from the ongoing political process through a variety of media-based outreach efforts. Project activities include Pashto radio episodes, training twenty women and twenty youth as community reporters and content contributors to the radio programs, and the creation of a network of forty community reporters.
- *Countering Extremist Voices through the Media*: The Institute's media sector experts are seeking to use Pakistan's vibrant media to promote narratives that counter extremism. Its strengths notwithstanding, some worry that Pakistan's media landscape is also fertile ground for those seeking to promote violent conflict. By working with local organizations on a comprehensive content analysis initiative, USIP's Media, Conflict and Peacebuilding Center will produce a map of media outlets, with particular emphasis on vernacular media, and the extent to which they broadcast or publish extremist messages. Based on the results of the content analysis, USIP will work with media stakeholders to review the findings and develop actionable next steps to counter extremism in local media. Any subsequent activities will be designed, developed, and implemented by media stakeholders in Pakistan, with USIP providing valuable lessons learned, best practices, and expertise from media initiatives in other challenging conflict environments as requested by Pakistani partners and media interests.

## USIP Pakistan Program Publications

### Peacebriefs

- Stephanie Flamenbaum and Megan Neville, "Optimism and Obstacles in India-Pakistan Peace Talks," August 2011.
- Moeed Yusuf, Huma Yusuf, and Salman Zaidi, "Pakistan, the United States, and the End Game in Afghanistan: Perceptions of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Elite," July 2011.
- Stephanie Flamenbaum, Megan Neville, and Constantino Xavier, "The Future of Pakistan," March 2011.
- Hannah Byam and Christopher Neu, "Covering and Countering Extremism in Pakistan's Developing Media," March 2011.

### Special Reports

- Hassan Abbas, "Reforming Pakistan's Police and Law Enforcement Infrastructure: Is It Too Flawed to Fix?" February 2011.
- D. Suba Chandran and Shaheen Akhtar, "Tourism and Peacebuilding in Jammu and Kashmir," July 2011.
- Shuja Nawaz, "Who Controls Pakistan's Security Forces?" December 2011.

### Peaceworks

- Sheila Fruman, "Will the Long March to Democracy in Pakistan Finally Succeed?" July 2011.

### Project Reports

- Moeed Yusuf, Huma Yusuf, and Salman Zaidi, "Pakistan, the United States and the End Game in Afghanistan," Jinnah Institute Research Report, July 2011.

### Books

- Howard B. Schaffer and Teresita C. Schaffer, *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2011).



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