

**US Foreign Policy:
Democracy Through Developmental in Pakistan**
Unleashing Power of Civil Society

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Jan 12, 2008

President Obama's strategy towards Pakistan is arguably going to be the defining hallmark of his administration's foreign policy. The US needs a strategy that serves long-term goals of eliminating the influence of Al-Qaida, limiting the Taleban's secure base in Pakistan, ensuring the security of Pakistan's nuclear assets, all while making sure Pakistan-India tensions do not become an impediment to economic success of India. Furthermore, the disillusionment of the people of Pakistan with a barely functional democratic state, coupled with the rising tide of extremism and anti-Western sentiments has created a real possibility of Taleban affiliated militant groups expanding effective sovereign control of pockets of the Tribal belt outside of the FATA region. These expanded pockets of extremism further serve as safe heavens for international terrorists. Currently the US strategy is narrowly targeting the operational and financing aspects of Al-Qaida but has no answer to the extremist ideologies that enable distributed and loosely affiliated networks of actors to achieve alignment of action against the US interests. To look beyond this narrow view, Vice-President Joe Biden is spearheading a bill to offer up to \$15 Billion in development and economic aid to Pakistan over the next decade. Unfortunately, due to the immense amount of corruption in Pakistan and the mistrust of America's agenda in imposing its values, it is very easy to pour vast sums of money into Pakistan and achieve little progress towards America's strategic goals.

The only long-term solution to secure these complex goals is facilitating democratic Pakistan state that is secure, stable and prosperous and has the civic resolve to weed out extremism from its society. To achieve this vision we propose a game changing strategy that checks the violent extremist ideology by facilitating a grass roots civil mobilization for positive social change for human development, security and justice. We propose setting up unprecedented levels of accountability with transparent tracking of through independently monitored progress indicators down to district level. These indicators create critical feedback mechanism to experiment with innovative program ideas and rapidly adapt to changing reality. This strategy goes beyond soft “branding” of America. It targets authentic mindset change caused by aligning developmental and security interest of people on the ground, with the long term-interests of the US in the region. This civic movement of human development is to build the scaffolding of a strong civil society upon which a functioning democracy state can stand.

This may seem like a dream statement to anyone who has dealt with the messy reality of the country. However, President Obama's message of Hope and Change resonate as deeply in the city slums and remote villages of Pakistan as it does in the inner cities and heartland of America. This historic election victory has created a breath of fresh area, and it is important to build on this message to usher a new paradigm of understanding to solve what seems like intractable problems and reestablish America's leadership. Building on this message, we propose a multi-lateral multi-pronged strategy to achieve goals through the bottoms-up demand-side intervention of community mobilization through use of mass-media and civic organizations, and top-down supply-side intervention of effective programs of government at federal, provincial, district level. This strategy leaves no particular person, interest group or government department with capacity to completely block progress.

Based on prior stated US foreign policy objectives towards Pakistan we propose reset priorities for the policy towards Pakistan. The priorities are set in an order such that higher order priorities if done in the with a particular process, will re-enforce success of lower order. Then based on peculiar realities of Pakistan we propose an integrated top-down and a bottoms-up strategy to achieve those goals.

Seven broad development policy goals

- Foster an engaged civil society movement that can take ownership and drive agenda for change.
- Deliver sustainable economic, social, education, health care that has real impact for the very

poor people of Pakistan.

- Develop robust citizen partnerships to frame strategy to reduced corruption faced by the poor.
- Improve citizens partnership with police and judiciary reform that can result in increased security and speedy justice by the poor.
- Result in strengthen institutions that lay a solid foundation for democracy and provide a voice to the people's grievance with the system.
- Further religious tolerance and provide new options for Islamic seminaries to integrate into the mainstream by participating in the process of change.
- Increase America's social capital by building trust, foster greater cooperation and understanding between Pakistani and American citizens.

We call for a comprehensive holistic approach to engaging the government and people of Pakistan through top-down and bottoms-up multi-lateral channels. We seek to ground this approach in a broad participatory community dialogue. We draw insights from emerging advances in psychology, sociology, economics and game theory to shed light on complex reality of Pakistan, and leverage disruptive social and technology innovations to create a game changing strategy for Pakistan. However, a fundamental principle we follow is that such tools of clever analytic tools of “changing minds” only work in the long run if they induce action from target populous that are clearly beneficial for their own good, are consistent with the core values people aspire to, and don't violate the core values of mainstream Islam.

The following strategy high lights

- Pakistan has a fractured leadership base, with the democratic political government having limited control over the military, ISI and religious establishment that have their own agenda incentives to further their own divergent goals. Thus, strategic dealing with Pakistan has to go beyond simple “carrot and stick” strategy that has defined American interaction with previous Pakistani governments, if we have hope of affecting create sustained democratic, social and economic progress in the country.
- Lack of mutual trust is one of the fundamental problems facing America in Pakistan. Over the past 30 years each US administration has arguably made the best decision based on circumstances it faced, however the overall pattern is that US policy has not supported democracy in Pakistan. In fact it has supported military dictators when they were conveniently needed and imposed sanctions on democratic Pakistan when there was no need for the country. Accordingly, most Pakistanis believe America's only interest is in controlling Al-Qaida, and that as soon as its objectives are met, America will again abandon Pakistan. This lack of trust creates incentives for Pakistani leaders to hedge their bets against an American exist.
- We propose to redefine aid based on goals of transparent indicators, create multiple channels for aid delivery at each tier of government level, keep the overall aid level unconditional to build social trust, and yet make the aid through particular channel and tier conditional on relative performance of that channel to other methods of aid delivery that can bypass the channel. This would facilitate competition between channels without reducing level of trust, and thus will be credible conditioning in aid that is currently lacking.
- To most rapidly build social capital, we propose a sustained long-term unconditional “No Strings Attached” commitment focused on helping the most deprived people of Pakistan and an effectively media strategy to cultivate good-will from reciprocity of the Pakistani people.
- We propose rebranding “War on Terror” military aid to “Security and Justice” (or something else like “Law and Order ”), and include in the same goal additional civilian channel that are better long term solutions to fighting domestic terrorism crimes within boarders of Pakistan. “War on Terror” is considered an American problem that is imposed on Pakistan, and Pakistanis do not feel ownership and are reluctant actors in this American conflict. However, “Security and

Justice” is fundamental need of the people and thus can induce local ownership of the idea. So this can lead to a necessary perception shift by the people, and they can then be co-opted to help solve their own problems.

- We propose that America facilitate Pakistani civilian government in taking greater control of military and ISI by providing the Pakistan's elected government the discretion on how to divide the US aid on “Security and Justice” between military, civilian intelligence, police and judicial reforms based on a performance of respective channels. This strategy would provide the necessary leverage for US government to hold Pakistani military accountable for actions by making it compete for funds based on effectiveness, while furthering goal of democratic stability, and gaining legitimacy in Pakistan.
- We propose bucketing economic aid as “Social-Economic Development”, also making it unconditional, but include in the same goal both top-down aid given through official government channels and bottom's up aid given directly through independent civil and private organizations that compete for future contracts based on quality of delivered results. This development aid needs to be more than just about education and jobs, it needs to impact the hearts and minds and capture the imagination of the people of Pakistan to bring change.

Bottom-up civil strategy

- Ensure that non-party local elected municipal government system created by the Musharraf government is further expanded, strengthened and not squashed by the current government. This local system provides the Community Citizens Boards (CCB) that critical official link between mobilized citizens who can interface with government to drive community development. These CCBs are mostly dysfunctional, but those CCBs that receive proper civic and management training show that these can become effective mechanisms for delivery, and thus they represents the biggest hope for change in Pakistan. The broad strategy is to build civil society scaffolding through community driven human development strategy and then leverage the foundation to tackle broader challenges of civil partnership to reform police and justice, corruption, extremism and democratic institution building.
- Create broad based civil mobilization programs with corresponding mass media strategy for Pakistan with cultivated “Great Debate” among people of Pakistan to address the needs of people, set priorities and strategy to drive development and a call to action for civil society monitor top-down development programs and mobilize bottoms-up to create change. This debate should capture the imagination of the public in every village, town hall, city neighborhood and university, and covered widely across mass media. The debate has to pay particular attention on the needs of the largely youth bulge that account for 60% of the population that have low level human capital, that is and have low levels of both cognitive skills as well as non-cognitive socio-emotional skills. This demographic is the biggest untapped asset of Pakistan and can become the biggest liability if not harnessed positively.
- Through debate resolve the cultural priorities for female development at local, regional and national level, particularly by including voices of females in the process. The discrimination against female has resulted in one of the lowest ratings in the gender equalities index of the country, and is reflective of higher infant mortality, pervasive female malnutrition and lowered IQ, lower parental investment, lower education outcome and higher school dropout rate, lower health-outcomes through adult life that reduce life expectancy. This has resulted in a 3.5% more males than females in the population. The great debate and resulting programs have to take particular note to correct the social injustice that results due to culturally ingrained seemingly unconscious biases of parental investment, and cultural sensitive development solutions tailored towards females.
- Through debate resolve the needs and development priorities of youth males. The social

dynamic has resulted in over 4 million young adult males who do not have marriage partners. As is evident from inner cities of America, unmarried deprived males with low non-cognitive socio-emotional skills are especially prone to increased impatience and emotional instability leading to high risk behavior and they account for disproportionate large fraction of violent crimes. This demographic is a major challenge, and targeted holistic programs have to leverage the critical role of social capital in building human capital. These development programs for youth males have to go beyond simply education and income opportunities; these programs have to build non-cognitive socio-emotional skills, by capture their imagination, providing a sense of empowerment, fully engaging them, pushing their limits of ability, in the process exploring and expanding their selves. These programs can thus provide taste of liberty and collective achievement that infuses a feeling of community belonging and a higher purpose that can make life meaningful. Example of silos vocational skills program by USAID the create jobs for youth to keep them off the street in FATA region fail to give thought of what will happen when the program runs out, and how the men will be better citizens and be resilient to influence of extremism.

- Facilitate creation of comprehensive bottom up citizens empowerment and mobilization of community driven development programs across Pakistan that is further tweaked to maximize viral self-replication “soft influence” spread of empowerment movement from targeted districts communities to their neighboring districts.
- Eliminate barriers to critical knowledge by making open source freely accessible multi-media content available of all knowledge, training skills and administrative capacity building to achieve Millennium Development Goals including entire primary and secondary education curriculum, teacher/trainer training, basic farming and food processing knowledge/skills, vocational training, health-care training, and administrator capacity building through high quality master teachers/trainers.
- Make the development and capacity building content freely ubiquitously available through multiple channels including online, broadcast TV, cable, radio, 3G mobile network, and DVDs for public, and provide provisions for affiliated network of organizations with TV, DVD, computer, network access, and energy resources.
- Setup high frequency sampling of progress indicator through independent organization that measures detailed quality of schools, clinics, hospital, municipal government, police and judiciary so progress indicators can be compiled on high frequency. These can be used to provide valuable feedback to adapt programs to circumstances, and offer awards for recognition of peer performance at district, city, provincial and national level.
- These awards need to be integrated into the media strategy to raise primary demand for public expectation of increased quality and performance from institutions, and get public to hold institutions accountable, and act by making their voices heard and if needed switching to competing services if demand is not met.
- Create supporting systems for distributed network of tightly and loosely affiliate of civil society, private and public organizations who can seek access to further training and funding based on performance reviews.
- Specifically target Tribal belt for community driven development, by setting up competition between communities by giving priority to those communities that specifically ask for help through community mobilized petition drives, and further increase aid to those communities that perform well by put in extra volunteers to achieve the development goals.
- As community citizens leadership becomes functional, expand responsibility for citizens-police partnership framework to check corruption and find joint mechanism to monitor and take preventative against violent crime in localities.
- In Tribal areas integrating traditional jirga means of justice with legal structure of Pakistan

through special training provided to members of jirga on human rights, international obligation of Pakistan, social justice in Islam, and impact on legal decisions on human development of the people. Use this as a starting point, but use the civil debate platform to get exact specifications and obtain legitimacy for programs that are initiated.

- Expand community development process organically by leveraging relationships of successful communities that to other neighboring districts that have most need and strongest relationships.
- Use community development strategy to create a ring of development around the FATA, and from every distributed establish bases to provide development knowledge and aid into hostile territories.
- Open American information and cultural centers across Pakistan to provide information, knowledge, and training to local people, and that serve as platform for broad based Pakistani and American people-to-people civil collaboration programs with academic and civil society.
- Establish better American cultural sensitive communication strategy for Muslim word. For example, avoid using language of “secular” and “liberal” democratic ideals for Pakistan, because these such words are interpreted as meaning “atheistic” and “amoral”, and further used by extremists as proof of American agenda against Islam.

Top Down View

- America has to sustain pressure on Pakistani military and elected government to identify and dismantle the intermingled ideological leveraged militancy support from broader extremist infrastructure in Pakistan. The Pakistan government has to root out extremist infrastructure in the country. However, this is much easier said then done, because most top level Pakistani officials are, at least publicly, blind to extent of extremist cancer that has spread through the country. This official state of denial about danger of extremism to society is further reflected across public opinion polls as well. For example, after news of Pakistani connections emerged in the Mumbai terror attacks, public polls clearly showed most Pakistanis citizens believed that the terrorists were not Pakistani. When the UN imposed sanctions Lasher-e-Toiba and its affiliated charity Jamat-e-Dawa, Pakistan government shut down their offices. However, government officials cited how the Jamat-e-Dawa are performing so much good public service by operating numerous schools, hospitals and social programs for hundreds of thousands of poor people. After a few days of being closed, the Jamat-e-Dawa charity was back operational because government officials feared widespread public backlash in case they crack down hard on innocent hospitals and schools, even if these schools are preaching bigotry. This moral ambiguity will arguably be the most subtle and tricky part of American strategy to not only change hearts and minds, by gaining even a higher level of trust, and open the eyes and minds of people to think about consequence of allow religious leaders to preach hate in their society.
- Facilitate creation of a top-down strategy to offer energy security because deteriorating energy situation has crippled Pakistan's economy, development prospects, and has caused immense discontent and resulted in riots that is further destabilizing the government.
- Facilitate creation of top-down long-term strategy to offer water security of Pakistan (in collaboration with India) that integrates with sustainable community driven development programs because deteriorating water resources in South Asia are major source of infant mortality. The projected 20% fall in water resources over the next two decades, while population rises, and will continue to be the leading underlying cause of physical deprivation and resource based conflict that is erupts as civil strife and provide ample grounds for extremism.
- Facilitate top-down strategy for identifying and improving the major transportation bottlenecks routes from cities to physically isolated high density pockets of the most deprived people, and pockets of fertile agriculture land in Pakistan.

- Facilitate peace process and resolution of Kashmir dispute with India, because any tensions between Pakistan and India. Furthermore, tensions with India are exploited by extremists to preach hatred. This is most commonly accepted rationalization by people of Pakistan because various elements of it are pervasive across government approved textbooks in the education curriculum.
- Facilitate FATA reforms to include civil participation and allowing mainstream political parties to compete with the legal monopoly granted to religious organizations. However, this should be done very carefully in small step but sustained credible steps, because full change to Pakistan's constitution including giving private property where they do not exist is most likely to increase gross corruption in grab of land, resulting in increased social inequality for the most marginalized, and thus provide more supporters to TTP.
- Facilitate capacity building a top-down strategy for urban planning for Pakistan's cities focused on deploying human capital of the poor because cities are represent 35% of the country's population, the major drivers of economic growth of the country. An increase in productivity increase of inefficient cities can have significant impact on economy of Pakistan. Further, urban slums account for much more extreme inequality, are festering grounds for extremism, base major source of their extremist funding and transnational logistics network.
- Facilitate top reforms in government reform and capacity building in education, preventative and minimal primary child and maternal health, municipal water provisions, police and judicial system focused on delivering results especially targeted a region specific focus to the poorest and most deprived people of Pakistan.

US Programs for Impact

- Create a specialized sub-department to handle challenges of Pakistan and Afghanistan and modeled after the program after the structure of Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), which was one of the brilliant innovations of the eight-year Bush presidency. MCC was designed to avoid the shortcomings of other aid programs, has a purposeful mandate and operational flexibility. However changes need to be made to make MCC suited for large scale intervention in Pakistan.
- This MCC's model is more suited than USAID for Pakistan development strategy implementation because MCC model rewards good performance, has objective indicator for progress, provides higher degree of program ownership through civic participation, and does not have the bureaucracy and legal constraints hurdles faced by USAID. The MCC flexibility comes from ability to optimal time disbursement of aid that allows for appropriate ramp up depending on conditions instead of facing pressure from Congress to disburse aid or loose funding in future years. Furthermore, MCC is not tied down by the “Buy America” and other hurdles faced by USAID.
- Currently MCC signs a single 5 year compact with the host government. Change the MCC mandate to extend program in Pakistan over a decade or longer instead of 5 year program. However, the contract with any particular channel could be shorter-term.
- Enable MCC to sign multiple tiers of compacts in Pakistan at not only federal level, but also with provincial level, down to district level government.
- Have MCC increase directly deals with local NGO's to facilitate community mobilization, and service delivery in Pakistan to provide competition for dysfunctional local district governments.
- Just like the MCC model at country level as criteria for eligibility, the district level should have preparatory programs that enable readiness of willing districts to become eligible for MCC program to drive change at the district level. The “MCC effect” observed at the country level, where poor countries are improving in response to become eligible for MCC funding enables leveraging of resources. Similar we propose to maximize this “MCC effect” at the district level,

by marketing recognition and achievement of each MCC's district's achievement with neighboring districts will enable competition between district governments.

- Establish clear indicators based goals, and establish civilian monitoring infrastructure for higher frequency indicator sampling that can provide accurate early reporting on development indicators down to the district level. This reduce time-lag will greatly enhance capacity for program precision down to district level, and quicker feedback will enhance capacity to adapt faster with lower costs.