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### *News Release*

## Effective U.S.-Pakistan Negotiations Crucial to South Asian Peace New USIP Book Examines Pakistan's Negotiating Style

For Immediate Release

Contact: Meg Pierannunzi, 202-429-4736

Allison Sturma, 202-429-4725

(Washington) – As the United States begins planning a withdrawal in Afghanistan, Pakistan's support is pivotal for U.S. security interests. Thus far, the goals of the two countries have remained divergent and it will require skillful and persistent negotiations to ensure Pakistan's support. *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States: Riding the Roller Coaster*, a new volume published by the United States Institute of Peace, analyzes the themes, techniques, and styles that have characterized Pakistani negotiations with American civilian and military officials since Pakistan's independence and offers concrete lessons and advice on how to effectively negotiate in the future.

Drawing from their vast diplomatic experience, authors Teresita and Howard Schaffer examine how Pakistan's ideological core, geopolitical position, culture, and governmental and military structures shape negotiations with the United States. As a key U.S. partner in the fight against extremism, ensuring its stability is an essential aspect of America's strategy to bring peace to the South Asian region. Yet, the critical importance of the U.S. to Pakistan's security has lent a unique character to how the two countries negotiate with one another.

The authors write, "Success and failure are not simply a function of negotiating technique. Negotiating style still matters. Negotiating style affects the way the countries continue to deal with each other after formal negotiations have concluded. U.S. negotiators cannot expect (and should not try) to counter all the characteristics of Pakistan's prevailing negotiating style, but understanding them is an essential start."

The Schaffers address not only the process by which the two governments reach formal agreements, but also the overall conduct of official U.S.-Pakistani dialogue, the informal processes that have shaped their diplomatic relationship, and the periodic involvement of the United States in Pakistani domestic politics.

Over the past sixty years, Pakistani-U.S. relations have been marked by highs of close cooperation and lows of deep bilateral estrangement. Much of the story of U.S.-Pakistan negotiations underscores the remarkable resilience, but also the vulnerability and volatility, of the relationship. Throughout the Cold War and continuing after 9/11, Pakistan's location has shaped a relationship of mutual interest and asymmetrical goals. The United States views Pakistan as a strategic partner in achieving global security goals; Pakistan looks to the U.S. as a counterweight to India and its neighbors.

Despite some negotiation successes between Pakistan and the United States in past years, significant U.S. aid for disaster relief in response to summer flooding, and substantial American support for Pakistan's civilian government, the relationship between the two countries continues to be strained as a result of U.S. missteps related to what Pakistan perceives as self-serving U.S. security interests. Efforts to bolster the relationship will require skilled American negotiators who understand Pakistan's negotiating style and culture—a point this book drives home as it offers insights and advice for not only U.S. officials but also for business, university, and NGO representatives dealing with Pakistan.

## About the Authors

**Howard B. Schaffer** and **Teresita C. Schaffer** both had careers of over three decades in the U.S. Foreign Service. Recognized as the State Department's principal experts on South Asia, they both served as deputy assistant secretary of state for South Asia.

He is a senior counselor at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, where he teaches courses on diplomatic process and South Asia. Before retiring from the U.S. Foreign Service, he served as U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh and as political counselor in both New Delhi and Islamabad. His earlier assignments were to Kuala Lumpur and Seoul. His publications include *Chester Bowles: New Dealer in the Cold War*, *Ellsworth Bunker: Global Troubleshooter*, *Vietnam Hawk*, and *The Limits of Influence: America's Role in Kashmir*, which won the American Academy of Diplomacy's 2009 Douglas Dillon Award for the best book on the practice of U.S. diplomacy. He speaks Urdu, Hindi, and French, and is a graduate of Harvard College.

She served as U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka and as economic officer in Islamabad. Other diplomatic posts included Tel Aviv and New Delhi. She directed the South Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies from 1998-2010. Her publications include *Pakistan's Future and U.S. Policy Options*, *Kashmir: The Economics of Peace Building*, and *India and the U.S. in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Reinventing Partnership*. She has taught at Georgetown University and American University. She speaks French, Swedish, German, Hebrew, Hindi, and Urdu and has studied Bangla and Sinhala. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College.

## **How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States Riding the Rollercoaster April 2011**

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### **Contact:**

Meaghan E. Pierannunzi  
Marketing Coordinator  
Publications Office  
United States Institute of Peace  
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036  
P: 202-429-4736  
F: 202-429-6063  
E-mail: [mpierannunzi@usip.org](mailto:mpierannunzi@usip.org)

Allison Sturma  
Press Secretary  
Public Affairs  
United States Institute of Peace  
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036  
P: 202-429-4725  
F: 202-429-6063  
E-mail: [asturma@usip.org](mailto:asturma@usip.org)

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United States Institute of Peace  
2301 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20037**

## **ABOUT THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE**

The United States Institute of Peace (USIP) provides the analysis, training and tools that help to prevent, manage and end violent international conflicts, promote stability and professionalize the field of peacebuilding.

In March 2011, the Institute moved into its permanent headquarters at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The headquarters will serve as a national hub for research, training and on-the-ground work in preventing and managing international conflict and allow USIP to address the difficult problems of war and peace using cost-effective and efficient problem-solving approaches. It houses the working offices of USIP, a state of the art conference center, a professional education and training Academy, and a public education center.

To learn more about the Institute and its work, please go to: <http://www.usip.org>.

## *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States* Questions and Answers

### **1. Why did you write this book?**

The purpose of this book is not to provide an exhaustive historical account of the ups and downs of U.S.-Pakistan relations. This book analyzes the themes, techniques and styles that have characterized Pakistani negotiations with American civilian and military officials in recent years, and presents some conclusions about what these are likely to be in the future. The book focuses specifically on Pakistan's negotiations with the United States because the critical importance of the U.S. to Pakistan's security has lent a unique character to the way the two countries negotiate with one another.

### **2. Who can benefit from reading this book?**

The discussion here is geared primarily to officials, but the cultural advice applies with equal force to those representing businesses, universities, or NGOs. Especially at a time of rampant anti-Americanism, private Americans need to be conscious of the way Pakistanis look at the U.S. government as well as more generally on the United States and its citizens.

### **3. What factors shape Pakistan's approach to negotiating with the United States?**

Pakistan's approach to negotiations with Americans is shaped chiefly by three factors.

1. The first and most important is Pakistanis' concept of their country's place in the world, including their perception of the United States and the volatile history of U.S.-Pakistan relations. This is especially important because so many of their key negotiations with the United States are intended to set the broad terms of the bilateral relationship and in that context to define what kind of support the U.S. will provide.
2. The second major influence is Pakistan's culture. Pakistan's operating style and expectations are shaped by a society in which the most important bonds are personal, relationships both inside and outside the government are hierarchical and the less powerful often try to turn their weakness into strength.
3. Finally, Pakistan's negotiations with Americans reflect the structures of their government and political system, notably its divided authority and the outsized role the military has historically played. Taken together, these elements produce an approach in which negotiators cultivate what one might call "the art of the guilt trip." Important negotiations usually involve a major effort to create a sense of obligation on the part of the United States or to nurture and intensify the fear that failure to honor Pakistan's requests will lead to disastrous consequences for U.S. interests.

### **4. What factors have influenced American interest in Pakistan?**

American interest in Pakistan has been powerfully influenced by geography. Pakistan's location close to the southern reaches of the Soviet Union led Washington in the 1950s and early 1960s to enlist it in American-led Cold War alliances designed to contain potential Communist aggression. Proximity to Afghanistan made Pakistan a vital player in the 1980s when the U.S. sought to frustrate Soviet efforts to consolidate its military occupation of that Islamic neighbor. And after

9/11, Pakistan's common border with Afghanistan again prompted Washington to revive security ties, this time to combat Al Qaeda and the Taliban on the "central front" of the U.S.-led "global war on terrorism."

Other factors have also helped shape American interest in Pakistan, of course. Over time these have included American's regard for Pakistan's military, its concern for the economic and social development of a large and impoverished Third World country, its fears about Pakistani nuclear weapons, and its desire to be on good terms with a major, diplomatically active Muslim nation.

### **5. How do Pakistan's national cultural characteristics color interactions with the United States?**

Pakistan is a high-context society, more attuned to the rights and obligations of the group than to those of the individual. It is a society in which honor is all-important and hospitality a solemn obligation. Many of the classic points of friction with the more individualistic and task-oriented approach of most U.S. officials, crop up in U.S.-Pakistani negotiations, sometimes significantly modified by the geo-strategic context and government structure within which Pakistan's negotiators operate.

### **6. How does Pakistan view the United States?**

Pakistan's negotiators look on the United States as a country critical to Pakistan's security, but one that Pakistan cannot count on in times of trouble. A major theme of Pakistan's history is insecurity, and this makes Pakistanis acutely conscious of the disparity of size and power between themselves and the United States. This accentuates their view that the U.S. routinely threatens Pakistan, that what the Americans see as forcefulness is really arrogance, and that the negotiating process as conceived by the United States is really a series of U.S. demands that Pakistan is forced to accept. The United States has always been a key element in Pakistan's strategy of balancing India's size and power. Despite concerns about U.S. faithlessness, Pakistan's governments have looked for ways of getting and keeping a U.S. connection.

At the same time, during times of closest Pakistan-U.S. cooperation, Pakistani leaders have been convinced that, however useful they found the relationship with Washington, the United States needed Pakistan more. They drove a correspondingly hard bargain on the major issues in the relationship. The case studies in the book examine this more closely.

Throughout the ups and downs of U.S.-Pakistani relations, Pakistanis have felt that the United States used Pakistan when it was convenient, and abandoned it when Pakistan was no longer needed. Especially in the period since 2001, these sentiments have become part of the political lingua franca of Pakistan, and anti-Americanism has increased, even as the country's leaders, both civil and military, recognized that they needed the United States.

### **7. How does Pakistan's governmental structure affect its negotiations?**

Power relationships within the Pakistan government, together with the particular cultures of each of its major constituent parts, are a major influence on Pakistan's negotiating style. The army is the power player and when its direct interest are engaged, it can trump not only the civilian bureaucracy but the country's elected government. The diplomats and civil servants who form the sinews of the country's government and carry out many of its negotiations with the United States, share many negotiating traits with the military, but with one striking difference: whereas military officers are supremely, perhaps overly confident, not just of their ability but also of their standing to make national decisions, civilian officials are often testing how much authority they will be able to exercise. Pakistan's politicians have led most government ministries and participated in

the bicameral parliament. Their power and authority is substantial during periods of civilian rule, but drops off when a military officer leads the country.

**8. How do Pakistanis deal with the United States in the context of India-Pakistan negotiations?**

In dealing with the United States on India-Pakistan issues, Pakistan's goal has simply been to get Washington involved in the belief that U.S. intervention would neutralize India's greater size and power and produce a more favorable result. In particular, Pakistan has sought to engage the U.S. on Kashmir. Since the early 1990s the principal form of U.S. involvement in India-Pakistan diplomacy has been crisis management in situations that could lead to war and escalate to nuclear conflict.

**9. In considering how to negotiate most effectively with Pakistan, what should U.S. negotiators keep in mind?**

U.S. negotiators need to examine three groups of issues. First are questions of cultural style. Second are issues arising from the disparity in national power and the difference in the structure of the two governments. Finally, and by far the most important, are issues arising from diverging, at times quite contradictory, objectives that have so often afflicted U.S.-Pakistan relations. Here, U.S. negotiators face a challenge of both policy and negotiating style: can two countries whose tactical goals overlap but whose strategic priorities diverge significantly negotiate a reliable basis for cooperation?

**10. How does the book predict the U.S.-Pakistan relationship will evolve in the future?**

The United States and Pakistan can work together in support of the objectives they share, though these may need to be more carefully defined than in the past. There will still be plenty of negotiating to do and many more limited objectives on which the two countries can find common ground. But the limitations on U.S.-Pakistan relations are likely to become more visible. The most important lesson for U.S. Policy-makers and negotiators is to recognize both the potential and the limits of Pakistan as a U.S. partner.

## Advance Praise for *How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States*

“This groundbreaking work is an excellent addition to our knowledge of decision making in Pakistan and Pakistan's foreign policy. Drawing from their extensive personal experience and a panel of experts on Pakistan, the authors cover a subject—a diplomatic style—that is relatively untouched in the academic literature. This volume is useful not only as a practical handbook for those negotiating with Pakistanis, but also as a review of the interaction of U.S. and Pakistani foreign policy.”

—Walter Andersen, acting director of South Asia Studies program at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies

“*How Pakistan Negotiates with the United States* is an impressive, insightful, and truly important book, especially for Americans who cannot decide whether Pakistan is America's friend or foe. They will learn that the issue is more complex and respective grievances are more reciprocal.”

—Zbigniew Brzezinski, counselor and trustee, Center for Strategic and International Studies

“Howard and Teresita Schaffer have made a very important contribution to USIP's outstanding series about how nations negotiate. Generations of American leaders, diplomats, and military officers have been involved in what the Schaffers describe as a “roller coaster relationship”. This exceptional volume will allow a wide audience to benefit from their sharp observations and wise counsel. Here is a special opportunity to learn from two real experts.”

—Marc Grossman, vice chairman of The Cohen Group and former Under Secretary of State for political affairs

“A superb analysis of U.S.-Pakistan negotiations, this timely book will be of enormous value to future American negotiators and indeed all U.S. government officials who are involved in the relationship with Pakistan. The authors do an excellent job of explaining how key elements of Pakistani society function, how they think about major issues, and the roles they play (or do not play) in dealings with the United States. All who work with Pakistan will profit from reading this book with care.”

—Dennis Kux, Woodrow Wilson Center and former State Department South Asia specialist

“Yet again, Ambassadors Howard and Teresita Schaffer have drawn on their vast experience in South Asia to guide U.S. policy toward that crucial region. Their latest book, which decodes Pakistan's methods and motives in dealing with the United States, is both an insightful work of history and a guide for American policymakers and negotiators in the months and years to come.”

—Strobe Talbott, president of the Brookings Institution

“What better time to have a book that allows us to better understand how Pakistan negotiates. And who but the Ambassadors Schaffer are as well prepared to explore what lies behind the repeated ups and downs in Pakistan's formal and informal relations with the United States. The Schaffers offer rich insights into the political culture, authority structures, and personalities that have shaped Pakistan's negotiating style and techniques with friends and adversaries. The authors' highly readable work offers a guide as to how Americans have succeeded and failed with key military and civilian officials at critical historical junctures in U.S.-Pakistan relations. More importantly, the Schaffers locate a major source of the two countries' inability to realize a more reliable basis for cooperation in their failure to recognize their frequently divergent strategic priorities.”

—Marvin Weinbaum, Middle East Institute