

How does Pakistan Islamist and Secularists interplay and their influences through ISI, affect the future of United States War against Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan?

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## **Introduction:**

The September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 terrorist attack on the United States by the Islamic fundamentalist Al-Qaeda terrorists has engaged United States and all the democratic world in a continues war against terrorism. United States Armed forces and intelligence organizations have been engaged in a constant effort to locate and destroy the terrorism threat inside and outside the United States .

The fact that September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks were planned, rehearsed and ordered in Afghanistan by the Al- Qaeda network, was established and proved from the early hours after the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attack. This was also a well known fact that Al-Qaeda was under the protection of the Taliban regime that was ruling Afghanistan in 2001. Therefore, shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11th, the war on terror started by invasion of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan .

Like any war, in this war on terror the United States has a coalition of forces and allies who are fighting the common enemy of terrorism. Pakistan is one of the countries that are being considered as an ally in the war on terror and the Pakistani government receives billions of dollars in United States funding to assist in the war on terror.

Since the Al-Qaeda Network and the Taliban has taken refuge in Pakistan, the Pakistani government's role and sincerity in assisting the war in Terror has been debated for a long time. There are different opinions and reports about this critical aspect of the War on Terrorism.

Dived Gartenstein-Ross from the National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada) in an article on Thursday July 16, 2009 under the name of Pakistan's fifth column mentions that the American intelligence Officials have stopped giving advance warning of drone attacks on terrorists because previously when they did inform the Pakistanis of such attacks, the terrorists were tipped off by elements of the ISI.

Similarly Ravi Velloor of The Straits Times (Singapore) in an article under the headline of Spotlight on spy agency after blast; ISI falls under suspicion after security misses and reports on links with Al-Qaeda, Taliban, in the Wednesday October 1, 2008 reports that “The US administration has made plain its suspicions that rogue ISI agents are tipping off Al-Qaeda about NATO strikes. Indeed, responsible Pakistanis themselves have begun to flag their worry.” These articles highlight the problem that United States and coalition forces face in the war against terrorism today.

The Pakistan government’s role and sincerity cannot be studied and researched without researching the Pakistan’s power full and secretive inter-services- intelligence agency; the ISI. There are lots of reports about the ISI’s role in support of the rise of the Taliban and even supporting and assisting Al-Qaeda. There are allegations of ISI’s assistance in escape of the Taliban and Al- Qaeda leadership after the United States and NATO invasion of Afghanistan.

To study the sincerity and ability of the government of Pakistan in cooperating in the War on terror we need to examine the role of ISI in the government and politics of Pakistan and research the role of ISI in connection to creation of Taliban and Al-Qaeda and their subsequent escape to Pakistan . A war that is taking lives of American and NATO soldiers and billions of

dollars are being spent on , cannot go on successfully if there aspects of the roles of allies that needs to be examined and clarified.

## **Literature Review:**

Doctor Bidanda M. Chengappa a senior fellow in Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis (IDSA) which is a think tank based in New Delhi India has written a research paper under the heading: “The ISI role in Pakistan 's politics”. Doctor Chengappa argues that ISI is a single powerful intelligence organization that has influence on internal and external affairs of recently created country that is Pakistan . Doctor Chengappa states that “The organization’s internal intelligence operations tend to be generally associated with the abuse of power.”

Doctor Chengappa narrates the history of ISI since its creation in 1948. Doctor Chengappa explains the gradual increasing role of ISI from an external- Indian oriented intelligence agency to an internal intelligence agency during military rulers Ayub Khan and then Yahya khan. Doctor Chengappa makes the assertion that later on during the civilian leader Bhutto the ISI’s role increased “Bhutto has been credited with strengthening the ISI role in domestic politics”(Chengappa)

Doctor Chengappa argues that the military has ruled Pakistan through the ISI in all its existence either directly or indirectly. Doctor Chengappa chronicles the ISI manipulation of Pakistan Politics throughout the 70’s, 80’s and 90’s. He concludes that Pakistan is being run from a state within a states and that state within a state is the ISI.

Sean P. Winchell in the International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence volume 18, number 3, Fall of 2005, has written an article under the heading “Pakistan’s ISI: The Invisible Government”. Winchell starts his article by stating that no political force within Pakistan has driven the nation’s domestic and international political agenda as has its army, and more specifically, one of its intelligence units, the Inter-Services intelligence (ISI).

Winchell discusses the other aspects of the ISI which is the basis of the question of our research, and that is the ISI’s Islamic connections and relations with the United States intelligence agencies. Winchell states that ISI “embraced radical Islamic extremism and worked with the United States in aiding the Afghan mujahedeen in expelling the Soviets from Afghanistan .” (winchell)

Winchell explains in detail the ISI’s transformation under General Ayub Khan “Khan expanded the ISI’s role to the protection of Pakistan ’s interests, which included the creation of a covert action division within the ISI to assist Islamic militants”. (Winchell) Winchell explains that After General Ziaul haq grabbed the power by a military coup, the role and position of ISI elevated and took another twist. Winchell explains that Zia makes Islamization of the Army a practice ,Winchell writes “officers were actively encouraged to become Islamic fundamentalists, and only those officers who were practicing Muslims received promotion. Experts now believe that approximately thirty percent of the country’s army officers are Islamic fundamentalists”. (Winchell)

Winchell further explains that the soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 caused the CIA to give ISI billions of dollars to train and equip the Afghan mujahidin to fight the soviets. Winchell notes that the duplicity of the ISI had started from the early on. “The ISI was appropriating arms destined for the mujahedeen and selling them to the Iranians and pocketing

the proceeds. When the Ronald Reagan administration learned of the ISI's activities, it sent a fact-finding mission to Pakistan to investigate. But by then the ISI had already altered its records of the transactions and destroyed any evidence that might show its complicity. The ISI was also using the CIA-provided funds to enroll graduates from Pakistani madrasas to fight in the war against the Soviets and in the process laying the ground for the rise of the Taliban” (Winchell)

Winchell explains how ISI worked in supporting the Taliban “Using resources and contacts left over from the resistance to Soviet occupation, and with ISI support and training, the Taliban bribed local tribal warlords and conducted guerilla tactics in their efforts to gain power In Afghanistan.” (Winchell)

SHAUN GREGORY from the Department of Peace Studies ,University of Bradford , Bradford, United Kingdom in a paper under the heading “ The ISI and the War on Terrorism” examines the ISI's role in Pakistan politics, its role in war on terrorism and its support for Islamic militancy. Gregory's main contention is “[ISI] plays an ambiguous role in the War on Terrorism. An important ally for Western intelligence with whom it has very close links, the ISI also has a long history of involvement in supporting and promoting terrorism in the name of Pakistan's geostrategic interests.”(Gregory)

Gregory makes a good point in regards to the sole power of ISI in Pakistan as an intelligence agency that has no rival like in any other country. Gregory states that “Unlike the U.K.'s MI5 and MI6 or the U.S.'s FBI and CIA, the ISI faces no equivalent turf-war with a powerful internal rival, and is thus able to integrate the internal and external facets of its work with profound implications for the way it operates and the power it is able to exercise within Pakistan and outside it.”(Gregory) Gregory explains how Civilian government of Zulfuqar Ali Bhutto adapted ISI to his willing tool and used ISI in working to obtain the nuclear technology

for Pakistan. Gregory explains that General Zia Ulhaq's coming to power not only increased the role and powers of the ISI "Zia's Islamization of Pakistani society and politics facilitated the movement of many members of Pakistan's Islamist political parties—such as Jamaat-I-Islamic—into the military and ISI.... Forging of strong bonds between the ISI and various extremist/terrorist groups in the decades ahead "(Gregory)

Gregory explains that United States and Saudi Arabia's financed the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan completely through the ISI. Both the United States and the Saudis had given free hand to the ISI to do whatever they decide with the money and arms that was being delivered to them.

Gregory contends that Pakistan and ISI promoted Islamic Ideology for their purposes in Afghanistan "By the end of the 1980s the ISI's policy of promoting Islamist clients in Afghanistan and the flow of Saudi and Arab money to Islamist factions had effectively eliminated All the secular, leftist and royalist political parties that had formed when Afghan refugees Fled communist rule." (Gregory)

Gregory discusses the relationship and connection between ISI and Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Gregory dismisses the Idea that ISI had a hand in global activities of the Al-Qaeda however, he suggests that there have been connections.

Gregory explains that ISI has made some assistance in the war on terror, however, "The crucial point is not that the ISI is aiding Al Qaeda directly—although some of its operatives may be—but rather that Pakistan's geopolitical interests, and in particular the ISI's promotion of pan-Islamist jihad, make it an unreliable ally for the West and plays into Al Qaeda's hands.  
“(Gregory)

Waldman's study makes the assertion that Pakistan's intelligence agency the powerful ISI provides funding, training and sanctuary to the Taliban in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Waldman's research is based on interviews with nine Taliban field commanders in Afghanistan between February and May of 2010. He interviewed nine insurgent field commanders, three operating in the south of Afghanistan, three in the centre and three in the south-east, as well as one high-level Taliban intermediary. He also talked with 10 former senior Taliban officials, a number of Afghan elders, politicians and analysts, as well as foreign diplomats and security officials. A research assistant interviewed six further insurgents.

Waldman's study which is published by London school of economics states that Pakistan and Taliban relationship goes far beyond what is currently believed. "Although the Taliban has a strong endogenous impetus, according to Taliban commanders the ISI orchestrates, sustains and strongly influences the movement," (Waldman,). Waldman asserts that it clearly appears that the ISI has "significant influence" on strategic decision-making and field operations of the Taliban and controls the most violent insurgent units, some of which appear to be based in Pakistan.

Waldman's research explains that Taliban commanders had claimed the ISI was even officially represented, as participants or observers, on the Taliban supreme leadership council which is known as Quetta Council.

In his report Waldman states that even the Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari himself had assured captive, senior Taliban leaders that they were "our people" and had his backing. He had apparently authorized some to be released from prison.

From the interviews Waldman gets the explanation that the ISI's involvement is based on the Pakistan's rivalry with India, and Waldman's report argues that resolving this issue is the key to bringing Pakistani government in a position to support the international efforts to defeat the

Taliban. "Without a change in Pakistani behavior it will be difficult if not impossible for international forces and the Afghan government to make progress against the insurgency," (Waldman,)

In this research the Lamp method of analysis is used. The Lamp method of analysis was developed by Doctor Lockwood as logic based prediction method. The Lamp method of analysis takes in to account all possible courses of actions and alternative futures. This paper follows the Lamp method step by step and ends with a conclusion and references.

**“1. Define the issue for which you are trying to determine the most likely future.”**

The issue for this study is to determine the most likely probability of future of war in Afghanistan. The issue is examined through study of the interplay of Islamist and secularist forces in Pakistan in assisting or opposing US policy and action the War in Afghanistan. The likelihood of control and reigning in of Taliban through ISI will be as a result of the interplays and scenarios that will be analyzed here..

**2. Specify the national "actors" involved.”**

There are three actors who have direct and realistic role in determining the alternative futures.

The actors are:

- the United States ,
- The Pakistan secular forces ,

- The Pakistan Islamic forces.

The reason Pakistan has been divided into two secular and Islamic forces is due to the fact that the real struggle in Pakistan and its past and future is embedded in this struggle. These forces are not just some ideological or political movements, The secular and Islamic forces are entrenched in every aspect of the Government, Army and even the idea of Pakistan.

The struggle for the idea of Pakistan has always been the main struggle for the idea of Pakistan. Pakistan was created because the Muslims argued that democracy in India at the outset of independence in 1947 will end up in abuse of power by Hindu majority over the Muslim minority.

Although the leaders of movements for creation of Pakistan all were secular Muslims like Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, They used Islamic slogans to agitate and build support for their idea of partition. Jinnah has been quoted as saying “So far as I have understood Islam, it does not advocate a democracy which would allow the majority of non-Muslims to decide the fate of the Muslims. We cannot accept a system of government in which the non-Muslims merely by numerical majority would rule and dominate us.”(Mughol, Aamir).

Jinnah and Liaquat Ali were not able to keep Pakistan a secular state. Pakistan has turned to the Islamist way of thinking increasingly since its creation in 1947. Islamic forces and Islamic ideology has become a central part of Pakistan’s geopolitical consideration and the Taliban and Al-Qaeda who is the target of the United States war on terror have found strong allies in Pakistan in Islamic forces.

These Islamic forces have increasingly become entrenched in all aspects of life inside and outside of the government of Pakistan. “framers of the new constitution led by Bhutto continued to play the religion card. The new constitution of Pakistan was full of Islamic content. General Zia Ul-Haq, who toppled Bhutto in 1977, further strengthened these Islamic provisions.... 1973 constitution declares Islam as the official state religion. Another constitutional obligation is that all laws shall accord with the injunctions of the Qur’an and Sunnah, i.e. teachings of Prophet Mohammed. The state also pledges “to enable the Muslims of Pakistan, individually and collectively, to order their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and basic concepts of Islam and to provide facilities whereby they may be enabled to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah.” (Mushtaq and Feffer)

Considering the strong presence of Islamic ideology and Islamic influences in Pakistan, the trends in the politics and policies of Pakistan government is different depending on which group is directing the policies and government. An Islamist influence will continue support of Taliban through ISI and will create problem for the United States goals in the region. On the other hand a secularist group will be helpful to the goals of United States in the region. This is the reason that in this study the two forces of secularist and Islamist are being considered as two separate national forces that will affect the alternative futures of Pakistan’s sincerity in becoming an ally of the United States in war against terrorism.

### **3. Perform an in-depth study of how each national actor perceives the issue in question.”**

#### **a-United States :**

United States is in the Afghanistan – Pakistan region due to the fact that the terrorist group of Al-Qaeda and its Taliban supporters are based there . United States has declared that they are there to eliminate the Al-Qaeda terrorist cells and by enabling a strong democratic Afghan government, prevent the creation of a governance vacuum that caused the creation of Taliban and free roaming of the Al Qaeda terrorists. The United States Goals in the war has evolved in the last 10 years from liberating women and establishing democracy to very modest goals for today. “Nobody thinks that Afghanistan is going to be a model Jeffersonian democracy,” President Obama said in a television interview that aired yesterday. “What we’re looking to do is difficult — very difficult — but it’s a fairly modest goal, which is: Don’t allow terrorists to operate from this region. Don’t allow them to create big training camps and to plan attacks against the US homeland with impunity,” Obama said in an interview broadcast by CBS’s “Sunday Morning.” (Gearan, Boston.com)

### **b-Pakistan Secular forces:**

Pakistan secular forces want an end to Talibanization and Islamic fundamentalism in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan secular forces want a guarantee of Pakistan territorial integrity from historical presumption about Indian expansionist ambitions. The Pakistan secular forces want to be part of the international community and democratic way of life.

### **c-Pakistan Islamic forces:**

View Islam as the ideology of Pakistan. Islamic forces believe that Afghanistan needs to be under Pakistan’s total influence. The Islamic forces in Pakistan believe they can achieve their

goals of controlling Afghanistan and opposing Indian expansionism can only be accomplished through Islamic allies like Afghan Taliban and other Islamic parties that have strong ties with Pakistan. Pakistan Islamic forces have long been organized and operated in Afghanistan, Kashmir and central Asian states.

#### **4. Specify all possible courses of action for each actor.**

##### **a- United States:**

1. United States is committed and fights for total defeat of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda Terrorists and their Islamic supporters in Pakistan and in the region. (**Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist**)
2. United States makes a deal with the Pakistan Secular forces in return to some guarantees in preventing Terrorists to be able to attack the United States. ( **Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces**)

##### **b-Pakistan Secular forces:**

1. Sides with the US and works for total defeat of Islamist forces in Pakistan and Taliban and Al-Qaeda. (**Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban**)
2. works for a compromise to facilitate withdraw of the United States. (**Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures**)

##### **c-Pakistan Islamist Forces:**

1. Totally opposition to the United States and seek the total defeat of United States goals in the region. (**committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces**)
2. Accepts a compromise through secular forces to facilitate Us departure. (**accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw**)

**5. Determine the major scenarios within which you compare the alternate futures.**

**Scenario A:**

United States will continue to apply full military , political and monetary pressure to make the Pakistan Secular forces dominant and defeat Islamists and with them totally defeat the Taliban and other terrorists in Pakistan and in the area.

**Scenario B:**

United states is not able to continue a sustained presence in the area and makes a compromise with the secular forces in Pakistan who will make a deal with the Islamists and facilitate United States withdraw from the area by providing guarantees to the United States that the area will not be used as a staging ground of future terrorist attacks against the United States.

**Scenario C:**

Pakistani Islamists and secular forces come together and fully support Taliban and stop any cooperation with the United States for a goal of total defeat of the United States and its departure from the area.

**“6. Calculate the total number of permutations of possible "alternate futures" for each scenario.**

“The general formula for computing the number of alternate futures is:

$$X^Y=Z$$

Where X equals the number of courses of action open to each actor, and y equals the number of national actors involved (assuming each actor has the same number of courses of action open to it), Z equals the total number of alternate futures to be compared.” (Lockwood)

Based on the Lockwood formula above for the purpose of this research the calculation is as follows:

Scenario A (Total Defeat of Islamist and Taliban ):  $2^3 = 8$

Scenario B (Compromise for a withdraw):  $2^3 = 8$

Scenario C (Total defeat of United States):  $2^3 = 8$

***“7. Perform a "pairwise comparison" of all alternate futures within the scenario to determine their relative probability.***

“The formula for the number of pairwise comparison is:

$$X = \frac{n(n-1)}{2} \text{ ,}$$

Total number of votes  $8(8-1)/2 = 28$  total votes

### Scenario A

Alternative Futures	United States Action	Secular forces of Pakistan	Islamist forces of Pakistan	Votes
1	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	6
2	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	3
3	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	7
4	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	5
5	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	2
6	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	0
7	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	1
8	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	4

### Scenario B

Alternative Futures	United States Action	Secular forces of Pakistan	Islamist forces of Pakistan	Votes
1	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	6
2	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	7
3	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	5
4	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	3
5	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	2
6	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	0
7	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	1
8	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	4

## Scenario C

Alternative Futures	United States Action	Secular forces of Pakistan	Islamist forces of Pakistan	Votes
1	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	2
2	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	4
3	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	7
4	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	6
5	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	2
6	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	0
7	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	4
8	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	3

**“8. Rank the alternate futures for each scenario from highest relative probability to the lowest based on the number of "votes" received.”**

Based on the above analysis and the way the war on terrorism has progressed in that last 9 years, at this juncture **Scenario A** looks very unlikely. The continued American human life costs, huge financial burden and domestic and international negative public opinion are the reasons that **Scenario A** gets the lowest vote. On the other hand **Scenario C** is unlikely as well. The unlikely possibility of **Scenario C** is due to the fact that the United States will never accept defeat and leave the area without any plan and negotiations that guarantees achievements of minimum of its goals. United States cannot afford to be seen as defeated by the Islamists and terrorist who had started the aggression by attacking United States on September 11<sup>th</sup> of 2001 killing thousands of innocent American citizens and had attacked American way of life and freedom and democracy. That is why the **Scenario C** has received the second less votes in the Lamp analysis above. The most likely scenario and the one that has received most of the likely votes is **Scenario B**. Based on **Scenario B** United States will accept a guarantee that Islamists and secularist forces in Pakistan guarantee that they will not allow that the area will not become a hotbed of Terrorist activities against the United States. To demonstrate the above predictive analysis and conclusions, The four possibilities that have received the most votes is analyzed and examined bellow:

## Scenario B

Alternative Futures	United States Action	Secular forces of Pakistan	Islamist forces of Pakistan	Votes
2	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	7
1	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	6
3	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	5
8	<b>Total defeat of Taliban and Islamist</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	4
4	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	3
5	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Works for a compromise with Islamists to facilitate US forces departures</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	2
7	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>accepts a compromised deal for US forces to withdraw</b>	1
6	<b>Accepts a compromised deal to withdraw forces</b>	<b>Sides with US for Total defeat of Islamists and Taliban</b>	<b>committed to Total defeat and forcing the Withdraw of US forces</b>	0

According to the above analysis the Alternative future (AF) 2 received the most votes with seven votes, followed by (AF) 1 with six votes, (AF) 3 with five votes, and (AF) 8 with four votes.

**9. Assuming each future occurs, analyze each alternate future in terms of its consequences for the issue in question.**

If the United States commits to the total defeat of Taliban and its Islamists supporters in Pakistan and in these ventures has the full support of the secular forces in Pakistan, what will be the consequences of such a strong and full commitment and effort?

**Alternative Future2**

According to this possible future (alternative future) United States presses forward by attacking the Taliban insurgents and their Islamist supporters in Pakistan. In this possible future the Pakistan secularists side with the United States and together they force the Islamists forces in Pakistan to accept a compromise defeat and by reigning in the Taliban and offers guarantees of refraining from future assistance. A secular dominated Pakistan government is installed. The ISI is brought under control. A strong Afghan government is in placed and it receives guarantees of non interferences from Pakistan ISI and government. Mutual respect and trust and cooperation's between those two governments secure the area and will guarantee that there would be no power vacuum left for Islamists and Al-Qaeda to use the area against the people of the regions and the west.

**Alternative Future 1**

According to this possible future (alternative future) United States presses forward by attacking the Taliban insurgents and their Islamist supporters in Pakistan to force a total defeat of them. In this possible future the Pakistan secularists totally side with the United States and together they force the defeat of Islamists forces in Pakistan. A strong secular

dominated Pakistan government is established. Concrete guarantees of refraining from exporting Islamic extremism by the Islamist and ISI is provided by the Pakistan government. A strong Afghan government is in place and guaranteed. Mutual respect and trust and cooperation's between those two governments secure the area and will guarantee that there would be no power vacuum left for Islamists and Al-Qaeda to use the areas against the people of the regions and the west.

### **Alternative Future 3**

According to this Alternative future theory, United States is fully committed to destroy Al-Qaeda and Taliban and its supporters from the region, however, she does not have the total support of the Pakistan governments specially the secularists. The Secularists in Pakistan Government are aligned with the Islamist due to their geopolitical reasons and fear of the Indian influences and fear of a strong Afghan Government. In this situation the Islamists in the Pakistan Government and the ISI are in full control and their calculations give them the belief that they can offer a deal to the United States in the Afghanistan area. The deal is offered through the secularists is a compromise deal for withdrawal of the United States forces. A weak Afghan government is accepted to include elements of the Taliban and guarantees the Geopolitical concerns of Pakistan. In return The United States will receive some kind of vague guarantees for reigning in International terrorism in the area.

### **Alternative Future 8**

According to this Alternative future theory, United States is fully committed to destroy Al-Qaeda and Taliban and its supporters from the region, however, she does not have the total support of the Pakistan governments. The Secularists in Pakistan Government are weak or they

are aligned with the Islamist due to their geopolitical reasons and fear of the Indian influences and fear of a strong Afghan Government. In this situation the Islamists in the Pakistan Government and the ISI are in full control and their calculations give them the belief that they can defeat the United States in the Afghanistan area. The secularist can only mediate and try to propose a secure withdraw of US forces. There is no guarantee of the survival of Afghan Government in its present shape and the southern area of Afghanistan will turn under the Control of Taliban and through them under the control of ISI and Pakistan government and Islamists forces. United States will gradually move to the northern are of Afghanistan before final with draw and the power of a weak Afghan government will be limited in the north.

**10. Determine the "focal events" that must occur in our present in order to bring about a given alternate future.**

**Alternative Future2**

- United States Goals of ridding the area of Islamic terrorism and building strong democracy is clearly explained and stated.
- United States Congress and Public fully support full defeat of Islamist and support long-haul US engagement in the area.
- Secularist Forces in Pakistan government stand up for democracy and fully oppose the Islamic fundamentalism and Terrorism and fully support the United States.
- Pakistan public opposes the Islamic fundamentalists and Terrorist and stand up in Support of Secularists inn Pakistan government and support democracy and US presences for support of Democracy.

### **Alternative Future 1**

- United States Goals of ridding the area of Islamic terrorism and building strong democracy is stated but it is not clearly explained.
- United States Congress and Public fully support full defeat of Islamist and support long-haul US engagement in the area.
- The Secularists support the United States but are becoming weaker and lose power in the government of Pakistan
- Pakistan Public is supporting the Islam. and Islamists are increasing their hold in power in the Pakistan Government.

### **Alternative Future 3**

- United States Goals are stated as defeat of the Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Defeat of Taliban in Afghanistan, building democracy and long-term commitment is not mentioned.
- United States Congress and Public are opposing the war and US commitment in increasing numbers.
- Pakistan Secularists are weak and side with the Islamists and starts offering compromise, face saving deals to the US.
- Pakistan Islamists are in total control of the government and enjoy full support of public and the secularists.

### **Alternative Future 8**

- United States provides strict withdraw timetable of forces from the region and entertains ideas of power sharing of Afghan government with the Taliban and weak Afghan central government and the fact that the USS presence in the area is not forever.
- United Sates Congress and Public are strongly and clearly oppose the war and presence of US forces in Afghanistan in strong numbers.
- Pakistan Secularists fully aligned with the Islamists in the Pakistan government.
- Islamists have total control of the Pakistan Government and enjoy strong support from the Pakistan public.

## **11. Develop indicators for the focal events.**

### **Alternative Future2**

- US Government Continues the stated Policy of start of withdraws of forces in 2011.
- US Government increases the training and transfer of responsibility to the Afghan forces.
- US Government states that regional trust and cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan is the Guarantee for future of these countries.
- US Congress and Public are concerned about the War in Afghanistan but do not vocally oppose the war efforts there.
- US government increases assistances to support secularists inn Pakistan.
- Secularists increase their grip in Power and have the backing of Pakistan public.
- US government is able to force compromise on the Islamists and guarantees survival of Afghan government and secularists in Pakistan.

### **Alternative Future1**

- US government increases troops in Afghanistan and fully supports the COIN operation of General Patreause.
- US Congress and Public fully and strongly support the war effort and long term US commitment in Afghanistan.
- US Government reaffirms strong commitments to long-term engagement in Afghanistan.
- US government strongly reaffirms its commitments to women right, human right and democracy in Afghanistan.
- US Government issues strong warning to Pakistan Government and Islamists and reaffirms its commitment to defeat of Taliban and Al-Qaeda.
- US government increases the drone attacks and targeting of Al-Qaeda and Taliban elements inside Pakistan.

- Secularists have total grip on power in Pakistan and start fully supporting United States in the War against terrorism.
- Islamists are marginalized and ISI is completely revamped and Islamists are fired from the ISI.
- Pakistan and India and Afghanistan, start cooperating with each other under the guidance of the United States.

### **Alternative Future 3**

- US Government announces re-affirmation of start of withdraw of its forces in 2011.
- US Government request that Afghan forces should step up and take responsibility in the war fighting.
- US Government increases the speed of transfer of power to Afghan forces.
- US Government states that Pakistan sovereignty and interests need to be respected.
- US government states that the goals of the war was defeat of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan not nation building.
- US Congress and public increases criticizing the American presence and commitments in Afghanistan.
- Pakistan secularists express geopolitical concerns in the region and align with the Islamists.
- Pakistan secularists lobby for an American withdraw from the region.

### **Alternative Future8**

- US Government announces unilateral final withdraw of forces from Afghanistan.
- US government states that Afghanistan never had a strong national Government and US is not in the business of nation building.
- US government announces that Afghan people decide which form of government they want.
- US Government states Pakistan Government can guarantee security of the border area and the US is supporting them.

- US government does not oppose Afghan Government of Power sharing with Taliban.
- US Congress officially and overwhelmingly passes resolutions cutting funding and forcing US forces withdraw from the area.
- Pakistan Secularists strongly oppose Indian presence in Afghanistan and express Geopolitical concerns.
- Pakistan Islamists increase assistance to the Taliban who in turn increase attacks on Afghan government forces and the United States Forces.

**State the potential of a given alternate future to "transpose" into another alternate future.**

It is possible that some of the above discussed alternative futures “transpose” in to one another. Some of these possibilities are discussed as follows:

**Scenario A:**

United States Fully commits to the War efforts and supports Secularists in Pakistan and aims in defeating the Islamists, Secularists are siding with the United States, however, there is a military coup and Islamists gain full control of the Pakistan government and there is an Islamic fundamentalist nuclear power comes in to play. In that case the full commitment of United States and full support of the Secularists for the United States will not have the discussed results as stated above.

**Scenario B:**

While there is agreement in US forces withdraw and guarantee for the area not being used for the future terrorist attacks, there is a change in the US government in the US

Government in 2012 and the New Presidents re-commits the United States and supports US involvement in the area and full defeat of the Islamists in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

### **Scenario C:**

While The Islamists and Secular forces have joined together and the United States is in the process of withdrawing its forces, as a last ditch effort the CCIIA assists elements in the secular and Islamic forces to mount a coup and a United States friendly government comes in to power in Pakistan and starts full cooperation.

### ***Conclusion:***

The actions that will take place in the region might very well be a mix of all three scenarios that have been discussed above. The United States will continue to press with a full force to complete the defeat of Islamists in the area, building democratic, strong and cooperative governments in Afghan and Pakistan as means to prevent the repeat of the past terrorist actions of using the area as a launching pad of attacks against the United States and the west. The interplay of Islamic and secular forces in Pakistan and its geopolitical concerns along with the US domestic situation (public opinion, congressional politics) are the determining factors for occurrence of any of the predictive alternatives or a mix of them.

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