



Sociology & Cultural Research Review (SCRR)
Available Online: <https://scrrjournal.com>
Print ISSN: [3007-3103](#) Online ISSN: [3007-3111](#)
Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](#)



Strategic Partner or Self-Serving State: Pakistan's Engagement in the War on Terrorism

Dr. Shumaila Rafiq

Lecturer, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

Dr. Ramzan Shahid

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

Dr. Iftikhar Ahmad

Assistant Professor, department of International Relations, University of Management and Technology Sialkot

ABSTRACT

September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks were one of the most tragic incidents in the history of the United States that claimed close to three thousand lives and caused widespread economic devastation. It was an international outrage that the world was outraged over the incident and its condemnation was rampant across states in the entire globe, including the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation members. Shortly after the attacks, the U.S officials and media passed the blame on the shoulder of Al-Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden. In reaction, the United Nations Security Council has approved various resolutions encouraging the world to act in the war against terrorism and bring those who commit it to justice. The United States also wanted to have the international backing in combating the menace of transnational terrorist networks. Given that Osama bin Laden was living in Afghanistan during the Taliban rule, Washington was demanding that the Taliban should surrender Osama bin Laden and destroy terrorist learning centers. In spite of the diplomatic moves by Pakistan and other nations to induce the leadership of the Taliban to surrender, the demands were not heeded. The Taliban wanted to be shown evidence of the involvement of bin Laden before acting. The collapse of the negotiations, coupled with the mounting pressure in the United States of America to act with decisiveness, eventually culminated into the efforts to plan a military intervention in Afghanistan to attack Al-Qaeda and the Taliban regime.

Keywords: *September 11 Attacks, Al-Qaeda, Taliban Regime, War on Terror, United Nations Resolutions, US Foreign Policy.*

Introduction

The September 11 devastating terrorist attacks in the United States of America were one of the most tragic incidents in the history of USA in which about three thousand people were killed and material losses reaches to approximately over hundred billion dollars (Qazi 2001). That sad news had deep and profound effects on humanity and shocked tremendously to the whole world. Every member state of United Nation and O.I.C condemned that barbaric terrorist attacks in the United States and considered it against humanity.

Immediately after these attacks US media analyst politician and policy makers blamed Al-Qaida for this incident. They believe that only Al-Qaida and her leader Osama bin Laden do this to them, So Al-Qaida should be punished. U.S Media stated that Al-Qaida was involved in bombing of embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and had hand in other small attacks on American Installations

and also consider US their enemy, So Al-Qaeda terrorists were involved in these attacks. US administration should treat them with iron hand (Sohrab and Choudhry 2012).

United Nation Security Council passed three resolutions in response to these attacks. First resolution No. 1368 passed on September 12, 2001. Second resolution No. 1373 was passed on September 28, 2001 and third resolutions No.1377 was passed on 28, 2001 (Sohrab and Choudhry 2012). In these resolutions calling all member of states to work together urgently to come to the justice to the terrorists and their organizers, sponsors, trainers and facilitators and would be make accountable who are supporting and harboring terrorists. Similar kind of resolutions were also passed in General Assembly to stress the member UNO to make combined effort to eradicate terrorism from the world and also stress them to freeze all the asset of terrorist who were involved in that attack (Musharraf Attempts a Tightrope Walk 2001).

After 9/11, US urged world community to support her in dealing with terrorism. Bush administration was aware about getting the cooperation of world community. They believed that without cooperation of world community it is not possible to eradicate terrorism. This was not a conventional attack from any state but from terrorist organization in the form of al-Qaeda which can be anywhere in the world. US administration effectively convinced the world community to view terrorism as biggest and common threat for global security. So cooperation and common effort is required to eradicate terrorism.

Osama bin Laden who was living as a guest in Afghanistan at that time under Taliban regime. This was the second time when Afghanistan came into the world focus after soviet war. Afghanistan became safe haven for Osama bin laden and al-Qaeda given. USA gave an Ultimatum to Taliban to hand over Osama bin laden and other members of Al-Qaeda to US or ready for dreadful result (Yusafzai and Iqbal 2011).

President Bush in his speech to the nation gave five demands to Taliban.

- Hand over Osama bin laden and al-Qaeda members to United States.
- Immediately close all terrorist training camps in Afghanistan.
- Give access to US and international authorities to verify the eliminating all terrorist camps all over Afghanistan.
- Taliban should change their policies and release all foreigners.
- US stress to protect all foreign aid workers (H. Malik 2008).

Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader at that time rejected all those demands and refused to hand over Bin Laden to US at any cost.

In this scenario Pakistan role become, more important as Pakistan was one of those countries who had good relation with Taliban often criticized for these relations. Pakistan tried to convince Taliban for these demands and put her stress to hand over bin laden to them but all went unsuccessful.

All other countries including Muslim countries especially Saudi Arabia which had strong relation with Taliban before 9/11 also failed to convince them to fulfill US demands. Taliban willing to handover Osama bin laden if United States would provide them authentic proofs of involvement of bin Laden in 9/11 incident.

Michael Malinowski a State Department official involved in the talks with Taliban, in his interview to the Foreign Policy magazine told that,

"We would say to Taliban, give up Osama Bin Laden', and they would reply, 'No.... Show us the evidence'" a request US officials supposed to be unreasonable (Hammond 2010).

The documents further showed that the Taliban made repeated offers to hand over the Al-Qaeda leader Osama to the US and Pakistan continued to try to convince the Americans to accept the offers. But US administration didn't want to compromise and not in a mood to show any compromise (Secret papers made public: Taliban offered to hand over Osama to US 2010).

General Mahmood ISI chief of that time, tried to convince US department that Taliban leadership is relatively ready to show flexibility they would lead bin laden to justice in their own Islamic courts comprising Islamic religious scholars if United States provide evidence regarding that incident. But trail never took place all gone in vain (Z. Hussain 2007).

US was in great anger and felt challenged the supremacy of super power. US started planning of invading Afghanistan by launching military operation against Al-Qaeda and Taliban to punish them.

Pakistan's Involves in the War on Terrorism

The incident of 9/11 made the terrorism a global threat for world security. Within twenty-four hours United Nation Security council passed a resolution against terrorism authorizing the use of force to eliminate Terrorism. US wanted to punish al-Qaeda terrorists and their facilitators Taliban in Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a land locked country. It was really difficult to attack Afghanistan without being helped from neighboring countries. US needed air bases, air space and logistic support to conduct military operation in Afghanistan from neighboring countries. US administration was negotiating with Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and also with India. But desperately wanted Pakistan's help and Support. Because State department was planning to use Indian Ocean route for effective attack. Most of warhead including heavy equipment, supply, and troops came from ships through Indian Ocean. Pakistan and Iran were two countries bordered with Afghanistan and Indian Ocean. Iran always opposes American so not considered reliable partner. Pakistan was only the other country that bordered with Afghanistan and Indian Ocean (Collins 2008).

Geographical location of Pakistan made her important for Americans. If America want to attack Afghanistan Pakistan was strategically a best place for her to launch attack. Pakistan is near to sea and had about 2250Km border with Afghanistan (Brecher & Wilkenfeld 1997, p. 147). On other hand Pakistan had good relations with Taliban infect Pakistan was in a few countries who recognized Taliban government and also had diplomatic relation with Afghanistan under Taliban regime. Pakistan supported Taliban as for its strategic depth against India .Pakistan often criticized in world politics for this. But now Pakistan had to face immense challenges and had to take tough decisions in coming days.

On a very next day to that incident September 12, 2001 United States Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage arranged emergency meeting with Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) chief Lieutenant General Mahmood Ahmed in Washington (at that time he was on official visit invited by CIA chief for routine consultations with Officials) with a message from US administration he stated during the high level briefing that

"You have to make it clear either you are one hundred percent with us or one hundred percent against us in black and white – there is NO grey area," (Z. Hussain 2007) (H. Abbas 2005).

General Mahmood who was reflected to be second influential man after General Musharraf at that time. He was not a popular man amongst his fellow officials because of his egoistic, over ambitious and cruel behavior (Z. Hussain 2007). He was again called for meeting on 13 September, General Mahmood and Ambassador to US from Pakistan Maleeha Lodhi and Zamir Akram, a

senior official at the Embassy reached at the US State Department at 10 am. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage handed him a paper written on demands from US administration and said this is not negotiable. General Mahmood looked at paper and hand it over to ambassador. General Mahmood who was very much known for pro-Taliban replied before ambassador started reading the paper *'They are all acceptable to us.'* This was very surprising and thunderstruck for the Americans. These were really potent words American wishing to hear. Relived Armitage said General Mahmood

"Don't you want to discuss this with your President?" he asked. 'I know the President's mind his response will be the same,' replied General Mahmood (Ahmed 2010) (Z. Hussain 2007).

Similarly on September 13, 2001 US ambassador to Pakistan Wendy Chamberlain met with General Pervez Musharraf at Islamabad and gave him same list of demand know as (non-paper) to cooperate with US and Allied Forces went as:

1. Stop al-Qaeda operatives on Pakistan border, Stop arms transfer and all kind of logistic support to Osama bin laden through Pakistan.
2. Pakistan should provide air space for blanket over flight and Landing rights to US Planes to conduct operation.
3. Access to sea port, air bases, territorial strategic location and borders.
4. Pakistan should provide immediate Intelligence information about al-Qaeda to US.
5. Stamp down all domestic elements of support for terrorism against US and allied forces.
6. Cut off all kind of fuel supply to the Taliban and stop Pakistanis to going to Afghanistan to join Taliban.
7. Break diplomatic relations with Taliban and assist US to destroy al-Qaeda (Ahmed 2010).

The nature of demands clearly shown that US administration wanted complete cooperation from Pakistan, neutrality would not acceptable to her. In other words, they were forcing Pakistan for corporation. It became a situation do or die for Pakistan.

US administration let Pakistan to reach on a decision within twenty-four hours whether Pakistan would be American side or not in war against terrorism (Mushraff 2006).

General Musharraf after consulting with few officials decided to accept all the US demands and gave a green signal to US administration. In his statement to US department, he was committed to provide his full support and full resources to facilitate US and allied forces against terrorism and provide help to locate and punish them who were involved in that tragic incident.

According to media reports on 13th of September 2001 General Musharraf gave green signal to US administration that Pakistan would be ready to cooperation with US and international collation forces against terrorism. It was also surprising for US administration that General Musharraf accepted all the demands they were expecting that Pakistan will not easily accept because one or two of these were really strict demands from USA (Shah and Riaz, September 11, 2001 and Change in Pakistan's Foreign Policy 2013). Whereas General Musharraf writes in his book we could not accepted all demands that was a propaganda we offered only narrow flight corridor that was far away from sensitive areas. He further wrote how can we allow to use our full air space to United States and coalition forces for blanket over flight without exposing our assets? Neither we gave access to any navel port nor fighter air craft bases. We only offered Shamsi and Jacobabad bases for logistic support only. He also rejected the impression of giving bases near Afghan border he wrote in his book we could not allow to use strategic bases near Afghan border and we gave no approval of blanket permission any time (Mushraff 2006, 235).

General Musharraf appeared on national television on 19 September 2001 in which he wants to take nation in confidence on the issue of cooperation with USA. He wanted to explain the circumstances under which he took the decision to become part of cooperation. He was looking anxious and highly in defensive mood. In his address to the nation Musharraf said "The choice is between saving Pakistan or the Taliban and I am opting for Pakistan. Pakistan comes first everything else come later" He also told the nation that Pakistan is going through very critical stage of history after 1971, our Armed forces are on red alert and ready for "do and die" mission. He also told the nation how hard he tried to defend Taliban; he also takes nation in confidence to show solidarity and unity regarding Osama Hunt Operation. General Musharraf defended his decision to join US by saying that we don't know what the intentions of USA in Afghanistan we are going with international community and United Nations Security Council and general assembly resolutions. He further told the nation whatever their government would take decision would be in the best of Pakistan's national interest (Riaz and Shah 2013).

Only a day later in a joint session of congress President G.W Bush gave a historical statement "Every Nation, in every region now has to make a decision. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists" (Rahman 2003).

It clearly reviles that Pakistan had a great threat from US. If Pakistan would not accept their demands, they may treat Pakistan as Taliban or may be US President wanted to make sure Pakistan genuine cooperation.

Pakistan took U-turn on its Afghan policy and become front line ally in war on terrorism. Pakistan provided all possible support to US led allied forces including air space, Landing rights, navel port, air bases, territorial strategic location near Afghan borders. Pakistan also provided intelligence sharing, fuel to allied forces. Most of the initial logistic support and fuel for jets was provided without any agreement or fee to demonstrate Pakistan full support to allied forces (C. Fair, The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India 2004).

Though it was not a popular decision in Pakistan. Most of religious, political parties and media criticized this decision. Common Pakistani also felt cooperation in the war on Muslim neighboring country was a wrong policy of government.

Pakistan's Approach towards The War on terrorism

After US demand it was obvious that neutrality was not acceptable to Americans so basically Pakistan was left with only two options, first stayed with her current Afghan policy and second to join US led international collation against terrorism. Infact that was a very critical situation for Pakistan as its foreign policy was at cross roads and it had to choose the path which best to fulfil their national interest. Pakistan geographical location and Pro Afghanistan Policy in general and Pro-Taliban policy in particularly during the period of 1996 to 2001 once again bring Pakistan to this situation. Pakistan's Afghan policy before 9/11 was in best interest of Pakistan policy makers strongly believed that Afghanistan provides strategic depth to Pakistan against India. Stable and friendly Afghanistan is always favors in Pakistan's national interest. Geographical factor and security concerns remained two key factors for the policy makers of Pakistan. Indian threat always contributed as a dominated factor in the formulation of foreign policy of Pakistan.

These twenty-four hours were very important for Pakistan. US administration was pressurizing and forcing Musharraf to join war on terror. General Musharraf was at Karachi when 9/11 incident took place. ISI chief General Mahmood who was at Washington on official visit informed General Musharraf through phone call about incident and informed him about American

administration expectation to Pakistan. General Musharraf officially condemned this act of terrorism. Being aware about US administration plans to take revenge to Al-Qaeda and Taliban, Musharraf was clear that he would have to deal with the situation in upcoming days. He came back to Islamabad and met with his cabinet and national security team. The agenda of meeting was to decide Pakistan's future policy after 9/11 about joining the collision which would be the best option in national interest.

After that formal meeting crop commander meeting was held on 14th September 2001 at the army's General Headquarters (GHQ) in which nine crop commanders, senior staff officer including chiefs of ISI and MI were in attendance. The task was to decide Pakistan position regarding US demands (Ahmed, General Musharraf's Taliban Policy 1999-2008 2010).

General Musharraf commendably convinced his handpicked civilian cabinet but he found it difficult when he came to military commanders. There was complete division over the matter. Some members of this meeting were not in favor of joining US war on terror in Afghanistan. Lt. General Muzaffar Usmani, Deputy Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Jamshed Gulzar Kiani Core Commander Rawalpindi, and Lt.-General Mohammed Aziz Core Commander Lahore were among those who were not in favor to accept US demands and play any kind of role in war against terrorism in Afghanistan. Infact in this tense situation ISI chief who signed on dotted line in Washington earlier was also unable to speak in favor of providing full support to US in the war on Afghanistan (Z. Hussain, Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam 2007).

This was difficult situation for Pakistan. As at one hand, it had to avoid to US policy opposition and at other secure its national interest. It urged to adapt realistic approach to deal with the challenging situation. Pakistan had to make a strategy that would minimize risk to its national security and could safeguard strategic interest.

Pakistan was considered main supporter of Taliban Regime. If we go back in the history USSR war against Afghanistan in which US and western states supported Afghan Mujahedeen against Soviet Union and provided all kinds of military, and material support to defeat soviet army. After completing the objectives America completely drawn from the scenario and left Afghanistan and Pakistan to their own fate. In this situation, Pakistan has to remain in a region. Historically Pakistan had not good relations with India. It faced Indian military threat many times in the past. As Pakistan could not afford enmity with any neighboring country. So, it always wants peaceful stable and friendly relation with Afghanistan. Pakistan can only develop economic relations to enhance the trade with central Asian states if it was able to make good relations with Afghanistan. Peaceful and friendly Afghanistan can also provide Strategic depth to Pakistan in case of Indian aggression.

In this scenario if Pakistan accepts US demands to cooperate in war on terrorism could harm Pakistan national interest and ditched long-term policy to support Taliban regime without any concrete incentive in return. In other words, USA was asking for cooperation in war against country, which had good friendly relations with it. In fact, Pakistan was one of those countries, which had diplomatic relations with Afghanistan. Pakistan was also providing all kind of military, political and financial help to Taliban. Pakistani policy makers were strongly believed that friendly Afghanistan can add power to Pakistan in a regional politics and also can provide strategic depth to Pakistan against India. (Shah and Riaz, September 11, 2001 and Change in Pakistan's Foreign Policy 2013)

Pakistan's rival India already offered full support and cooperation to USA in the case of war on Afghanistan and willing to provide full military support to USA, same stance was taken by Russia and other central Asian states. If Pakistan did not accept US demands, its might be bracket with Taliban. In worst case might be declare as Terrorist state. In both cases, its national security interest would be harmed badly.

US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage already warned Pakistani administration that they have to choose whether they were with America or with terrorists. If they chose second option then they should ready to be bomb back to Stone Age. This statement was an ultimatum for Pakistan and direct security threat for Pakistan (Mushraff 2006).

Indian prime minister Vajpayee addressed to the nation after three days of 9/11 incident in which he tried to associate Kashmir freedom movement with terrorism supported by Pakistan, he also demanded US to stop all kind of economic aid to those countries who supported terrorism or terrorist groups. He tried to convince international community that Pakistan was staunch supporter and premotor of terrorism and was biggest threat to world security should be declare as terrorist state (Pirzada 2001).

Indian intelligence agency (RAW) tried to convince CIA that Pakistani terrorist is planning to attack white house and it was also involved in 9/11 attack. If US accepts Indian offers of cooperation, India was given a free hand against Pakistan. It would be prime opportunity for India to destroy Pakistan. India might be tempted to be offensive against Pakistan. Alternatively, in other case US could also be directly attack Pakistan. Pakistan had not enough military power to deal with US and Indian aggression at a time. Security of our nuclear weapons were also jeopardized.

More over at that time Pakistan was also facing varies kind of economic sanctions due to atomic tests in 1998 and military rule in country. Western powers had concerns about Pakistan on many issues. So, Pakistan position was diplomatically very week. Pakistan was not in position to handle international pressure in a positive way and convince western states in her favor.

Furthermore, General Musharraf was also not very comfortable with Taliban leadership due to their hardline religious ideology. Musharraf was liberal and secular minded person. He was just caring relations the because of Previous policy drawn by policy makers in best of its interest to achieve long-term goal. It is true that Pakistan played a key role in Afghan politics and Taliban came into power because of Pakistan support.

When Taliban established themselves in Afghanistan, they were not prepared to listen Pakistan's patron any more. International impression was created that Pakistan had very strong influence upon Taliban government. Nevertheless, the reality was that Pakistan had not much influence as westerners might be thought on Taliban. On many issues Taliban openly rejected its requests e.g. in Mach 2001 Pakistan Government requested Taliban on the issue of statue of Buddha of Bamiyan, Pakistan government appealed and tried hard to convince not to destroy statues but Mullah Umar clearly rejected the request.

In these circumstances, Pakistan was going through very high-risk position. One wrong move can harm its strategic interest in the region. National security of Pakistan was at stack. If Pakistan would not accepted cooperate with coalition might be Isolated. Alternatively, in worst case scenario America could be directly attacked Pakistan. As General Pervez Musharraf wrote in his book "In the line of fire" after receiving US demands he made a military style Analysis of his options soon he realizes that our military strength and capabilities compared with America was

limited in every department including numbers, conventional weapons, technology etc. And he also understands that Pakistan do not have capacity to sustain economy in the face of an attack. He was thinking that it was not in our national interest to destroy our self for the Taliban (Mushraff 2006).

Musharraf was aware of the situation; his ISI chief already accepted US demands in Washington and showed readiness for the cooperation. All these factors forced Pakistan to change its foreign policy. Pakistan foreign Policy took a U-turn and Pakistan Become frontline state in war on terrorism. It accepted all the demands and became ready for cooperation with international community. General Musharraf gave a green signal to USA. In his statement to US department of defense, he was committed to provide his full support and resources to facilitate US and allied forces against terrorism and would provide help to locate and punish them who were involved in that tragic incident.

General Musharraf was facing immense pressure both domestically and internationally. Bush administration was increasing pressure on him. While talking to VIP gathering including retired Generals, Diplomats, and senior politician in Islamabad on 18 September a day before his address to nation, he argued that the decision to support USA was taken under acute pressure, and fear of direct military action by coalition of India, Israel, and US forces against Pakistan (H. Abbas 2005).

It was clear now that Pakistan accepted US demands, and took U-turn on its Afghan policy. Now Pakistan once again became ally of United States on its war on terror and was made ready for all kind of cooperation. Musharraf Government was willing to provide all kind of military support including logistic and intelligence support to allied forces.

Front line State

Before the incident of 9/11 western world particularly Americans envisioned Pakistan as a failed state due to many reason including its unstable political system, poor economic and social conditions, weak institutions and injustice. Lack of democracy in Pakistan was a main concern for western countries. Military ruler General Musharraf threw out an elected government of Nawaz Sharif in 1999. Which not only Spoil the name of Pakistan but also created bad image of Pakistan to international community. Pakistan was listed among the third world African countries due to dictatorship and unstable political system.

When Pakistan became nuclear power in 1998 by avoiding all the international pressure. It was significantly disliked by the USA. More over in 1999 Kargil war between Pakistan and India was also gave bad impression to international community. US interfered and played an important role to end this war. US administration blamed Pakistan for initiation of Kargil war and was really unhappy with Pakistan for its irrational behavior. Furthermore, at that time Pakistan was passing through a period in which it was facing varies kinds of economic sanctions due to atomic tests in 1998 and military rule in country.

Pakistan was one of those countries who had good relations with Taliban government. International impression was developed that Pakistan had strong influence upon Taliban Government. Taliban were highly condemned by international community due to their hardline policies. India was also propagating that Pakistan is promoting terrorism, jihadi groups trained by Pakistan were involved in terrorist's activities in Kashmir. International community had also serious concern about Pakistan's nuclear weapons security. But the incident of 9/11 changed the

whole scenario and turned the table for Pakistan. Pakistan's geographical location made her most important country.

US wanted successful operation against Al-Qaeda for which they were desperate for Pakistan's cooperation as without help from Pakistan they might be unable to achieved their targets successfully. Without logistic and Intelligence support from Pakistan all the efforts might be vanished. Washington was fully aware the ISI (intelligence services of Pakistan) its vast knowledge about Afghanistan complex situation and ground realities. Without Intelligence sharing it was almost impossible for allied forces to attack their targets accurately.

US administration adopted all possible ways for pressurizing Pakistan. US left no option for Pakistan to choose the path what US wanted for her. Pakistan took U-turn on its Afghan policy made her from failed state to front line state in the war against terrorism.

Pakistan's Role in War on Terrorism

Pakistani Government was ready to support U.S and allied forces to initiate operation against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan but on other side it also tried to convince American administration to provide Mullah Umar time to deal with Al-Qaeda issue. Pakistan also tried to convince Mullah Umar (Taliban leader) to hand over bin laden to US and stop all Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan. ISI chief General Mehmood arranged emergency visit to Kandhar on the advice of General Musharraf to met with Mullah Omar on September 17, 2001. He tried to convince Mullah Umer to hand over bin Laden to US to avoid conflict with them. But he failed to convince him.

Mullah Umer was not ready to hand over his guest to US authorities without any evidence. Although he showed flexibility yet he insisted that If Osama bin ladin did 9/11 attacks US should provide Proof and let his trail will be in an Islamic court according to sharia. But at that time Washington was not in mood to show any kind of flexibility and they were not willing to start any kind of negotiation. A few days later Pakistan once again send a delegation of religious scholars to convince Mullah Umar on Osama Issue. Unfortunately, all the struggle and efforts of Pakistan to solve the matter in peaceful manners gone in vain (Z. Hussain 2007).

Finally, US administration presented some evidence to General Musharraf on third of October 2001. Pakistan foreign office issued a statement on very next day that the evidence shown by USA regarding involvement of Al-Qaeda in 9/11 attacks was sufficient for Pakistan. Now Pakistan was ready to facilitate US and Allied forces. It was also ready for broken diplomatic relation with Afghanistan immediately but America wanted to continue diplomatic relation with Taliban government until operation were launched, American government did not want to give any alert signal to Taliban about attack. US assistant sectary of state communicated to Ambassador Maleah Lodhi to keep diplomatic channel open until invasion was completed. (Z. Hussain 2007) By the start of October allied forces were making final groundwork to launch attack on Afghanistan. Air bases, air space and Landing rights to US Planes was already provided by Pakistan. Access to sea port, territorial strategic location to borders and all kind of other logistic support was provided by Pakistan. Now Afghanistan once again was going under attack after Soviet attack. Most powerful country and super power of the world attacked Afghanistan on October 7, 2001.

General Musharraf Action after Decision

Pakistan had deep involvement in the internal politics of Afghanistan, Army and ISI had deep knowledge about the country and Taliban. When Pakistan changed its policy about Afghanistan,

CIA and ISI become Partner again for a new war. Now it had to play a role to undo militancy and Taliban government in Afghanistan, which was promoted by Pakistan for more than two decades. General Musharraf was fully aware of the situation and worried about reaction as an outcome of U-turn on Afghanistan policy. He was more worried about reaction against new policy within army. He decided to reshuffle in army to pursue the policy. He was determined to remove all officer to their positions whom worked with Taliban. He also did massive shuffle within ISI units who were active in building relations with Taliban.

General Musharraf was also planning to change key position on army high command and planning to appoint more liberal officers who could support his pro-western policy in a better way. He was determined to change faces in military junta to hold the central power and pursue his policy. He promoted Lieutenant General Muhammad Aziz to full ranked General and also appointed him as a Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee and Lieutenant General Muhammad Yousaf was also promoted as a full General to hold office as a Vice Chief of Army Staff. He also forced ISI chief Lieutenant General Mahmood to leave his position or to be ready for retirement. General Musharraf was not happy with ISI chief because he signed on dotted line upon the demands paper when he was at Washington without consultation with him. Infact General Musharraf didn't like at all to bypass him on such a serious issue (Z. Hussain 2007). Another officer Lieutenant General Muzaffar Usmani (Deputy COAS) who was not in favor of Musharraf policy also forced to retire from service. General Mushtaq and General Gulzar both were not in favor of Pakistan new unpleasant role also lost their posts and were sidelined quietly. Five out of nine appointments in military junta helped Musharraf to hold power and pursue his pro-west policy with new team. Now Musharraf and his new team was ready to play a new role (Reddy 2001).

Pakistan's Contribution in War on terrorism

Pakistan made major contributions to Global war on terrorism. GWOT initiated with US-led military Operation Enduring Freedom to eliminate Al-Qaeda and uproot Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Pakistan provided full military, logistic, and intelligence support to allied forces. It also granted permission to use air bases including landing rights and air space to NATO and ISAF forces. Pakistan also provided access to sea ports. Pakistan also shared intelligence information with allied forces regarding required targets. Pakistan broke down all kind of relation with Taliban and also broke diplomatic relation with Afghanistan. Later on, Pak army also deployed large number of troops to its western border with the aim to facilitate and to provide logistic support safe route to allied forces in Afghanistan. Pakistan contribution can be discussed in detail under the following hidings.

Provision of Air Space and Landing Rights

United State was demanding for Air space and landing rights to conduct operations in Afghanistan. Pakistani government granted permission to use its air space and landing rights to allied forces. According to press reports Pakistan permitted its two third air space to US and allied forces and also provided four Air bases near Afghan border including Pasni, Dalbadin, Shamsi (Kharan) and Jacobabad air base to allied forces (Zulifkar Ghuman 2006). Jacobabad air base is located in Sindh province of Pakistan. US was allowed to build hanger for fifty large planes and barracks for troop's involved in air coordination. Jacobabad air base is strategically suited to allied forces because this base is approximately 480 km south east of Kandahar and also near to sea port. Latter on this base was also used by US and ISAF for supply of equipment and surveillances via small planes to Afghanistan (C. Fair 2004, 28-32).

Another air base provided to US was Shamsi. This airbase is located in Washuk District of Baluchistan province near Gwadar port. This base was used jointly by United States Air force and CIA for conducting Air surveillances and gathering and sharing intelligence information to allied forces. Latter on the air base was also used for drone attacks in Afghanistan and Tribal areas of Pakistan. These two bases were used for Predator base camps. Other two bases Dalbadin and Pasni were also located in Baluchistan were also use for blanket over flight to Afghanistan. Pakistan also provided access to forward air bases near to Afghan border including Zhob and Kohat to allied forces (C. Fair 2004).

Pakistan Air force provided all possible logistic support to coalition forces. Pakistan not only provided her two third air space but also compromised on commercial air space. US air forced also allowed to install radars on three different basses to cover Pakistan whole air space. According to U.S. Central Command more than 57,000 attacks were camed through Pakistan territory by the Coalition forces (K. A. Kronstadt, Pakistan-U.S.Anti-Terrorism Cooperation 2003). Allied forces conducted Air operation successfully and clean a way to enter ground forces into Afghanistan. In short Pakistan played key role in success of operation Enduring Freedom. This was also admitted by the Americans according to Lieutenant General Michael Delong, USMC (Retired), and the then Deputy Commander of USCENTCOM.

“Pakistan’s support has been fundamental to our success in Operation Enduring Freedom.” (Lieutenant General Michael Delong 2004).

Logistics Support

Pakistan provided logistic support to coalition forces in war against terrorism. Pakistan not only provided Air bases but also allow coalition forces to use her sea ports. Its navy fully facilitated allied forces and provided all possible support to them. Pakistan offers its all-logistical reserve which can be used in emergency condition to allied forces. Pakistan provided 100,000-gallon fuel daily to coalition forces during the air airstrikes on Afghanistan for many weeks. Generally, this kind of assistance provided with mutual agreements between involved parties but it’s really important to note that Pakistan provided this assistance without any repayment agreement or mechanism. The country which had poor economic conditions and always had security threat from her neighbor sacrificing her reserve for coalition forces shows will to its commitments (C. Fair 2004).

Coalition forces were highly relied on Pakistan in term of logistic support since the operation Enduring Freedom had been started. Pakistan very actively provided logistic support to coalition forces. Logistic support included, storage, surveillance, maintenance, transport of all kind including personnel and conventional weapons. Logistic Support also include health facility, medical provision and water and food supply etc. Pakistan army offers technical assistance and also facilitates coalition forces for transporting logistic surveillance warheads, and technical apparatus to air bases. Later on, Pakistan also provided supply route to US and NATO forces to transport logistic goods, which is, continue till now.

Intelligence Sharing

Pakistan had vast Knowledge being a neighbor about complex situation of Afghanistan. US also demanded to share intelligence on Bin laden and his fellows and ISI should provide all information about Al-Qaeda network and other terrorist organizations linked with them also share intelligence with CIA including contacts, camps location, recent traveling and every minor-to-minor detail on Osama Bin Laden and assist to destroy Al-Qaeda. CIA had experience to work

with ISI during soviet Afghan war. They were aware of the capabilities of ISI. They were desperate for Pakistan cooperation. When Pakistan says yes to USA, CIA and ISI come together again.

Conclusion

Pakistan provided full technical assistance and shared intelligence with coalition forces including Al-Qaeda members transportation record, contacts, migration routes and Training camps in Afghanistan. Pakistan played a vital role in joint intelligence working with USA. ISI and CIA worked together to trace and track Al-Qaeda and Taliban leadership. Telephone tracing and satellite monitoring was a key feature in joint investigation which not only help to track Al-Qaeda camps but also helped to trace Al-Qaeda members in Afghanistan and Pakistan as well. Pakistan also gave access to its air bases and ports and allowed intelligence unit to work in Pakistan. Pakistan provided all kind of required information to intelligence unites and jointly worked with them (Gregory 2008).

FBI activity also observed in Karachi. Pakistan allowed allied forces joint intelligence department to setup operational faculty at Karachi Airport to check and monitor all the passengers (coming in or going out of country) for peacekeeping mission in Afghanistan (Rafique 2004).

References

- Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2005.
- Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror* . Washington: Pentagon Press, 2005.
- Akhund, Iqbal. *Trial and Error: The Advent and Eclipse of Benazir Bhutto*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Al Jazeera*. January 17, 2008.
- Dawn*. "Military Operation Zarb-e-Azb." June 16, 2015.
- Dawn News*. April 25, April 25, 2004.
- Dawn News*. January 18, 2006.
- Fair, C. Christine. "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: A New Look at the Militancy-Madrasah Connection." *Asia Policy*, Number 4 (July 2007), 2007.
- The Counterterrorism Coalition: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*. Pittsburgh: The RAND Corporation, 2004.
- Fair, C. Christine, and Seth G. Jones. "Pakistan's War Within." *academia*. January 2010. www.academia.edu/2881588/Pakistans_war_within.
- Fair, Christine. *The Counterterror Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*. Washington: RAND, 2004.
- Hussain, S.R. "War against terrorism, Pakistani perspective. ." *IPRI Journal*,, 2004.
- Hussain, Touqir. *U.S.-Pakistan Engagement :The War on Terrorism and Beyond*. Washington : United States Institute Of Peace, 2005.
- Hussain, Z. *Frontline Pakistan: The struggle with militant Islam*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 2007.
- Hussain, Zahid. *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*. New York:London: Published in 2007 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007.
- Jones, Seth G., and C. Christine Fair. "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan." *RAND Corporation NATIONAL SECURITY RESEARCH DIVISION*, 2010: 42-43.

- Khattak, Iqbal. "Deserted Town Shows Human Cost of Operation Zalzal." *Daily Times (Lahore)*, may 20, 2008.
- Malik, I. H. *The history of Pakistan*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2008.
- Mushraff, Pervez. *In the Line of Fire*. London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2006.
- Pirzada, M. "No Role of India." *The Frontier Post (Peshawar)*,, september 26, 2001: 05.
- "Press Release ISPR, November 20, 2008." n.d.
- Qazi, M. S. "Foreign Policy at Cross Road." *The Frontier Post (Peshawar)*,, october 1, 2001: 5.
- Rabbi, Fazal. "War against Terrorism and its Repercussions for Pakistan." *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXIII, No.2* , 2012.
- Rafique, Najam. "Pakistan – US relations since 9/11: Chronology of Events." *Islamabad Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)*, 2004.
- Reddy, B. M. "Pakistan predicament." *India's National Magazine, The Hindu*, October 27, 2001: 18.
- Roznama Jang* .april 7, 2006.
- "The Express Tribune." july 14, July 14, 2014.
- "The Express Tribune." june 14, June 14, 2015.
- "The Nation." june 21, 2015.
- The News* . "Colin I. Powell, remarks with Foreign Minister Mian Kursheed Mehmood Kasuri." march 19, 2004.
- The News*. "Musharraf Attempts a Tightrope Walk." september 18, 2001: 2.
- Yusafzai, and Hamid Iqbal. "The US Factor in Pak-Afghan Relation post 9/11." *Lambert Academic Publishing (LAP) gMB &Co.KG Germany* (Lambert Academic Publishing (LAP) gMB &Co.KG Germany), 2011.