Pakistan and Terrorism

Before and After 9/11

October 2003

Introduction

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- Is Pakistan really an ally?
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Pakistan Before 9/11

- Created, then sustained the Taliban during their rule in Afghanistan

- Created and supported large number of Al Qaeda-related terrorist groups

- Maintained extensive contacts with Al Qaeda

- Ran dozens of terrorist camps

Pakistan Before 9/11(contd.)

- Hosted thousands of madrassas and hundreds of thousands of jehadi graduates, many from all around the world
- Linked to numerous high profile international terrorist incidents in the last decade
- Acted as major conduit of terrorism funds around the world
- Proliferated nuclear weapons technology to North Korea, Iran and Saudi Arabia
- Top nuclear scientists had jehadi leanings and some interacted with Bin Laden

Pakistan as key US ally after 9/11

Based on:

1. Agreed to turn against the Taliban
2. Agreed to support the hunt for Al Qaeda
3. Agreed to move against terror groups, individuals and funds
4. Promised marginalization of jehadi elements
5. Promised tight control over nuclear assets
6. Allowed use of military bases

Is Pakistan really an ally?

- Allowed use of its military bases for some of the US-led operations in Afghanistan
- *But how about the other five major promises by Pakistan?*

Is Pakistan really an ally? (contd.)

1. End support for Taliban

- Most of the Taliban leadership and many cadres escaped to Pakistan after post-9/11 operations

- Pakistan steadily helped Taliban regroup, start attacks into Afghanistan

- Taliban continues to direct logistics and public relations campaign against Afghan authorities from secure bases in Pakistan

- Some US aid funds suspected of being diverted to Taliban regrouping efforts

Is Pakistan really an ally? (contd.)

2. Support hunt for Al Qaeda

- Half-hearted attempt to block Al Qaeda escape routes allowed many elements to cross into Pakistan

- Many have hidden in Pakistani cities and in tribal areas, including Tahir Yuldeshev of IMU

- Capture of selected Al Qaeda members appears to happen only when under intense pressure, e.g., after Daniel Pearl murder, and in March 2003 after extensive US media criticism of Pakistan's terrorism and nuclear proliferation links.

Is Pakistan really an ally? (contd.)

3. Agreed to move against terrorists, funds

- Terrorist groups pre-warned before fund freezes

- Terrorist groups simply change names and continue operations upon addition to US proscribed lists

- Most terrorist cadres and leaders arrested are quickly released

- Terrorist leaders like LET chief Hafiz Sayed, JEM chief Masood Azhar and terrorist financier Dawood Ibrahim live and operate securely in Pakistan

Is Pakistan really an ally? (contd.)

4. Marginalization of jehadis

- Thousands of madrassas continue to graduate jehadis, who still number in hundreds of thousands

- Electoral manipulation ensured control of western half of Pakistan by Islamic parties allied to the Taliban

- Jehadi-leaning figures still in positions of power in military and the ISI

- Musharraf may simply be a façade, ISI controls strings from behind and sustains links to Taliban and Al Qaeda remnants

Is Pakistan really an ally? (contd.)

5. Control over nuclear assets

- Proliferation to North Korea continued well after 9/11.

- Proliferation to Iran and Saudi Arabia also suspected

- High level nuclear scientist links to Al Qaeda not fully investigated

- Several nuclear scientists may have slipped out of country after 9/11, whereabouts unknown

- Reports of dispersal of nuclear weapons to numerous areas including caves is disturbing

Pakistan's links to 9/11

- Ex-ISI chief Mahmud Ahmed directed fund transfer to WTC hijacker Mohd. Atta
- Daniel Pearl killer Sheikh Omar, likely a key ISI-Al Qaeda link wired $100,000 to Atta
- Other key Pakistani military and ISI figures such as late Air Force chief Mushaf Ali Mir, current ISI chief Ehsanul Haq may have had prior knowledge of 9/11 attacks
- Mir visited US for "official" visit few weeks after being fingered by Abu Zubaidah - questioned by US intelligence?

Pakistan's links to 9/11 (contd.)

- Mir died mysteriously afterward in plane crash
- Saudi princes similarly implicated by Zubaidah also died mysteriously
- No reports of any investigation of numerous Pakistan links to 9/11
- Top Pakistani figures linked to 9/11 such as Mahmud Ahmed and Ehsanul Haq continue in positions of power
- Extradition of Sheikh Omar, possible key source for 9/11 money planning, refused by Pakistan
- ***Wall of silence by Bush administration on Pakistan's role in 9/11***

Post 9/11 threat to the US: Iraq or Pakistan?

Pakistan

- Deep and continuing links to Al Qaeda
- Dozens of nuclear weapons
- Proliferated nuclear tech to N. Korea, Iran
- N-scientists dealt with Bin Laden
- Islamic extremists in political power
- Supported and hosted numerous international terrorist groups including anti-US terrorist groups like HUM, LET

Iraq under Saddam

- Links to Al Qaeda minimal, unproven
- Possibly no WMDs, only plans
- No proliferation to other countries
- No report of scientists dealing with terrorists
- Islamic extremists marginalized under Saddam
- Terrorism support limited to Palestinian groups

Pakistan and Terrorism: Conclusion

- Pakistan was main center of terrorism pre-9/11
- Numerous suspected links to 9/11 attacks
- Despite signing on as US ally, support to Taliban, resistance to destroying terrorism infrastructure and nuclear proliferation have continued
- Pakistan's 9/11 links, proliferation activities and continued support for terrorism ignored by Bush administration
- *Pakistan is the biggest but unacknowledged national security threat to the United States*