ALQAEDA-POST OSAMA SCENARIOAND PAKISTAN-US RELATIONS

***Saeeda Sultana and S. K. Alqama**

ABSTRACT

This study examined Abbotabad Operation, a very significant in which Osama was captured and killed in Pakistan by the Americans. The gravity of the event blurred the question of violation of sovereignty and took trust deficit stricken Pak-US relation to its lowest ebb. It further strengthened the terrorist image of Pakistan. Osama & Al-Qaeda are the outcome of containment policy, block politics and strategic depth vision. Al-Qaeda basically is a reaction of American presence in holy land. Its main objective is to force the USA out from Muslim countries and install Islamic regime on the modal of initial Khilafat. Al-Qaeda was a partner with CIA and ISI against Russian invasion at first but became the worst enemy of the USA after Soviet withdrawn from Afghanistan. Westren countries are drastically threatened by the prospect of using WMDs (Weapons of Mass Destruction) by this organization in their countries. After American invasion in Afghanistan Al-Qaeda was forced to flee and take resort in Pakistan. Many of its principal leadership were captured from Pakistan but the hunting of the most wanted man from its soil further deteriorated mutual relations of Pakistan and the USA.

Keywords : *Osama bin Laden, Vision, Mission, Strategy, Al Qaeda network, WMD, Links to Pakistan*

Osama Bin Laden: Unilateral Operation

Finally, America hunted down his arch enemy, Osama Bin Laden- the supposed mastermind of 9/11 heinous carnage. He was captured and killed at the mid night of 1st and 2nd May 2011 in Abbotabad, a peaceful and beautiful city located on the distance of some 62 Km from the Capital Islamabad in the backyard of Military Training School- Kakool Academy. As reports revealed on media, Americans raided a wide compound on two storey building where he was hiding, ultimately killed him and carried his body with them to Afghanistan. The unilateral operation was

*Department of Political Science & International Relations, Bahauddin Zakariya University Mulatan-E-Mail: saeedasultana786@gmail.com

accomplished within forty minutes, as CIA chief Levin Pinata claimed, with the loss of one helicopter, the US Special Forces disappeared in the gloom of night. The security forces of Pakistan confessed their failure to intercept the helicopter before reaching out their destination. This surgical strike is the most significant event of the century.

The incident is the obvious evidence of trust cleavage between two nations and manifestation of doctrine of pre-emption that violated the sovereignty of Pakistan but on the other hand, it revealed the suspicious role of Pakistan in the war on terror by letting the most wanted person to hide in the sensitive area within its geographical location. This strengthened the perception of Pakistan's role as assumed by the US analysts, "Double Game", "Spring Board or Safe haven of terrorists". These terrorists spill over to Afghanistan, India and rest of the world.

Osama Bin Laden came into lime light when his name was tagged with Al-Qaeda whose sole declared aim was the elimination of arch enemy-America. The organization vowed at first to expel the USA from Muslim countries and second the installation of Islamic regimes by means of Islamic revolution. Al-Qaeda considers the USA as a major obstacle in the way of achieving this aim.

Al Qaeda: Threat to America

American Administration on the other hand, considers Al-Qaeda as a major threat for American interests after the demise of USSR. It has a network expanded the world over. In this way it is a transnational movement having its base in Afghanistan, supported by Taliban regime.[1] The head of this organization is Osama Bin Laden who is the citizen of Saudi Arabia.[2] The origin of this organization stems from the reactionary national movement against Russian aggression in Afghanistan in 1979. The resilient fighters were then called "Freedom Fighters", "Mujahedeen".

---

[1] - *Dr. Nicholas Berry, "The International Islamic Terrorist Network," (CDI)Center for Defense Information, Terrorism Project, September 14, 2001, http://www. cdi.org/terrorism/terrorist.network-pv.cfm (accessed on October 12, 2012).*

[2] - *Michael E. O, Hanlon, "A Flawed Master Piece, Foreign Affairs," Vol. 81, No. 3, (May/ June 2002), 240.*

They got training, equipment and support from Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the USA. They fought against Russia successfully.[3]In the wake of Russian disintegration, the world transformed into Uni-polar from Bi-Polar ending Block Politics giving the USA status of sole super power in the world. There was no inimical hegemonic ruler in Europe and China's policy to avoid confrontation gave a free hand to the USA and only the challenging force was not some state rather a non state actor—Alqaeda who declared a tough inimical agenda against America. Owing to this hostile posture the USA declared Al-Qaeda as terrorist organization, its affiliated mujahedeen as terrorists.

In response, Osama Bin Laden declared America as an enemy of Islam and Muslims of the world who is patronizing corrupt and illegal regimes in Muslim world. He condemned her role in Gulf wars, her presence in holy places and persistent support to unjust Israeli policies against Palestinians. He vowed to force USA out from Muslim countries by means of his terrorist activities and guerilla warfare techniques.[4]

Osama's Early Life

Prior to dive deep for the sake of analysis, we examine Osama's early life to find out the development of his personality, the influences that exerted upon him a change. He was born in Riyadh, July 30, 1957. His Father Muhammad migrated from Yemen to Saudi Arabia in 1930s. The name of his real mother was Hamida who was a Syrian in origin. He had one sister.[5] His father soon became an icon in the field of construction and earned great name and fame. Owing to his reputation he got the honor to repair Al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 when Israeli set the mosque on fire. He was religious person who observed Islamic code of conduct. He also inculcated the deep religious fervor and imparted virtuous Islamic norms in his children. That was the mental and spiritual

---

[3]- *Terrorist Most Wanted, News Week, Vol. 132. No. 8, August 24, 1998, 32*.

[4]- *Frontline, "Hunting Bin Laden: Introduction," The United States Information Resource Center, April 1999, http://www.pbs.org/wgnj /pages/frontlione/shows/binladen/etc/synopsis-html (accessed on August 13, 2012).*

[5] - *Osama,s exact date of birth is in dispute. However most reports state that he was born in 1957.Background on Osama bin laden and Al-Qaeda, CIA, Washington D.C., 1998, P.1*

horizon in which Osama was brought up. In the age of 17, he got married with a Syrian girl.[6]

Osama was a highly educated person. His education was in management and economics from KingAbdulAzizUniversity. His other areas of interests were International Politics and Islamic studies. He developed his world view and perception of world politics by the teachings of Muhammad Qutab, Syed Qutab and the political cum religious ideology of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.

The person who radically transformed him from moderate Muslim to fanatic Jihadist was, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, a highly influential Sunni Islamic scholar and theologian who taught and convinced him about the defensive jihad against Soviets aggression. He infused religious zeal and fervor in Osama[7], cemented the ideological foundation that logically paved the way to the erection of Al-Qaeda edifice.

Soviet Intervention: Policies & Strategies

Former USSR invaded Afghanistan to support Marxist regime in Kabul, as per her policy to expand communism and get access to the hot waters of Pakistan. That was a very horrible attempt on western interests as well. The supposed success of communist power would enable her to impose a blockade in Arabian Ocean on European oil supplies from the Gulf market. Oil is a source of energy essential to run the economy on the one hand but to deny to the enemy is a powerful tool of international politics on the other hand. Owing to this crucial block and oil politics, Afghanistan became a battle ground for both super powers. Muslim youth from all over the world was attracted in the name of Islamic jihad and foreign atheistic invasion.

Ironically, it was a war for Islam against the Russian infidels supported and funded largely by the Christian west and

---

[6] - *Simon Reeve, The New Jckals: RamziYousef, Osama Bin Laden and the Future of Terrorism (London: Andre Dutch, 1999), 157.*

[7] - *Frontline, "A Biography of Osama bin Laden, in Hunting bin Laden," The United States Information Resource Center, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh. P.1,(accessed on August 12, 2012)*

the USA. Some Muslim countries like Pakistan and Saudi Arabia were on the fore fronts due to various imperatives. Another juxta-positioning was observed when communist China also extended her support to the holy warriors.[8]

The water shed moment in Osama's life was his meeting with Abdullah Azzam in Peshawar Pakistan. The later reinforced the former due to his efforts to organize jihad by leading Arab and Afghan volunteers and his charismatic personality. It was a huge influx of Muslim youth coming from Middle East, Asia, North Africa and Pakistan. ISI was providing training while CIA assisting them with modern weaponry and financial support[9].

> *"The duty will not end with victory to Afghanistan. Jihad will remain an Individual obligation until all other lands that were Muslims are returned to us. So that Islam will reign again before us in Palestine Bokhara, Lebanon, Chad, Eritrea, Somalia, Philippines, Burma, South Yemen, Tashkent and* Andalusia".[10]

To organize Muslim youth, Abdullah Azzam established – Maktab Al-Khidmat in Peshawar. He also build a training camp in Jalal Abad, Afghanistan to train and recruit Muslim volunteers for the front of war [10]. Azzam designated Osama as the Deputy of Al-Khidmat Foundation.[11]

Osama was so courageous that he himself took part in jihad and fought bravely against Soviets. In 1987, he was exposed to Soviet attack of poisonous gas and received minor injuries. At that time Osama and Azzam were on the second line front.[12] Osama

---

[8] - *RohanGunaratna, Inside Al-Qaeda: Global Network of Terror (Lahore: Vanguard, 2002), 17.*

[9] - *Peter L. Bergen, Inside the Secret World of Osama bin laden, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2001), 55.*

[10] - *Pankaj Mishra, "The Afghan Tragedy" The New York Review of Books, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January* 17, 2002, 44.

[11] - *Making a Symbol to Terror. Newsweek, March 1, 1999. The CIA in his recruiting trips to the U.S. assisted the blind Egyptian cleric Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, who was later, convicted for the bomboing in 1993 of the World Trade Center, in the Eighties, "The Road to the September 11, News Week, October 1, 2001.*

[12] - *Jason Burke, Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror (London: IB. Tauris,*

received a great shock when Azzam with his sons, was assassinated with a bomb blast in 1989. He took the whole charge of Maktab Al-Khidmat. He did a lot of construction work in Afghanistan with the heavy machinery build trenches, roads, shelters, tunnels, and underground concrete bunkers to escape from Soviet attack, as John Miller correspondent of ABC stated.[13] To make a better coordination he established service offices in Peshawar such as Bait-ul-Ansar, Bait-ul-Islam and Bait-ul-Momineen to accommodate mujahedeen.[14] Except Bait-ul-Ansar, the rest remained open and continue to offer services.[15] He became gradually the most popular figure and symbol of resistance among the Muslim youth attracting to Afghan Jihad particularly Afghan and Arab Youth who were inspired by his commitment to Afghan Jihad, his staunch adherence to Islamic radical ideology, his welfare services, practical involvement in Jihad, leadership qualities, charismatic personality fearlessness, courage and wealth. The fighters from Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Pakistan recognized him as their supreme commander. The cadres of Doctors and Engineers gathered around Egyptian Leader Aymen Al Zawahiri.[16]

Al Qaeda: Organization

As far as the exact number of foreign and native fighters is concerned, there is no precise data available as yet, as Peter L. Bergen argues. The random estimate was 25000 to 50000 were foreign fighters while the natives were 1, 75000 to 250,000.[17] The large number of fighters requires an organization that can harness and harmonize the fighters for their better medical facilities and to

---

2003), 69.

[13] - *Various Interview with Frontline on line, April 1999, Miller, Greetings America: My name is Osama Bin Laden.*

[14] - *Al-Qaeda, Frontline: Hunting bin Laden, P. 10 to 20.*

[15] - *Ibid.*

[16]- *Jason Burke, Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terro,* P. 69.

[17] - *Peter L. Bergen, Holy War Inc: Inside the Secrete World of Osama bin Laden, (New York: Free Press, 2008), 61.*

preserve an authentic record of their arrival and departure. The whole complex was termed as Al-Qaeda.[18]

Another significant development happened in International politics after the withdrawal of USSR from Afghanistan, was the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. Osama did not like that invasion on his country and wrote a letter to Saudi king in which he offered his support against Iraq. He was willing to resist advancing Iraqi Forces with the help of Mujahedeen. Prior to his efforts bore fruit, America sent her troops on the request of Saudi Government to defend the Muslim holy land. It was a great shock for Osama to absorb.

In the meanwhile, internal situation of Afghanistan did not remain conducive for Osama due to anarchy resulting from the mutual rivalry of warlords who were now fighting for their own influences. That dismal situation compelled him to leave Afghanistan. He finally decided to left for Sudan where he helped out the Government for her construction work. He also persuaded Saudi investors to invest in Sudan. During his stay in Sudan, Saudi intelligence Agency made an assassination attempt on him but fortunately he escaped.[19] The attempt was the outcome of his strain relation with Saudi Government who already cancelled his Saudi citizenship, seized passport and froze his bank accounts.[20] In response to Saudi attempts, he constituted "advice and Reform committee" including Saudi scholars. The committee condemned the Saudi decree against Osama.[21]

In the backdrop of such relationship, American and Saudi Government jointly placed pressure on Sudanese Government for the exile Osama from its land. Consequently, he had to leave Sudan in 1996.[22] He chose Kandahar as his headquarter, the home

---

[18] - *Interview Dr. SAAD AL-FAGIH, Front line: Hunting bin Laden 8/5/2002, P, 5, http:// www. pbs. org/wgbh/ pages/ frontline/ shows/ binladen/interviews/al-fagih. html. (accessed on September 17, 2012).*

[19]- *News Week, January 2, 1999.*

[20] - *Ibid.*

[21] - *A Biography of Osama bin Laden, Frontline: Hunting bin Laden: ," The United States Information Resource Center, 5.*

[22] - *Terrorist Most Wanted, News Week, 32.*

town of Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omer. There he again escaped an assassination attempt by Saudi intelligence agency by getting information prior to the attack.[23]

Ideology

During Afghan Jihad, Osama established very intimate links with those religious scholars who were considered the motivating force and brain of Taliban. Those scholars had also great reservations about the presence of American forces in the holy lands. They shared these concerns with Osama who was already annoyed at Saudi decision to call Americans for defense. The religious scholar jointly issued a fatwa against American policies and declared it as a state enemy to Islam. Osama also issued his Fatwa that depicted his extremism such as "All the citizens of United States and military personals are the enemies of Islam".[24] He also greatly criticized the blind American support for Israel and further expressed his hope for victory against both as predicted by the Holy Prophet Mohammad P.B.U.H.[25] He also referred the killings of weak women and children by these two powers i.e., Qanna massacre in Lebanon, death of 60000 Iraqi children due to the lack of medicine as consequence of economic blockade. Bosnia Herzegovina witnessed massacre unparallel event in history.[26]

In 1998, he unrolled a detailed list of American crimes in his "Manifesto", in which he accused America as a usurper of holy places, capturing natural resources of Muslim countries, supporting dictators for her own political control, behaving native muslin population in a humiliating way, terrorize them with her brutal power. He praised Suicide bombers in such words, "These youth love death as you love life. They inherit dignity and pride, courage, generosity, truthfulness and sacrifice. They are most steadfast at war".[27] In May, 1998, Bin Laden invited Pakistanis to

---

[23]- *Ibid.*

[24]- *MagnuysRanstop, "Interpreting the Broader Context and Meaning of Bin Ladens Fatwa," Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, Vol. 21, (1998): 321.*

[25] - *John Miller, "Greetings America: My Name is Osama bin Laden," ABC Reporter, Frontline: Hunting bin Laden, 3.*

[26] - *Ibid.*

[27]- *FAS Note: Jihad against Jews and Crusaders, World Islamic Front*

Afghanistan and repeated this Fatwa"To kill the American and their allies…civilians and military is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Mosque… and in order to move out all the lands of Islam that threaten the Muslim population".[28]

Al-Qaeda: Ideological Roots

The study of his personality traits helps us to understand the erection of Al-Qaeda edifice and its ideological roots. The name of Al-Qaeda is not familiar and often used title by the leaders of organization. The US media played very vital role in globalizing Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization with a worldwide net work. Media hype, conspiracy theories, and need for constructing new enemy are the combine factors serve to build an image-fusion of myth and reality. There is a need to sort out myth and reality to see the organization in a better light.

The westerns generally perceive Al-Qaeda founded by a wealthy Saudi religious fanatic Osama Bin Laden. The members of this organization are highly motivated and well trained extremists available in every city of the world. They follow the orders of Osama readily. Al-Qaeda took her birth from the war torn country Afghanistan after Russian withdrawal. Muslim youth from all over the world fought this war in the name of Islam, jihad and Muslim brother hood. The USA and many western states funded and supported that war due to their own vested interests set by the containment of Russia policy. The organization flourished with the rise of Taliban who provided Al-Qaeda a safe haven to grow.

Osama envisioned a unified Ummah with a sense of revenge against past humiliations, defeat and fears that had to face by the Muslims of the world. He considered Muslims as

---

Statement: February 23, 1998, 1- 3.

[28]- *Washington File, 15 December 1999, U.s. Department of State FBI Websites, "Documents Evidence Against bin Laden," http://unifo-state.gov/topical/ pol/terror /99129502, htm, P.2.(accessed on September 18, 2012).*

marginalized and excluded. He expressed his heart felt desire to revive past Muslim glory, to address grievances inflicted by the western powers. These were the ambitious objectives set forth for Al-Qaeda in 1989.[29] Al-Qaeda is an Arabic term means, "the base", "the foundation".[30] Wright explains Al-Qaeda in these terms, "Al-Qaeda was formed in 11 august 1989 at the meeting of Islamic jihad. The significant participants were Syed Imam Al-Shrif, Aymen al Zawahiri, Abdullah Azzam and Osama himself. It was decided with the help of Bin Laden's money, expertise of Islamic Jihad, jihad would be continued where it need elsewhere in the world. It was not clear that when the term did was coined and who was the person used it for the first time? This is the matter of ambiguity. Some scholars are of the view that the participants of that first meeting used the term while some argue that Peshawar based fighters used it first. However, the term is not available in the encyclopedia of Jihad.[31] During 1990s, the US intelligence agencies mentioned "Middle East Extremists" in their reports instead of Al-Qaeda. The terrorist incidents of world trade center bombing in 1993 and New York attacks 1995, the responsibility was placed on Osama rather Al-Qaeda.[32] CIA used that term for the first time in 1996,[33]while state department used it in 1998.[34] The environment was very conducive for such organization when Osama was banished from Sudan and came to Afghanistan. The climax of Al-Qaeda's activities was the period of 1996 to 2001.[35] Terrorist Group Profile compiled the details of

---

[29]- *Official Text: US Grand Jury Indictment against Osama bin laden (Bin Laden linked to attacks on US facilities Overseas) November 19, 1998, United States Information Service Lahore.*

[30] - *Jason Burke, Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror, 69.*

[31]- *Reuel Marc Gerecht, "The Gospel According to Osama Bin Laden," The Atlantic, January 2002, http://www.theatlantic.com/cgi-bin/send.cgi?* (accessed on September 17, 2012).

[32] - *.S. Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Counter terrorism, Patterns of Global Terrorism 1995, April 1996*

[33] - *Jason Burke, Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror, 69.*

[34] - *U.S. Department of State, Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1997, 1998.*

[35] - *McCloud, Kimberly A. and Dolonik, Adam, "Debunk the Myth of Al-Qaeda," Christian Science Monitor, May 23, 2002, 11, 12.*

87 terrorist groups, but there is no mention of Al-Qaeda.[36] Muhammad Rashid Dawood defined Al-Qaeda during FBI investigation, "It is not a particular place but a group stands on the support of God and Osama is the overall incharge of Al-Qaeda.[37] Osama Bin Laaden never used this term rather it was western media that force fully imposed this term of Bin Laden.[38]

The Net Work of Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda is less an organization than mere an ideological group.[39] According to CIA report in 1990 regarding its net work, "Increasingly, Middle Eastern Extremists, particularly Sunni fundamentalists, are working together to further the cause of radical Islam, most importantly the installation of Islamic theocracies in their home countries. The suspects tried and convicted in the world trade center bombing and the second group of extremists who plotted to bomb other landmarks in New York City, including the UN building, did not belong to a single, cohesive organization but rather were part of a loose grouping of politically committed Muslims living in the New York City area. They were followers of Egyptian Imam ***Sheikh Umer Abdul Rahman*** and included not- Egyptians. Of the six original WTC suspects, only one is an Egyptian. The group includes three Palestinians, one Pakistani and one Iraqi. The 15 individuals convicted in the second New York City case include Egyptians,

---

[36] - *Thomas B. Hunter, "Terrorist Group Profiles," The Terrorism Research Center, September 20, 2012. www Links-Documents-Info-war-Interact-References-profiles what new-commerce.*

[37] - *Testimony of Agent Gaud in, USA Vs Osama bin Laden, News York, 2001, or Jason Burke, Op, cit. P. 156. Mohammad Rashid Daoud Al-Owhali had reached Afghanistan shortly after bin Laden. There is no evidence that it was bin Laden's presence in Afghanistan that attacked the young Saudi Abdullah Azzam's work, the Al-Jihad Magazine and Books such as the Love and Honour of Martyrs were particularly.*

[38]- *McCloud, Kimberly A. and Dolonik, Adam, "Debunk the Myth of Al-Qaeda," Christian Science Monitor, May 23, 2002, 11, 12.*

[39]- *Jason Burke, Al-Qaeda Global Terrorist Organization, Foreign Policy, May, June 2004, 18.*

Sudanese and Palestinian".[40] It has transnational character with expanded net work in almost 52 countries as Clark argues.[41] Osama had also developed connections with non-Afghan Muslims who came Pakistan for Jihad. They belong various political Parties and Islamic groups in their respective countries.[42] Osama made enduring ties with some 30 Islamic Organizations as estimated by Al-Hawadith November 1998. His followers belong to USA, UK, Jordan, France, Seattle, Australia and Uruguay.[43]

Close affiliated Groups

There were many organizations having very close links with Osama such as Al-Jammat Al-Islamiyya whose 200 fighters were getting training from his camps.[44] Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Al-Jammat-Al-Islamiyya relation were manifested in the persons of Aymen Al Zawahiri and Muhammad Atef who were top echelon of Al-Qaeda.[45] Al Zayyat said that he is in fact Bin Laden's mind[46], Abdel-Bary, (a lawyer who represented Jihad in Egypt) Khalid Al-Fawaz, Anasal-Liby, (who lived in the northern city of Manchester) all were the key member of the Al Qaeda.[47] Egyptians had specialized privileged position in those training camps .i.e., Al-Farooq and Abu-Jandel. It is not surprising that ideology and tactics of Al-Qaeda came from Egypt for long the cultural cockpit of the Arab World.[48] Al-Qaeda also spilled over its sub groups throughout the world such as Abusayyaf, the Moro Islamic

---

[40] - Characteristics of Transnational Sunni Islamic Terrorism, Washington D.C., CIA, 1998, P. 9.

[41]- Calabresi, Massimo and Shannon, et al,"The Terror Countdown," *Time*' Vol. 154, no. 26, (1999), 126.

[42]- Kamran Khan, "Osama's Narrow Escape, Camp Hits Reported," *The News*, August 22, 1998.

[43] - Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War Inc: Inside the Secrete World of Osama bin Laden*, 61.

[44]- RahimullahYusufzai, "Exporting Jihad,"*News-line*, September 18, 1998.

[45]- Behroz Khan, "Afghanistan Nations of Islam*," News-line*, September 18, 1998.

[46] - Peter L. Bergen, *The Global Network: Around the World in Eighty Jihads*, 203.

[47] - *Ibid.*

Liberation front, Kashmir's, Uzbeks, Uyghur's, CAR, and Algeria.[49]

Two terrorists event manifested Al-Qaeda's' influence because their planning and execution was directly controlled by the main line leadership. Those were October 2002 Bali Bombings, May 2003 Casablanca attacks were the direct result of Osama's recorded message.[50] Both incidents are similar in tactics, execution, and coordination considered as specialized feature of Al-Qaeda that later on manifested in the most significant way in 9/11 tragedy. The organization had produced best fighters and planners by providing them hard physical training psychological brain wash filed with hard line ideology. The recruits were not motivated by the mundane material gains rather by the reward promised in life hereafter. A fighter is motivated by nothing but by the passion of martyrdom firmly embedded in their souls. They are young, energetic, emotional and ready to embrace death. Like Atta Muhammad who suspected, planned and executed complex operation of 9/11.[51] Al-Qaeda with such dedicated followers, fabricated an extensive global network, operating at least in 60 countries.

The chief objective of the organization is to expel the USA from holy lands shared by the large Muslim majority. For this purpose, it is not difficult to recruit local fundamentalists having jobs in the same society, passport, residence, language and skills, one who can merge in society and can be exactly placed to launch an attack. That is the threat perception of the west that caused grave incidents of terrorism mention as follow, December 29, 1992, bombing in Aden hotel Yemen, 1st attack claimed by Al-Qaeda.[52] February, 1993, World Trade center Bombings and US

---

[48] - *Ibid.*

[49] - *RohanGunaratna, Special Policy Forum Report: The Post 9/11 Face of Al-Qaeda. The Washington Institute for Near, Fast Policy, Policy Watch # 809 December 1, 2003, P. 1.*

[50] - *Ibid.*

[51] - *Brian Michael Jenkins, Countering Al-Qaeda, RAND, 2002, P. 5.*

[52] - *New York Times*, December 8, 1998.

killed in Mogadishu, Somalia.[53] November 13, 1995, a truck bomb hit Saudi National Guard Training Center in Riyadh.[54] October 2000. US navy ship USS Cole was bombed[55], and the tragedy of 9/11.

Al-Qaeda and WMDs (Weapons of Mass Destruction)

Once asked the question of WMD terrorism, President George .W. Bush responded that "the single most serious threat to American National Security is: nuclear terrorism. In the same vein Barrack Obama also responded. When asked, what keeps you awake at night, Secretary Robert Gates answered, 'It's the thought of terrorist ending up with a weapon of mass destruction." Skeptics discards this notion by arguing that it is beyond the capability of Al-Qaeda and likely hood of acquiring such weapons is virtually zero. The enthusiasts on the other hand provide Osama's off repeated statement that "acquiring WMDs for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty."

The countries from where organization can acquire WMDs are supposed Central Asian states. A grave concern is about Pakistan can be an ideal state for terrorists because of its bad governance, corruption and political instability dragging it to a status of a failed state.

Al-Qaeda and Pakistan

As James Phillips argues in his famous lecture Evolving Al-Qaeda Threat, "Al-Qaeda emerged as an organization during the jihad against the Soviets in Afghanistan and was based there after the Taliban movement seized power in 1996. The defeat and ouster of the Taliban in 2001 led many Al-Qaeda members to flee to neighboring Pakistan, where they have been hidden and

---

53- U.S. Department of State, Fact Sheet: Osama bin Laden, August 21, 1998.

54 - Who is bin Laden, Chronology, Frontline: Hunting bin Laden, P. 2-3.

55 - Brian Michael Jenkins, "Will Terrorists Go Nuclear? Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1975, P. 5541.

assisted by Pakistani sympathizers who seek to build radical Islamic states in both Pakistan and Afghanistan. Pakistan is an extremely important front because it is one of the largest, most powerful Muslim countries and already possesses nuclear weapons. The coming to power of an extremist Islamist government possibly could lead to the transfer of nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction to Al-Qaeda or other terrorists favored by that regime. Under the Musharraf government, Pakistan has cracked down on Al-Qaeda, but not on the Taliban or on Pakistani Islamic extremist movements. The United States and its allies should boost aid to the Musharraf government and press it to clamp down on radical Pakistani Islamic organizations that continue to support insurgents in neighboring Kashmir and Afghanistan. Islamabad also needs help in reforming the network of radical Islamic madras's (religious schools) that support the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, and other extremist organizations and reducing drug smuggling and other illicit means that terrorist groups use to raise funds.[56]

Osama Bin Laden was very much popular in Pakistan. He provided large amount of funds for building Madras's and religious schools. During Zia's era, it was Governmental policy to support religious seminaries particularly located on Pak-Afghan Border. These schools served as a recruiting source of volunteers for fighting on frontline against Russians.[57] Osama had close relations with Islamic political Parties particularly Jammat-e-Islami. He met Qazi Hussein Ahmad to hand over donation for sacred cause. He also met General Zia-ul-Haq and military intelligence ISI officials.[58] Ahmed Rasheed wrote in his book that Osama met with the leaders of Mujahedeen in Pakistan and donated immense amount of funds to them.[59]

56- *James Phillips, "The Evolving Al-Qaeda Threat," Heritage Foundation, March 17, 2006.*

57 - *Kamal Matinuddin, The Taliban Phenomenon: Afghanistan 1994-1997 (Karachi: Oxford Publisher, 1999), 14.*

58- *Anonymous, Through our Enemies Eyes: Osama Bin Laden; Radical Islam, and the Future of America, Brassey's, Inc. Washington, D. C. U.S, 2002, P. 90.*

59 - *Ibid.*

As earlier mentioned, Osama had build guest houses in Peshawar such as Bait-ul-Islam, Bait-ul-Ansar and Bait-ul-Momineen which served Arab and Afghan Mujahedeen. He also dealt their logistics and screening of these new recruits. When the Afghan war was over India and the USA exerted pressure on Pakistan to deport these fighters back to their home lands whereon Osama paid himself several hundred to Mujahedeen for passage to leave Pakistan.[60] He came in the lime light and grew more prominent when he lent a helping hand in forming Afghan Taliban Militia. It was also the policy of Pakistan to levy alternate force against rival mujahedeen groups so that to end up anarchical situation in Afghanistan. Taliban militia largely consists of those youth who got most of their education from madras's in Pakistan. Such religious seminaries were run by Maulana Sami-ul- Haq and Fazal-ur-Rehman both of whom were considered as close supporter of Osama Bin Laden and Taliban.[61]

The relation with Al-Qaeda and Taliban made Pakistan's image as a hub of terrorists and safe haven for terrorists. Every act of terrorism happening around the world has some direct or indirect links with Pakistan. Terrorists used its soil for planning terrorist activities or to hide or to participate in terrorist act around the world. After the incident 9/11 and the changed International environment forced Pakistan to act according to the demands of International community and make a radical shift in its policies of alliance with the USA. The shift was taken as a gesture of hostility on the part of pro Al-Qaeda and Taliban. TTP was established to hit Pakistan's interests and compel her to withdraw its support from the USA. They declared a war against Pakistan and launched a deadly suicide series killing a large number of Pakistanis both Civilians and Security personals. Pakistan hunted down top Al-Qaeda leadership from its land and contributed immensely in war on terror but she paid a huge cost. All the suiciders were Muslims and Pakistani nationals. They were not Israelis, Indians or Americans. The terrorist incidents which happened anywhere in the world had their link with Pakistan. The act either was planned

---

[60] - *RahimullahYousfuzai, The News, December 8, 1995.*

[61] - *Ahmed Rashid, Taliban: The story of the Afghan warlords (London,: Pan Books, 2001), 89-92.*

on its soil or executed within its geographical location. This terrorist image, extremism and fundamentalism are not the product of recent years rather nurtured here during the last 25 years. It is Al-Qaeda and its partners in tribal belt who recruit Pakistani nationals for fighting inside Pakistan with Pakistan army and infiltrate in Afghanistan to fight with ISAF and the USA forces.

Terrorist Acts of Al-Qaeda and their Link with Pakistan

1. In 1985, American PAN-AM flight was high jacked in Karachi, killing 22 people. The perpetrators were the members of ABUNADAL group Palestinian Based organization. Palestinians and many Pakistanis were arrested in this connection.

2. January, 25. 1993. Two CIA personals were dead in an attack. The assassin was AmelKansi who was later arrested on 15 June 1997 in Dera Ghazi Khan.

3. February, 26. 1993, World trade center was bombed, 6 people were dead and the master mind Ramzi Yusuf was arrested on 7th of February 1995 from Islam Abad.

4. August, 7, 1998, US embassies were attacked resulting 212 persons killed and the perpetrator Ahmad KhalfanLilani was arrested on 25th of July 2004 from Gujrat, Pakistan.

5. October, 13, 2000, Attack on USS Kol- killing 17 American army personals. The responsible was Waleed Bin Attash, arrested on April 27, 2003 in Karachi.

6. May 8th 2002. Attack took place on Sheraton Hotel Karachi on French engineers. 11 persons were left dead. Mufti Muhammad Sabir was arrested in that connection on September 8th, 2005 in Karachi.

7. Suicide Attack in Bali, causing 202 killings, the perpetrator Umar Pattack was arrested on January 25, 2011 from Abbotabad.

8. July 7 (known as 7/7/2005) London attacks, those were suicidal attacks, killing 56 persons. Three persons were involved having Pakistani origin—Muhammad Siddique Khan, ShahzadTanweer, HaseebAhsan. Zabhee Al Latifi was arrested on 20 January 2009 form Peshawar.

9. Mumbai Attacks.26 November 2008. 164 persons were killed. ZakiurRehmanLakhwi, Hammad Amin Sadiq, JavaidIqbal, Zarar Shah, from Pakistan in this connection.

10. Faisal Shahzad was arrested in connection with the planning to bomb New York Time Squre.[62]

List of significant Al-Qaeda Arrests in Pakistan

The perception is seemed to be very right, based upon calculated facts that after US invasion in Afghanistan the cadres of the organization fled and settled in the tribal areas and gradually in the urban deep inside areas. The sphere of activity of Al-Qaeda became narrow due to the American pursuit and Pakistan's vital role. Following is the list of very important persons of Al-Qaeda who were arrested from Pakistan and exposes the fact that organization is deep rooted in Pakistan. The other question is who are giving them support as sympathizers. The future course of Pak-US relations will certainly revolve round this question how to root out Al-Qaeda from Pakistan, how to separate insidious sympathetic elements in security establishment of Pakistan to lessen the danger of some Islamic co and transfer of nukes into the hands of terrorists.

1. Abu-Zubaida, Palestinian origin, arrested on 28th March 2002 from Faisal Abad.

---

[62] - *The content is taken from the TV programme "AJJ Kamran Khan Kay Sath" anchor person Kamran Khan, June 23, 2011*.

2. Ramzi Bin Sheikh, Yemen origin, arrested on 11th September 2002 from Karachi.
3. Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, the master mind of 9/11 tragedy, arrested on 1st March 2003 from RawalPindi.
4. Yasir Al Hazeeri, arrested on 16th March 2003 from Lahore.
5. Waleed Bin Attash, arrested on 27th April 2003 from Karachi.
6. Ahmad KhalfanGillan. Arrested on 23rd July 2004 from Gujarat.
7. Abu Faraj Al Libi-the second in command of Al-Qaeda, was arrested on 2nd May2005 from Mardan.
8. Mustafa Nasar, was arrested on 10 May 2006 from Quetta.
9. Zabeeh Al Lateefi, arrested on 20th January 2009 from Peshawar.
10. Umar Pattack arrested on 25th January 2011 from Abbotabad.
11. Osama Bin Laden arrested and killed on 2nd May 2011 in Abbotabad.[63]

Keeping the above arrests in view American perception and image of Pakistan in the West is that it is a safe haven, a hub and a spring board of terrorism, where Al-Qaeda is booming and flourishing and from where terrorism spills over around the world. The unilateral surgical operation in Abbotabad exposes a deep rift of trust deficit between the two countries. The second thing that increases this cleavage is Raymond Davis episode that unfolded CIA net work working inside Pakistan. Pakistan is reluctant despite the US pressure, to launch an operation against Haqanni group in Northern Waziristan and Lashkar-e-Taiyybah. Americans are now decreasing their dependency on Pakistan when they announced to end supply line dependency on Pakistan and seeking out alternative route through Russia and CentralAsianStates. They also vacated Shamsi Air base and shifted Drones to Bigram air base. Secretary Of State stated that they can win Afghan war without the help of Pakistan. Analysts are of the view that USA,

63 - Ibid.

with will the help of CIA will target Haqani Group, Mullah Muhammad Umar, Aymen Al Zawahiri and Lashkar e Taiyybah. In the wake of Abbotabad operation, in which Osama Bin Laden the top Al-Qaeda leader was killed, Pak-US relations are on the very low profile. The presence of Al-Qaeda in Pakistan will be the most conflicting point between Pakistan and the USA.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, we can safely assume that Al-Qaeda is the reactionary movement against American foreign policies. The battle ground of CIA and Al-Qaeda after Afghanistan will be Pakistan in context of Osama episode. America will also try to pin down internal extremist groups like HaqanniNet work, Lashkar-e-Taiyybah, and on run leadership, like Quetta Shora, Mullah Muhammad Umar and Aymen Al Zawahiri. In the coming days Pak-US relations will further deteriorate in the pursuit of Al-Qaeda. Pakistan has to strike a balance between American interests and her own National interests. It is not suitable to assume that strategic depth vision is obsolete and discarded and our strategic assets remain no longer relevant. Until and unless India is playing a role in Afghan crisis with primitive psyche, all the above should be in vogue but with the change context with a new outlook.