

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Located in East Asia, Pakistan is a country of 250 million people. Before independence Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan were one state under English imperialism. There were two main religions followed by the people of this region naming, Islam and Hinduism. The independence struggle that started as one nation, was subsequently transformed under the banner of *“the Two Nation Theory”*, stating that Hindus and Muslims were different people, who wanted their separate independent countries in their respective majority areas. This *shaped the foundation of the independence of Pakistan, as the only country in the world created in the name of Islam*. Over the passage of history, Pakistan has undergone many ups and downs, however, there was never a time that this ideology was challenged.



Figure 1.1 Pakistan Map

Source: <https://www.welt-atlas.de>

Pakistan is divided into five provinces: Punjab, Singh, Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly NWFP or North-West Frontier Province),

and Gilgit Baltistan; also, part of the country is FATA or the seven Federally Administered Tribal Areas which are also made part of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, the Islamabad Capital Territory, and the disputed Jammu and Kashmir region.

Pakistan is having India to the East with the border disputes and hostile relationships, China in the North, Afghanistan in the West, and Iran in the South West. *Pakistan's two main provinces Baluchistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa are bordering Afghanistan in the West and have deep tribal, ethnic, and familial ties across the border.* The area mentioned above was previously known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA).

FATA was constituted of the Agencies and Frontier Regions of Pakistan. As it was on the bordering region of the two great empires of the past, it has a rich and long history of *conflicts "Great Game"* between the British and the Russians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The inhabitants of this area are mainly Pashtuns. 1893 British arrangement with King Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan led to the acceptance of the Durand Line Agreement. A border was accepted between the British-held Indian territory and Afghanistan. This border divided the Pashtun inhabited tribal areas into two parts. Since this agreement, FATA's unique administrative system connected them to the National Capital and defined its relationship with the state. Pushtun tribes in these areas were given autonomy to run their own areas. This arrangement continued with new terms after Pakistan got independence and these areas came under Pakistan's jurisdiction (Mostert, 2006). In May 2018, with a 31st constitutional amendment, FATA was merged into the North Western province, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, ending its autonomous status.

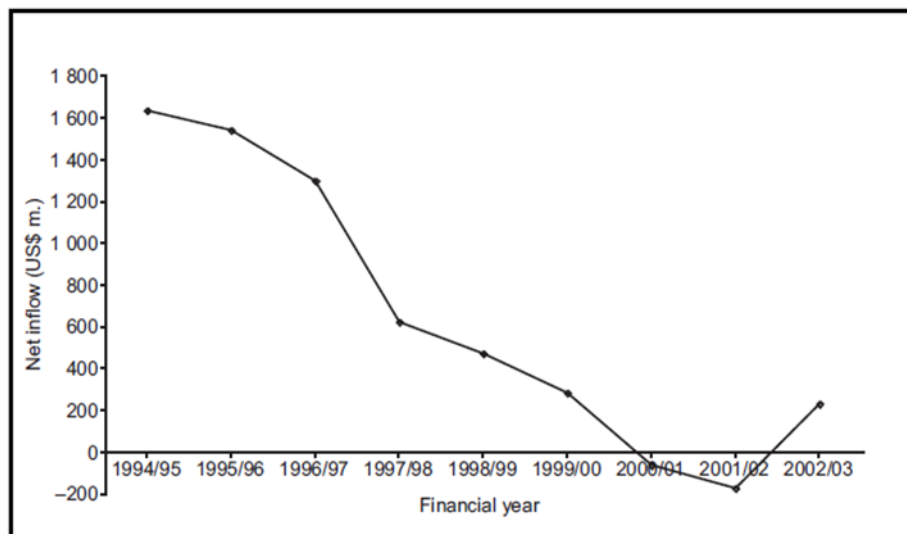
Being a nuclear power state (Defense Nuclear Capabilities) gave Pakistan a special standing in the Muslim world, affirming its status as the castle of Islam. In the *presence of a powerful next-door enemy, India*, on one side, this secured Pakistan's Defense against India due to its nuclear deterrence; at the same time, it became *grounds for tug of war between*

other strong Muslim states like Iran and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Iran lost the US's favor after the Islamic Revolution in 1979. This started a new hegemonic race in the Middle East between Wahabism following KSA and Shiite-led Iran regime, which extended its tentacles deep into Pakistani society (Maddalena Settembrini, 2019: 7). This was the first proxy war fought ideologically in Pakistan and lay down the foundation of extremism in Pakistan.

Pakistan's geopolitical location is another important aspect, always making it a center of importance for superpowers of the world. The Cold War between the US and the USSR had no exception in this region. The former USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, raised alarm for the US as it was seen as an expansion of Marxist ideology, which could further affect Pakistan creating a domino effect. At the same time, Pakistan was on its toes due to the former USSR's influence in Afghanistan after this invasion, as India had a very strong strategic relationship with the former USSR. It was not acceptable for Pakistan to have enemies on both fronts (O'Grady, 2022: 274).

This commonality of interest brought the US and Pakistan together in the Afghan war against the USSR. This narrative was built across the world, especially in the Muslim world. This was again the proxy war that was fought by the US and Pakistan in Afghanistan. While on one side this war was waged against the former USSR, on the other side the Sunni Islamization program which was heavily funded by KSA in Pakistan to motivate people for Jihad, antagonized the Shia community of Pakistan. This provided the foundation for extremism and hostilities leading to the worse Shia-Sunni sectarian conflicts and killing in the history of Pakistan (Khan, 2005: 7).

The rising level of violence in the form of terrorism also posed a difficult challenge to Pakistan's Economy. Starting from 1994 to 2001 there was a continuous decline in foreign investment owing to the insecurities attached to this violence.



Graph 1.1 Net private capital inflow, financial years 1994/95–2002/2003

Source: Based on data from Pakistani Ministry of Finance, Economic Survey 2003–04

With the former USSR retrieval and subsequent disintegration, many fighting elements (*Mujahidin*) against USSR, from the whole Islamic world, chose the Pak-Afghan bordering area as their home. This provided breeding grounds to the religious activists inspired by the extremist version of Islam in the name of Jihad. During the war, these mujahideen groups were projected as heroes not only in the Muslim world but also by the western media. Movies like *Rambo-III* were made to show these afghanis and mujahideen along with the US, fighting against common enemies.

As stated earlier, Pakistan which was made in the name of Islam, had the same inferences about these jihadi groups. *Pakistani people developed a deep respect for these mujahideen*, whereby they were considered heroes fighting for the just cause against a tyrant. So, with the war coming to an end, it was not possible for Pakistan Government to deny them this opportunity to settle in Afghan bordering areas, mainly known as Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan.

1.1.1 Pak-Afghan Relationships and Mujahideen (During 1990s)

Pakistan always had open borders with Afghanistan and did not have to deploy its military forces along the border. There were only border security forces at a few places. This arrangement was also suitable for the local residents of these areas as they had ethnic, tribal, and, cultural bindings, connecting people from both sides of the border. These Mujahideen from various backgrounds and nationalities got married to the locals and set up strong footings in that area. This gave them further stability in settling down. However, with mujahideen infiltrating back into Pakistan society also brought back their extremist views, and took the form of religious militant groups. These were backed by the Saudi-funded Wahhabism extremist mentality in Pakistan, especially against the Iran-backed Shia Minority Muslims in Pakistan.

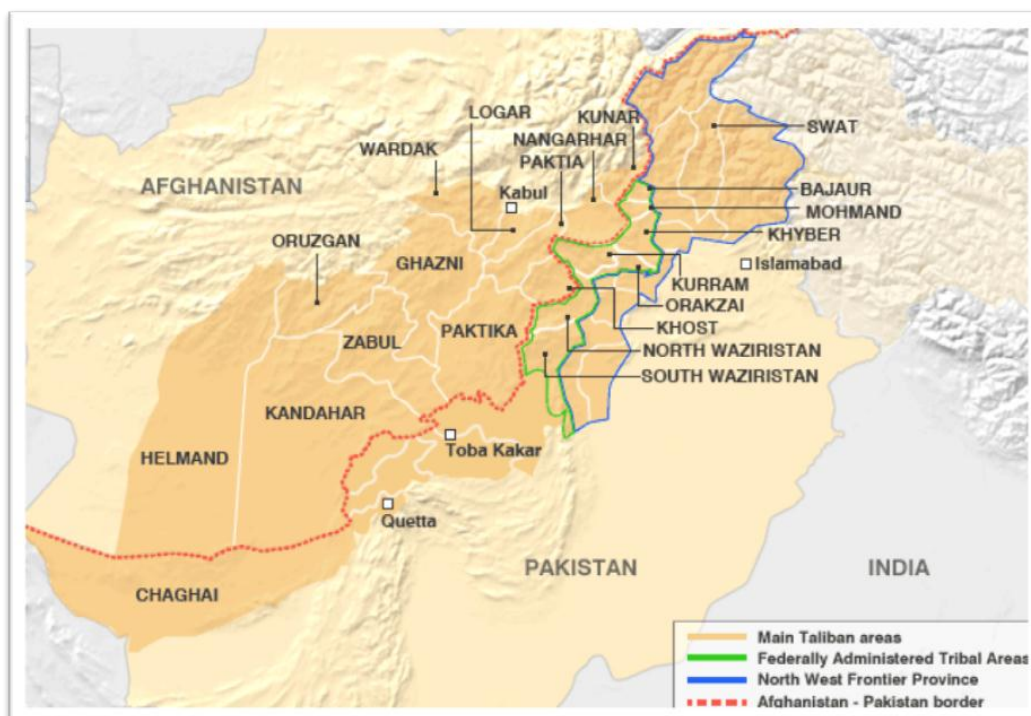


Figure 1.2 Pak-Afghan Border Political Situation

Source: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-15149996>

During the 1990s Pakistan saw a rise in sectarian extremism and violence (Khan, 2005: 11). During this time Afghanistan was under the

Taliban control, which was assisted by Pakistan to rise in power. This was mainly because of geostrategic reasons, as Pakistan didn't want an enemy on the Western border. These Taliban were mainly Pakhtuns from the area bordering the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan provinces of Pakistan, making them natural allies in contrary to the Northern Alliance, comprised of Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Hazaras, supported by Russia, India, and Iran (O'Grady, 2022: 211). *During the Taliban regime, Afghan territory along with FATA areas emerged as a safe haven for the training and occupation of many terrorist outfits including the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), now known as the Islamic Movement of Turkestan (IMT), as well as Chechen rebels (Pattanaik, 2013: 9). Al Qaeda was also present in neighboring Afghanistan under the protection of international pariahs, the Taliban.*

1.1.2 Pak-Afghan Nature of Conflict

Afghanistan has always dynamics which are unmatched anywhere in the world, where three powers in the history has succumbed to their defeat. Despite resistance from Kabul, for Pakistan due to religious, ethnic and cultural commonalities western border remained peaceful. However, with the outbreak of this war, Government of Pakistan had to fight on multi-fronts, internally and externally.

The declaration of the Global War on Terror by the US backed by the whole Western World, had a very clear agenda to curb terrorism from its roots starting from Afghanistan. This International Environment was based on the global security concerns due to terrorism as a common threat. As the war in Afghanistan progressed and the US led coalition gained ground, many of the Taliban and al Qaeda fighters and leaders fled to Pakistan's tribal region and cities (Khan, 2005: 30), further aggravating the problems for Pakistan being the partner in this war against terrorism (O'Grady, 2022: 263).

1.1.3 Political Impact of Afghanistan on Pakistan Policy

Afghanistan has been understood as an insulator between three regional security complexes (RSCs): South Asia, Central Asia and the Persian Gulf. Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver argue that Afghanistan bears the burden of geography; while it is not strong enough to unify, as a zone of weak interaction it could serve as an insulator between the regions. During various governments Afghan territory has been used for proxy wars, training terrorists and a breeding ground for extremism.

Durand Line issue is also of great concern for Pakistan. Its emergence as a base for Al-Qaeda patronized by the Taliban has challenged the security and stability of Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. Moreover, any instability in Afghanistan effects the regional security, governance, democratic institutionalization, problems of militia, and the expanding influence of Taliban.

1.1.4 9/11 Terrorist Attack in the US and Options for Pakistan

11th September 2001 was the day that changed the world. The world's strongest and most powerful nation was attacked in the heart of their own land, shattering their dream of being impregnable. They had to hit back and hit back hard to take revenge and make such actions an example for the world. President Bush vowed to his nation to bring everyone involved in these brutal attacks to justice. Congress authorized President to take all necessary to take down the individuals, organizations, or nations involved in the attacks.

Bush declared war on terrorism during a joint session of Congress on September 20. Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden was blamed for the attacks, and he asked the Taliban who ruled Afghanistan at that time, to hand over Osama bin Laden or be prepared to face the consequences in shape of war by the US. This laid down the foundation of Bush **Doctrine**, *“the belief that the United States has the right to protect itself from terrorist*

acts by engaging in pre-emptive wars or ousting hostile governments in favor of friendly, preferably democratic, regimes”.

Pakistan was the only country at that time having diplomatic relations with the Taliban leadership (O’Grady, 2022: 200). President of Pakistan Gen Pervaiz Musharraf received an immediate call from the US secretary of State, General Colin Powell where he candidly asked General Musharraf, “You are either with us or against us.” General Musharraf ensured him that Pakistan had been suffering from terrorism and would fight with the US against it (B. S. Ahmad, 1947: 3). A similar statement with more gravity was passed by the US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage to Director General Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan, stating, “ if you choose to terrorists, then you should be prepared to be bombed back to the stone age” (O’Grady, 2022: 201). Another important development was *that India offered the US to provide Military Bases for its “Operation Enduring Freedom”*, the name given to the war in Afghanistan (Pattanaik, 2013: 14), leaving no option for Pakistan.

1.1.5 Partner in GWOT: Impact on Pakistan (Security, Societal and Economic)

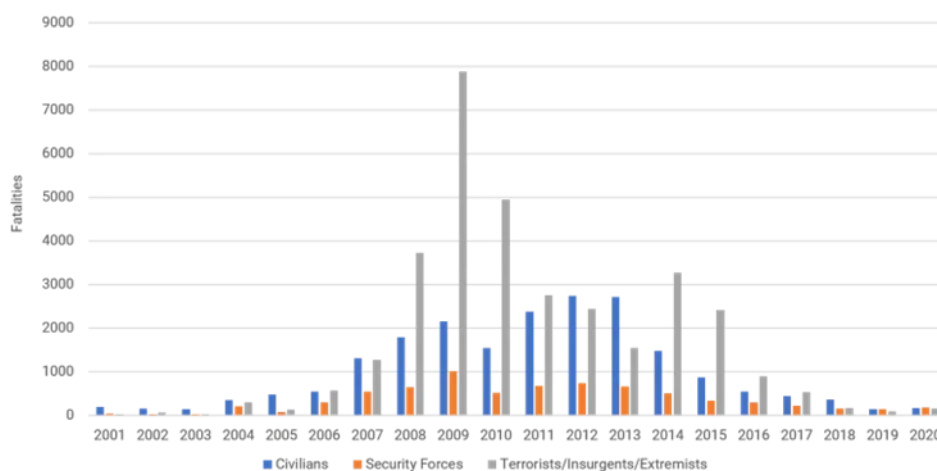
1.1.5.1 Security.

When *Pakistan chose its side of the fight to join the US Global War on Terror (GWOT)* (Hassan & Abbas, 2013); these extremist outfits present in Afghanistan and FATA as well as Taliban regime in Afghanistan felt aggrieved, turning them against Islamabad in general and against Defense Forces of Pakistan in particular. Post-Cold War rise of religious extremism in Pakistan and its border areas with Afghanistan leading to deteriorated internal security situation further aggravated with this decision. With the denial of the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden to the US, war was imminent putting Islamabad in a fix. Fighting the US’s war, Pakistan faced highly deteriorated security environment where non-traditional threat like terrorism and extremism clutched the society, hurting

its internal and external defense, people, economy, international image and basic ideology.

1.1.5.2 Societal Impact

Pakistan is one of those countries in the world that have suffered the worst dilemma of Terrorism and extremism (Afzal, 2021). Thousands of lives were lost, Millions were internally displaced, and billions of rupees were wasted fighting this war, taking its toll on economic standing of Pakistan, apart from societal and cultural degradation in the country. The seriousness of the issue can be deduced from interpretation of graph 1.2. Approximately 23 thousand civilians and more than 7000 Armed personnel lost their lives from 2001 till 2021. Whereas, approximately 64000 terrorists were killed during the same time (*Terrorism in Pakistan | South Asian Terrorism Portal, n.d.*).



Graph 1.2 Graphical Representation of Lost Lives from 2001 till 2020

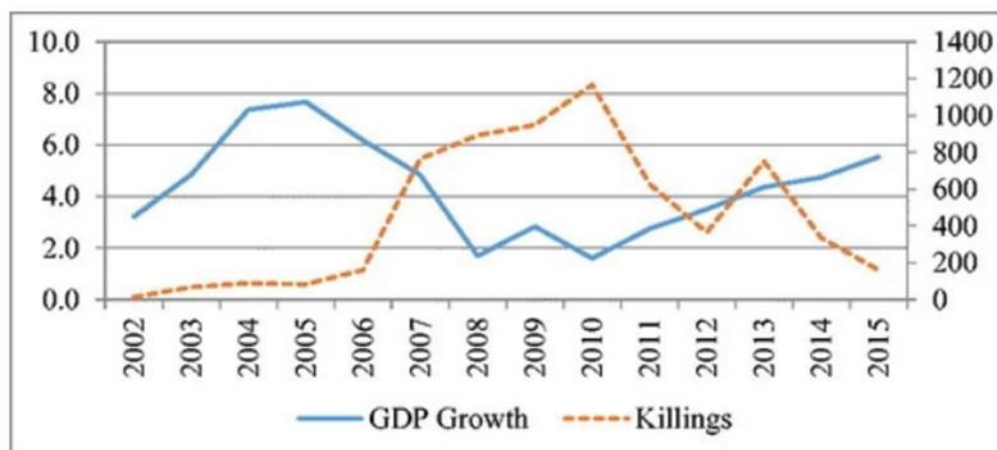
South Asia Terrorism Portal, <https://www.satp.org/datasheet-terrorist-attack/fatalities/Pakistan>.

There was no faction of society safe from its effects. Mosques were attacked, sectarian violence was at peak, military bases and personnel were targeted throughout the country, police and civilian personnel and their properties were attacked, schools and colleges were not safe, and even hundreds of innocent children were martyred. Pakistan

was ranked in top 2 countries affected by terrorism in year 2013 and 2014 (Center, 2012: 7). This situation required a firm action to address the problem to gross root level.

1.1.5.3 Economic.

Post 9/11 involvement of Pakistan in GWOT badly hampered the already dwindling economy of Pakistan. Resultant rise in terrorist activities adversely affected economic growth in Pakistan. Graph 1.3 depicts the impact of suicidal attacks on GDP growth. They were inversely related to each other i.e., with rise in terrorism, economic growth was low, and with decrease in terrorism, economic growth was also high. Moreover, to fight and control terrorism, a substantial segment of human and financial resources were dedicated (Zakaria et al., 2019: 1799).



Graph 1.3 GDP growth and deaths by suicide attacks in Pakistan (2002–2015)

Source: (Zakaria et al., 2019)

According to Muhammad Zakaria, Wen Jun and Haseeb Ahmed (2019), as per the Pakistan Economic Survey book, the direct and indirect losses to the Pakistan's economy from 2001 to 2018 amount to approximately \$127 Billion as depicted in table 1.1. Similarly, as indicated in Table 1.2, this has also led to the increased cost of doing business in Pakistan, disrupting the growth rate. Sector wise data also depicts the fall

in the foreign investment, exports and tax collection. FDI as well as domestic investment were reduced significantly; whereas, Government spending increased to maintain law and order and ensure security (Zakaria et al., 2019: 1798-99).

Table 1.1 Direct and indirect cost of terrorism (2002–2014)

Years	\$ billion	Rs. billion	% change
2001-02	2.67	163.9	–
2002-03	2.75	160.80	3.0
2003-04	2.93	168.80	6.7
2004-05	3.41	202.40	16.3
2005-06	3.99	238.60	16.9
2006-07	4.67	283.20	17.2
2007-08	6.94	434.10	48.6
2008-09	9.18	720.60	32.3
2009-10	13.56	1136.40	47.7
2010-11	23.77	2037.33	75.3
2011-12	11.98	1052.77	–49.6
2012-13	9.97	964.24	–16.8
2013-14	7.7	791.52	–22.8
2014-15	9.24	936.30	20.0
2015-16	6.49	675.76	–29.8
2016-17	5.57	572.60	–15.7
2017-18	2.07	223.32	–62.2
Total	126.79	10762.64	

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey year book 2015–2016 (Zakaria et al., 2019)

1.1.6 Pakistan Army Involvement in GWOT.

Pakistan's two Western Provinces, mainly Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and partially Baluchistan area bordering Afghanistan were intensely disturbed due to the rift between the Islamic extremist elements and security forces. These terrorists had a deep links into the society due to their long presence in the area and the influence they have built through settling down, having marriages, boosting power through the monetary means as well as acquiring modern weaponry, and organizing themselves to rise as local leaders. This was the first time in the history of Pakistan that regular Army Units were deployed in Western Border with Afghanistan along with the border security forces.

Table 1.2 Losses by sector due to terrorist attacks

Sectors	Years		Total (\$Billions)
	2014–15	2015–16	
Exports	1.08	0.80	1.88
Compensation to victims	0.04	0.01	0.05
Physical infrastructure	0.12	0.07	0.19
Foreign investment	4.56	2.04	6.60
Privatisation	0.01	0.00	0.01
Industrial output	0.02	0.01	0.03
Tax collection	2.94	2.32	5.26
Cost of uncertainty	0.03	0.01	0.04
Expenditure overrun	0.40	0.28	0.68
Others	0.04	0.02	0.06
Total losses	9.24	5.56	14.80

Source: Pakistan Economic Survey year book 2015–2016 (Zakaria et al., 2019)

Once the cleansing process started to get rid of such factions from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Pakistan Government had to face strong resistance. Due to lack of intelligence facilities and the civilian population involved, which were generally taken hostages by these terrorist groups, Army had to act in a very calculated and careful manner. Moreover, the hilly terrain provided terrorist groups an advantage to plan an ambush and retrieve to be safe in their hideouts. These actions caused a lot of casualties for the Pakistan Army.

1.1.7 Pakistan Air Force Involvement in GWOT with Limited Capabilities

Due to the Pressler Amendment in 1985, Pakistan Military support was constrained to the yearly approval by the President of the US. With disintegration of the former USSR, the US lost its interest in the region and further support to Pakistan was stopped. The Peace Gate program to provide further F-16s to Pakistan was also suspended (Pike & Pike, n.d.). Pakistan Air Force, existing fleet of F-16s, were equipped *with limited stock of precision guided munition* including Laser Guided Bombs and targeting pods and *limited night strike capabilities*, which were required for the accurate engagement of the targets. Rest of the fleet was mainly equipped with conventional weapons with low accuracy delivery profiles.

The high-altitude delivery of such weapons could result in a lot of collateral damage, especially while conducting Counter Terrorism missions in populated areas. The dilemma was that PAF had to take these missions inside own territory, making the situation graver. Moreover, *the intelligence network on ground and through aerial reconnaissance was also primitive*. These missions required real time info through Human Intelligence (HUMINT), Signal Intelligence (SIGINT) and, Photo-optic Intelligence.

Moreover, supporting such an operation on a very large scale required a lot of finances. So, Pakistan had to look towards the US as partner in GWOT, for financial as well as technical support for capacity building. The US had demanded many things from Pakistan to fight this war, including, “Intercepting arms shipments, blanket overflight and landing rights, military and intelligence operations and support, military operations against terrorists, etc., However, many of these were not accepted as such, this provided Pakistan opportunity to ask for the technical as well as financial support to meet the agreed upon demands and carry out counter terrorism (CT) operation as deemed necessary (O’Grady, 2022: 205).

First operation in FATA by the Pakistan Army against Al Qaeda resulted in lot of casualties, followed by many inconclusive actions. There was a dire need of required training and equipment, including night attack helicopters and quick intelligence. Subsequently, in another big operations in Wana, again Pakistan army had a big blow while losing many lives and equipment. Finally, Pakistan Army was successful in clearing the area from Al Qaeda fighters, still it came at a heavy cost. The lack of equipment like Unmanned Aerial Vehicles for real-time information was badly felt (O’Grady, 2022: 267).

1.1.8 First Operation by PAF in 2004

In 2004, Pakistan Army, asked for the aerial support of PAF in *Counter Terrorism Operation*, Al-Mizan, in Jandola area. This was the *first*

time that PAF was directly involved with Army in conduct of such operations (Kirmani, 2016). Depending on the accuracy and authenticity of the targets, based on the intelligence and operational urgency, the PAF offered the army precision engagement and targeting. The core competencies of any Air Force include integrated operations with other Armed Forces and then as a key capability precision engagement of the targets with the economy of efforts and minimum collateral damage.

PAF undertook these operations with utmost professionalism. However, as these terrorists were deeply indulged in the society and were using humans as their shield, there were alleged collateral damages, where innocent civilians also lost their lives. Moreover, Militants were also using hideouts exploiting the natural topography of the area; therefore, requirement of real time, reliable, credible intelligence and precision engagement was direly needed. To have such capabilities, PAF needed new weapon systems with precision-guided munitions and intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) platform. As a partner in this GWOT, Pakistan approached the US for equipping PAF with the required capabilities.

Between 2004-2008, the operational involvement of PAF with Pakistan Army in conducting such operations remained very limited. Army continued to undertake a large number of CT operations including the combing of the entire affected Western Border Areas of Pakistan. However, this isolated approach was subsequently accepted as mistake, owing to the heavy losses incurred by Pakistan Army.

Realization of the strength of battle-hardened militants, stretching far from the expectations, necessitated the involvement of PAF. This was aimed with destroying stronghold of the militants, denying them of their tactical hideout advantages and cutting down their logistics support (Chaudhry, 2021). Following 2008, Pakistan Air Force undertook many operations and continued its undaunted support for Pakistan Army in eradicating this menace from its roots. Meanwhile, through the Defense

Diplomacy efforts, PAF was also equipped with the state-of-the-art equipment by the US. These capability enhancements included new and upgraded F-16s, precision guided munitions (JDAMs), targeting pods, Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities, etc. PAF undertook Counter Terrorism Operations at a level unprecedented by any Air Force against Non-Traditional Security threats like terrorism. Only between 2008 to 2011 PAF conducted more than 5000 sorties dropping 10,600 bombs (Madiha, 2021).

The use of PAF in CT operations resulted in great effects in terms of reduced human losses incurred during these operations through neutralizing the threats before ground troops move into the designated areas and engagement of time-sensitive targets resulting in high mission success.

1.1.9 Commencement of PAF Capacity Building by the US, 2004

Post 9/11, the US was eager to take repulsive actions on Afghanistan. Pakistan due to its geographical location deep knowledge and influence in Afghanistan was a right choice for the US to be partner in this war. Pakistan was also ready to fight a new war, and had common perception of threat, terrorism. This enabled Pakistan to carve its way to Defense Capacity Building through Defense Diplomacy.

The US's Operation Enduring Freedom was fully supported by the Pakistan and all out help was provided for sustenance of this operation by coalition forces. This included routes for logistics support through port facilities and road network. In return, *in 2004 Pakistan was designated as Major non-NATO ally* and an initial \$3 Billion assistance package was announced by the American President (Camp, 2008). The long-stalled deal of F-16s was also formalized by the US in September, 2006, by agreeing to sell Pakistan new generation F-16 block 52 aircraft and Mid-Life upgradation (MLU) of its aging fleet of F-16 Block A&B. The main premise behind this decision was to even out the balance of conventional

military power in South Asia, enhancing Pakistan's capability to undertake CT OPS in ongoing operations in the GWOT and reassure Pakistan about the enduring relationship between two countries (Camp, 2008).

The new Block 52 F-16s with conformal fuel tanks (CFTs), giving it extended endurance and range, along with MLU of its existing fleet of F-16s was imminent for all weather day and night successful engagement and attack on fleeing targets with precision. These aircraft were equipped with an advanced targeting pod with an ability to generate ground position data with pinpoint accuracy and was an essential part of precision guided munition delivery mechanism to a target, Joint Direct Attack Munition (JDAM) kit to convert general purpose bombs to smart munitions, and AMRAAM (The Week, 2019). The package also included a critical requirement for successful conduct of Close Air Support (CAS) missions, that is secure and advances communications system enabling real time communication with friendly ground forces. Collectively, these systems enhanced PAF's technological capability to undertake precision CAS strikes against Al Qaeda, Taliban, and associated terrorist targets in the FATA, as well as provide non-traditional Intelligence Surveillance and Reconnaissance (NTISR), a crucial enabler in a CT OPS.

PAF Pilots and maintenance crew were given requisite training. Pilots were specifically trained for CAS, Combat Search and Rescue (CSAR), air to air refueling, and night flying operations (Johnson, 2010). Collectively all efforts were focused to the greater success of CT Operations with an improved capability to limit civilian casualties. This also resulted in greater willingness on the part of the Pakistani Air Force to employ the F-16s in a CT role.

1.1.10 TimeLine for Major PAF Capability Enhancement and CT Operations (2004-2017)

After 9/11 Operation Enduring Freedom for GWOT by the US started in October 7, 2001, which pushed Afghan Militants towards

Pakistan Borders. Pakistan Army suffered great losses due to initial engagements in isolated operations against these militants and terrorists. This resulted in change of policy and PAF was asked to become active in these operations. PAF conducted its first operation in 2004 and continued till 2017. Where officially these operations were declared as successful and respected areas were eradicated from the terrorist outfits. The defense diplomacy efforts which started post 9/11, especially for PAF in 2004 resulted in successful completion of the counter terrorism operation in 2017 by the armed forces of Pakistan including PAF, in the Western Border areas of Pakistan.

Foregone in view, we have to deeply study *“the way Pakistan implemented Defense Diplomacy with the US for enhancing PAF capacity in countering terrorism from 2004-2017”*. In this regard where Pakistan and the US governments and DoDs were involved, PAF and USAF had also direct diplomatic and military relationship channels.

1.2 Focus and Sub-focus

This study is focused on the assessment of the Defense diplomacy approaches adopted for Defense Cooperation between Pakistan and the US to eradicate Terrorism. This would require an understanding of the nature of the security crisis in the region, challenges of the current counter-terrorism strategy, and its relationship with stability in Pakistan. It is also structured with a sub-focus to discuss the defense diplomacy efforts in specific for understanding counter terrorism strategy and Defense Strategy for determining the role of Pakistan Defense Forces in this regard and enhancing PAF operational capabilities to undertake Counter Terrorism operations in Pakistan. Collectively, this is with the goal of finding possible Defense Diplomacy options exercised by the Pakistan in General and Pakistan Air Force in particular for the achievement of Capacity to conduct Counter Terrorism Operations successfully in the affected areas for tackling the insecurity in the region.

1.3 Formulation of the problem

The requirement of capability enhancement of PAF was a precondition for successfully engaging and eradicating the terrorist hideouts in Pakistan. Procurement of advanced and modern aerial platforms with precision delivery capabilities and ISR platforms to have real time picture for accurate and timely decision making was the need of the success of these operations. Based on the background described above regarding the threat of terrorism, the challenges and potential of implementing defense diplomacy strategies with a view to address the crisis in the region, the research questions of this study are:

- a. What were the National Interests of Pakistan and the US in this matter?
- b. What were PAF requirements for Capacity Building and how PAF planned to employ it?
- c. How was the implementation of Defense Diplomacy between Pakistan and the US for PAF capacity building to undertake CT operations?

1.4 Research purposes

The broad objective of this study is to conduct an assessment of defense diplomacy response to the post 9/11 CT Operation in Pakistan especially between 2004 to 2017. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- a. Determine the National Interests of Pakistan and the US in fight against Terrorism.
- b. Examine and identify the areas where Capacity Building for PAF was required and subsequent implementation of the plan to employ as per this requirement?
- c. Assess the Defense diplomacy model applied between the US and Pakistan in acquiring the requisite capabilities for PAF capacity building, to deal with terrorism.

1.5 Benefits of research

In line with the research objectives, the outcome of the research effort is envisaged to be of benefit to Pakistan government in general, MoD and Armed forces in particular in the development and implementation of defense diplomacy policies and learning. Other benefits of this research include:

- a. Provide information on the nature of terrorist activities in Pakistan Western Areas and its impact on the security.
- b. Assist the government, communities and academics to evaluate the effectiveness of the defense diplomacy model employed in addressing the problem of terrorism and borders security in that Region.
- c. Provide input to the government, MoD and Armed Forces particularly PAF to work together to achieve success in CT operations.
- d. Fill in the research Gap in the Domain of Understanding Defense Diplomacy for Capacity Building of Armed Forces.
- e. The results of the study are expected to contribute to knowledge on concepts, theories and studies in formulating policies, implementing Defense Diplomacy, and further research on subject.