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## **Operation Enduring Freedom: Foreign Pledges of Military & Intelligence Support**

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# Operation Enduring Freedom: Foreign Pledges of Military & Intelligence Support

## **Summary**

In response to the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, a number of countries and organizations have pledged military and intelligence support of operations against the Al Qaeda network and the Taliban in Afghanistan. This report summarizes public and media statements concerning military and intelligence support; it does not track humanitarian or law enforcement assistance. It will be updated as necessary. For detailed information on the U.S. response to terrorism, see the CRS Terrorism Electronic Briefing Book at: [<http://www.congress.gov/brbk/html/ebter1.html>].

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# Operation Enduring Freedom: Foreign Pledges of Military & Intelligence Support

In the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration announced Operation Enduring Freedom as part of the war on global terrorism. Currently, the United States is attempting to build a multilateral coalition against the Al Qaeda network led by Osama bin-Laden and against the Taliban in Afghanistan. It is difficult to discern exactly what the United States has requested of other countries, and precisely what other countries have pledged. Secretary of Defense Ronald Rumsfeld has declined to openly describe the support being given to the United States, stating instead: “each country is doing what they’re doing slightly differently, and they have their way of characterizing it. It seems to me that that’s fair, proper and certainly to our advantage.”<sup>1</sup> Some pledges, therefore, may be ambiguous or deliberately vague.

In general terms, it appears that requests for assistance and pledges of support can be categorized as follows:

- Basing of U.S. land, sea, and air forces
- Access to naval ports, airspace, airfields, and other internal transportation infrastructures, such as roads
- Providing border security around Afghanistan to prevent Al Qaeda members from fleeing or being reinforced by others outside of Afghanistan
- Providing additional military assets, such as aircraft, ships, military equipment, armed forces, and specialized personnel
- Sharing of intelligence assets or information

This report tracks public and media statements pledging foreign official support of military operations against the Al Qaeda network and the Taliban regime that supports it. It does not track foreign pledges of support for humanitarian assistance, law enforcement (and associated intelligence gathering), or the freezing or seizure of financial assets controlled by terrorists. The report will be updated as necessary.

**Afghanistan.** The anti-Taliban Northern Alliance has pledged its full support for the antiterrorist coalition and to fight alongside U.S. forces. The Northern Alliance also has said it would allow the United States to use facilities it holds, including the Soviet-built base at Bagram, 25 miles north of Kabul.

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<sup>1</sup> “Rumsfeld Meets Omani Monarch in Tent by the Sea,” *American Press Services*, October 4, 2001

**Albania.** Has offered the United States and its allies use of its airspace, ports, and airports.

**Armenia.** Has offered the United States use of its airspace.

**Australia.** Both military and intelligence support has been pledged. Article IV of the Australia, New Zealand, and United States (ANZUS) security treaty has been invoked, and the attacks of September 11th were declared an attack on Australia. Prime Minister John Howard has committed 1,000 troops to the coalition effort, including 150 Special Air Services troops. Prime Minister Howard gave permission for the deployment of 295 Australian troops from the 120th Special Air Services division currently stationed in the United States, if needed. In addition, tanker planes and two refueling planes are being sent to join the build-up, and “amphibious command capability” as well as spy planes could be sent if required. Currently, one Australian warship has been made available for the anti-terror campaign. Echelon listening posts located in the Australian outback are being used for intelligence gathering.

**Austria.** Chancellor Wolfgang Schuessel said his neutral country would allow the use of its airspace and provide whatever support it can, but that Austrian soldiers would not be involved in military action, which is constitutionally banned.

**Azerbaijan.** Has offered U.S. planes the use of its air space en route to the conflict zone.

**Bahrain.** Bahrain’s crown prince Sheik Salman bin Hamad Al Khalifa stated that Bahrain has not received any requests for assistance from the United States at this time, but “in a time of need, we stand by our friends.” Bahrain currently hosts the United States Navy’s Fifth Fleet headquarters.

**Bangladesh.** Has offered the United States use of its airspace, ports, and refueling facilities if needed for regional counter-terrorism operations.

**Belgium.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Foreign Minister Louis Michel said he would send troops to help in U.S. military operations, if requested.

**Bosnia.** Foreign Ministry spokesman Amer Kapetanovi said: “This country will offer any kind of assistance the United States government may ask for.”

**Brazil.** Was the first to propose invocation of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, also known as the Rio Treaty, which stipulates that “an armed attack on one member is to be considered an attack on all.” The treaty was activated September 19th in a meeting of Western Hemisphere foreign ministers at the Organization of American States. On October 1st Brazilian President Henrique Cardoso stated that the United States had not requested Brazilian military support and that Brazil does not intend to offer any.

**Bulgaria.** Foreign Minister Solomon Pasi said his nation was “ready to act as a (virtual) NATO ally,” and granted a request for the use of an air corridor for the passage of U.S. transport planes and helicopters.

**Canada.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Foreign Minister John Manley promised to “unambiguously” join U.S. military action. Minister of National Defence Art Eggleton stated that 2,000 Canadian troops will join the coalition against terrorism, as well as a commando unit, six warships, several Sea King helicopters, and six air force planes. The air force contingency will consist of three Hercules, one airbus, and two Aurora maritime patrol planes to help with surveillance, airlift support, and humanitarian assistance. Eggleton authorized 100 members of Canada’s armed forces currently serving in exchange programs in the United States and with other allies to participate in operations conducted by their “host units in response to the recent terrorist attack.” Eight additional CF-18 fighter jets have been dedicated to continental security under the bilateral partnership with the United States under the North American Aerospace Defense Command. The Canadian Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART) and three humanitarian assistance ships have also been placed in readiness to aid the United States.

**Chile.** Chile pledged full support for U.S. action, given that it is “intelligent, appropriate, and adequate,” and follows the norms of international law. Foreign Minister Soledad Alvear announced that Chilean troops have neither been committed by Chile nor requested by the United States.

**Cyprus.** Has offered the United States use of its airspace and airport facilities.

**Czech Republic.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Czech military forces have been deployed to increase security of U.S. sites. The government expressed its full support to the United States for military action against the terrorists. It has offered to allow U.S. planes use of its air space en route to the conflict zone.

**Denmark.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V.

**Egypt.** President Hosni Mubarak said that Egypt “supports the fight against terrorism, but will not take part with troops” or participate in any U.S.-led military action. Mubarak has, however, issued a firm statement of support for U.S. strikes in Afghanistan.

**European Union.** German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder announced that the EU not only shows verbal solidarity with the United States “but is also ready to assist in necessary military measures.” Military and intelligence support will come from individual EU member states that have those capabilities and choose to commit them.

**Finland.** Prime Minister Paavo Lipponen proposed allowing use of its airspace, but will not join the United States or NATO in any reprisal attack.

**France.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. In response to a bilateral request from Washington, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin agreed to allow U.S. military aircraft to use French airspace, and has sent a French Navy air defense frigate and a command and logistics vessel to the Indian Ocean to support the U.S. armada. President Jacques Chirac has already placed French special forces overseas in readiness to be deployed if necessary, and has agreed to further U.S. requests for military participation. Chirac pledged “we shall play our part in a spirit of solidarity and responsibility,” and has agreed to commit French forces to participate in the Afghan offensive. French satellites and intelligence agents on the ground working with the anti-Taliban opposition have been used to scout out counterattack targets.

**Georgia.** Officials have said they are ready to offer any help to the United States in its efforts to find and punish the perpetrators of the attacks. President Eduard Shevardnadze stated he would “include Georgia’s airspace and if need be airfields and other infrastructure as well” for U.S.-led military strikes.

**Germany.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has said Germany was ready and willing to send troops abroad “in defense of freedom and human rights” and aid U.S. strikes against terrorists. He pledged Germany’s “unreserved backing,” and will provide the United States with access to its airspace, airspace surveillance, intelligence cooperation, and increased protection of U.S. installations. The German government has stated it will, in due course, make its contribution, as soon as the United States makes a concrete request.

**Ghana.** Announced that it is prepared to help track down those behind the attacks.

**Greece.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Has allowed U.S. military planes to use its airspace. It has not received requests for further aid, but is willing to honor its NATO obligations. The United States already has a large naval base on the island of Crete.

**Gulf Cooperation Council.** The Council pledged support for an international coalition against terrorism, citing “the willingness of its members to participate in any joint action that has clearly defined objectives.” The Gulf Cooperation Council is composed of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. Several members have permitted the U.S. to preposition military equipment on their territory to support U.S. operations on a contingency basis.

**Hungary.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. The United States has been granted overflight and landing clearances.

**Iceland.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Foreign Minister Halldor Asgrimsson has said the airport at Keflavik is available for any U.S. operation.

**India.** India has offered all operational assistance to the United States, including use of its facilities, in any operations launched in pursuit of the perpetrators of the



September 11th attack. Indian intelligence officials are providing the United States with information concerning the financing and training of Islamic extremist groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Indian government has also offered the United States the use of its territory for staging any military operations in Afghanistan.

**Indonesia.** President Megawati Soekarnoputri has offered unspecified help.

**Ireland.** Prime Minister Bertie Ahern has offered to let the United States Air Force use Irish airfields.

**Israel.** Is providing intelligence support. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon stated that Israel was invited to join the anti-terror coalition, and he indicated a willingness to do so. In addition, Israel has offered political support for the military strikes, but has refrained from supplying direct military assistance.

**Iran.** Has said it will not join a U.S. counter-terrorism coalition and supports a diplomatic solution to the conflict. Iran remains a staunch opponent of the Taliban and has been providing weapons to the opposition Northern Alliance. It has also closed its border with Afghanistan. In response to a request from the Bush administration, Iran has agreed to rescue any American military personnel in distress in its territory.

**Italy.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Defense Minister Antonio Martino and Foreign Minister Renato Ruggiero have vowed to deploy troops and aircraft if asked to do so.

**Japan.** Although the country's constitution prohibits Japan from engaging in offensive action or "collective defense," at least four warships from their Maritime Self Defense Forces (MSDF) have been loading up with supplies and ammunition. The MSDF vessels are to provide support, including intelligence-sharing, medical services, transportation, and fuel and other supplies (excluding weapons and ammunition), and are expected to be deployed to the Indian Ocean. The MSDF ships will be under orders only to use their weapons in self-defense.

**Jordan.** King Abdullah has committed Jordan to providing intelligence support for the war on terrorism.

**Kazakhstan.** It has been reported that President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that his nation is ready to take part in an anti-terrorist coalition, including providing airspace and military bases. He says no official requests have been made.

**Kuwait.** Has offered all possible assistance.

**Kyrgyzstan.** Has agreed to allow the United States access to its airspace.

**Latvia.** President Vike-Freiberga stated that Latvia is ready to provide the United States absolutely all assistance needed to find and punish the perpetrators.

**Luxembourg.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V.

**Mexico.** President Vicente Fox stated that Mexico is “ready to collaborate with all those countries in a proposed alliance to fight this evil,” and indicated willingness to cooperate on security matters during a visit to President Bush on October 4, 2001.

**Moldova.** The Moldovan Supreme Security Council adopted a decision which allows the international antiterrorist coalition to use Moldovan airspace and the Chisinau airport for the fight against terrorism.

**NATO.** The 18 NATO allies of the United States formally agreed to put Article V (the mutual defense clause of the North Atlantic Treaty) into effect, deciding that the attacks of September 11th on the United States could be considered an attack on the alliance as a whole. Article V states that NATO members must consider coming to the aid of an ally under attack and thus does not guarantee assistance. On October 3rd, the United States requested NATO to mobilize its fleet of 17 AWACS early warning surveillance aircraft from the Geilenkirchen air base in Germany. The United States has also received permission for unlimited use of NATO sea ports, military bases, air space, and intelligence resources. Furthermore, NATO plans to send five European radar planes with German crews to Oklahoma’s Tinker Air Force base to fly combat air patrols to help protect the East Coast of the United States, and intends to redeploy a naval force of nine ships from eight countries to the eastern Mediterranean to boost NATO’s regional presence and free up American naval vessels for the Afghan conflict. NATO countries will replace any U.S. troops pulled out of peacekeeping missions for the anti-terrorist campaign; Germany has already agreed to take over leadership of the NATO mission in Macedonia.

**Netherlands.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V, and has offered logistical support.

**New Zealand.** Foreign Minister Phil Goff offered military support for use in any action against those responsible for the attacks, including troops from the country’s Special Air Services regiment. Intelligence support has been offered as well; New Zealand’s Waihopai monitoring station is part of the five-nation Echelon network. The Australia, New Zealand, and United States (ANZUS) security treaty has been activated.

**Nicaragua.** The Nicaraguan government pledged to lend whatever help in the fight against terrorism is called for under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

**Norway.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V.

**Oman.** The Sultan of Oman has granted permission to the United States to use the facilities the U.S. has had access to since 1980, including airfields at Seeb, Thumrait, and Masirah Island.

**Organization of American States.** Signatories of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance invoked the Rio Treaty, and agreed to “use all legally available measures to pursue, capture, extradite, and punish” terrorists, and to “render additional assistance and support to the United States and to each other, as appropriate, to address the September 11 attacks, and also to prevent future terrorist acts.” Acting under the Charter of the OAS, all members of the Organization condemned the attacks and called upon member states to “take effective measures to deny terrorist groups the ability to operate within their territories.” The OAS will not contribute any military or intelligence support because it is essentially a coordinative and policy-development body. Individual member states have those capabilities and may choose to commit them, but that will be the decision of the nation state, not the OAS.

**Pakistan.** Declared its “full support” and “unstinting cooperation” for U.S. operations against the Taliban and offered use of its airspace and intelligence services. General Pervez Musharraf has agreed to allow use of a commercial airport in Baluchistan province and a small military airfield in Sindh province. Other offered support includes use of naval facilities, logistical and intelligence support, and use of airspace for missile assaults and aerial bombardment of Afghanistan. Press reports indicate Pakistan will allow U.S. special forces to stage in Pakistan, but the country will not permit large numbers of U.S. ground forces.

**Palestinian Authority.** Bassam Abu Sharif, aide to Yasser Arafat, said Arafat offered to cooperate with U.S. anti-terror drive, but added “The struggle against terrorists must tie in with the opening of a negotiating table in order to achieve overall peace in the region.”

**People’s Republic of China.** The Chinese government, wary of the training of Muslim Uygurs in bin Laden camps in Afghanistan, is cooperating by sharing intelligence with the United States. China has also increased border security in its western Xinjian region, which touches both Pakistan and Afghanistan.

**Philippines.** Filipino officials have offered the use of two former U.S. military bases in the Philippines, permission for U.S. aircraft to use Filipino airspace, and the use of combat troops as needed. Intelligence cooperation is also being provided.

**Poland.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V, and President Aleksander Kwasniewski has pledged to fully participate in any NATO action.

**Portugal.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V, and has pledged to the United States full support, including military support.

**Qatar.** The government has said the United States would be able to use the large air base Al Udaid, if needed. The United States has been financing upgrades of the base, and also has ground armor prepositioned in Qatar.

**Republic of the Congo.** President Denis Sassou-Nguesso offered to assist in the capture of those responsible.

**Romania.** Parliament has endorsed the decision to provide Romania's air, territorial, and maritime space facilities to support U.S. actions.

**Russia.** The government is cooperating with U.S. requests for intelligence sharing. President Vladimir Putin has opened Russia's air space to the United States for deliveries of humanitarian aid. Putin has also agreed to supply weapons to the Afghan anti-Taliban fighters, and has urged former Soviet republics located near Afghanistan to cooperate with the United States. Press reports state that Russian military equipment and cargo planes have been steadily arriving in the Tajikistan capital Dushanbe since the end of September. There have even been accounts that some artillery units of Russia's 201<sup>st</sup> motorized infantry division based in Tajikistan have neared the Afghan capital Kabul with the forces of the Northern Alliance, but Russia's Defense Ministry denied these reports as "not corresponding to reality." President Putin has said, nevertheless, that Russia would participate in "search and rescue" missions stemming from an Afghan conflict, but not join in retaliatory strikes. Alexei Arbatov, deputy chairman of the Duma's defense committee, has stated that "Russia de facto is participating in the military actions against the Taliban," and alluded to the presence of Russian military advisors working in Afghanistan.

**Saudi Arabia.** The Saudi government appears set to allow the United States to use Prince Sultan Air Base for coordination of air operations over Afghanistan. However, the United States and Saudis have agreed not to publicly detail Saudi cooperation. Saudi Arabia, home to the bin Laden family, is also providing the United States with intelligence information, and reportedly will allow overflights, refueling operations, and logistical support for U.S. operations.

**Slovakia.** Has offered to allow U.S. planes use of its air space en route to the conflict zone.

**South Korea.** Offered field medical support, air and naval logistics support, and liaison officers. The Republic of Korea has also pledged to share terrorism-related intelligence.

**Spain.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Defense Minister Federico Trillo said the United States may use Spanish military bases for any military operations. Under existing agreements, the United States can already use the Moron air base and the Rota naval base.

**Sudan.** Bin Laden was based here from 1991-1996. Sudan is cooperating by sharing intelligence with the United States.

**Sweden.** As a neutral Sweden cannot take part in any military action, but is willing to share intelligence with the United States and its allies.

**Tajikistan.** Will allow the United States to use military facilities for strikes against Afghanistan. There are reports that some U.S. search-and-rescue forces might be based there as well, but U.S. ground-based troops will not be able to deploy from Tajikistan to Afghanistan. The United States has received permission to use Tajik air space, and several air bases are already being used as supply posts for foreign military assistance to the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance forces.

**Thailand.** Thai officials pledged to support the United States “just as we did in the past.” Specifics have yet to be defined, but Thailand was a refueling site for U.S. military aircraft during the Gulf War. The Thai government has announced that it will exchange intelligence on terrorists as well as support any UN resolution against terrorism.

**Turkey.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Turkey has offered the use of eight air bases, including the large base at Incirlik, and blanket permission to use Turkish airspace. The Turkish parliament has increased its support for the anti-Taliban Northern Alliance, including authorizing the deployment of Turkish special forces and equipment to train anti-Taliban fighters. Turkish intelligence is also cooperating with the United States. Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit has announced that, while Turkish officers have been in consultation with U.S. officials to help coordinate Turkey’s contribution to the campaign, “there has been no request from the U.S. for troops so far.”

**Turkmenistan.** President Saparmurat Niyazov has offered support to the United States, but shuns any entangling alliances. He has been noncommittal about assisting with strikes on Afghanistan, although he reportedly will allow use of his country’s air space.

**Ukraine.** Has agreed to a U.S. request to permit military cargo aircraft to fly over the country’s airspace and to allow the use of three military airfields and several air corridors for return flights. This does not include provisions for fighter jets and helicopters or the transport of tanks or large artillery pieces, which would require special parliamentary approval.

**United Kingdom.** As a NATO member, it supported the invocation of Article V. Since the September 11 attacks, Prime Minister Blair has made it clear that Britain is willing to commit substantial military forces to the U.S.-led alliance against terrorism. Britain has placed its entire military capability at U.S. disposal, and now has over 23,000 troops equipped with heavy tanks, self-propelled guns and missile launchers, stationed in and around the Persian Gulf state of Oman for long-planned military exercises with the Omani army. The Royal Navy has sent about three dozen warships, including its largest aircraft carrier with a squadron of Harrier jets. Also present is an assault ship with marines and army commandos aboard. There are reports that Gurkha special forces, currently attached to Scottish units training in the Persian Gulf, may be deployed alongside British special forces and their U.S. counterparts for operations in Afghanistan. The Royal Air Force contingent in the region includes fighters, bombers, tankers, and attack helicopters, but the Defense Ministry declines to say to what extent any of these forces will be used in Afghanistan. Three Royal Navy nuclear attack submarines were involved in the initial October 7<sup>th</sup>

attack firing Tomahawk missiles against terrorist training facilities. Blair has also said that U.S. bombers and planes can use the British island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, which lies within striking distance of Afghanistan. On October 11<sup>th</sup> Admiral Michael Boyce, chief of Britain's defense staff, announced that the mountain and winter warfare troops of the Royal Marines' 3 Commando Brigade, now stationed in Oman, would be considered for use in any land operation in Afghanistan.

**United Nations.** The U.N. Security Council has expressed "readiness to take all necessary steps to respond to the terrorist attacks," but has not formally authorized any military response. U.N. officials condemned the reported U.S. attack on a facility housing U.N. aid workers, killing four and injuring others.

**Uzbekistan.** The Foreign Ministry has announced that it is ready to discuss any form of cooperation against international terrorism, including the deployment of U.S. troops, and has offered use of its air space, necessary military and civilian infrastructure and facilities, and the air base at Termez for U.S. transport planes and helicopters for search-and-rescue or humanitarian missions. There are reports that U.S. aircraft and 1,000 ground troops have already been deployed to Uzbekistan, but the government in Tashkent has refused to confirm those claims. President Islam Karimov has stressed that U.S. troops potentially based there cannot be used to launch air or ground attacks, and that U.S. special operations forces will not be allowed in Uzbekistan.

**Venezuela.** Defense Minister Jose Vicente Rangel has not ruled out Venezuelan cooperation in a U.S.-led military response.

**Yemen.** Officials have indicated that they would be willing to participate in an anti-terrorism coalition, but only under the auspices of an international organization such as the United Nations.