SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TERRORISM IN PAKISTAN

Umar Daraz

Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Malakand, PAKISTAN.

Dr. Arab Naz

Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Malakand, PAKISTAN. arab_naz@yahoo.com

Waseem Khan

Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of Malakand, PAKISTAN.

Oaiser Khan

Department of English, University of Malakand, PAKISTAN.

Tariq Khan

Department of English, University of Malakand, PAKISTAN.

ABSTRACT

Pakistan is among those regions of this terrestrial surface that is of utmost and undeniable importance. Its political, economic and social instability is of deep concern for US policy-makers after 9/11, because of its sanctuary position in relevance to terrorists' oust from Afghanistan. Consequently, Pakistan had to take serious measures through direct intervention against terrorists in different parts of the country that resulted in socio-political and economic chaos and fuss. This paper sociologically investigates terrorism on its causal and consequential grounds in Pakistan. The study was undertaken in Swat; known as the paradise and Switzerland of Pakistan, which is almost obliterated and shuddered by the terrorists. The data is collected from 180 samples (selected purposively) in Swat using structured interview schedule. The data is quantitatively analyzed through the application of chi-square test and the results conclude that socio-economic and religious determinants are among the instigating factors to encourage terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, uncertainty, social, economic, causes, consequences, obliteration

BACKGROUND

War is among the hazardous creations and inventions by the human on the earth. Human minds are so powerful that they crafted variations of the war with the exploration and discovery of massive destroyers in shape of chemical weapons. This invention further gave birth to its own offspring and expanded in shape of smaller particles like uncertainty, discontentment and socio-political crimes like terrorism. Unlike the war, terrorism is a kind of massive assault that is hidden and the agenda is hard to decipher (Rana, 2003, Chitkara, 2003, Paul & Brahma, 1988). Terrorism is a kind of violence or a threat designed to create an atmosphere of fear, and a trigger of clue to start war—and thereby bring about some social or political change" (Rana, 2005).

Since September 9/11, 2001 a new value of disruption and restlessness started in the shape of Terrorism and an alternate Talibanization that highlighted Taliban as Terrorists. Taliban's Movement has a long political, social and economic history that originally took birth in Afghanistan in order to ouster the Soviet Union forces. Later on, the movement diverted its focus to implement the orthodox Islam in the country in 1996 it succeeded in controlling about 90% of the country (Haqqani, 2005; Stern, 2004). The incident of 9/11 attracted the attention of U.S because the master-mind of anti-US campaign was supposedly lived in Afghanistan that led to a weapon-based attack to oust Taliban (Abbas, 2004). Resultantly, their consolidation led to revolt and insurgency and declared their offensiveness against the allied forces. Pakistan's support to the U.S was highly disfavored by the Taliban leadership and they also turned their eyes to Pakistan. They embarked the journey to express their rage with the support of the local people in different parts of the country especially in the Northern areas of Pakistan (Abbas, 2007; Daraz, 2008).

The extremist movement in Afghanistan has been slowly and gradually entrenched to different parts of Pakistan. Kemp (2008) expounds that rise of radicalism/extremism in Afghanistan and Pakistan is rooted in the disintegration of tribal (in both countries) and state (mainly in Afghanistan, but

increasingly in Pakistan) structures; and the increased influence of religiously orthodox foreign elements who assumed prominence during the long drawn-out conflict in Afghanistan (Dyer, *et al*, 2007; Fair, 2008). Since the 1990s, the principal driving force behind terrorism on an international scale has been Al-Qaeda and its affiliates and offshoots, which together loosely constitute a global Salafist or "jihadi" movement that is an amorphous type of non-state actor. It consists of both the remnants of central core of the organization that ordered the 9/11 attacks and those that preceded it (chiefly, the 1998 East African embassy bombings, the millennium plots, and the 2000 bombing of the USS *Cole* in Yemen) and local associates and imitators around the world. Their links to what is left of the original conspiracy that was based in Taliban-ruled Afghanistan are hard to trace. The presence of these successor groups is global, including cells within immigrant communities in the West (Hoffman, 1999; Hashmi, 2009).

The most virulent form of Al Qaeda—related terrorism persists in Iraq, in conjunction with a Sunni-led insurgency aided by foreign fighters who have provided the majority of suicide bombers since the U.S intervention in 2003. Since 2001, however, attacks in Indonesia, Morocco, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kenya, Spain, and Great Britain have shown that Al-Qaeda in the broadest sense, including all aspects of jihadi terrorism, retains both the will and the capacity to conduct operations around the world. An important source of unity within this diffused movement is its origin in the anti-Soviet resistance in 1980s Afghanistan. There the links that exist today among individuals and different national groups were forged. These connections are based on shared experiences, socialization, training, and indoctrination in camps in Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as ideological affinity (Fair, 2004; Richardson, 2006; and Khan, 2009). The organization of Al-Qaida adversely affected humanity as well as the infrastructural beauty of different countries especially Pakistan and Afghanistan. The root causes of this terrorists act includes, political interest, personal interest, nepotism, poverty, unemployment etc (Azam, 2009).

The terrorists' movements almost cover entire world where the violent political conflict/game is the major determinant of terrorism. The world's nation is in the form of cold war with one another where the seeds are sown by numerous socio-political factors Ferdous (2009). A possible condition for terrorism on a global level is violent political conflict, whether civil or international. The logic behind this argument is that if these deeply rooted conflicts were resolved; terrorism (as a manifestation of the conflict) would disappear (Ahmed, 2009).

As violent political behavior encourages terrorism, in the same way globalization is associated with terrorism in two senses. One is the possibility that resentment over being left behind fuels terrorism in areas of the world that do not benefit from but feel exploited by the West. The second is that permeability of borders, mobility of persons, and instantaneous worldwide communication through the Internet and the news media provide important resources for terrorist conspiracies. However, the relationship is more complex than one might imagine at first glance (Hudson, 2002).

Another condition linked to terrorism is the presence or absence of democracy. Repression of peaceful means of political dissent may force opposition movements into the underground and encourage their resort to violence, because they lack alternatives and face persecution from the state. Inclination to use terrorism is thought to be reduced when the political process is open to the expression of diverse viewpoints and when opposition groups are not just heard but represented in the structures of power (Bachar, et.all. 2006; Bhutto, 2008).

In addition to the above determinants of terrorism, consequently ideologies whether religious or secular, misinterpretation of religion can also lead to terrorism. War and terrorism are closely associated with each other while the only discrepancy lies in the shape of battle-field and no distinction between military and civilians that are absent in the later. The modern and advanced telecommunication facilities strengthen the activities of terrorists across the world that may not only be based on territory rather ideology may also be inculcated (Ahmad, 2005).

Terrorism has brought enormous crisis in South Asian countries through the adverse impacts on their social, economic, political and physical infrastructure (Saigol, 2010). Among South Asian countries particularly Pakistani state has suffered excessively on the basis of social, economic, infrastructural and human cost due to terrorism. Resultantly, the country is declared as the dangerous place and is in-

line with countries like Iraq and Afghanistan with regard to internal order. This calls for taking a fresh look at the prevailing internal security situation and formulating a comprehensive strategy that can work to stabilize the situation thereby creating a climate that is supportive of socio-economic activities in the country, brings back the lost atmosphere of peace and leads the people on the path to prosperity (Shpiro, 2000).

Terrorism has threatened internal and external security where the crime-corruption nexus adds to the socio-political complexities (Daraz, 2008). Sectarian schisms and ethnic divides do exist in other societies and so have they persisted in Pakistan as well that creates the climax of horror through crises of internal security. Pakistan was unfamiliar to terrorist activities prior to 9/11, but when Pakistan took decision to participate in the "Global War on Terror" (GWOT); it led to a serious blow to domestic security and instability in the country (Khan, 2009). Since 2001 and onward to 2009, the country confronted severe bloodshed and havoc in the form of terrorist attacks and suicide bombings. The statistics in this regard reflect that there were 723 different kinds of terrorist attacks that led to at least 11,585 fatalities in 2009 that were; in comparison almost ten times exceeded the preceded year-2008 (SATP, 2009; Riedel, 2008).

The discussion so far leads to the argument that the journey embarked in 2001 is still continuous and has reached to the monstrous state. The hazards and jeopardizes of the issue are fading the nation into oblivion as a majority of the common masses have experienced loss of their loved ones and properties. Such a heinous scenario led the optimism to pessimism and the prosperity to dis-integrity. The development that was observable to some extent has again sunk into vulnerability.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The beginning of the 21st Century brought with itself new challenges in the form of terrorism and militancy and the attack on World Trade Center opened a new chapter in the modern history. The gloomy atmosphere of such havoc also brought various socio-cultural, economic, political and religious impacts in Pakistan. Majority of the scholars consider the issue of 9/11 as an unconventional and psychological warfare, however, it laid-down the foundation of defining and delimiting terrorism linking it primarily to religious, political, personal and economic factors (Ali, 2007).

A long-distance border of Pakistan with Afghanistan brings the overt and direct consequences of 9/11. Besides, the attack of the USA accompanied by its allies against the terrorists (as they perceived) in the form of Taliban; the insurgency entered into the bordering tribal belt in Pakistan and further spread into the northern areas of the country with in no time (Burki, 2002). The agenda as propagated by these insurgents was based on the so-called Islamization process as they had launched in Afghanistan recently. Due to socio-cultural and religious similarities, the Movement was supported by a majority of the common people in the form TNSM (Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e- Mohammadi) and the Islamization was put-forward by Maulana Fazal-ullah, the leader of Taliban in district Swat (Daraz, 2008). However, there was a huge difference in the mechanism of activism between TNSM and Taliban's movement headed by Maulana Fazl ullah where the former believe on preaching mechanism while the later acted on the mechanism of power and thus controlled the socio-economic affairs of the area (Kronstadt, 2007).

Consequently, such activities brought damage to schools, colleges, hospitals, banks, NGOs (working in the area) and to some extent discouraged the government employees to continue their duties and services. Further, many of the citizens lost their lives while the lives of living people became miserable. In this regard, according to Rashid (2002), these insurgents have made their own social network in order to achieve their own specific goals based upon the agenda of the so-called *Jihad* and Islamization.

Realizing the various socio-political and economic impacts of movement; the contemporary Government took various initiatives to curb the problem, however, the steps taken by such authorities faded into failure. The considerable adverse impacts are observable upon the social, economic, political, familial and infrastructural aspects of the area (Siddiqi, 2007). Similarly, there were attacks on markets, CD centers, girls' schools and people affiliated with governmental institutions were

discrepantly dealt, treated in inhumane manner in the name of Sharia. Further, the military operation worsened the condition in the form of huge mass-displacement and migration (Daily The News, 2009).

In the light of the mentioned facts; the situation in the area may drawn-out as a formidable scenario for sustainability and survival. Majority of the masses faced the vulnerability in the context of their displacement that ultimately affected their social identity, integrity, enthusiasm and made them pessimistic about life and future. The development made so far in the area retreated somehow to the dark ages that augmented the apathy in the area. In this regard, the current research study focuses on those instigating factors that led the society to susceptibility and mutiny.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1. To identify and record the socio-economic causes of terrorism/Taliban's movement in Khyber Pakhunkhwa Pakistan
- 2. To investigate and analyze the socio-economic impacts fetched by terrorism/militancy in Pakhtun society
- 3. To study and find out psychological crises of terrorism/militancy in Pakhtun society

HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

- I. Political and personal interests caused terrorism in Pakhtun's society
- II. Terrorism/militancy creates security crises and social problems
- III. Terrorism leads to psychological disturbance among the local people

STUDY MATRIX

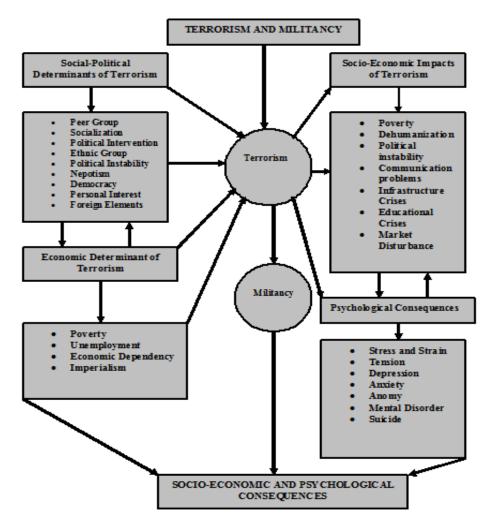


Figure 1: The model TAM (Terrorism and Militancy) has been derived from the cited literature

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence by a person or an organized group against people or property with the intention of intimidation or coercion of societies or governments, often for ideological or political reasons (Hoffman, 1998; Nunberg, 2001; Martyn, 2002; and Deen, 2005). Terrorism in Pakistan has occupied the center stage in debates and has become a big concern for governments at national and international levels (Quraishi, 2002; Hamid, 2011). In this connection, this research study is an effort to explore socio-economic and political factors and their consequences in Malakand Division and is further delimited to District Swat. The study is quantitative in nature where primary (field study) and secondary sources (literature review) are elegantly and relationally utilized to acquire the facts.

This study is conducted in *Mingora* city of District Swat, Khyber *Pakhunkhwa* Pakistan where a comprehensive survey of the research area was made to find-out the subject respondents and then the proposed causes and consequences through structured interview schedule. In order to achieve the accurate and precise results, the data was collected from educated respondents where the criterion for education was settled as at least M. Phil. A total of 180 respondents were selected using purposive/judgmental sampling technique for this study. The responses of the respondents were recorded on two point category i.e. 'to lower extent' and 'to greater extent' coded in the SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science) with 1 and 2, denoted as (TLE) and (TGE) accordingly. Data is analyzed through the application of statistical test (chi-square test) in order to statistically verify the mentioned hypotheses for the purpose of generalization.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The empirical data that is collected during field survey and in a face to face communication with the respondents is statistically analyzed and reported in the technical research manner.

In this regard, Table 1 demonstrates the socio-economic determinants of terrorism in the research area. The data explicitly recommends the existence of terrorism based on various socio-economic factors that include the influence of peer group that dominantly stimulate the indulgence in unfair activities. Similarly, defective socialization and political intervention of different countries are among the core basis for the prevalence of insurgency that is accompanied by political incompetence and poor governance to suppress such issue, depicted by the field data. Further, the empirical data reflects the secondary factors that have a relative importance in the existence of terrorism comprises of foreign-intrusion, poverty and economic deprivation, unemployment, tribalism and feudalistic nature of the social structure play their role to dominated human thinking and bring inconsistency and uncertainty (see Table 1).

Table 1: Socio-economic determinants of terrorism * level of terrorism cross tabulation

Socio-Economic Determinants of Terrorism	Levels of Terrorism		
	To Lower Extent	To Greater Extent`	Total
Peer Group Influence	3(27%)	8(73%)	11(100%)
Socialization	1(06%)	15(94%)	16(100%)
Political Intervention	2(07%)	27(93%)	29(100%)
Political instability	3(10%)	25(90%)	28(100%)
Nepotism	2(07%)	28(93%)	30(100%)
Foreign elements	1(05%)	21(95%)	22(100%)
Poverty	2(13%)	13(87%)	15(100%)
Unemployment	3(32%)	5(68%)	8(100%)
Economic dependency	2(20%)	8(80%)	10(100%)
Tribalism and feudalism	4(36%)	7(64%)	11(100%)
Total	23(13%)	157(87%)	180(100%)

 $(P=.000^{**}<.05$ there is highly significant relationship between socio-economic factors and terrorism, $(\chi 2 = 107.92, D.f. = 9)$

Resultantly, the socio economic determinants of terrorism, proposed in the hypothesis as "political and personal interests caused terrorism in Pakhtun society" that is judged with the application of chi-square test where the value of $P=.000^{**}<.05$, shows a significant and strong alliance among the mentioned variables (see Figure 1).

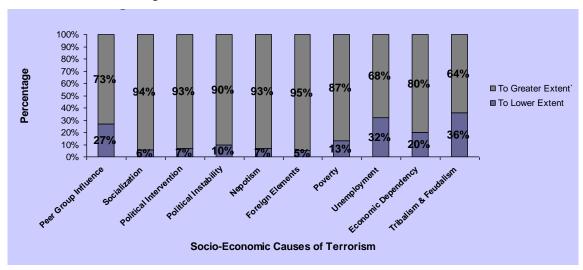


Figure 1: Socio-Economic Determinants of Terrorism

In continuation to the field information collected with respect to investigate consequences along-with the causes of terrorism. In this context, the following table enumerates the details about socioeconomic consequences of terrorism on local people of the affected area. The data patently expresses that the existence of terrorism lowers down the standard of life of people and creates poverty due to the unwilling closure of trade and commerce. In addition, the empirical information enumerates that the presence of terrorism also led to dehumanization through intentional killing of the common masses. Furthermore, the communicational facilities that included media transport and roads etc were devastated with heavy bombing and helicopter-shelling that faded the infrastructural elegance of Swat severely. The infrastructure that was obliterated mainly comprised of schools, hospitals, tourists spots. In addition, the vulnerable inhabitants of the area witnessed and experience the longest ever and worst form of curfew where a bulk of the masses were sprayed with bullets and resulted into bloodshed. Resultantly, the uncertain situation in the area augmented the formidable situation and spread panic among the masses that compelled them to evacuate the area and migrated to the other parts of the region (see Table 2).

Table 2: socio-economic consequences of terrorism * level of terrorism cross tabulation

	Levels of Terrorism		
Socio-Economic Consequences of Terrorism	To Lower Extent	To Greater Extent	Total
Dehumanization	2(29%)	4(71%)	7(100%)
Communication problems	4(25%)	12(75%)	16(100%)
Transport problem	3(27%)	8(73%)	11(100%)
Infrastructural Crises	2(12%)	15(88%)	17(100%)
Political instability	3(11%)	24(89%)	27(100%)
Market Disturbance	5(22%)	18(78%)	23(100%)
Killing and Murdering	7(29%)	17(71%)	24(100%)
Educational Crises	3(21%)	11(79%)	14(100%)
Security problem	2(05%)	39(95%)	41(100%)
Total	31(17%)	149(83%)	180(100%)

 $(P=.000^{**}<.05$ there is highly significant relationship between socio-economic consequences and terrorism ($\chi 2 = 32.609$, D.f. =8)

With reference to the hypothetical statements assumed for the research purpose; socio-economic consequences of terrorism were linked to causation of security crises and social problems in the area. The hypothesis was tested through the application of chi-square test (P=.000**< .05 that shows a significant relationship among the variables regarding the consequences i.e. (χ 2 = 32.609, D.f. =8) (see Figure 2).

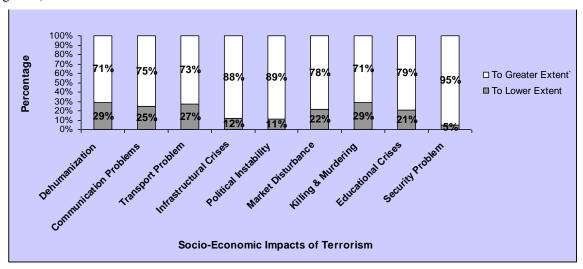


Figure 2: Socio-Economic Consequences of Terrorism

Terrorism; despite the social matter of concern is also a psychological issue that is closely related to bring mental crises among the masses. Challenge to the governmental writ and the official response create huge insurgency and apathy in the area through huge bomb blasts, killing of the masses, and long duration of curfew. In this context the following table explicitly elucidates the psychological consequences of terrorism in the area. The field information in relation to the secondary data shows that prevalence of terrorism brings stress and strain that ultimately lead to the existence of anxiety among the affected masses. Furthermore, the data reveals that mental disorders and suicide area caused due to high ratio of insurgency and uncertainty. The presence of such uncertainty and inconsistent situation further led to anomy and isolation among the affectees that further lead to mental feebleness and other psychological disorders.

Table 3: psychological impacts of terrorism \ast level of terrorism cross tabulation

Psychological Impacts of Terrorism	Level of Terrorism		
	To Lower Extent	To Greater Extent`	Total
Stress and Strains	5(23%)	17(77%)	22(100%)
Tension	11(17%)	54(83%)	65(100%)
Anxiety	4(31%)	9(69%)	13(100%)
Depression	13(25%)	39(75%)	52(100%)
Anomy	10(45%)	12(55%)	22(100%)
Mental disorder	1(25%)	3(75%)	4(100%)
Suicide	1 (50%)	1(50%)	2(100%)
Total	45(25%)	135(75%)	180(100%)

 $(P=.000^{**}<.05$ there is highly significant relationship between psychological impacts and terrorism ($\chi 2 = 82.973$, D.f. =6)

This research study comprises of the hypothetical statement that reflects the association of terrorism with psychological impacts. The validity of hypothesis was checked through the application of chisquare test like ($P=.000^{**}$ < .05 that shows a highly significant relationship between terrorism and psychological consequences, ($\chi 2 = 82.973$, D.f. =6) (see Figure 3).

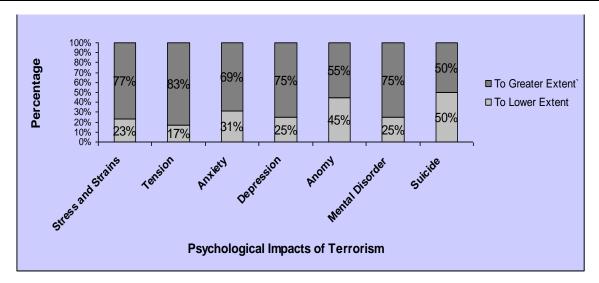


Figure 3: Psychological Impact of Terrorism

CONCLUSION

Researches mainly tend to highlight the social monsters and lead the vulnerability towards prosperity, where the current research also aimed to focus one of the igniting issues of the day that is terrorism. The study evidently concludes that the inferno of the terrorism is encouraged by the social structure that predominantly includes nepotism, peer group influence, illegitimate intrusion of foreign elements, and political incompetence. The empirical analyses of the research signify these factors as the instigating sources for the prevalence of terrorism in the area under study. In relevance to the mentioned accomplices of terrorism; the study reveals the devastation of socio-economic structure as a consequence that includes murders and dehumanization, transport and communication problems, infrastructural sabotage and lower standard of life.

Similarly, the subject masses are psychologically depressed and tortured by the havoc of terrorism in the area. Resultantly, the psychological disorders worsen in shape of tension, anxiety, stress and strain and mental feebleness. The adverse impacts of terrorism lead and necessitate the masses towards anomy and create the tendency towards suicide and mental diseases.

RECOMMENDATIONS

It is obvious that the acts of violence and terrorism communicate a threat to government that seeks power by toppling a weak social order and control. Understanding the root causes and consequences of terrorism not only institutor of *Madrassa* but the educational and economic system need reforms. Pakistan needs justice based economic and educational system coupled with masses-oriented democratic political culture, which can only develop tolerance and violence-free religious way of dwelling.

Political incompetence and poor leadership are among the core causes of uncertainty and inconsistence in the society that create apathy and pathetic social life. In this regard, the honest and well-driven local and national leadership is among the dire needs of the society. It is the duty of the social scientists, nationalist, economic and political thinkers to launch a nationwide movement for a safe and secure Pakistan.

REFERENCES

Abbas, Hassan. (2004). Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

Aftab, Safiya. (2008). Poverty and Militancy: Pakistan Institute for Peace Study, Knowledge for peace, p.01.

Ahmad, Irfan (2005). Between moderation and radicalization, Global Networks, pp. 279-299.

Ahmed, R. (2009). Interface of Political Opportunism and Islamic Extremism in Bangladesh: Rhetorical Identification in *Government Response Communication Studies*, 60 (1), 82 – 96. doi: 10.1080/10510970802623633

Ali, Saleem. (2007) *Islam and education: conflict and conformity in Pakistan and beyond*, under review by Oxford University Press.

Azam, M. (2009). Radicalization in Pakistan: Socio-cultural Realities. *PIPS Research Journal Conflict and Peace Studies*. Islamabad.

Bachar, S., Bar. S., Machtiger, R. (2006). *Establishment Ulama and Radicalism in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan*. Centre on Islam, democracy, and the future of the Muslim worldmonograph series no 1, paper no. 4. Hudson Institute. Retrieved from http://www.currenttrends.org/docLib/

Burki, S. J. (2002). Terrorism and Development. The Dawn, May 21, 2002.

Chitkara, M.G. (2003). Combating Terrorism. New Delhi: APG Publishing Corporation.

Daraz, Umar (2008). *Community Response Towards Taliban Movements*, Unpublished BS(Hons) Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Malakand. p.01.

Deen, T. (2005). Politics: U.N. Member States Struggle to Define Terrorism. Inter Press Service.

Dyer, C. et al (2007). Countering Violent Islamic Extremism: A Community Responsibility, FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin.

Fair, C.C. (2008). "Who Are Pakistan's Militants and Their Families?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20:46-65.

Fair, C.C. (2004). "Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al Qaeda and Other Organizations," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, pp. 489-504.

Hamid, M. (2011). Why they get Pakistan wrong. NYRoB.

Haqqani, H. (2005) "The Ideologies of South Asian Jihadi Groups," Current Trends in Islamist Ideology, pp.12-26.

Hashmi, A.S. (2009). *Terrorism Religious Radicalization and Violence Perspective from Pakistan*. Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) Islamabad.

Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press. ISBN 0-231-11468-0.

Hoffman, B. (1999). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 86-129.

Hudson, A. (2002). *Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why*: The Government Report on Profiling Terrorists. Federal Research Division, the Lyons Press: USA.

Kemp, Robert. (2008). Religious Extremism and Militancy in the Pakhtun Areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan. *BC Journal of International Affairs*. Volume 11, spring.

Khan, M.K. (2009). Analyzing Domestic Terrorism as a threat to Pakistan Security and the Policy Response. *IPRI Journal*, vol 9, No 2, (Summer 2009). pp 49-76

Kronstadt, K.A. (2007). *Pakistan and Terrorism*: A Summary. CRS Report for Congress, Library of Congress, 27 March.

Martyn, A. (2002). The Right of Self-Defence under International Law-the Response to the Terrorist Attacks of 11 September. Australian Law and Bills Digest Group, Parliament of Australia Web Site.

Nunberg, G. (2001). Head Games it All Started with Robespierre *Terrorism*: The history of a very frightening word. San Francisco Chronicle. http://articles.sfgate.com/2001-10-28/opinion/17622543 1 terrorism-robespierre-la-terreur. Retrieved on 23-05-2012

Paul, L. and Brahma, C. (1988). *Nuclear Terrorism: Threat, perception, and response in South Asia* Studies in Conflict & Terrorism p: 447–470.

Quraishi, A. M. (2002). Strategic Depth Reviewed. Newsline.

Rana, M.A. (2003). Gateway to Terrorism. London: New Millennium, 2003.

Rana, M.A. (2005). The Seeds of Terrorism; London: New Millennium.

Rashid, A. (2002). Terrorism: A Challenge for National Security. The Nation, 14 May.

Richardson, L. (2006). What Terrorists Want? New York: Random House. P. 69.

Riedel, B. (2008). Pakistan and terror: The eye of the storm. *Annals of the American Academy of Political & Social Science*, 618, 31-45.

Saigol, R. (2010). Radicalization of State and Society in Pakistan. Heinrich Boll Shifting Pakistan

Shpiro, S. (2000). *Barking or biting? Media and parliamentary investigation of right-wing extremism in the Bundeswehr*. German Politics, 9 (2), 217 - 240 doi: 10.1080/09644000008404599

Siddiqi, N., (2007). Pakistan on Red Alert against Possible Militant Black lash. *Daily Times*, 11 July, 2007

Bhutto, Benazir (2008). Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West. London: Simon & Schuster Co Limited.

South Asia Terrorism Portal (SATP) Report (2009) Data Base.

Stern, J. (2004). Why Religious Militants Kill, Terror in the Name of God. New York: Harper Collin Publishers.

The News, (2008). Military Operation wrapped up in Swat. 9 April, 2008