

## United Nations Counter-Terrorism Strategy: A Theoretical Analysis

Faiq Hassan Khalid

### Abstract

*In the past few years, threat of terrorism has transformed itself from the local and regional problem to a global dilemma. The menace of terrorism had spread like any disease and changed its pattern so rapidly that not only nation states are affected but regional and international security has been challenged as well. Due to such nature of precarious expansion, no single country can defeat this mayhem alone and need of an international organization of larger scope is needed to address the issues which are becoming the root causes of terrorism. An organization that can have large-scale mobility, resources, which can trace the patterns, movements and an organization that has members abiding by its resolutions and can act globally. These capabilities and scope are only the part of the United Nations. After the incidents of 9/11, the terrorist attacks on United Nation officials & buildings and the ability of terrorist groups to operate globally, the United Nation devised a wide-ranging global counter-terrorism strategy along with a plan of action, acceptable to all 192 members of counter-terrorism. In this regard, United Nations General Assembly & United Nations Security Council passed the resolutions specifically to addressing the terrorism and counter-terrorism narratives of the member states. Pakistan has been fighting against the terrorism for a long time, but for the last few years, Pakistan has suffered unprofessional losses whereas the incidents of terror have massively disrupted all the spheres of social and political life, approximately 40,000 civilians have lost their lives whereas materialistic losses are beside them. The study will discover the outgrowth of cooperation and collaboration of the United Nations in line with its resolutions specifically 1373 (2001) and analyse its importance for Pakistan in its fight against terrorism.*

### Introduction

The purpose of the study was to explore United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) through which a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (the strategy) was implemented and measures adopted by Pakistan in compliance with the said resolution, during its fight against terrorism. The strategy is a unique document that was adopted through resolution by the United Nations General Assembly on 08 September 2006. It is a global instrument that had increased regional, international as well as national efforts of member states as well as organizations, whether Intergovernmental, Non-Governmental or Non-Profit to fight against terrorism. It is a fact that the threat of terrorism is global and requires international response and cooperation of similar means. Terrorists are fast in their actions whether it's the use of tools, the latest technology, experts, or the internet. On the other hand, policy response by the states is quite measured. The strategy has four pillars; each pillar is related to an important point or aspect which leads to terrorism. Pillar one address the conditions contributing to the spread of terrorism, pillar two point out the issues related to preventing and combating terrorism, the pillar three emphasize enhancing the capacity of states in various areas enabling them to not only cooperate but also fight against terrorism. The fourth

pillar is linked with the rule of law and human rights issues that occur during the fight against terrorists and their sympathizers, one of the main objectives of the United Nations.

The strategy gives a clear message that terrorism is not acceptable in any form while focusing on a wide array of measures, from strengthening state capacity to collaboration and coordination with United Nations. The strategy is the outcome of the September 2005 World Leaders Summit and various elements proposed by the UN Secretary-General in his report which was presented on 2 May, 2006. The United Nations General Assembly is responsible to review the strategy after every two years due to which it is not only a living document but regularly remains on the agenda of United Nations and its member states. On 1 July, 2016, the fifth review of the strategy took place. During the review process, important aspects such as the terrorism landscape, recommendations, and measures adopted by member states and United Nations entities were discussed. Many UN initiatives and programs, aimed to promote dialogue, tolerance, culture, mutual respect and religious values are part of the strategy and produce better results. The Alliance of Civilization, an initiative proposed by Jose Luis Rodriguez, President of Spain in 2005 at the 59th United Nations meeting has remained an important tool against extremism. This initiative act as a conduit between the Western and Islamic world/societies. Eminent people belonging to academia, politics and religious leadership are part of the High-Level Group (HLG) which explores ways to calm the calamity that emerged between the West and the Islamic World such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, cartoon crisis etc.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and such measures adopted by United Nations are primarily to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism. Similarly, to prevent and combat terrorism, the United Nations acts with the help of its member states and entities and attempt to deny access to terrorists to carry out their attacks. In this regard, member states coordinate with each other through different mechanisms such as information sharing, intelligence sharing, capacity building etc provided by United Nations entities such as the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee, United Nations Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime (UNODC), International Police Organization (INTERPOL), Financial Actions Task Force (FATF) to facilitate implementation of strategy and to curb terrorist financing, use of the internet by the terrorist, improvement of border control. The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) ensures coordination and coherence among United Nations systems' counter-terrorism efforts. All prominent international acclaimed organizations facilitate member states in their efforts against terrorism.

United Nations General Assembly adopted the global counter-terrorism strategy and it was the first time that 198 member states unanimously agreed to a counterterrorism framework by adopting and implementing a comprehensive declaration. United Nations has always been involved in any major problem in the world, something which no one country could solve on its own and something which requires global cooperation and global efforts. The strategy is to provide a platform to member states to address the various aspects of terrorism-related issues such as its spread, prevention, capacity building, rule of law, victims of the act of terrorism and share their experiences. Through resolutions, a Counter-Terrorism

Implementation Task Force (CTITF) and Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) have been established, dedicated only to taking action against terrorism and assisting member states in areas of counter-terrorism capacity building. Such a vast level of availability of resources, expertise and sharing of experiences among member states has played a role in value-addition.

The strategy ensures that member states work with the United Nations system to implement the provisions of the plan of action and United Nations entities are made responsible to assist the member states. There are sixteen (16) universal legal instruments (13 instruments & 03 amendments) that provide a legal framework for multilateral actions against terrorism and criminalize specific acts of terrorism. Similarly, United Nations Security Council has passed resolutions 1373 (2001) & 1624 (2005) in connection with terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts. The Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) and its Executive Directorate (CTED) are responsible for monitoring and implementing United Nations Security Council resolutions, particularly 1373. All United Nations member states submit their reports and provide recommendations for improvement to the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee. The events of 9/11 presented a new dimension of terrorism with a magnitude that required a global collective response. Five core areas have been addressed in the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy i.e. Legislation, Counter Financing of Terrorism (CFT), Border Control, Capacity of domestic security and law enforcement agencies & Member state's willingness for international cooperation. During the analysis, special attention has been given to these core areas. The need and importance of domestic response to terrorism have greater weight. After discussing United Nations implementation, this research also analyses the importance of domestic response in terms of measures, legislation, etc.

Terrorism is a global problem and thus requires a global response. The magnitude and dimension of the problem justify the importance and need for a United Nations counter-terrorism strategy as no institution except United Nations could come up with a suitable response. Achievements are both conceptual and practical. Uniting 190 member states on a particular issue is itself an achievement.

There are different factors generating conflicts but the common aspect responsible for terrorism is social inequality, unsolved ethnic demands, non-development of democratic culture, politically marginalized groups so on and so forth. Unfortunately, Pakistan has these factors in common due to which the menace of terrorism has made its place in the country. In the same way, Pakistan is the most concerned and affected country by terrorism. Due to limited resources shortfalls & pitfalls, the nation, as well as the state, has suffered a lot. The terrorists encountered by the Government today are not men who commit evil acts out of revenge or quest for Jihad. For these men, terrorism is a full-fledged profession. They are not fighting for any cause but their own. That is why Pakistan compulsory requires international assistance and cooperation in the area of counter-terrorism. In this research, Pakistan's response aligned with United Nations Counter-Terrorism Strategy is evaluated.

It is an important fact that the response to terrorism can be divided into two major streams i.e., national and international response. The challenge for United Nations and

Pakistan lies in linking the strategy to results. The outcomes particularly the ratio of reduction in terrorism-related incidents have also been analysed. Although, the strategy is a good initiative the challenges faced by Pakistan in its fight against terrorism are complex. Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategy is crisis-driven and has a very vivid influence on major terrorism-related incidents: APS attack, Jinnah International Airport Karachi attack, Mehran Base attack, attacks on PAF bases, sectarian killings etc.

The efforts of the United States to eliminate international terrorism are known as Global War against Terrorism (GWOT). It was 9/11 that changed the world view about terrorism and the whole world supported the US led war against terrorism whereas due to the impartiality of the war, Pakistan became the frontline ally of the US in the war. Since its independence, Pakistan, due to its weak security structure and apparatus, struggled hard for its territorial integrity and security, the Kashmir problem, the issue of the Pashtun people, Bangladesh Liberation war put a negative effect on Pakistan which it started looking for security umbrellas, international support and begin getting memberships of security alliances in the world. Over time, internal political stability also remained in a bad situation. Pakistan provided every possible help to the international community especially US in the shape of logistics, telecommunication, and intelligence sharing etc. in connection with the fight against terrorism. The human loss, as well as the material loss, is unprecedented, as Pakistan has sacrificed over 8500 militaries and almost 40,000 civilian lives during the initial ten years of the war from 2001-2013. The Pakistan military had conducted 986 operations of various nature including Kinetic and minor. During the first phase of the operations, the military also encouraged the peace agreements in the process and tried to mitigate the militant groups who were fighting against the forces and state of Pakistan. The cooperation and collaboration of Pakistan during the operation of enduring freedom is in line with the resolution of the United Nations Security Council. Pakistan became a non-NATO ally in operation Enduring Freedom on Oct, 7, 2001. Pakistan provided not only strategic support to US but also carried out missions inside Pakistan to hunt for a terrorist who belong to proscribed organizations or were declared terrorists by United Nations, European Union, the United States, or any other relevant organization. The major offensives carried out by Pakistan military in the areas of FATA, and PATA exemplifies the determination of Pakistan to fight against terrorism. On the other hand, on the political platform, the consensus was developed in all cores of life and the ideology of terrorists was strongly condemned and rejected by not only the people of Pakistan but also by the state as well. On the legislative part, Pakistan had passed the Anti-Terrorism Act keeping in view its domestic and regional requirements, through legislation, the capacity and powers of civil and military security apparatus have been increased and acts, laws, or rules of old nature have been made more effective in the light of current situation and demand through amendments. The criminal justice system has also been strengthened by way of delegating more responsibilities and powers and the mandate of high courts, as well as the Supreme Court of Pakistan, has been enhanced. The establishment of Anti-Terrorism Courts (ATC) is also a deterrent step to curb the menace of terrorism. The government has increased the number of ATCs to better handle such cases. An important aspect of all measures taken by Pakistan's civil and military leadership is the operation Rad-ul-Fisad.

## **Theoretical Framework**

To see what is happening in the world around us and to understand the dynamics; theories of international relations work as lenses, each with a different perception. Theories not only simplify a complicated matter but also help in the formulation of any conclusion. There are two central theories in international relations: realism & liberalism. A conceptual framework is a very important aspect of research because it acts as a lens through which the research question can be evaluated. Due to the failure of the League of Nations to prevent World War in 1939, particularly the failure to achieve international peace, the efforts of Immanuel Kant and Woodrow Wilson remained viable to hold a strong position in international relations due to which a new theory emerged to explain the reason of the presence of war. The theory is known as realism. The theoretical aspects of realist thought are far back in the ancient world focusing on human behaviour and the reality of the world but again the realist school of thought was unable to give a good reason for the end of the cold war (Pashakhanlou, 2018). The ratio of peace agreements certainly increased and many of such peace deal accords not only curtailed the on-going violence but also changed the nature of conflicts into more collaborative and constructive relations whether it's states, people, or any other political or ideological group. Conflict resolution, in a new way, is not only efforts for negotiation and contact between warring parties but most importantly, it includes what needs to be discussed such as what is the point of agreement, how to materialize the agreement, and, not least, how settlements can be made more fruitful and everlasting so that new generations could be saved from harsh war experiences (Wallensteen, 2015). The good aspect of conflict resolution is that the parties involved never try to kill each other and there is no issue of life or death involved. The objective of both parties involved in conflict resolution is to achieve peace.

## **Conflict Resolution**

To facilitate the peaceful ending of any conflict and retribution, methods, and processes involved to achieve the objective are conceptualized as conflict resolution. Such methods or processes may include peace building, active diplomacy, arbitration, negotiation, mediation etc. involvement of processes such as arbitration and litigation slightly change the term of conflict resolution to dispute resolution, and various theories and models are engaged in the process to achieve its objectives. Theoretically, violence or even war can be considered as part of the dispute resolution spectrum. Dispute resolution in general is a process of finding solutions to disputes between parties. It can interchangeably be used with conflict resolution, keeping in view various scenarios of conflicts. The conflict resolution processes mostly facilitate the peaceful ending of conflicts and retributions as war is a qualitatively different form of conflict (Sikander, 2011).

In practice conflict resolution always transform a political dimension. Conflict resolution as an approach to settling the dispute is more ambitious as it tries to affect the basic issues, the incompatibilities that direct the conflicting parties. War may occur between two parties in which one is a state and the other can be a non-state actor contesting the incapability of a government (Bercovitch, 2009). Thus, to promote its position government of a state can use armed force. Such conflict or war can be concluded with a peace agreement which is an integral part of conflict resolution without some form of an agreement it is hard to achieve

peace, the objective of conflict resolution. A ceasefire is also a form of agreement that takes place between parties engaged in conflict (Ramsbotham, 2011).

Conflict resolution as compared to other approaches is a more recent concept; certainly, it has a short history (Wani, 2011). To avoid violence, the deployment of peacekeeping measures is an effective way. Political theorists are developing the theory of a global peace system that relies on political measures to avoid war so that world peace could be achieved. If we compare it with the measures undertaken in the paradigm of global counter-terrorism strategy, the objectives of both initiatives are the same i.e. achieve world peace. The Blue Peace Approach is a very effective conflict resolution approach (Strategic Foresight Group, 2015).

Modern-day acts of terrorism are a threat to politics as well as the security system of a state. From a security perspective, terrorist groups are more organized and it is complicated to confront them only through military resources. Despite the disagreement, it is a fact that many governments from time to time, engage in conflict resolution strategies with terrorist groups whether its amnesties, treatment of terrorists in prisons, negotiation with groups etc. (Donohue, 2009).

### **Unilateral Response to Terrorism**

Despite the concerted multilateralism response to terrorism under the UNSC resolutions, the unilateral response of U.S through actions, such as the Iraq invasion, threatens not only international law but also seriously undermines efforts to control terrorism. The US action in Iraq was an unauthorized act; the UNSC describes it as "arrogance of power" (Simpson, 2005). The unilateralism of USA has failed in Iraq and the realist perspective in IR rejects multilateral cooperation and efficacy of law as the powerful seek security through power i.e. military might. It may also include preemptive use of force. This becomes the main reason for the unilateral act of any superpower that wants to protect its interest (Galloway, 2011).

Curtis A Ward, in the book *International Relations & International Law*, argues that the absence of rules will inevitably lead to global anarchy. It is imperative that a sole superpower can create its rules in the absence of any international behavioural norms or established international law. This will lead to global chaos and global anarchy. The responsibility of maintaining global order lies with the global community which acts collectively within any legal framework or international law more specifically the U.N charter, international conventions, treaties etc. The authority of UNSC is to work on behalf of all member states and this is beyond any doubt that United Nations was established to maintain international peace and security (Ward, 2007).

Fiona Adamson observes that the problem of international terrorism presents a conceptual challenge to the discipline of international relations. The realist misunderstanding of the nature and roles of non-state actors such as terrorist groups result in inconsistent statements and actions. It is confusing on one side that the phenomenon is terrorism but the axis of evil is states like Iraq, Iran and North Korea. This is why realists have difficulty understanding the new wave of terrorism. On the other hand, terrorism has benefited from globalization, global communication, travel, banking and the use of the internet. Liberal

theories in international relations have merits and are much more in sync with the realities. Liberal institutionalism's emphasis on the importance of multilateral cooperation and institutions and international law is providing useful guidance. The United Nations makes a lot of sense as transnational problems require transnational solutions.

Michael Walzer has said, "Political theories are tested by events in the political world, then the dominant theories of international politics, most prominently realism. Liberalism on the other hand has remained much better in the era" (Jalata, 2008).

## **Negotiations**

The main challenge to international relations is not the state's unwillingness to comply with the U.N and other intergovernmental bodies which worked very well and transnational crimes were curbed professionally. Among various ways to end terrorism is negotiations as part of the peace process. Some of the biggest terrorist groups have ended their campaign and taken a political direction as a result of dialogue. The efforts of U.N in establishing trans-governmental networks are very crucial/important. U.N is playing a supportive role rather than a leading one.

Grounded in multilateralism, the only hope to defeat terrorism is by collective efforts, cooperation and collaboration with the help of an international regime. This process is very well facilitated by United Nations. Similarly, the role of the Security Council is very important due to the resources available to it and its capacity to combat terrorism.

When various entities oppose each of their ideas and actions, the matters turned into an antagonistic state which can be termed conflict. Its presence can be within the same group, among diverse groups and involve some violence, in other words, escalation of disagreement is conflict. Five aspects are seen as mandatory in any sort of conflict such as dominance, injustice, helplessness, distrust and defencelessness (Eidelson, 2003). On the other hand, when the inconsistency is resolved, it directly influences the conflict by resolving it; an important aspect of conflict resolution is negotiations. During the whole process methods, and techniques involved in the peaceful ending of the conflict in the larger context are all termed conflict resolution. In-capabilities are always present whether it is the state who is involved or any other non-state actor. Political theorists are of the view that to avoid War and to achieve world peace, the presence of a global peace system is mandatory (McElwee, 2008).

The world is much different from the world that rejected the League of Nations. The emergence of new problems such as terrorism and reactions towards terrorism are straining international relations. Policymakers believed that among various forms of violence, terrorism can also be countered through counter-terrorism apparatus or military responses (ORG, 2017). During the post-cold war era, conflict resolution evolved, and its approaches in peace building, peacemaking and peacekeeping are central in global politics. The major blow to the approach of conflict resolution was given by the Global War on Terror. The rising of new power players in world politics and the active role of the United Nations paved the way for a conflict resolution approach, especially in the area of terrorism and counter-terrorism. The world started practicing conflict resolution as a defined field of study in the 1950s and 1960s at the

height of the cold war. The nonviolent resolution of conflict is a very important theme in international relations and diplomacy (Woodhouse, 2015).

Due to such a narrative, conflicts involving terrorism were not considered in conflict resolution practices and procedures such as conflict prevention, negotiation, and dialogue for peace-making were not under the domain of terrorism or counter-terrorism measures. In a larger context conflict resolution can be comprised of three stages:

1. Conflict Prevention: measures to avoid violence
2. Peace-making: measures to stop the violence
3. Peace building: measures that ensure security, justice and well-being for all

These measures can overlap each other, depending on the circumstances. It is important that winning is not the objective of conflict resolution but peace is. Conflict resolution is the search for ways of transforming actual and potentially violent conflict into a peaceful process of political and social change. It is a fact that terrorism has not yet got a definition, researchers and policymakers have a broad range of definitions as per their narratives. Terrorism and counterterrorism can broadly be described as "A threat or politically motivated violence, aimed at affecting a larger audience than its immediate target whereas counterterrorism is the response to eliminate or reduce such threat through police, military or judicial means" (Tellidisb, 2013). The United Nations is the main international organization responsible for maintaining international peace and security and ensures its different roles in peace processes. The number of resolutions passed in the Security Council underlines the changing role of United Nations in conflict resolution during the 1990s.

### **United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy**

United Nations considers terrorism as a threat to international peace and security and is responsible for maintaining international peace and security, UN following its charter and mandate provided by the member states, invokes all entities and resources through the implementation of resolutions against terrorism. The United Nations General Assembly and United Nations Security Council have passed resolutions that became the foundation of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy which primarily focused on anti-terrorism and counter-terrorism measures. The engagement of UN is vast; it is political, social, economic, diplomatic, legal and strategic. The involvement of the United Nations builds confidence, helps restore trust, and affects the perception and behavior of disputing parties. The most important aspect of UN involvement is its honesty, its ability to mediate and its powers to enforce its resolution and decisions. There is a space for the U.N so it can employ a conflict resolution approach to terrorism.

### **The Four Pillars and Conflict Resolution**

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy includes a wide array of measures which are composed of four pillars and can be correlated with various conflict management and conflict resolution approaches.

**Pillar 1** addresses the conditions conducive to terrorism which is interrelated with Conflict Prevention.

**Pillar 2** emphasizes measures to combat and prevent terrorism which is also interrelated with Conflict Prevention.

**Pillar 3** relates to measures to enhance the capacity of states to prevent and combat terrorism and strengthen the role of the United Nations system and this is interconnected with the Peacekeeping approach.

**Pillar 4** highlights measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism which can be interlinked with Peace Building.

So, this counter-terrorism regime permits U.N to engage in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, and peace-building efforts against international terrorism. The United Nations transform its counter-terrorism strategy with the help of inputs provided by its member states and best practices taken by the states. A conflict resolution approach will help by analyzing the impact of the conflict or violence. Similarly, the inclusion of United Nations entities such as U.N department of political affairs and UNDP, which are already working on conflict prevention, into the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy framework, will support the process of conflict prevention and peace building phase of conflict resolution. The establishment of J Bureau in USA is an example. United Nations represent all nations of the world based on which it can take on the role of impartial mediator in a conflict or more specifically international terrorism. Conflict prevention is an important aspect as it will curtail terrorist violence, understand the source of conflict and help counter-terrorism policy response by the state and its institutions (Toros, 2015).

It is a fact that terrorism is not a given in the real world; it is an interpretation of events and their presumed causes. The oft-quoted statement, that one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter reminds us that terrorism is what an individual or state perceives. The meaning of terrorism also depends on context, cultural resources, and the people involved (Fiaz, 2014). The concept is more close to factors like threats, fears cultures, identities and other elements of social reality. Conflict resolution has made its place due to the failure of traditional international relations theories such as realism and liberalism, especially after the cold war. The core doctrine of these theories played a vital role in their failure as according to their narrative the state had the dominant place, the state can go to war, and the nature of international politics is anarchic due to which power lies within states, whereas an individual or common man has less attention inside their domain. The end of the cold war placed individual/ordinary people at a core place due to their struggle against the cold war; not states or international organizations.

Theorists discuss a point that how terrorism is a top priority in security discussion even though people are much more likely to be killed due to traffic accidents or preventable diseases than from terrorism. The national security policy of a state is outlined by politicians and important pillars of the state and this policy is not a natural given. The political issues are constituted as security issues when they are labelled as threatening, menacing, effecting and alarming by any member involved in the outlining process (Eroukkhmanoff, 2017). Labeling any social issue such as immigration, trade, business etc. as a national security threat, shifts

such matter from a political concern to something that requires strict action. The traditional approach to security in international relations is challenged by the conflict resolution approach and asserts that issues are not threatening always but it's the involvement of characters that identifies it as a threat. The end of the cold war becomes the starting point to discuss measures for the peaceful ending of conflicts in international relations and their role. The war and security were considered military capability and political stability till the end of the cold war. The conflict resolution theory added more concepts to this paradigm such as human security. An example of the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (ISIS) is significant that a terrorist group due to its identity, culture, and political ideology became a threat to the security of the state, more broadly a threat to the western way of life. The politics of terrorism and counter-terrorism is about threat enlargement. Although the conflict resolution theory has no strong base as compared to realism and liberalism, an important aspect in the domain of this theory is the United Nations Security Council, counter-terrorism, international peace etc. (Barry Buzan, 1998).

## References

- Abbas, H. (2008). A profile of tehrik i taliban pakistan. *CTC sentinel* .
- Abbas, S. M. (2016). *Terrorism Prosecution in Pakistan*. USIP.
- Afridi, S. A. (2016). Pakistan's Counterinsurgency: Military & Civilian Approach. *Strategic Studies* , 01-17.
- Ahmad, N. (2014). Pakistan's counterterrorism strategy and its implications for domestic regional and international security. *FMSH* , 01-23.
- Ahmed, N. (2015). Combating terrorism: Pakistan's Anti Terrorism legislation in the post 9/11 scenario. *JRSP* , 115-132.
- Akram, M. (2005). *Fifth report from Pakistan pursuant to UNSC Resolution 1373*. UNSC Counter Terrorism Committee.
- Akram, M. (2002). *Supplementary Report from Pakistan*. UNSC Counter Terrorism Committee.
- Alistair Millar. (2012). The European Union and the Global Counterterrorism Forum: The importance of continued engagement. CT Morse.
- Amin, K. K. (2016). Understanding the dynamics of national security culture of pakistan. *Strategic Studies* , 18-36.
- Anan, K. (2004). *A More secure world our shared responsibility*.
- (2017). *Annual Report 2016-2017 Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering*. New South Wales: Asia Pacific Group.
- APG. (2009). *AML and combating the financing of terrorism*. Asia Pacific Group on Money Laundering.
- Azam Khan, A. S. (2015). Timeline of NAP actions. *Conflict & Peace Studies* , 17-29.

- Azam, M. (2014). Genesis of militancy in Pakistan. *IPRI Journal* , 103-123.
- Barry Buzan, O. W. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bercovitch, J. V. (2009). The Sage Handbook of Conflict Resolution. In W. Zartman. SAGE Publication.
- Bianchi, A. (2007). Assessing the effectiveness of the UNSC anti terrorism measures. *The European Journal of International Law* , 02-39.
- Blin, G. C. (2007). THE PREHISTORY OF TERRORISM. In G. C. Blin, *The History of Terrorism From Antiquity to Al Qaeda* (pp. 55-79). Berkley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bodirsky, D. (2015). Beyond Operation Zarb-e-Azb in North West Pakistan.
- Bokhari, S. W. (2013). *Pakistan's challenges in anti terror legislation*. Center for research and security studies.
- Bokhari, S. W. (2013, October). Pakistan's Challenges in Anti Terror Legislation. *Center for Research and Security Studies* , pp. 02-64.
- Bowman, A. K. (2004). The Augustan Empire 43 BC - AD 69. In *The Cambridge Ancient History: Second Edition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bruce, G. (2013). Definition of Terrorism Social and Political Effects. *Journal of Military and Veterans Health* , 26-30.
- CFR. (2011, August 31). The Global Regime for Terrorism. *Council on Foreign Relations*.
- Chamberlain, A. F. (n.d.). On the word for "Fear" in certain languages A study in linguistic psychology. *The American Journal of Psychology* , 302-305.
- Chaudhry, S. (2018, 3 14). *Roznama Dunya*. Retrieved 3 14, 2018, from [www.roznamadunya.com](http://www.roznamadunya.com)
- Cheema, Z. A. (2018, April 4). Paigham-e-Pakistan ka Asal Paigham. *Express* .
- Conte, D. A. (2011). *A Decade since UN Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) Ten lessons learnt on counter terrorism and human rights*. Warsaw : International Commission of Jurists.
- Cooper, B. (2004). *New Political Religions or an Analysis of Modern Terrorism*. University of Missouri Press.
- Cornell Law School. (n.d.). *Cornell Law School*. Retrieved January 16, 2018, from Legal Information Institute : <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/22/2656f>
- CTC. (2016). *Global survey of the implementation of UNSC resolution 1373 (2001)*. United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee.

- CTC. (2013). *Revised procedures for the CTC stocktaking of member states implementation of UNSC resolution 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005)*. United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee.
- CTED. (2017). Technical Guide. *Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1373 and other relevant resolutions* . UNSC.
- CTITF. (2012). *United Nations CTITF*. Retrieved from United Nations: [www.i-act-infosystem.org/#9](http://www.i-act-infosystem.org/#9)
- Daniel G. Arce M., T. S. (2005). Counterterrorism A Game Theoretic Analysis. *JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION* , 183-200.
- David Rapoport, Y. A. (1989). *The Morality of Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Dershowitz, A. M. (2003). *Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge*. Yale University Press.
- Donohue, W. A. (2009). Terrorism and Conflict Resolution. In BercovitchV, *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (pp. 437-454). SAGE Publication.
- Eidelson, R. J. (2003). Dangerous Ideas: Five beliefs that propel groups toward conflict. *American Psychologist* , 182-192.
- Einsiedel, S. v. (2016, October). Assessing the UN's Efforts to Counter Terrorism. *United Nations University Centre for Policy Research* .
- Eroukhmanoff, C. (2017). *International Relations Theory: Securitisation Theory*. Bristol : E-IR Publishing.
- Fasulo, L. (2005). *An Insiders Guide to the UN*. Yale University Press.
- FATF. (2003). *FATF 40 Recommendations*. FATF GAFI.
- FATF. (2013). *High risk and non cooperative jurisdictions*. Financial Action Task Force.
- FATF. (2010). *Improving global AML/CFT compliance*. Financial Action Task Force.
- FATF. (2010). *Money laundering using new payment methods*. FATF GAFI.
- Fayyaz, S. (2008). Responding to terrorism Pakistan's Anti Terrorism laws. *Perspectives on terrorism* .
- Fayyaz, S. (2008, 04 28). Responding to Terrorism: Pakistan's Anti-Terrorism Laws. *Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies* , pp. 01-14.
- Fiaz, N. (2014). Constructivism meets critical realism: Explaining Pakistan's state practice in the aftermath of 9/11. *European Journal of International Relations* , 492-515.
- Firdous, K. (2015). Militancy in Pakistan. *Institue of strategic studies Islamabad* .
- Galloway, F. (2011). Anti Terrorism Resolution: The Security Council's Threat to the UN System. *Journal of Terrorism Research* , 105-125.

Ganor, P. B. (2002). Defining Terrorism Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter? *Police Practice & Research* , 287-304.

Zahid, F. (2015). The Success and Failure of Pakistan's operation Zarb-e-Azb. *Terrorism Monitor* .

Zaidi, K. K. (2014). *The National internal security policy of pakistan an assessment*. SISA center for international and strategic analysis.

