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India's Strategic Response to War on Terrorism in Afghanistan: A Strategic Analysis.

[a] Dr. Shaheen Showkat Dar. [b] Naseer Ahmed Kalis

ABSTRACT : *War of any kind cannot bring peace it rather accelerates the tempo of violence, insecurities and conflicts as a result, "the development is arrested, education, economy and technology left backward, leaders become cruel and unjust, military is too expensive and humans become victims". Global war on terrorism created chaos not only among the coalition partners but also among the states and non-state actors of Afghanistan and its neighbour. This paper will analyse that India made a strategic and secure response to war on terrorism through diplomatic, ideological and political means that did not derail or deteriorate her relations with the oppressor (US) and oppressed (Afghanistan) in future. India does not provide any land, air or naval base to US led coalition. From Indian neighbours the second most important and both Afghanistan's and India's immediate neighbour was Pakistan. Pakistan's geopolitical situation on the other was at risk at the wake of 'war on Terrorism' because of covert relations with afghan Taliban and Al Qaida and her story was opposite of so called '**make hay while the sun shines'**. US warned Pakistan that you are either with us or against us. Pakistan was neither with nor against US. If Pakistan supports US, Taliban retaliates, if supports Taliban US not only retaliates but destroy her nuclear capability as well. Ultimately though Pakistan supported US, but wounded by pro-west and pro-Afghan sentiments. In 2008, Pakistan issued orders to "open fire" on American soldiers that crossed the Pakistan border in pursuit of militant forces. Pakistan has been called as rogue state by Washington.*

Keywords: *War on Terror, rogue state, Unipolarity, regional dominance*

I. INTRODUCTION

War is not a civilized or a dignified way to get hold of right. Because in wars national development is arrested, education, economy and technology left backward, leaders become cruel and unjust, military is too expensive and humans become victims.[1]

In international relations, states are the principal actor that contributes to any development pertaining to war or peace directly and indirectly. States are guided by their national interest and security is their main concern. Political violence, insurgencies, separatist movements, and terrorism have been a constant threat to the unity, integrity and security of a nation state. The events of September 11, 2001 challenged the security of United States of America and have changed the proportions of security. In this response USA made strategy to strike back and dismantle the militant organizations (Al Qaida and Taliban) in Afghanistan and later other states mainly Iraq and Pakistan and this war is known as the War on Terrorism or Global War on Terrorism. In this war most of the states directly or indirectly provided diplomatic, military and logistic support to US primarily for two reasons. Firstly, to fight against terrorism as a common threat to every state of the world, Secondly, to be a part of world's elite military organization, viz. North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Secondly, every state of the world is looking for security, as the level of crime and the intensity of irregular technological wars against humanity is at raise and the security of states is at risk. In this context terrorism is one of the main issues of concern for international community to join the hands together to curb it. In contemporary context terrorism is a global issue and victimising the innocents across the borders that is the tragedy of conflict in the history of humanity. It is creating an atmosphere of chaos, leading the states towards insecurity, sinking the state into underdevelopment on all declining fronts.

The 20th century has been described as the most murderous century in the world and it was hoped that 21st century will be free from war and violence but something adverse happened. September 11, 2001 was the biggest event in the beginning of 21st century that gave a jolt to the globe in general and US in particular. It also made it clear that it is not easy to eliminate war and violence from the world because the unilateralism of hyper power was challenged by the militant organizations. 9/11 attack on three might of US has its roots in Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Since the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, Afghanistan has become a permanent theatre of extremism that produced Al Qaida and Taliban backed by US. During Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, US supported and funded the Afghan Mujahedeen against Soviet Union. Thus, Taliban and Al Qaida are the creation of US that turned their canon to US after Cold War. Taliban and Al Qaida are today the

[a] *Assistant Professor, Department of Strategic & Regional Studies University Of Jammu 180006, (J&K)*
[b] *Junior Research Fellow, Department of Strategic & Regional Studies University Of Jammu 180006, (J&K)*

giant militant organizations of Afghanistan that have trans-national character. After cold war Taliban's emerging power led to the capture of Kabul, the Capital of Afghanistan in 1996, and established their rule.

Every nation provided direct and indirect support to US. As an emerging power of South Asia, India also welcomed the US initiative. From Indian point of view, fight against terrorism was the crying need of the hour because 2001 was similar for India and USA. In the same year three might of USA and Indian parliament has been attacked by the militant organizations. Fight against terrorism was a matter of regional security for India because Pakistan, India's next door neighbour has been perpetually sponsoring and supporting the militant organisations to keep Indian Kashmir a boiling pot. Keeping in view the above sentiments, this paper will analyse Indian strategic and secure response to war against terrorism. When Bush administration launched war against terrorism, India lauded, cheered and supported the step because India has experienced what happened with US and hoped that this would be a war fought by the free world against all terrorists and the dictators who sponsor them. India also got an opportunity to expose Pakistan as a state of breeding and sheltering of terrorism because of her involvement in militancy in Kashmir. In this war, the enemy was identified; Al Qaida and Taliban were the main target of US led coalition. The allies were mobilised, hesitant parties were warned, ideological parameters were established, police, and surveillance functions of the state were strengthened, the defence budget was increased and military action was launched.[2]

U.S. military operations as part of the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) began on October 7, 2001 and continue today. The military component is just one aspect in this endeavour which also involves diplomacy, intelligence, law enforcement, and financial efforts intended to defeat terrorists around the world. Many countries provide direct and indirect support to fight against terrorism. As for India is concerned, she did not sacrificed her core value of national unity and does not provide any land, air or naval base like Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan etc. but provide full, diplomatic, ideological and political support. Pakistan, according to US, a rogue state, has different view on war on terrorism. Her approach is convergence with US and divergence with Taliban and Al Qaida at international level but internally, Pakistan has close ties with Taliban and Al Qaida. Thus, Pakistan's and India's approach in Afghanistan is surrounded by complexities and contrary opinions. Pakistan does not want India's peaceful role in Afghanistan.

Global war on terrorism has spreaded fear of insecurity not only for the militant organizations and the coalition forces but the greatest tragedy was with the common masses that are still facing insecurity of food, health, education, economics and all. It has facilitated a suppression of rights, led to civil conflict and only benefited the global arms industry where sophisticated weapons of crime have piled up and decayed human rights. Terrorism of any kind is the product of lunatic individuals, lunatic regimes, lunatic countries as to create terror means to act against humanity. Global war on terrorism was not only a battle between US and Al Qaida in which the later attacked the former but a war sponsored by civilized world against evil and barbaric people of the world

II. CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The root of the word terrorism is taken from a Latin term 'Terrere' that literally means "to frighten". It became part of the phrase "terror cimbricus", which was used by ancient Romans in 105BC.[3] The terror cimbricus was a panic and state of emergency in Rome in response to the approach of warriors of the Cimbri tribe in 105 BC. In modern times, the word terrorism was initially used in French Revolution in 1789. Since then its nature and character has been changing from state to nation to region to globe. Now it is a global issue spreading its net all around the world. The present day terrorism from the soil of Afghanistan is much the product of US, USSR, and Muslim Countries. Afghanistan, US and Soviet Union are the old player who shaped terrorism since 1979, that globalised in 2001 and a war against it started after 2001. Initially, in the early 1980s, the Afghan bred a new generation of transnational's jihadists, who felt empowered by the Russian defeat and who decided to go fully global with their Islamist revolution. United States was the principal actor behind Afghan muhaideen who was fighting against Soviet Red Armies.

The 1979 Russian military intervention in Afghanistan, which coincided with the Islamic revolution in Iran in which shah of Iran was overthrown and the rise of militant political Islam in general, radicalized Muslim politics and societies further and played directly into jihadis' hands; one of the very first acts by a proto-jehadi group was the 1981 assassination of President Sadat by the Jihad group in Egypt. The Afghan war became a rallying cry and recruiting ground for many religiously inclined Muslims, and it fuelled jihadis' ambitions.[4] It was the first time that, irrespective of region, country, and colour and language people from Muslim countries united. It was the beginning of global terrorism that wrapped US in 2001. Tens of thousands of Muslims responded to the jihad call from their religious authority. Thousands of radical Islamists and jihadis also migrated to Afghanistan to train and prepare for the coming wars against impious Muslim rulers... Never before in modern times had so many Muslims from so many lands who spoke different tongues separately journeyed to a Muslim country to fight together against a common enemy. There were Egyptians, Saudis, Yemenis, Palestinians, Algerians, Sudanese, Iraqi Kurds, Kuwaitis, Turks, Jordanians, Syrians, Libyans, Tunisians, Moroccans, Lebanese, Pakistanis, Indians, Indonesians, Malaysians, and others.[5]

Following the Soviet-Afghan war (1989) and the defeat of the Soviet backed regime in Kabul (1992), a civil war broke out between competing mujahedeen factions for the control of Afghanistan. Northern Alliance and Taliban were in struggle for power and ultimately it led to the emergence of Taliban regime in 1996. Many Taliban members were refugees who escaped into Pakistan at the time of the Soviet invasion or subsequently during the war. Therefore, when they began their ascendancy in Kandahar most of them were young and had spent a majority of their lives in Pakistani refugee camps, primarily in Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier provinces, and had received training in madrassa(religious schools). Thus, Taliban's shelter in Pakistan and training is an indication of its transnational character. Many of these schools came into existence during the 10-year Soviet-Afghan war, and many of them received financial support from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia provided funding to the madrassa as well as the Taliban. Pakistan viewed the Taliban movement as a means to acquire "strategic depth" in the region, including any armed conflict with India, and provided arms, manpower, and other support to further Taliban efforts to secure Afghanistan.[6]

Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and US were mainly responsible for providing aid and assistance in active manner to Afghan Mujahedeen that victimised US in 2001. The so called "freedom fighters" were subsidized generously both by Saudi Arabia and the United States. US supplied the mujahidin with some $4 to $5 billion worth of modern weaponry including 900 Stinger missiles which it funnelled covertly to them through Pakistan's Inter-state Services Intelligence Directorate (ISID).[7] US never thought that whether these weapons and muhaideen will turn their heads towards her. US just provide weapons to setback its Cold war giant (USSR). The final burial of cold war led the emergence of Unipolarity and US remained Super Power. Unipolarism remained for a decade and September 11, 2001 dismantled its hegemony. Cooperative approach through multilateral level to fight against terrorism led by US gave birth to multipolarity. Pakistan was the front line state when war on terror started. US want full co-operation from Pakistan. India on the other wants to expose Pakistan through US as a state breeding and sponsoring Terrorism, but US approach was different as US fear that if it declares Pakistan as a terror breeding state the nuclear arsenals and arms might fall in the hands of Al Qaida and Taliban. US forced Pakistan to campaigns as well as provide all sort of aid to US in the war. As a result, Pakistan became a necessary strategic ally to the U.S. in the wake of the decision to confront Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. The U.S. gave Pakistan what amounted to an ultimatum; they either were an ally or regarded as against the War of Terror. The U.S. laid out the following demands for Pakistan to act on as America's ally:

- Stop Al Qaeda operations on the Pakistani border, intercept arms shipments through Pakistan, and stop all logistical support for bin Laden.
- Allow blanket over-flight and landing rights for U.S. planes.
- Allow U.S. access to Pakistan's naval bases, airbases, and borders.
- Curb all domestic expression of support for terrorism against the United States, its friends, and allies.
- Cut off the Taliban's fuel supply and stop Pakistani volunteers going into Afghanistan to join the Taliban.
- Break diplomatic relations they had with the Taliban and assist the United States in destroying bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network.[8]

Thus, Pakistan participated in war on terrorism with the prospects of getting aid from US to improve her education, illiteracy, health, food, democracy, the elimination of child labour, counter narcotics, and border security programs as well as preferential trade benefits.[9] But in spite of US aid, the Human and social development in Pakistan is still miserable. Human security is at stake because the drone attacks, suicide bombers, unknown gunmen, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, have paralysed the socio-economic and political life of the people.

The World Trade Center (WTC) bombing in 1993 was the beginning of attacks on American soil which indicated that foreign terrorist organizations can easily and successfully penetrate American borders with a significant attack....the event in 1993 was a precursor to the September 11 attack on the two World Trade Center towers in New York City 8 years later.[10]

III. STETTING THE CONTEXT: INDIA'S STRATEGIC RESPONSE TO WAR ON TERRORISM

India's international outlook especially towards US at the end of 20th century was different from 21st century. US led NATO attack and assault in Yugoslavia in 1999 was criticised by India as violation of Article 53 of the UN Charter. PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee said that "NATO is blindly bombing Yugoslavia. There is a dance of destruction going on there". Defence minister George Fernandes said, that bombing in Yugoslavia is 'the greatest injustice of the 20th century' India also raised her voice against unipolar world.[11] India's Political and strategic condition changed dramatically in the wake of September 11, 2001. Before September 11, India was against US and After September 11, was with US. India and US found common cause in the war against this virulent form of transnational terrorism. India was among the first countries that sided with US to offer support to fight against terrorism. Every country of the world that feels insecure and threat from terrorism has

welcomed War on Terrorism initiated by US. Countries provide direct and indirect support to US war against militant organisations in Afghanistan. India has diplomatically made her strategy to involve itself in war on terrorism by diplomatic, ideological and political means rather military and provide full diplomatic, ideological and political support to US. India was not an active member of US led coalition like Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, France, Italy, UK etc. due to various reasons like:

- India does not provide land, air or sea routes to the coalition forces like other regional countries because India did not want to sacrifice the core value of national unity.
- Since the war on terrorism was against pre known militant organisations in Afghanistan like Taliban and Al Qaida. In other words, it was against Muslim radical and extremist organisations. If India provides any land, air or sea base, it may hit the sentiments of Muslims of India.
- Non- involvement in front of war against Afghan has minimised the anti Indian sentiments among the Afghan. India involved in Afghanistan was on Convergence fronts like trade, process of re-build Afghanistan, energy, roads, railways etc.
- India wants to secure and strengthen Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline to fulfil her energy requirements. On the other, Pakistan's domestic gas pipelines are till date being targeted by Tahreek-e-Taliban-Pakistan (TTP).

India's interest aims to the prospects of long term peace and stability in Afghanistan. India is playing a significant role in the reconstruction of Afghanistan and has made contributions worth $750 million While India has not deployed its military in support of U.S.-led operations in Afghanistan, New Delhi has deployed a very small contingent of its paramilitary forces to protect Indian citizens working on reconstruction projects in Afghanistan[12]. India has good relations with Afghanistan but Pakistan aegis and ties with Al Qaida and Taliban is not a secure way. India and Pakistan should make a joint effort to maintain stability and peace through negotiations as a strategy for long term peace in Afghanistan as well as in Kashmir. Negotiations can minimize the level of conflict because the ultimate "destination of peace can be kissed through the lips of negotiations, the more we have negotiation, the less we have conflicts, the less we have conflicts the more we have peace"[13]

Global war on Terrorism gave an opportunity to US to act as predatory bird in the vast Eurasian landmass. 11 September, 2001 was the biggest challenge for Bush administration in general and security experts in particular. How to tackle terrorist interference in their soil and retaliate against the Taliban and Al Qaida for sheltering Osama bin Laden, the mastermind of September 11, attacks was the prior strategy of US because "wounded at the time of its zenith as the sole super power of the world, America understandably decided to strike back and to launch a global campaign against terrorism".[14] America made strategy to retaliate and Afghanistan was the frontline state and was the main target of US because Al Qaida network and host Taliban regime was identified as responsible for the atrocities. War on terrorism was the product of US initiated by G.W. Bush to defeat, destroy and eliminate Taliban and Al Qaida. Bush said that, "We will not rest until terrorist groups of global reach have been found, have been stopped, and have been defeated."[15] War started on 1st October, 2001 and due to high level of bombing, within eight and half week, the civilian death is estimates range from 1000 to 3767.[16] Many innocents were killed under the guise of being the collaborator and civilians were wrongly detained. In other words, the war on terror in first four of five months was so devastated that Afghanistan was an arena of hide, seek and kill. Many civilian lost their lives and shelter in most of drone attacks. According United Nations reports, civilian causalities is increasing in Afghanistan. Since 2001, the war in Afghanistan has killed 15,008 civilians up to 2011. From February to September 2012, 49 civilian killed and in 2013, 14 civilians were killed between March and April.[17]

War on Terror proved that security overlaps liberty. Afghan's neighbouring states excluding India provide full land, air and naval bases in this mission. US entry into Asian region is multilayered. Firstly, retaliate from Al Qaida and its sheltering Taliban. Secondly, giving space to US led coalition created a ray of hope for the partner states (especially bordering Afghanistan) to wipe out militant organizations that spread and promote terrorism. Thirdly, US got an opportunity to access and control the natural resources in the region especially Central Asian Oil and Gas. The republics of Central Asia except Turkmenistan made it easy for US to access with their region by providing military and air bases. Uzbek govt offered Karshi-Khanabad airbase, Kyrgyzstan which initially hesitate to cooperate finally allowed to use Manas-Ganci International Airport, Tajikistan provide three former Soviet air bases viz. Kulyab, Khojand and Kurgan-Tyube, Kazakhstan which does not have any physical access with Afghanistan, allowed to pass over her territory and provide emergency landing facilities and Turkmenistan that maintained close relations with Taliban adopted the policy of 'permanent neutrality in perpetuity'.[18] The driving force behind this American venture according to many analysts is to ensure access for US companies to energy and other natural resources and markets in the region.

Fourthly, exposé and attack Iraq of having Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). Since First Gulf War (1990-91), US was preparing grounds to attack on Iraq. To some people, it was a personal war between Bush and Saddam Hussain and no WMD were discovered from Iraq. Fifthly, revive unilateral orientations of prior to September 11, 2001. Sixthly, the need for much closer international co-operation in the pursuit of its security needs.

IV. PAKISTAN: A CONFLICTED ALLY IN WAR ON TERROR

It is necessary to add Pakistan in war on terrorism because it is a core states between India and Afghanistan on one hand and terrorism on the other. Pakistan is strategically located and has geo-political links between India and Afghanistan. Pakistan since september11 episode has played a unique role and has been called as a 'rogue state' by the West. Pakistan's duplicitous game has caused Pakistan to emerge as the epicentre of global terror. Pakistan's strategy in the war on terror is transnational and dual in character. Firstly, to keep Kashmir a boiling pot by supporting the militant organizations in Afghanistan as well as in Kashmir. Secondly, to support US, eliminate Al Qaida and Taliban from her soil by permitting the United States to use its airspace; granted overland access to Afghanistan; and employed its army, police, and paramilitary organizations to handle Al Qaeda activists. In return, the U.S. has provided billions in aid to Pakistan. In reality, Pakistan does not wants to cooperate with US, but Bush's order to punish both 'the terrorists and those who harbour them' gave a jolt to Pakistan that continued support for the Taliban could incur American retaliation against Pakistan as well, which could extend to the destruction of its nuclear installations as well.[19] Pakistan initially played active role, provided shelter to coalition forces and in 2008 gave order to army to attack on American if they enter in their territory. On one hand, Pakistan has largely cooperated with U.S. to eliminate al Qaeda in Pakistan and its Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). On the other, Pakistan and its Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate have remained strong supporters of militant organizations including the Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Haqqani Network, and the Afghan Taliban.[20] An unnamed senior Pentagon official told the BBC that at some point between July 12 and September 12, 2008, President George W. Bush issued a classified order to authorize U.S. raids against militants in Pakistan. Pakistan however said it would not allow foreign forces onto its territory and that it would vigorously protect its sovereignty. In September, the Pakistan military stated that it had issued orders to "open fire" on American soldiers who crossed the Pakistan border in pursuit of militant forces. On September 25, 2008, Pakistani troops shot towards ISAF helicopters, which belonged to American troops.[21] Pakistan also has a long divergence tie with India over Kashmir and has perpetually supported and aided in spreading terrorism in Indian held Kashmir to hijack it through the veil of cross border terrorism, guerrilla fighters'. If it is not so, why Pakistan and her Inter- Service Intelligence (ISI) is supporting jihad in Kashmir?[22] This is hardly surprising, given that the Taliban regime was fully backed by Pakistan and was seen as a way of ensuring a pliant Afghanistan that would not come under the influence of the Northern Alliance with its links to India. Northern Alliance has divergence relations with Taliban and is an ally of US.

Since 9/11 Pakistan has also supported a number of militant groups including the LeT, the Haqqani Network, and the Afghan Taliban and uses its ISI to constantly poke India ... Additionally, Pakistan's FATA has become host to a variety of militant groups. Pakistan's double-game has not served it well, and has only resulted in increasing instability. In fact, many agree that Pakistan is now the locus of global terror.[23]

V. CONCLUSION

The paper concludes that India's approach in war on terrorism in Afghanistan is secure and safe. India's contribution in war on terrorism was neither challenged nor pointed out by US (the driver of war on terror), Afghanistan (the destination of war on terror) or any other country. India's contribution in war against terrorism was guided by her long term national interest in Asian continent and India's preferred strategy seems aimed at reconciliation and stability, thus allowing it to play predestined role as a global power. This policy is favoured by the major national political actor. The prospect of India's peaceful and strategic engagement with Afghanistan is revolving around the withdrawal of US led coalition forces from Afghanistan in 2014. The withdrawal of NATO forces does not mean the terrorism is completely uprooted. As there can be no final victory over terrorism, the aim of military interventions is to enable the local people to elect stable governments. India can play a major role in establishing democratic institutions in Afghanistan. While this argument is sound, it can reflect our own self-interest in the extended neighbourhood. An immediate question struck into mind that, will Taliban resurge? Or will Democracy be established? If Democracy exists, India will get more opportunities to cooperate. But if Taliban seizes power, it will create insecurity in Afghanistan and Pakistan whose impact will also touch India because of Pakistan's geopolitical location. The rise of extremist organizations (Al Qaida and Taliban) in Afghanistan and neighbouring Pakistan after withdrawal of US forces in 2014 can hit Indian security as well. Can Pakistan exploit Kashmir through Afghan community particularly Taliban?

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