



South Asia's Battle with Terrorism: A Global Security Concern

Sukhwinder Singh

Ph.D. Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, Punjabi University, Patiala, Punjab, INDIA
(147002), Email- ssukhwinder271@gmail.com

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16811259>

ARTICLE DETAILS

Research Paper

Accepted: 24-07-2025

Published: 10-08-2025

Keywords:

*Terrorism, Extremism,
South Asia, Radicalization,
Security.*

ABSTRACT

Terrorism and extremism have emerged as critical security threats in South Asia, affecting regional stability and posing significant global risks. The region has witnessed the rise of various militant organizations, fueled by political instability, socioeconomic disparities, religious radicalization, and cross-border conflicts. Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives have all faced unique yet interconnected challenges related to terrorism. Despite national and international counterterrorism efforts, issues such as weak governance, terror financing, and ideological extremism continue to hinder progress. Moreover, the global implications of South Asian terrorism, including radicalization, cyber-terrorism, and transnational networks, highlight the urgent need for regional and international cooperation. Addressing the root causes through comprehensive policies, intelligence-sharing, and socio-economic reforms is crucial for sustainable peace and security.

Introduction

Terrorism and extremism have emerged as significant threats to global peace, with South Asia being one of the most affected regions. Terrorism is generally defined as the use of violence or threats to instill fear and achieve political, ideological, or religious objectives (Laqueur, 2001, p. 6). Extremism, on the other hand, refers to rigid ideological beliefs that justify violence as a means to achieve goals, often leading to



radicalization and terrorism (Schmid, 2011, p. 37). The intersection of these phenomena has made South Asia a hotspot for security concerns, as the region has witnessed persistent militant insurgencies, cross-border terrorism, and homegrown radicalization. South Asia's security landscape is shaped by a history of political instability, ethnic and religious conflicts, and unresolved territorial disputes. The region, comprising Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, and the Maldives, has been a breeding ground for various extremist movements. The Soviet-Afghan War (1979–1989) played a crucial role in the rise of jihadist militancy, leading to the emergence of groups such as the Taliban and Al-Qaeda (Rashid, 2000, p. 25). Meanwhile, cross-border tensions between India and Pakistan, particularly over Kashmir, have fueled terrorist activities, with groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) operating with cross-border networks (Fair, 2014, p. 89). Additionally, the rise of Islamic State-Khorasan Province (IS-K) in Afghanistan has introduced new security challenges, further destabilizing the region (Giustozzi, 2018, p. 117). Understanding terrorism in South Asia is crucial due to its far-reaching consequences on global security. The region has not only been a hub for terrorist recruitment but has also seen an increase in foreign fighters traveling to conflict zones, influencing global jihadist movements (Gunaratna, 2013, p. 142). Moreover, the transnational nature of South Asian terrorist groups, coupled with advancements in digital propaganda and cyberterrorism, has raised concerns among Western nations (Clarke, 2019, p. 64). The economic impact of terrorism in South Asia is also significant, with countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan facing declining foreign investments and economic instability due to persistent security threats (Shapiro, 2013, p. 212). Given the increasing globalization of terrorist networks, it is imperative to examine South Asia's terrorism landscape not only as a regional problem but as a global security challenge. Strengthening counterterrorism cooperation, intelligence sharing, and de-radicalization programs is essential to mitigating the threat. As terrorist organizations continue to evolve, understanding the root causes and motivations behind their activities will play a critical role in shaping effective counterterrorism strategies both regionally and globally.

Historical Context of Terrorism in South Asia

Terrorism in South Asia has deep historical roots, shaped by colonial legacies, ethnic conflicts, religious extremism, and geopolitical interventions. The region has witnessed various forms of militancy, from separatist insurgencies to transnational jihadist movements. The foundations of modern terrorism in South Asia can be traced to colonial-era resistance movements and post-independence insurgencies. British India saw violent resistance from groups like the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association (HSRA), which carried out armed attacks against British authorities. After independence in 1947,



insurgencies emerged in different parts of South Asia. In India, the Naga and Mizo insurgencies (1950s–1960s) sought autonomy from the Indian state. The Naga movement, led by the Naga National Council (NNC) and later the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Indian government (Hazarika, 1994, p. 102). Similarly, the Mizo National Front (MNF) waged an armed struggle in the 1960s until a peace accord was signed in 1986 (Baruah, 2005, p. 84). In Sri Lanka, the Tamil separatist movement gained momentum in the 1970s, culminating in the formation of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in 1976. The LTTE pioneered suicide bombings and waged a decades-long civil war until its defeat in 2009 (Gunaratna, 2001, p. 56).

Religious extremism became a dominant factor in South Asian terrorism from the late 20th century onward. The rise of Islamist militancy was fueled by regional and global developments. Pakistan saw increasing radicalization with the state's use of Islamic militancy as a strategic tool, particularly after the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (Rashid, 2000, p. 134). The U.S.-backed jihad against the Soviet Union created a network of militant groups, including the Mujahideen, which later evolved into the Taliban and Al-Qaeda (Coll, 2004, p. 178). In Bangladesh, radical groups like Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) emerged in the 1990s, advocating for Sharia law and carrying out attacks against secular institutions (Fair, 2014, p. 95). India, too, faced religious extremism, with the rise of Kashmiri militant groups such as Hizbul Mujahideen and Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), which had ties to Pakistani intelligence agencies (Tellis, 2008, p. 217).

Key Historical Events Shaping Terrorism

Soviet-Afghan War (1979–1989)- The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had profound effects on South Asian terrorism. The CIA, along with Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), supported Mujahideen fighters, who later formed the core of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban (Weinbaum, 1991, p. 43). After the Soviet withdrawal, many foreign fighters remained in the region, fueling militancy in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Kashmir Conflict (1989–Present)- The insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir intensified in 1989, following the rigging of state elections. Pakistan-based militant groups, including LeT and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), launched attacks in Kashmir and beyond, such as the 2001 Indian Parliament attack and the 2008 Mumbai attacks (Ganguly, 2001, p. 63).

Sri Lankan Civil War (1983–2009)- The LTTE's armed struggle against the Sri Lankan government led to massive civilian casualties and pioneered suicide terrorism. The assassination of Indian Prime Minister



Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 by an LTTE suicide bomber was a major turning point, leading to India's withdrawal from Sri Lankan affairs (Chalk, 1999, p. 56). These historical developments highlight how terrorism in South Asia evolved from local insurgencies to transnational jihadist networks, posing significant regional and global threats.

Major Terrorist Organizations in South Asia

South Asia has long been a hotspot for terrorism due to political instability, historical conflicts, and ideological radicalization. Various terrorist organizations operate in the region, each with distinct goals, affiliations, and impacts.

The Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), also known as the Pakistani Taliban, was formed in 2007 as an umbrella organization for various militant groups. It primarily operates in Pakistan's tribal areas and has targeted both civilians and security forces. The group aims to establish a strict Sharia-based governance system and has been responsible for high-profile attacks, including the 2014 Peshawar school massacre. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) is a Pakistan-based militant organization founded in the 1990s. It has been involved in cross-border terrorism, particularly in India, and was responsible for the 2008 Mumbai attacks. LeT has links with global jihadist networks and operates under different aliases to evade counterterrorism measures. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) was founded in 2000 with the aim of liberating Kashmir from Indian control. It has carried out numerous attacks, including the 2019 Pulwama suicide bombing. JeM has been designated a terrorist organization by multiple countries and continues to operate despite government crackdowns.

The Taliban emerged in the 1990s and ruled Afghanistan until 2001 when it was overthrown by the U.S.-led invasion. After two decades of insurgency, the Taliban regained power in 2021, raising concerns about Afghanistan becoming a haven for terrorist groups. While the Taliban has pledged not to allow terrorism, reports suggest links with groups like Al-Qaeda. Islamic State-Khorasan Province (IS-K) an affiliate of the Islamic State, emerged in 2015 and has been responsible for several deadly attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It opposes both the Taliban and the West, using brutal tactics such as suicide bombings.

Kashmiri Insurgent Groups (Hizbul Mujahideen, etc.) Hizbul Mujahideen is one of the oldest insurgent groups operating in Jammu and Kashmir. It has received support from external actors and continues to engage in attacks against Indian forces. The Naxalite movement, also known as Maoist insurgency, remains active in India's central and eastern regions. These groups seek to overthrow the state through



armed struggle and have engaged in attacks against security forces. Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) is a Bangladeshi militant organization responsible for several terrorist attacks, including coordinated bombings in 2005. It seeks to establish an Islamic state and has ties to transnational jihadist groups. Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI) has been involved in radicalization and terrorist activities in Bangladesh. It has also been linked to terrorist networks operating in South Asia.

Legacy of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) The LTTE waged a violent insurgency against the Sri Lankan government for decades. Though defeated in 2009, concerns remain about potential re-emergence of Tamil separatism. Post-war Sri Lanka has faced new radicalization threats, especially after the 2019 Easter Sunday bombings carried out by Islamist extremists.

Radicalization and Influence of Transnational Jihadist Groups -Maldives has seen rising radicalization, with several Maldivians joining ISIS. The spread of extremist ideology poses security risks for the region

Root Causes of Terrorism in South Asia

Terrorism in South Asia is a deeply rooted phenomenon influenced by a combination of political, socioeconomic, religious, ethnic, and external factors. These factors have created an environment conducive to extremism, allowing terrorist groups to thrive.

One of the primary drivers of terrorism in South Asia is political instability and weak governance. Many countries in the region, such as Pakistan and Afghanistan, have struggled with fragile democratic institutions, military interventions, and inconsistent policies toward counterterrorism. Corruption within law enforcement agencies further weakens state responses to terrorism. According to Fair (2014), weak governance allows terrorist organizations to exploit lawless regions and expand their influence (p. 123). Moreover, the role of military and intelligence agencies in some South Asian states has also contributed to the problem. In Pakistan, for instance, scholars argue that the intelligence agencies have historically supported militant groups as strategic assets, particularly in the context of Kashmir and Afghanistan (Rashid, 2010, p. 78). This dual policy—fighting terrorism while simultaneously supporting certain groups—has fueled instability.

Poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy play crucial roles in radicalization. In many South Asian countries, terrorist organizations recruit from marginalized communities where economic hardship is severe. Studies have shown that youth unemployment increases susceptibility to radical ideologies (Stern & Berger, 2015, p. 211). Many militants join extremist groups due to financial incentives rather than ideological commitment. Illiteracy and lack of education further exacerbate the problem. Madrasa-based



education in parts of Pakistan and Bangladesh has been linked to radicalization, particularly when extremist interpretations of religion are taught (Winthrop & Graff, 2010, p. 52). Poor educational infrastructure often leads young individuals to religious schools that serve as recruitment centers for terrorist organizations.

Religious extremism has played a significant role in the rise of terrorism in South Asia. Radical interpretations of Islam, often propagated through madrasas, have fueled sectarian violence and jihadist movements. According to Nasr (2006), many of these madrasas receive funding from external sources, promoting Wahhabi and Salafi ideologies that encourage jihad (p. 145). The spread of Wahhabism and Salafism, particularly from the Gulf states, has transformed South Asia's religious landscape. Countries such as Saudi Arabia have invested heavily in religious institutions that promote ultra-conservative Islam, which has contributed to the rise of extremist groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) (Hussain, 2012, p. 97). This ideological shift has led to increased sectarian and interfaith tensions.

Sectarian divisions have long fueled terrorism in South Asia, particularly the Sunni-Shia divide. Pakistan has witnessed deadly clashes between Sunni and Shia groups, with organizations like Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ) openly targeting Shia minorities (Abbas, 2010, p. 67). Similarly, in Afghanistan, sectarian violence between the Taliban and Shia Hazara communities has been a persistent issue. Ethnic separatist movements also contribute to terrorism. In India, Naxalite insurgents have been involved in violent resistance against the state for decades (Chakrabarti, 2013, p. 188). In Sri Lanka, the Tamil separatist group Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) waged a civil war for over two decades, employing suicide bombings and guerrilla tactics (Gunaratna, 2001, p. 45).

Terrorism in South Asia has strong links to global jihadist movements. The Soviet-Afghan War (1979-1989) played a pivotal role in radicalizing militants across the region, as foreign fighters were trained in Pakistan and Afghanistan with support from the United States and Saudi Arabia (Coll, 2004, p. 256). The remnants of these fighters later formed groups such as al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Additionally, foreign funding has fueled extremism in South Asia. Countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran have provided financial and ideological support to various sectarian groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan, exacerbating religious conflicts (Malik, 2019, p. 233). Furthermore, the presence of Western military forces in Afghanistan and drone strikes in Pakistan have often served as propaganda tools for terrorist organizations, helping them recruit new members (Ahmed, 2013, p. 301).

Counterterrorism Strategies in South Asia



Terrorism in South Asia presents a significant challenge to regional stability and global security. In response, national governments, regional organizations, and international actors have implemented various counterterrorism strategies. These approaches include national security measures, regional collaborations, and global initiatives aimed at combating terrorism and its underlying causes.

Pakistan's National Action Plan (NAP) - Following the 2014 terrorist attack on the Army Public School in Peshawar, Pakistan launched the National Action Plan (NAP) as a comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism and extremism. The NAP includes measures such as military operations against terrorist groups, regulation of madrassas, strict action against hate speech, and curbing terror financing. The Pakistan Army's Zarb-e-Azb (2014-2017) and Radd-ul-Fasaad (2017-present) military operations have targeted terrorist hideouts, particularly in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) (Rana, 2015, p. 24). However, challenges remain, including the resurgence of groups like Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and loopholes in implementing NAP policies (Javaid, 2017, p. 63).

India has employed multiple counterterrorism measures, particularly through its Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), 1967, which allows authorities to designate individuals and organizations as terrorists. Additionally, India's counterinsurgency efforts in Jammu and Kashmir involve a combination of military, intelligence, and political strategies. The Indian Army's Operation All-Out targets militants in Kashmir, while its intelligence agencies, including the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and National Investigation Agency (NIA), play a crucial role in counterterrorism operations (Joshi, 2019, p. 119). However, concerns over human rights violations and political instability persist.

Bangladesh has focused on de-radicalization and countering violent extremism (CVE) through intelligence-led operations and community engagement. The government has taken strict action against militant groups like Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) and Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HuJI) by banning extremist organizations and monitoring radical preachers. The Anti-Terrorism Act (2009) and initiatives such as engaging religious scholars in counter-radicalization efforts have been significant in preventing violent extremism (Ahmed, 2020, p. 86). However, the influence of online radicalization remains a challenge.

Role of Regional Organizations

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) established the SAARC Regional Convention on Suppression of Terrorism (1987) and the SAARC Terrorist Offenses Monitoring Desk (STOMD). However, SAARC has struggled to play an effective role in counterterrorism due to political



tensions, particularly between India and Pakistan (Sridharan, 2018, p. 151). The lack of intelligence sharing and trust among member states has hindered collective efforts. The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), which includes India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, and Thailand, has emerged as a promising regional counterterrorism platform. The BIMSTEC National Security Chiefs' Meetings focus on intelligence sharing, cybersecurity, and counterterrorism cooperation. The grouping provides an alternative to SAARC, especially in countering transnational threats (Kumar, 2021, p. 94). The United Nations (UN) has played a crucial role in counterterrorism through its Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1373 and 1267, which mandate measures against terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. South Asian nations are part of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) framework, which works to prevent terrorist financing (Schmid, 2022, p. 207). The United States and Pakistan have had a complex counterterrorism relationship. While Pakistan has received significant financial and military aid from the US to combat terrorism, tensions have arisen over allegations of Pakistan's selective approach toward counterterrorism, particularly regarding groups like the Haqqani Network (Fair, 2016, p. 182). The withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan in 2021 has further complicated security dynamics. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) has placed Pakistan on its 'Grey List' multiple times due to concerns over terror financing. FATF's pressure has led Pakistan to take actions such as seizing assets of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) and strengthening its anti-money laundering laws. However, the effectiveness of these measures remains debated (Gopalan, 2023, p. 126).

The Global Implications of South Asian Terrorism

Terrorism in South Asia has profound global implications, influencing international security, contributing to the radicalization of diasporic communities, inspiring lone-wolf attacks, and facilitating cyberterrorism through social media networks. South Asia hosts several active terrorist organizations, including the Taliban, Al-Qaida in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), and the Islamic State's Khorasan Province (ISIL-K). These groups not only destabilize the region but also pose significant threats beyond their borders. Their activities have led to international military interventions, strained diplomatic relations, and a continuous need for global counterterrorism efforts. The persistence of these groups necessitates a coordinated international response to mitigate their far-reaching impacts. (United Nations, The South Asian diaspora, particularly in Western countries, has been susceptible to radicalization. Factors such as identity crises, perceived discrimination, and exposure to extremist ideologies contribute to this vulnerability. Online platforms play a pivotal role in this process, enabling terrorist organizations to



disseminate propaganda and recruit individuals remotely. This phenomenon underscores the importance of community engagement and monitoring online activities to prevent the spread of extremism within diasporic populations. (UNESCO Documents) The global reach of South Asian terrorist groups has inspired lone-wolf attacks worldwide. Individuals, often radicalized online without direct contact with terrorist organizations, have executed attacks in various countries. These lone actors pose significant challenges to security agencies due to their unpredictability and the minimal resources required for such attacks. The rise in self-radicalized individuals highlights the need for proactive measures, including monitoring online extremist content and early intervention strategies. (NCBI) Terrorist organizations in South Asia have adeptly utilized the internet and social media to further their agendas. Platforms like Telegram and Twitter serve as tools for recruitment, spreading propaganda, and coordinating activities. The digital landscape allows these groups to reach a global audience, transcending geographical barriers. Combating this form of cyber terrorism requires international cooperation, advanced technological solutions, and robust policies to monitor and counteract extremist content online. (UNESCO Documents)

Conclusion and Recommendations

Terrorism in South Asia remains a persistent challenge, driven by political instability, religious extremism, socioeconomic disparities, and cross-border conflicts. The presence of militant groups like the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and IS-K highlights the region's vulnerability, with global implications for security and stability. While individual nations have taken counterterrorism measures, fragmented efforts and geopolitical tensions have hindered a unified response. A regional approach is essential for effectively combating terrorism. South Asian nations must strengthen cooperation through intelligence-sharing, coordinated counterterrorism operations, and joint initiatives under SAARC or BIMSTEC. Enhanced diplomatic engagement and trust-building measures can help mitigate cross-border terrorism, particularly in conflict zones like Kashmir and Afghanistan. Addressing the root causes of extremism—poverty, lack of education, and ideological radicalization—is critical. Governments should invest in economic development, educational reforms, and de-radicalization programs to prevent youth from being drawn into extremist ideologies. International organizations and global powers must also support these efforts through economic aid and strategic partnerships. Moving forward, a comprehensive, long-term strategy is needed, integrating security measures with social and economic reforms. Only through sustained cooperation and a commitment to stability can South Asia and the world mitigate the threat of terrorism and build a more secure future.



References

- Clarke, C. P. (2019). *Terrorism, Inc.: The Financing of Terrorism, Insurgency, and Irregular Warfare*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA, p. 64.
- Fair, C. C. (2014). *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY, p. 89.
- Giustozzi, A. (2018). *The Islamic State in Khorasan: Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the New Central Asian Jihad*. Hurst Publishers, London, UK, p. 117.
- Gunaratna, R. (2013). *Inside Al-Qaeda and the Taliban: Beyond Bin Laden and 9/11*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL, p. 142.
- Laqueur, W. (2001). *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, p. 6.
- Rashid, A. (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, p. 25.
- Schmid, A. P. (2011). *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*. Routledge, London, UK, p. 37.
- Shapiro, J. N. (2013). *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, p. 212
- Baruah, S. (2005). *Durable Disorder: Understanding the Politics of Northeast India*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 84.
- Chalk, P. (1999). *The Tamil Tigers: Suicide Terrorism and an Uncertain Future*. RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, p. 56.
- Coll, S. (2004). *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden*. Penguin Books, New York, p. 178.
- Fair, C. (2014). *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. Oxford University Press, New York, p. 95.
- Ganguly, S. (2001). *Conflict Unending: India-Pakistan Tensions Since 1947*. Columbia University Press, New York, p. 63.
- Gunaratna, R. (2001). *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*. South Asian Network on Conflict Research, Colombo, p. 56.
- Hazarika, S. (1994). *Strangers of the Mist: Tales of War and Peace from India's Northeast*. Penguin Books, New Delhi, p. 102.



- Rashid, A. (2000). *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 134.
- Tellis, A. (2008). *Pakistan and the War on Terror: Conflicted Goals, Compromised Performance*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., p. 217.
- Weinbaum, M. (1991). *Pakistan and Afghanistan: Resistance and Reconstruction*. Westview Press, Boulder, p. 43.
- Abbas, Hassan. *The Taliban Revival: Violence and Extremism on the Pakistan-Afghanistan Frontier*. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2014, p. 132.
- Tinkel, Stephen. *Storming the World Stage: The Story of Lashkar-e-Taiba*. Oxford University Press, New York, 2011, p. 56.
- Riedel, Bruce. *Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 2011, p. 79.
- Giustozzi, Antonio. *The Taliban at War: 2001–2018*. Hurst & Company, London, 2019, p. 210.
- Clarke, Colin P. *After the Caliphate: The Islamic State and the Future Terrorist Diaspora*. Polity Press, Cambridge, 2019, p. 98.
- Schaffer, Teresita C. *India and the United States in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership*. Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington, D.C., 2009, p. 142.
- Banerjee, Sumanta. *India's Simmering Revolution: The Naxalite Uprising*. Zed Books, London, 1984, p. 67.
- Riaz, Ali. *Islam and Identity Politics in South Asia*. Routledge, London, 2010, p. 204.
- Fair, C. Christine. *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. Oxford University Press, New York, 2014, p. 118.
- Gunaratna, Rohan. *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*. South Asian Network on Conflict Research, Colombo, 1998, p. 90.
- Gunaratna, Rohan & Hassan, Mohamed. *Terrorist Threats in the Indian Ocean Region*. Marshall Cavendish, Singapore, 2019, p. 65.
- Abbas, H. (2010). *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror*. Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 67.
- Ahmed, A. (2013). *The Thistle and the Drone: How America's War on Terror Became a Global War on Tribal Islam*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., p. 301.
- Chakrabarti, P. (2013). *Red Rebels: Understanding Naxalite Insurgency in India*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 188.



- Coll, S. (2004). *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*. Penguin Books, New York, p. 256.
- Fair, C. C. (2014). *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. Oxford University Press, New York, p. 123.
- Gunaratna, R. (2001). *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*. South Asian Network on Conflict Research, Colombo, p. 45.
- Hussain, Z. (2012). *Frontline Pakistan: The Struggle with Militant Islam*. Columbia University Press, New York, p. 97.
- Malik, I. (2019). *Religious Minorities in Pakistan: Struggling for Identity*. Oxford University Press, Karachi, p. 233.
- Nasr, V. (2006). *The Shia Revival: How Conflicts within Islam Will Shape the Future*. W. W. Norton & Company, New York, p. 145.
- Rashid, A. (2010). *Taliban: The Power of Militant Islam in Afghanistan and Beyond*. I.B. Tauris, London, p. 78.
- \Stern, J., & Berger, J. M. (2015). *ISIS: The State of Terror*. HarperCollins, New York, p. 211.
- Winthrop, R., & Graff, C. (2010). *Beyond Madrasas: Assessing the Link between Education and Militancy in Pakistan*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., p. 52.
- Ahmed, I. (2020). *Countering Violent Extremism in Bangladesh: Policies and Challenges*. Dhaka: University Press Limited, p. 86.
- Fair, C. C. (2016). *Fighting to the End: The Pakistan Army's Way of War*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 182.
- Gopalan, R. (2023). *Terror Financing in South Asia: The Role of FATF and Global Implications*. New Delhi: Sage Publications, p. 126.
- Javaid, U. (2017). *Pakistan's Counterterrorism Policies and Challenges*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, p. 63.
- Joshi, M. (2019). *India's Counterterrorism Strategy: Balancing Security and Rights*. New Delhi: Routledge, p. 119.
- Kumar, A. (2021). *Regional Security Cooperation: BIMSTEC's Role in Counterterrorism*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, p. 94.
- Rana, M. (2015). *The National Action Plan: A Critical Review*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, p. 24.
- Schmid, A. P. (2022). *Handbook on Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. London: Routledge, p. 207.



- Sridharan, E. (2018). *SAARC and Regional Security: The Roadblocks to Cooperation*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, p. 151.
- United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee. (n.d.). South Asia. DOI: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/ctc/content/south-asia>
- UNESCO. (2017). *Youth and violent extremism on social media: mapping the research*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing. DOI: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000260382>
- Gill, P., Corner, E., Thornton, A., & Conway, M. (2015). Terrorism and the internet: How dangerous is online radicalization? *Psychiatry & Behavioral Sciences*, 7(1), 1-8. DOI: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC9606324/>