INDIAN HOMELAND SECURITY: THE NEED FOR FOCUSED REORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

From the attacks on its Parliament in 2001 until the devastating attacks that took place in Mumbai in 2008, India has faltered from one terrorist incident to another. Due to a factor of reasons but primarily because of the lack of effective security controls at its borders, an antiquated approach at dealing with the realities of 21st Century terrorism, a focus on old enemies and the lack of political will, India remains a soft target and one that will be exploited by its enemies, both in the present and in the future.

By focusing on current Indian counterterrorism policy, legislation, and practices, this research paper aims to provide the Indian authorities with a different approach when it comes to the complex matter of counterterrorism.
DEDICATION

To my cousin Alexander Mayhew and my uncle David Parkinson. May I live a life as full as you both did.
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INTRODUCTION

On September 11, 2001, the world watched in horror as members of the terrorist group Al-Qaeda flew commercial aircraft into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D.C. Following the attacks world leaders pledged their support to the United States in the efforts to bring the perpetrators to justice. While this was not the first major terrorist attack that had been suffered by a nation, it was by the largest, in terms of deaths and destruction that had ever taken place.

The attacks of 9/11 illustrated to the global community that even the world’s sole superpower was not impervious to a phenomenon that has become the scourge of 21st century governments. 9/11 changed the way by which governments addressed conflict. The traditional nation state versus nation state archetype was now replaced by a nation versus non-state actor model. It was unclear how governments would respond and how they would be able to respond to future terrorist attacks.

What was clear not only to governments but to terrorist organizations was how effective terrorism was in highlighting either a group or a cause. Terror tactics were not new since terrorism has been adopted for thousands of years, however to the integrated, globalized world in which we live today, terrorist actions now had a global impact. To the American public and to most of the west, prior to 9-11, terrorism was an issue that other nations, more often than not those nations in the Middle East, especially Israel, had to deal with.

In response to the attacks the United States began to look internally to identify how Al-Qaeda were able to successfully carry out such an atrocious act of violence. A
total reorganization of the domestic security apparatus of the state was initiated. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created, the intelligence community was overhauled, legislation specifically designed to assist in the protection of the nation was passed, and security issues that had been swept aside for many years were placed front and center.

In the years that have followed 9/11, after spending trillions of dollars, the creation of a giant bureaucratic agency, debate over the civil rights of Americans, war crimes, numerous scandals, and a great deal of luck, the United States has not suffered another major terrorist attack. But the question remains, was it and is it all worth the huge cost in dollars and in human life? Is there a better way of protecting a nation against the threat of terrorism and if so what is it?

Numerous nations have suffered terrorist attacks since 9/11; Spain, Jordan, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Indonesia just to name a few but the one nation who has suffered above all is India.

Since its independence from Britain in 1947, India has been involved in various forms of conflict against its neighbors or Marxist groups operating within its borders. The conflict between India and Pakistan over regions of Kashmir and Jammu has dictated the relationship that these two countries retain with one other. Three major wars have been fought while constant skirmishes break out between the armies of both sides. The threat of conflict between the nuclear rivals remains a real concern, as all it would take is a serious incident that could break the fragile calm that has currently descended between the two nuclear armed countries.
Two major terrorist incidents have taken place that brought the region to the brink of war, the attacks on the Indian Parliament in 2001 and the attacks on Mumbai in November 2008. In between these dates, numerous attacks have been carried out in India against mass transit hubs, bars and restaurants, market places, and various other soft targets. the central government of India.

On the one hand these attacks have had the desired effect in that groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), and the Indian Mujahideen (IM) have now become household names not only in the region, but also throughout the world. These and other groups have made it their purpose to destabilize India and to bring havoc to the region. Compounding the problem is the known fact that Pakistan’s Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) has directly supported these groups in one form or another over many years.1

The history of religious conflict between the predominantly Hindu India and the Muslim Pakistan is a critical factor when one looks at this issue. Since the 16th century with the beginning of the Mughul Renaissance followed by the beginnings of Islamic fundamentalism that can have its roots traced back to Deoband in northern India in the 1860’s there has been a constant distrust between Muslims and Hindus living in India.2 Present day India and Pakistan were founded through a conflict, which led to a partition of the two nations during which over a million people died.

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2 Alex Perry, “India’s Great Divide,” *Time Magazine*, August 8, 2003, 13
The importance of this religious divide cannot be understated since the question of Kashmir and Jammu is in essence a religious issue, one that has now been further complicated by politics.³

As with any conflict the roots of the Pakistan-India tension can be traced back to well beyond independence. While volumes have been written on this very topic, this research paper will focus more on the present and future than the past. Terrorism and the acts of terror that have been delivered on the Indian state from Pakistani sources have brought the two nations to the brink of war on more than one occasion; up to the present day, terrorist organizations like LeT, JeM, and the IM continue to wreck havoc on India.

This paper will discuss how the Indian state mitigates the ever-present threat of terrorism and how the current structure is in need of reform. The paper also proposes some solutions to foster the reform process.

Chapter I will detail three case studies, each a major terrorist incident that had far reaching repercussions on not only India’s relations with Pakistan, but also within India itself. Each of these incidents led the Indian government to internalize and address the security shortcomings that it faced. Since independence, India has always been prepared to fight a traditional war against Pakistan. This is how the three wars over Kashmir and Jammu have been fought since 1947 and therefore this is the approach that the Indian military have taken; a traditional war against a traditional enemy.

³ It is important to remember that there are a vast number of Muslims living in Indian controlled Kashmir. The Pakistani government believes that all Muslims should be living under the Pakistani flag while India has maintained its political right to the lands under international law. This is but one of the many issues that surrounds the Kashmir and Jammu question.
The 1993 Bombay bombings changed all that. These attacks illustrated how susceptible India was to an organized, methodical terrorist incident. This weakness was not lost on the part of Pakistan’s ISI. What followed was the 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament by a small group of terrorists from LeT and JeM. This attack and the resulting links of the terrorists back to Pakistan brought India and Pakistan to the brink of war. The November 2008 attacks in Mumbai were however the most significant incident of terrorism that has taken place in India to date. This highly coordinated attack has become known as India’s 9/11. This incident shook India to its core and had the international community captivated and appalled. Chapter I covers each of these incidents in detail and describes how terrorism in India has evolved while the Indian government continues to play catch up.

This method of playing catch up is detailed in Chapter II. Current Indian counterterrorism policy is an odd mixture of historical expertise and naïve expectation. Expertise in that when one looks at India’s conventional forces, these units are top notch, well trained and decently resourced. India is ready for a conventional war and if one was to break out between Pakistan and India, there is no doubt that India would be able to fight well against their archrival. However, it is in the non-conventional world that India lags behind. Pakistan has become aware of this and through the sponsoring of, directly or indirectly, these terrorist groups, they have exploited this weakness. Chapter II details the intelligence capabilities of the Indian state, its legislative tools that can be deployed to investigate, capture, and prosecute terrorists, its law enforcement capabilities and other areas of current counterterrorism policy that it deploys. This chapter also addresses the moral dilemmas that the Indian state faces when dealing with
the issue of terrorism. How does the state protect its values that are enshrined in its constitution against providing law enforcement with the tools that it requires to successfully prevent terrorist incidents from occurring?

While it is clear that current counterterrorism policy in India has not been successful in preventing future attacks as the recent bombing of an Israeli diplomats car in New Delhi shows. It is one thing to illustrate the problems and another to offer solutions. Chapter III fulfills this requirement. India needs to look at the whole picture and, with the finite resources that are available, focus its counterterrorism efforts in four key areas: borders, seaports and airports, intelligence, and legislation. India does not have to take the same dramatic steps that the United States took following 9/11. The last thing that India needs is another large bureaucracy. What it needs is a focused, well-resourced approach that allows for cooperation between the central government, states, and local law enforcement. Chapter III will focus on these key areas and provide certain options that the Indian state can deploy in order to protect its citizens from a variety of potential threats.

Chapter IV will offer a look into the future and discuss some of the potential threats that India will face in the years to come. Questions surrounding India’s relationship with People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the fact that the PRC has a separate treaty with Pakistan on the Kashmir issue is a topic that is not lost on the Indians yet it is not a topic that has come up for discussion between New Delhi and Beijing. Cybersecurity is fast becoming another issue that governments around the world are beginning to take note of. While the levels of intellectual property in India are
not at the same levels to those here in the United States, India needs to focus more on this issue since who knows in what shape the next terrorist attack will be?

As a developing nation, India has an array of problems that its government is faced with. These cover every aspect of governance: social, political, economic, and security. India is a soft target, one that has become susceptible to terrorist attacks and one that requires assistance in dealing with terrorism. Such assistance should not only come from the international community, but also from India’s neighbors including Pakistan. There is certainly a role for nations like the United States to play in assisting India, and this indeed have been the case especially in the wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks. Through the sharing of intelligence, military exercises, and interagency dialogues, the international community can work with India so as to assist in the elimination of terrorist activity from within its borders. Yet without cooperation from Pakistan, a lasting peace will be impossible to achieve and this will be discussed throughout this paper.

Ultimately India’s fate will be India’s choosing. 21st century problems will force the Indian government into difficult decisions not only on the domestic front but on the international scene as well. As India seeks to grow its economy not only to lift millions of it’s citizens out of poverty, but to rival other emerging powerhouses such as Brazil and Russia on the international arena, domestic security will become a more important factor for the government to consider. Investors will insist that their assets are protected and will require peace of mind that a worthwhile return will be forthcoming by investing in India. If the country continues to be subjected to bombins and a constant
threat of terrorist attack then any hope that the country has of becoming a global powerhouse in the 21st century could be thwarted.

As this paper will illustrate, India has the capability to protect and defend itself, however immediate and definitive action is required on behalf of not only the Indian government, but by the opposition parties too if the country is to secure itself and rise as South Asia’s answer to growing Chinese influence and Pakistani aggression.
CHAPTER 1

THE EVOLUTION OF TERRORIST THREATS AGAINST INDIA

The coordinated terror attacks that took place in Mumbai in 2008 illustrated to the Indian government that terrorism in the world’s second most populous nation could not be eliminated using the existing security apparatus. Police forces were totally overwhelmed by events and were simply unable to anticipate and respond to the attacks. As noted by one analyst, the government's responses to the Mumbai attacks were "comprehensive failures from the point of view of India's security establishment."¹ In the immediate debate following the attacks, some Indian politicians pointed the finger directly at India’s archenemy, Pakistan, as being responsible for the attacks. Additionally some security analysts in the reporting on the incidents focused on the support that India’s neighbor provides to terrorist organizations.² It was clear however, that the attacks illustrated how weak India was on a domestic security basis and what needs to take place in the country is the total restructuring of India’s domestic counterterrorism apparatus. This will involve injections of financial resources, political will, and the coordination of policy so as to avoid multi layer bureaucracies. Attempts have been made to address these problems before, unfortunately it has often proved frustratingly difficult to achieve any meaningful change.

Given the number of attacks that have taken place in India since 1993 and the government’s relatively poor record at capturing and prosecuting those responsible, any

² Ibid., 13.
future attacks on the India people will add enormous pressure to the already embattled government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

However, before we enter into the discussion of what the Indian government needs to do regarding the structure of its counter terrorism forces, it is vital that we understand how terrorism has evolved in India since the major attacks began in 1993.

By using three case studies this paper will identify the shifting tactics used by terrorist when carrying out their attacks. The common links between the three case studies will be identified and the shortcomings of the Indian government shall be discussed.

Case Study One: 12 March 1993

The 1993 Bombay bombings were a series of 13 explosions that took place in Bombay, since renamed Mumbai. These coordinated attacks were the most destructive bomb explosions in Indian history. The single-day attacks resulted in up to 250 fatalities and 700 injuries.³

The attacks were allegedly coordinated by Dawood Ibrahim, don of the Bombay-based international organized crime syndicate named D-Company, which also operated as a terrorist organization.⁴ Indian authorities have also alleged the involvement of the Pakistani intelligence agency, Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), in the blasts. It is believed that the attacks were carried out in retaliation for the enormous Muslim casualties and widespread damage to the Muslim-owned businesses and properties.


⁴ Ibid., 128.
which occurred during the Hindu-Muslim riots in Mumbai between December 1992 and January 1993, in the fall-out of the demolition of the Babri Mosque.\(^5\)

On the day of the explosions, the Bombay Stock Exchange building, three Hotels, the Air India building, and a major shopping complex were targeted.\(^6\) Numerous car bombs went off throughout Mumbai and these coordinated attacks led to utter chaos throughout the city. In the aftermath of the attacks hundreds were arrested and detained under the then operating Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act (TADA).\(^7\) The purported masterminds of the attacks Dawood Ibrahim and Tiger Memon were never captured and remain at large, reportedly in Pakistan.\(^8\) The Pakistani government has repeatedly denied this.

The case threw light onto the depths of corruption and ineptitude that existed in not only the Indian police force, but throughout numerous government structures. Customs officials and policemen were found guilty of accepting bribes, providing information to the accused, and assisting in the transportation of the accused onto Indian soil through numerous checkpoints.\(^9\) All of these convictions took place in 2007 more than 14 years after the attacks.

As a result of the attacks, TADA became of vital tool for the authorities to arrest

\(^5\) Ibid., 129.
\(^6\) Ibid., 129.
\(^7\) It is worth nothing that it took until 2006 for approximately 100 of the accused to be tried, many in absenteeism. This low level of prosecution is one of the major criticisms of the Indian judicial body.


\(^9\) Ibid., 1.
numerous persons of interest. Unfortunately there were many cases of abuse relating to police use of TADA authority and thus in the months following the attacks, TADA became a highly unpopular law. Just 15 months after the attacks in Mumbai, the number of people arrested under TADA had exceeded 76,000 and after just a short period in jail the police dropped 25 percent of these cases without any charges being framed. Only 35 percent of the cases were brought to trial, of which 95 percent resulted in acquittals. Less than 2 percent of those arrested were convicted. Another controversial law, the Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act, ultimately succeeded the TADA legislation.

Case Study Two: 2001 Indian Parliament Attack

The 2001 attack on the Indian Parliament was one of the most significant terrorist attacks that have ever taken place in India. The attack took place on December 13, 2001; just three months after Al-Qaeda attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States. Five members of the Lashkar-e-Toiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorist groups led the attack. Both of these terrorist organizations have proven ties to Pakistan’s ISI.

Both houses of the Indian Parliament, the Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, had


11 Ibid., 255.

12 Ibid., 256.

13 Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), active since 1993, was formed as the military wing of the well-funded Pakistani Islamist organization Markaz-ad- Dawa-wal-Irshad. The group, one of the largest and most proficient of the Kashmir-based terrorist groups, has claimed responsibility for a number of high-profile attacks on Indian targets in Jammu and Kashmir, as well as within India. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) literally The Army of Mohammad, is a Pakistani-based, militant Islamic group established by Maulana Masood Azhar in 2000. JeM aims to end Indian rule in disputed Jammu and Kashmir J&K, expel Indian security forces from the region, and unite J&K with Pakistan.
recently adjourned prior to the attack. Upon attacking the Parliament, the gunmen opened fire on the exterior of the building and engaged in a short but deadly firefight with police and Parliamentary security. All five gunmen were killed along with five policemen, a security guard, and a gardener.\textsuperscript{14} 18 others were injured.

This attack on the Indian Parliament led to increased tensions between India and Pakistan whom India accused of assisting with the attacks. In the days that followed, the Indian government demanded that Pakistan cease all assistance to LeT and JeM and that they hand over all LeT and JeM leadership for trial in India.\textsuperscript{15} By December 20\textsuperscript{th}, India had mobilized and deployed half a million troops to Kashmir and Punjab in what was India's largest military mobilization since the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War.\textsuperscript{16} Pakistan responded by deploying around 300,000 troops to the same region.\textsuperscript{17} With both sides possessing nuclear weapons, nuclear war had become a very real possibility with Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf refusing to rule out a first strike attack with nuclear weapons. Eventually by June India accepted Pakistan’s pledge to end militant infiltration into India and by 2003 a cease-fire was signed by both sides bringing an end to hostilities.\textsuperscript{18}

Two nuclear powers had been brought to the brink of an all out war because of a terrorist attack. Never before had this occurred and it highlighted the destabilizing role

\textsuperscript{14} Ved Prakash, \textit{Terrorism in India} (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 519.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 526.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 526.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 531.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 540
that terrorist activity has in the geopolitical arena.

India also missed a wonderful opportunity to reorganize its intelligence apparatus in the wake of the Parliament attacks. Given that both LeT and JeM were in part funded and aided by Pakistan’s ISI, the Indian government should have recognized that these groups would continue to threaten India’s domestic security. Indian Intelligence should have been reorganized to specifically target these groups in or to mitigate the threat that they posed to the Indian state.

The weakness in India’s counter terrorism laws were again exposed when just two days after the attack when Indian police arrested four Indian citizens from Kashmir as prime suspects in organizing and planning the attack. A year later the Indian court sentenced to death Mohammad Afzal, Shaukat Hussain Guru and Abdul Rehman Geelani, identified as members of JeM, for their assistance the Indian Parliament attack.\(^{19}\) In 2003 another of the accused, Abdul Rehman Geelani was acquitted from all charges by the Indian Supreme Court and in 2005; Shaukat Hussain’s death sentence was changed and reduced to 10 years imprisonment.\(^{20}\) The Indian people were again left with a sense of frustration and loss given the acquittals and the reduced sentences.

**Case Study 3: The 2008 Mumbai Attacks**

The 2008 Mumbai attacks were a series of 11 coordinated attacks across Mumbai by Islamist terrorists who allegedly infiltrated India from Pakistan. The attackers allegedly received reconnaissance assistance before the attacks and the attacks were

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 542.

\(^{20}\) Ibid., 644.
conducted with the support of Pakistan's ISI. The attacks, which targeted a number of prominent Mumbai establishments, began on Wednesday, 26 November and lasted until Saturday, 29 November 2008, killing 164 people and wounding at least 308.  

Widely considered as India’s “September 11th”, the 2008 Mumbai attacks sent shockwaves not only throughout India but also around the world, as the attacks were shown live on international television.

Chaos on the streets of Mumbai ensued as the local police were totally overwhelmed with the situation. Not only was there confusion on the streets of Mumbai, but also information was not relayed to the central government in a timely manner thus adding to the confusion in Delhi itself. The National Security Guard (NSG) commandos based in the capital Delhi received major criticism for taking 10 hours to reach the three sites under attack.

What was significant about the 2008 Mumbai attacks was the detailed planning and operation that went into the attacks. It was clear that this was not a rapidly assembled, untrained terrorist group, but rather was highly skilled, well financed, efficient, and involved military-trained personnel. All terrorists were Pakistani born from in and around the Pakistani Punjab province. This fact alone led Indian authorities to suspect that the terrorists had received assistance from the Pakistani ISI. In the course of the ensuing investigation, the sole terrorist who was captured during the attacks, Ajmal

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21 Ibid., 649.


23 Ved Prakash, Terrorism in India (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 613.
Kasab, indicated to authorities that all the attackers were members of LeT and that indeed the attacks had been planned within Pakistan.\textsuperscript{24}

Furthermore, during the attacks, Indian police had infiltrated the cellular telephone conversations of the attackers and discovered their handlers were based in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{25} This further indicated the sophistication and coordination of the attackers as well as the apparent link to Pakistan.

In response to the Mumbai attacks, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) was established to act on any terror related crimes across states without requesting the permission of that particular state.\textsuperscript{26} The legislation creating the NIA was called the National Investigation Agency Bill of 2008.\textsuperscript{27} The Maharashtra government, the state in which Mumbai is based, also began to upgrade its police force by developing its own special commando unit called Force One based along the line of the NSG.\textsuperscript{28}

While all of these actions were well and good, they were all addressing reactionary issues. New commando units were established to combat terrorist attackers, legislation was passed to enable these units to investigate terrorist crimes that had already taken place, and additional laws assisted in the prosecution of terrorists and their

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 627.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., 629.


accomplices. The Indian government did nothing to address the real problem: how do we prevent these attacks from occurring in the first place?

By looking at these case studies we can see that terrorist organizations adapt to the new obstacles put in place by the authorities. In 1993, car bombs were used, in 2001, a single target was attacked, and in 2008 the attackers came on shore by boat, split up into teams and attacked a variety of target whilst remaining mobile during the whole event. Each incident involved the terrorists adopting different tactics and tools while the Indian police had not evolved until the wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks. 29

For their part the Indian military remains focused on Pakistan and especially the Kashmir region, which, in the eyes of the Indian Armed Forces, poses the single greatest threat to the security of India. From 1993 until 2008 small but ineffective steps were taken by the Indian government in addressing counterterrorism. As a result, ultimately the Indian people paid a heavy price. By focusing too much on the buildup of traditional military forces, a large manned army and a significant air force for example, the Indian military lost sight of the role that Pakistani intelligence was playing, and primarily how the ISI was funding subordinate organizations so as to target India in a non-conventional manner.

It is also important to note the composition of the terrorists who carry out the attacks in India. The 2008 Mumbai attackers were by far the largest group of individuals assembled in one team, as usually there were only a handful of attackers. Also it seemed

29 There is some evidence that LeT have been attempting to infiltrate the Muslim population of some of the more remote islands of the Maldives island nation.

that because all the attackers were from Pakistan, they had not received any local assistance. The trail of David Headley in Chicago relating to his role in the 2008 Mumbai attacks illustrated that Indian citizens had indeed assisted the attackers and these individuals had in turn received assistance from the Pakistani ISI.\textsuperscript{30} It has become clear that the ISI has developed a network of individuals who are Indian citizens and all based in India who work in coordination with groups like LeT and JeM. Headley’s trial revealed that Pakistani intelligence and the LeT have worked together in recent years on an endeavor called the Karachi Project, which seeks to motivate and equip Indians to attack their own country.\textsuperscript{31}

Yet despite this subversive action on behalf of Pakistan to undermine their economically and militarily superior neighbor and enemy (and all the evidence that points towards Pakistani assistance for LeT and JeM amongst others), India remains unable to identify and prosecute any one specific organization responsible for the numerous attacks that have taken place on its soil.

When one looks at the terrorist attacks occurring in India between 2001 and 2008, a trend begins to emerge in that Pakistan-based terrorist groups are working closely with Indian accomplices that are increasingly responsible in conducting domestic terrorism.\textsuperscript{32} In the six months before the November 2008 attacks that were carried out by the LeT, India suffered several terrorist attacks inside the country, most of which were


\textsuperscript{32} LeT, JeM, Harakat-ul-Jihadi Islami (HuJI), and the Indian Mujahedeen have all used Indian contacts and assistance to carry out their attacks against various targets throughout India.
claimed by the Indian Mujahedeen (IM). This led to concern in India about the growing threat posed by homegrown Islamist extremists. The IM had sent out a manifesto in November 2007, via e-mail, claiming responsibility for bombing court complexes in the Indian cities of Lucknow, Varanasi, and Faizabad. The group said it conducted the attacks to avenge the mistreatment of suspects held for their involvement in a JeM kidnapping plot. This was just the beginning of the IM and after repeated events after which the IM claimed responsibility; in June of 2010 the IM was officially banned in India.

What makes the IM so dangerous in the eyes of the Indian government is their ability to assimilate into the local population and to carry out attacks indiscriminately throughout India. It has been identified that the IM has maintained very close ties to the Pakistani ISI and has so far proved very effective at avoiding capture by the Indian authorities.

What is clear throughout the examples of LeT, JeM, the IM, and other organizations which carry out terrorist attacks in India, is that the vast majority of these organizations have been highly effective in three major areas:

1. The planning and execution of an attack: With the exception of the Indian Parliament, the other case studies illustrate that the attackers had

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34 Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 652.

35 Ibid., 652.


researched their targets, rehearsed how to engage the authorities, and how to mitigate any setback in their plans.

2. The eyes of the world were upon them during the duration of the attacks: The attackers were able to achieve an optimum level of exposure not only to the Indian people, but as a result of the 24-hour media cycle, the global community. The 2008 Mumbai attacks for example were the first attacks to be broadcast live on American news channels since the attacks of September 11, 2001.

3. Exploitation of weak interagency cooperation: The attackers exploited the weak links of the Indian authorities and were thus able to create more damage and kill more civilians than if the Indian authorities had been better coordinated, prepared, and trained to deal with the threat of violent extremism.

It is also important to address the political pressure that these terrorist groups have placed on Prime Minister Singh’s government. After the 2008 attacks in Mumbai, the Indian people did not feel as though their government was doing enough to prevent these attacks from occurring. While the Indian government did react to the attacks in the form of passing anti-terrorism legislation, and the establishment of the NSG and the NIA, little work was accomplished on the ground to address the important questions of how these groups entered India in the first place and what was being done to prevent this from occurring again?

These key areas will be addressed in Chapter III, however it is worth noting at this stage, that while the both the Indian government and the state governments of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, and the National Capital Territory of Delhi, have spoken about the further creation of counter terrorism units, little tangible progress has been made.38

In order to counter the threat of an evolving enemy, India’s counterterrorism policy needs to be redrafted. When one looks at the nation’s inability to capture and prosecute those who attack them, it is clear that a reorganization of the tools that the State has at its disposal to counter the threat is vital. Chapter II will discuss India’s current counterterrorism policy and identify areas that need to be addressed.

If India is to develop into one of the 21st century’s global powers, then it needs to make the security of its borders and citizens one of its top priorities. Countries and companies will hesitate to invest on levels that are required for India to continue bringing millions of its citizens out of poverty. Investors will look elsewhere. More than likely that means looking eastwards to China, ironically the one nation that India will be in direct economic competition with as global power gradually shifts from the west to the east. It is clear that taking control of extremism in India is one of the keys to a successful and dominant India, and one can be sure, that Pakistan is fully aware of this, will do everything in its power to make this path a very bumpy road indeed.
CHAPTER 2

CURRENT INDIAN COUNTERTERRORISM POLICY

Since the terror attacks on its Parliament in 2001, India has emerged as one of the world’s most regular targets of Islamic terrorists. Since these attacks took place, India has been attacked on numerous occasions and in a variety of manners. Mass transit infrastructure have tended to be the target of choice, however, as the 2008 attacks in Mumbai showed, there is not a set of rules that terrorist groups abide by. Specific yet random seemed to be the tactics that are adopted when identifying soft targets.

What the 2008 attacks and indeed those before and after have shown is that the Indian authorities lack the ability to prevent these incidents from occurring. During the Mumbai attacks, confusion amongst the authorities exacerbated the situation on the ground, possibly resulting in the unnecessary deaths of civilians who were killed on that day. As one analyst wrote of the government’s response to the Mumbai attacks they were, “comprehensive failures from the point of view of India’s security establishment.”

The attacks and those that have followed clearly illustrate the weak position that the government finds itself in when the issue of counterterrorism arises. India needs to redesign its counterterrorism infrastructure in all areas, from the legislative to the intelligence community, from the police force to Special Forces. Resources need to be realigned and the reorganization of government departments and offices must take place. None of these worthwhile happenings can occur without the one thing that seems to be lacking today not only in India but throughout most of the world; political will.

Chapter III will focus on the changes that need to be made within India in order

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to address the threat of terrorist attacks, so this chapter will focus on India’s current counterterrorism policy and the tools that the government has at its disposal to counter this threat. Not only will this chapter focus on current strategies, but it will address some of the humanitarian problems that India faces when it addresses terrorism.

Like most developing nations, India suffers from a variety of problems, education, poverty, healthcare, security, employment, and so on. Some of the most destitute people in the world live in India and so the government faces highly complicated questions when looking at the finite resources that it can draw from. Should the Singh government focus major resources on fighting terrorism when over 200 million people remain living in the doldrums of despair with absolutely no hope of a better life or should that money go towards the building of school, hospitals, and housing? These are the type of values questions that the government faces every day. Unfortunately, coupled with this problem is the fact that India suffers from an understaffed and inefficient bureaucracy. Ministries are often in a state of chaos even during quiet periods and the government tends to jump from one crisis to another, be that terrorist or economic in nature.²

The fact that Indian government finds itself in such a highly confusing situation can almost be taken as a positive with regards to any future restructuring plan that is to take place. In order government to become more efficient, it will need to be reorganized, focused, and highly streamlined. The threats that India faces not only from terrorists, but

² When the author traveled to India to interview government ministers and employees of the Home Ministry in February 2011, meetings with senior government officials were consistently interrupted by phone calls, people entering the room, questions and a variety of other instances. This was the case from the Minister level down to the mid level employee and has been experiences by not only the author, but by other academics and persons interviewed for research purposes.
also from traditional enemies remain constant. Ultimately the fact remains that if India is to become a global power, it will need to eliminate or substantially reduce the terrorist threat, and it is clear that the current structure is simply not up to the task at hand.

**Law Enforcement**

India tends to focus on its police forces as its primary tool in law enforcement. This includes counter terrorism investigations. There is a problem with this approach as the majority of India’s domestic police is highly fragmented and is simply unable to coordinate with one another. The resources at the police’s disposal make it impossible to reach out to other agencies and other departments when the need arises. The federal system that governs India comprising of 28 states and seven union territories, mandates that the majority of policing responsibilities fall to the states.\(^3\) This has been the case since independence from Britain in 1947. As a result of this state-autonomy from Delhi, a culture of separation has been created with a lack of coordination between local jurisdictions becoming the result. Not only does this occur on the local level, but as was illustrated in Mumbai in 2008, this lack of coordination exists between the federal government and the states as well.\(^4\)

Adding to India’s law enforcement problems is the fact that the police are often poorly trained and underequipped. Corruption is rampant throughout India’s police forces and this is quickly becoming a major problem for the government.\(^5\) There is also a

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massive shortage in law enforcement through the country. There are currently 1.2 million police officers in India and 1 million paramilitary officers, which amounts to about 126 security personnel for every 100,000 people, while the world average is around 270. A retired Indian security official said the country was short of no less than 1.8 million policemen. In 2010, Indian Home Minister Chidambaram indicated that India had hired an extra 90,000 police officers, but 600,000 vacancies remain, which will take approximately seven years to fill at the current rate of recruitment.

With groups such as the Indian Mujahedeen (IM) claiming responsibility for more attacks that take place, improving relations between the police and Muslim communities to prevent further radicalization of youth might be a step that the Indian police might want to consider. With the youth population growing and the levels of employment of this demographic stalling, this is an area of concern that the government needs to address.

Intelligence Agencies

There are a number of intelligence agencies throughout the federal government whose missions seem to be either unclear or duplicative in nature. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) has under its jurisdiction the Intelligence Bureau (IB) that in turn has a number of offshoots, the National Investigation Agency (NIA) which is a new agency

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6 Narayan Lakshman, “’Trust Deficit’ Hinders Indian-U.S. Counterterrorism Cooperation,” The Hindu, September 15, 2011.


8 Ibid., 2.
formed in the wake of Mumbai, and the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) created with the United States’ version in mind. The military maintains a vigorous intelligence capability and finally there is a central/federally controlled National Security Guard (NSG), which was the body that responded, albeit very late, to the attacks in Mumbai. This body specializes in counterterrorist activity.

These previously mentioned intelligence offices are just a small section of the intelligence gathering and dissemination capability of the Indian government. Other offices and agencies that are involved in this field include:

1. National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC)

   - The NCTC is modeled on the United States’ center of the same name. Having been recently created, the NCTC is going through a growing pains existence at the moment. The NCTC will have three divisions with each of them earmarked for collection and dissemination of intelligence, analysis and operations. The currently existing Multi-Agency Centre (MAC) of the Intelligence Bureau will be subsumed into NCTC. It would have to coordinate with agencies such as the Intelligence Bureau (IB), the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and state intelligence agencies on all counter terrorism policy. The NCTC will maintain a comprehensive database (NATGRID) of terrorists and their associates; friends, families and supporters of terrorist modules and gangs and all information pertaining to terrorists. The NCTC will maintain a comprehensive database of terrorists and their associates, and of terrorist modules and gangs and all information pertaining to terrorists.

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10 Ibid., 1.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid., 2.
2. National Investigation Agency (NIA)

- The NIA is a federal agency that is designed to combat terrorism. The agency is empowered to target, arrest, and prosecute terrorist organizations and related crimes that occur across states without requiring permission from the respective states.14 This is a very important fact to remember as the Indian Constitution give the states and not the Federal government the power to arrest and prosecute criminals. The NIA was created by the passage of the National Investigative Agency Bill and Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Bill, which will be discussed in chapter III.15

3. Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI)

- The CBI serves primarily as a criminal investigative body while also working as a security and intelligence agency. While similar in nature to the United States’ Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the CBI's powers and functions are limited to specific crimes based on the Delhi Special Police Establishment Act of 1946, and the organization is prohibited from initiating investigations until it is given consent from the state government.16

4. Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)

- RAW is India’s external intelligence agency. Its primary function is the collection of external intelligence, counter terrorism, and covert operations. It is also responsible for obtaining and analyzing information about foreign governments, corporations, and individuals.17 The United States’ Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the United Kingdom’s MI6 are good comparisons

5. National Technical Research Organization (NTRO)

- The NTRO was established in 2004 as a scientific organization under the national security adviser, which is run through the Prime minister's

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15 Ibid., 1.


office. NTRO, which focuses on collection technical intelligence is part of RAW. NTRO is engaged in the development and deployment of systems for national security. These developments include technology capabilities in aviation and remote sensing, data gathering and processing, cyber security, cryptology systems, strategic hardware and software development, and strategic monitoring.

6. Intelligence Bureau (IB)

- The Intelligence Bureau (IB) handles domestic intelligence operations and reports to the Home Ministry, which oversees all national police, para-militaries, and domestic intelligence gathering.

7. Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI)

- DRI is charged with the collection of intelligence, its analysis, collation, interpretation and dissemination on matters relating to violations of customs laws, and to a lesser extent, anti-narcotics law.

8. Defense Intelligence Agency

- India created the DIA in 2002 to increase coordination of the various intelligence activities of the different military services. The DIA has control over the Directorate of Signals Intelligence and the Defense Image Processing and Analysis Centre (DIPAC). While the Signals Directorate is responsible for acquiring and decrypting enemy communications, the DIPAC controls India's satellite-based image acquisition capabilities. The DIA also controls the Defense Information Warfare Agency (DIWA). DIWA handles all elements of the information warfare repertoire, including psychological operations, cyber-war, electronic intercepts and the monitoring of sound waves.

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19 Ibid., 1.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.


23 Ibid., 1.

24 Ibid., 1.
9. All India Radio Monitoring Service

- The Central Monitoring Service of All India Radio monitors all radio broadcasts in India as well as all foreign radio broadcasts, which can be received in India.\(^\text{25}\)

10. Directorate of Air Intelligence (DAI)

- The DAI is responsible for air and satellite reconnaissance missions. With the potential future development of an Indian space program, it is hoped that the DAI will mature into an agency with independent space based imagery intelligence capabilities.

11. Directorate of Navy Intelligence

- This is the Indian Navy’s intelligence arm. Much like the United States the majority of military intelligence flows through this agency.

All of these offices are supposed to coordinate and cooperate with one another in the sharing of intelligence however as it was in the United States prior to 9/11, a distinct lack of coordination is the reality on the ground. Mumbai was the classic example where the response was slow and attempts to send intelligence from the central government to the law enforcement personnel proved a cumbersome and inefficient process.

Competition for resources between the respective offices is fierce and this also permeates down to the state agencies. There is also direct competition for the same resources between federal and state agencies. As has been discussed with the understaffing of law enforcement, all levels of government from the Home Ministry down are understaffed and suffer from a complete lack of organization. The government simply does not have the resources to effectively take control of the situation as it

remains in a state of disorganization and disarray.²⁶ Hopefully the establishment of the NCTC will help the situation, but given that it was established almost two years behind schedule and with a string of opposition, it remains to be seen whether it will become yet another white elephant.

Collection of Information

One of the key areas that must be addressed in any counter terrorism policy is that of information collection. Following the attacks of 9/11, the 9/11 Commission noted that information sharing between agencies and departments is crucial in the fight against terrorism.²⁷ India has tremendous depth in its intelligence gathering capabilities as has been illustrated by the list of agencies dedicated to this task, but how do these offices sift their way through the mountain of data that is produced? How do they data mine²⁸?

To this end, in July 2011, India established a national intelligence grid (NATGRID) to integrate existing information databases to better track terrorist suspects. Under the NATGRID, 21 sets of databases will be integrated into a single network to allow for quick access to information by both the intelligence and law enforcement


²⁸ Data mining, called data or knowledge discovery, is an important tool in establishing correlations between various sets of information from immigration authorities, transport bodies, police stations, intelligence data bases, mobile telephone operators, etc. This computer software would analyze apparently separate and disconnected information and identify links that would otherwise be hidden. In a computerized world where human dealings/activities are increasingly digitized, important information in many standalone systems are lost when they are not correlated. Linking of separate systems and use of this specialized software would provide critical information to track suspicious activities.
agencies.\textsuperscript{29} This data will be shared with eleven central agencies including CBI, IB, RAW, Enforcement Directorate, NIA, Directorate of Revenue Intelligence and Narcotics Control Bureau as and when required by them as "input in combating terrorism".\textsuperscript{30}

This is a crucial development for India since a central data system will enable authorities to better identify and target suspected terrorists, a tool that India has long been lacking. It remains to be seen whether NATGRID will function effectively and questions surrounding how the eleven central agencies will coordinate, yet this is a vital development that has the potential to become a key weapon in the fight against terrorism in India.

\textit{Legislation}

Following the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the Indian parliament passed the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment. This act will be further discussed in chapter III. Suffice it to say it was designed to strengthen existing anti-terror laws by expanding definitions of terrorist attacks and instituting legal reforms and other judicial modifications.\textsuperscript{31} Some of these reforms included the establishment of special courts for speedy trials on cases relating to terrorism. It remains unclear how effective these courts have been since the government has had a very hard time at prosecuting terrorist and terrorist suspects. This legislation is the primary counter terrorism law that exists in India today.


\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 2.

Political Will

In the wake of Mumbai, Indian almost had its moment whereby politicians were willing to put aside their differences and for the good of the nation, take the necessary steps towards the reorganization of the intelligence community, the improvement of its police forces, and the strengthening of its security apparatus. Ultimately this was not achieved and the Indian state has been struggling on how to come to terms with terrorist incidents ever since.

Prior to Mumbai, attempts at reform had been inadequate. Minor changes took place post the 2001 parliamentary attacks, however many key steps were not taken. India’s counterterrorist capabilities limped onwards until they were again seriously exposed by LeT’s attack of Mumbai in 2008. Political infighting broke out in Parliament on who was the blame for the attacks, focusing on both the instigators and those government forces that failed to prevent the attacks. This immediately took the attention away from what should have been the politician’s primary focus, ‘how do we prevent this from happening again?’ Just a few months after the attacks took place, the political will had disappeared and India was right back politically to where it was prior to the attacks. Politicians in India are primarily focused on electoral politics and as has been illustrated sometimes this is to the detriment of the nation as a whole.\(^{32}\) This has to change if India is to effectively counter the threat against foreign and domestic terrorism. The challenges facing India are only going to become more complex in nature as has been illustrated by the recent alleged Iranian attack against an Israeli embassy employee.

that took place in New Delhi. Politicians throughout India will have to come together and collectively work on improving the capabilities of the state if the terrorist threat is to be mitigated.

Foreign Policy

The country that India will continue to look at when it comes to problems relating to terrorism is its neighbor, Pakistan. For as long as such as JeM and LeT are allowed to roam free in Pakistan, India will continue to maintain its focus on its archenemy. These groups are often abetted by the ISI and they continue to plot against India, immune from prosecution from the Pakistani authorities. In the wake of the Parliamentary and 2008 Mumbai attacks, India showed tremendous restraint by not engaging in direct-armed conflict with Pakistan, even though back in 2001 tens of thousands of military personnel were mobilized. However, if another major terrorist attack took place in India and if these terrorists had close links to Pakistani intelligence services, who knows if India would be able to show such restraint again?

One school of thought when it comes to the negotiations taking place between Pakistan and India, is that Prime Minister Singh is attempting to build some sort of diplomatic buffer so that in the event of another attack, he will be able to walk away from the talks, thus taking a hard line approach without needing to engage in any military action against its nuclear armed neighbor. The international community could see this as a measured response that might receive the support of the United States and

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34 Ved Prakash, Terrorism in India (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 521.
What is clear however is that direct military conflict between Pakistan and India would result in a lose-lose situation for both nations. The domestic instability in Pakistan raises doubts whether the central government has control over the ISI and thus it’s sponsored terrorist groups. Pakistan remains politically fractured and this can work to India’s benefit. In the event of an Indian military response to a future LeT attack for example, such action could have a unifying effect in Pakistan, the nation could then become united in its goal of destroying its neighbor.

While a fractured Pakistan is not necessarily an ideal situation for India, it is safe to assume that the Indian government favors the status quo as opposed to a strong and aggressive neighbor. That being said if there is to be a permanent peace between the two sides, India will have to work at supporting the Pakistani government especially as the Pakistanis seek domestic legitimacy. The army continues to call the shots behind the scenes in Pakistan and until this pattern can be broken, true, lasting peace between the two countries will be very hard to achieve.

India must look towards both the international community and towards its neighbors in acts of cooperation when addressing the issue of terrorism. Pakistan has suffered numerous terrorist attacks primarily targeting government forces or symbolic buildings following the arrest or the killing of Al-Qaeda figures and their allies. It is clear that these groups, whom Pakistan has long tolerated operating within its borders, are quite happy to bite the hand that feeds them and in turn, Pakistani officials are beginning to realize the costs of their fragmented approach to terrorism over the past 20 years. India and Pakistan must continue to engage in dialogue with one another over the
Kashmir region, economic issues, and further topics so that not only will the people of both countries see how dedicated each side is towards peace but the terrorist groups who are attempting to destabilize India and indeed Pakistan, will see that their efforts will achieve nothing.

The international community has a further role to play in this as well with the United States being a key figure. India must continue to work with the U.S. in exerting pressure on Pakistan so as to convince them that groups such as LeT and JeM are not only undermining Pakistan’s domestic stability, but they are continuing to undermine the economic development of the region. These groups must be stopped and without the direct action of the Pakistani government, groups such as LeT and JeM, will continue to threaten the entire South Asia region.

Foreign policy will continue to play a major role in India’s fight against terrorism. Through direct partnerships with its neighbors and with international partners, India will be able to draw upon its lessons and those that other countries around the world have experienced. Bearing in mind that a nation’s foreign policy is a direct reflection of its domestic policy, India would be wise to focus on issues like human rights when it considers how best to approach the issue of domestic terrorism. As a developing nation and as one of the world’s largest emerging economies, India should strive to balance security and economic growth with values that will separate itself from its enemies.

**Morals and Values**

When Prime Minister Singh was swept into power back in 2004, with the Indian National Congress ending the National Democratic Alliance’s tenure, he promised
reform both politically and economically. India had been the victim of some of the most devastating terrorist attacks in recent memory with the 2001 attacks on the India Parliament bringing India and Pakistan to the brink of war. Following these 2001 attacks, the Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act (POTA) was enacted. This legislation was designed to provide to authorities the legal framework by which they, the courts, would be able to identify ‘terrorists’ and ‘terrorist acts’ and in turn prosecute these individuals.35 The law itself did not define what a terrorist or a terrorist act was.

From the outset concerns were raised by the opposition in India about POTA. Given the history that India had faced with the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act, which was a law that was allowed to lapse in 1995 due to widespread allegations of abuse by law enforcement and the suppression of political rivals, these were legitimate concerns.36

POTA was designed to create a feeling of fear in the minds of terrorists and their accomplices through the establishment of vicious punishments. It is important to remember that POTA only covered terrorist activity and its drafters were very clear in illustrating that it could not be applicable neither to political nor civil activism.37

A key controversy about POTA was the fact that not only was it applicable to terrorists, but it also applied to their accomplices and supporters. POTA allowed

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authorities to investigate all communications methods, telephones, computers, etc., of the accused.\textsuperscript{38} So therefore if an individual was merely suspected of having a relationship with a would be terrorist, then that person could be subjugated to the rulings of POTA.

The Central government could also list any group as a practicing terrorist organization under POTA. There was a great fear that minorities and political rivals could be branded under this provision.

Needless to say that with the arrest of the leader of the Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK) political party, Mr. Vaiko for expressing his support for the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, and numerous other controversial arrests taking place under the authority of POTA, human rights groups and many others expressed their outrage at this law.\textsuperscript{39} Claims emerged that the law contributed to police corruption and other grievances. Ultimately it became a campaign issue and one that then Minister Singh used to good effect as part of his election platform.

Upon taking control in 2004, and to keep his pledge to reform India, Prime Minister Singh led the movement to repeal POTA and the Cabinet approved this in October that year.\textsuperscript{40}

This is an example of where the Singh government can help to restore the democratic values that India was founded upon and seeks to make front and center in all aspects of governance. As was mentioned earlier, in the wake of the 2008 Mumbai


\textsuperscript{39} Press Trust of India, “MDMK Leader Vaiko Released from Prison,” \textit{The Economic Times}, February 7, 2004

attacks, the Indian parliament passed the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment to strengthen existing anti-terror laws. Some groups have argued that this legislation forced the government to take a backwards step to the days of POTA, yet the Singh government has maintained that it does not want to hold individuals unless there is sufficient evidence to prosecute. Indeed one of the key controversies about the Singh government is their relative inability to arrest and prosecute suspected terrorists.

One can make the argument that this is down to the fact that the government is attempting to take the moral high ground in a number of instances, both for political and practical reasons. India could have followed the same route as the United States when the Obama administration publically defended its policy of legally assassinating United States citizens, however it has chosen to uphold its morals and values for the sake of the nation.\textsuperscript{41} When one looks at the Indian Mujahedeen (IM) and the risk that this group poses to Indian stability, we have not seen draconian, Soviet style legislation being introduced to combat this threat. We have seen a measured approach in India, one that reflects the will of the constitution and the boundaries that the government has placed on itself.

For all the controversy that the government has faced regarding its biometrics data collection program, more of which will be discussed in the next chapter, and the manner it has gone about arresting terror suspects and other criminals, the Singh government retains the moral high ground especially when it comes to discussing Pakistan and its counterterrorism actions. Prime Minister Singh has been hit with

numerous controversies on the domestic front with corruption problems and other events of concern, however when it comes to security and the legal arrest and prosecution of terrorist and would be terrorists, the moral high ground remains on India’s side.

The retention of this moral high ground should be a high priority for Prime Minister Singh and Home Minister Chidambaram. It will take constant vigilance as future threats and no doubt attacks will test the government. However if the government takes the necessary steps to secure the Indian population, then it will be in the position to retain its values. Certain steps need to be taken if this security is to be achieved, because without security, and security not simply in the personnel, arms, and legal sense, but also on the moral sense, India will lose its way and will not be able to challenge the rest of the worlds emerging markets and nations for a seat and the power table. Economics, security, and values are fundamental components of a successful India. Just what direction India will take remains the question.
CHAPTER 3
THE NEW STRUCTURE: FOCUSED COMPOSITION

India is a nation that is unlike the United States in as many manners as one can imagine. The compositional structure of society, the poverty, the lack of basic resources for the general population, and education levels all provide challenges for the government that in the West are simply not an issue. When the population of a nation such as India is so exposed in every sense of the word, they can be influenced and subjugated by outside forces, as we’ve seen in the case of the Indian Mujahedeen. The domestic threats that India faces are just as dangerous as the traditional, external threats from outside the country’s borders, and a number of changes need to be made if India developing and changing society is to mitigate these threats in the future.

So far this paper has looked at the history of terrorism in India and the current counter terrorism initiatives that India has in place. What will now be discussed are the changes that need to be made to the system so that India will be able to better defend itself.

It is clear that when one looks at the statistics since the 2008 Mumbai attacks, Indian counter terrorism policy remains flawed. According to the United States’ National Counter Terrorism Center’s 2010 report, 809 people were killed in India due to acts of terrorism that year. ¹ The only nations to suffer more deaths were Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Somalia.² It was hoped by some that the 2008 Mumbai

² Ibid., 17.
attacks would prove the catalyst for India, similar to how the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington D.C. was for the United States, however that doesn’t seem to be the case. In the instance of Mumbai, following the attacks, closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras were installed in and around the areas that suffered the most damage.\(^3\) It could be argued that this action was merely window dressing and it simply does not go to the heart of the problem which is there needs to be a total rethink of how the country addresses counter terrorism at home. Reform is required and while some efforts have been made, these reforms have either not gone far enough, or as a result of political interference, they have not been \textit{allowed} to go far enough. Chapter III will look at the key areas that need to be reformed in order for the government to be able to better protect its citizens.

This chapter will focus on four fundamental areas of reform:

1. Intelligence
2. Border security
3. Port and airport security
4. Legislation

By focusing on these key areas, India will be able to learn from the mistakes of the United States and instead of wasting time and resources on inconsequential matters, the country can develop a homeland security strategy that ultimately will be able to protect its citizens.

Following the attacks of 9/11, rather than identifying strategic areas of reform and creating a focused, dynamic entity to prevent future attacks, the United States created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). While the United States has not suffered another 9/11 type attack in the almost 11 years since 9/11, there have been a number of close calls that for one reason or another failed at the very last minute.4

This makes it possible both to point to DHS and say that it is successfully doing the task that it was designed to do, and at the same time to criticize DHS. The rushed approach that led to its creation resulted in a number of ineffective offices being established, and too many inefficient policies and practices being adopted.5

The inclusion of multiple intelligence offices into DHS makes little sense when one considers that it itself, is one of “17 agencies and organizations within the executive branch that work both independently and collaboratively to gather the intelligence necessary to conduct foreign relations and national security.”6 Each of these agencies

4 A number of noticeable incidents include the Christmas Day Bomber Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the Times Square Bomber Faizal Shahzad, the attempt on the New York City subway system planned by Najibullah Zazi, and the Foot Hood shooting initiated by Nidal Malik Hasan.

5 The author has worked professionally in the field of Homeland Security for the past four years and is intricately educated on the composition and structure of DHS.

6 The U.S. Intelligence Community’s (IC) primary mission is to collect and convey the essential information the President and members of the policymaking, law enforcement, and military communities require to execute their appointed duties. The 17 IC member agencies are: Air Force Intelligence, Army Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Coast Guard Intelligence, Defense Intelligence Agency, Department of Energy, Department of Homeland Security, Department of State, Department of the Treasury, Drug Enforcement Administration, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Marine Corps Intelligence, National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, National Reconnaissance Office, National Security Agency, Navy Intelligence, Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

can have up to three of four wings of that intelligence office focusing on different areas of interest. Its structure therefore is about as complicated as it sounds.

As was shown in chapter II, India has 11 intelligence agencies or organizations, which are responsible for intelligence gathering. While there is certainly a need for specialization, stumbling blocks appear when these offices not only attempt to coordinate with one another, but also when they attempt to coordinate with local law enforcement. This was the main problem behind not only 9/11 in the United States, but also in 2008 in Mumbai.

Intelligence agencies and state police had complained in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks that the sharing of information among them was one of the biggest concerns. Despite intelligence given prior to the attack, Mumbai police forces have said the information was not sufficient for them to act upon. In the wake of this complaint, and also because there was no agency to integrate the inputs, the then Home Minister proposed that a centre be created that would ensure that sufficient intelligence would reach the necessary personnel at the street level. The main job of this agency would be to warn and also pre-empt terror strikes after all other agencies dealing with counter-terror measures provide their information to the NCTC.

In January 2012 the Indian government finally approved the formation of NCTC two years after it was initially floated as an idea. The NCTC has been met with criticism and skepticism as some political figures are concerned that it will be used for political means rather than for intelligence gathering and counter terrorism operations. The idea of the NCTC has been around for some time and in fact one could argue that a previous

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7 Ved Prakash, *Terrorism in India* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 622.
version of the NCTC known as the Multi-Agency Center (MAC) was a failed attempt at information sharing. The MAC was created several years ago to analyze intelligence flowing in from different organizations and to coordinate follow-up actions, but its work had been inhibited by lack of staffing and resources. This is a common problem that faces not only the Home Ministry, but most Indian ministries.

Intelligence Solution

In the United States, the 9/11 attacks demonstrated that stove piping of authority only led to a lack of information and confusion in the wake of disaster. As a result, DHS was created, the intelligence community was restructured, barriers to information sharing were broken down and a totally new approach to counter terrorism was established. One of the key areas of change was the creation of “fusion centers”.

The fusion process is a methodology that attempts to manage the flow of information and intelligence across respective levels and sectors of government. This information is then integrated at fusion centers for analysis. The fusion process proactively seeks to identify perceived threats and stop them before they occur. In the U.S., a fusion center is typically organized by amalgamating representatives from different federal, state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies into one physical location. However, some fusion centers gather information not only from government sources, but also from their partners in the private sector.

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8 Wilson John, “India’s Intelligence Services Struggle with War on Terrorism,” Terrorism Monitor 6, no. 6 (2008): 4.

In the U.S. there are 72 such fusion centers and they operate 24 hours a day, collecting information from these various sources and then push down the information to public safety officials who are out on the street or investigating criminal activity. The development of these fusion centers and their ability to link criminal activity to terrorism has been seen as a major breakthrough in the fight against terrorism in the United States. The old stove piping process of the past has been replaced with free flowing information which public safety can rely on for accurate information.

The fusion center process does not only work using a top-down approach. One of the key uses for fusion centers is to collect information in the other direction, meaning the street up. The United States’ NCTC, upon which the Indian version was designed, relies extensively on information gathered by law enforcement personnel at the Federal, state, and local level so as to piece together a larger picture of potential terrorist group activity internal and external of the United States. This top-down and down-up flow of information was not feasible prior to 9/11. It would not be too much of a stretch to say that the removal of intelligence and information stovepipes is one of the main reasons why the U.S. has not suffered another 9/11-type attack in the 11 years since.

This is a model that India should embrace. The Indian government needs to develop subsidiary MAC’s at the state level to streamline local intelligence gathering, and to improve the flow of information up and down the supply chain. On several occasions, Indian terrorism analysts have cited lack of coordination among the various

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10 Ibid., 73.

Indian investigative and intelligence organizations operating across the country as a major impediment to improving terrorism prevention.\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{Personnel}

India has the world’s second largest population but a civil service that is totally over stretched. One obstacle to growing the civil service is the governing party desire to avoid the perception of unnecessarily increasing the size of government.\textsuperscript{13} As in the United States, growing the size of a bureaucracy or establishing new government office is not a popular subject. It is clear that if India is to gain control of its domestic security the number of well educated, well trained intelligence officers, bureaucratic staff, police, management personnel, and analysts is going to have to increase. The establishment of the NCTC is a good first step, but along with that must come the creation of at least two, and probably more, fusion centers in each state. These centers need to be staffed with personnel who are trained in intelligence dissemination and who know how to keep the flow of information moving, not only up to the NCTC, but down to the Indian police who after all are going to be conducting raids and making the arrests.

\textit{Fusion Centers}

As mentioned earlier, two or more fusion centers need to be established in each state. For some of the larger states by population such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, and Andhra Pradesh for example, extra centers should be establishment above the

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\item Ved Prakash, \textit{Terrorism in India} (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 587.
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recommended number. These fusion centers are absolutely critical if the free flow of information is to become a reality. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks in the United States, the 9/11 Commission released a report, which recommended 41 policy changes so as to prevent further attacks on the homeland. Commission recommendations 34 and 35 focus on the value of information sharing and the need for a ‘trusted information network.’

India must learn from its and other nations experiences and establish not only the fusion centers, but also such an information network.

**Border Security**

India has some of the world’s most diverse borders in the world, and some of the longest. It has just under 9,400 miles of land borders with neighboring nations and these include some countries that are rife with political turmoil namely Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and to a certain extent the People’s Republic of China (PRC). It has fought numerous wars with all of these neighbors, experienced the civil war in Sri Lanka just off its south coast, been the victim of numerous terrorist incursions, especially with units from Pakistan, but more recently the Iranian’s attempted to blow up an Israeli diplomat

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14 The Indian census shows these states to all have populations around or more than 85 million people.


in New Delhi, and continues to fight with Pakistan over the disputed region of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{17}

In the wake of 9/11, again the 9/11 Commission made certain recommendations that pertained to improvements in border security. In the years since then, fences have been erected, sensory technology have been adopted, a massive drive in border personnel was initiated, new passports and drivers licenses have been introduced, and even unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV’s) have been brought in, in an attempt to improve border security and to a certain degree these changes have stopped a large number of illegal immigrants from entering the United States.\textsuperscript{18} However in recent years the major factor that has led to a sharp drop in the flow of illegal’s entering the U.S. has been a lack of economic opportunities.

The United States’ border remain highly porous and no matter what the United States tries, there will continue to be an influx of people who want to come and live in the U.S. The same situation resides in India but they also have significant security concerns with their neighbors.

India shares a just over 2,000 miles border with its arch enemy Pakistan and it is through this border that members of Pakistan’s ISI have repeatedly infiltrated India and carried out terrorist attacked against India’s citizens. ISI sponsored groups such as LeT and JeM have adopted similar tactics over the years as they have consistently targeted mass transit and other high profile targets throughout India.


While there is a growing concern in India about the radicalization of Indians, the more immediate threat remains that external actors will infiltrate India’s borders and initiate terror attacks against the civilian population. Border security personnel have been in place since 1965 in India, however the time has come to strengthen their capabilities and to provide them with better tools, improved fencing, and the introduction of technology to reduce the number of infiltrations that continue to occur.

The Border Security Force (BSF) is the border patrol agency in India, which is responsible for securing the nation’s borders.\textsuperscript{19} It, like most of the country’s public safety apparatus, is part of the Central Armed Police Forces. It too falls under the administrative control of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Since the 1990’s the BSF is charged with not only guarding the external borders of India, but also that of counter insurgency and counter terrorism operations.\textsuperscript{20} The BSF working in coordination with the Indian Army have had some success at capturing or killing militants, the most noticeable took place in 2003 when the BSF raided the hideout of Ghazi Baba, the mastermind of the 2001 Indian Parliament attacks, killing him.\textsuperscript{21}

The BSF have unfortunately become the victim of their own success as many in Delhi felt that during the 2000’s they were placing too much emphasis on counter insurgency and not enough on border security, especially in the Kashmir region. Since the 2003 cease-fire with Pakistan, the BSF have been able to maintain control over the non-disputed section of the Pakistan border while the army retains a position in Kashmir.


\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 1.

This seems to be a sensible position and without a permanent peace deal between India and Pakistan, the status quo will probably remain indefinitely.

This dual nature approach however also leads to problems of control and authority. India’s borders continue to be manned by a large number of military, paramilitary and police forces, each of which has its own ethos and each of which reports to a different central ministry at New Delhi, resulting in almost no real coordination in managing the borders. This is a very similar situation to that faced by the multiple intelligence agencies discussed earlier.

With India’s economy strengthening, there has been an influx of immigrants into the urban hubs of the country. The BSF needs to tighten its control of the borders with Bangladesh, Nepal, and indeed Pakistan to prevent this influx from becoming much greater. As mentioned earlier, the increase of cross-border terrorism is a high concern to the Indian government as must be the infiltration of armed militants, the emergence of non-state actors, and separatist movements aided and abetted by external powers, some of which have already proved to be potential security hazards.

However the lack of coordination should be of primary concern. A good example that illustrates this uncoordinated approach towards border security exists on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) with China. What exists along the LAC is a hodgepodge of police, paramilitary, Special Frontier Forces, Assam Rifles forces, and army personnel each taking command of specific sections of the LAC, yet with all reporting to different wings of the Ministry of Home Affairs back in Delhi.\(^\text{22}\) Some army battalions are not

under the direct control of the army and thus confusion pertaining to authority is rife. It is clear that the current arrangement that is not conducive to fostering a professional relationship between the commanders and their subordinates.\textsuperscript{23}

The embracement of technology is absolutely vital if India is to successfully secure its borders. India has undertaken to establish the world’s largest biometric identification database. Once complete, the next step must be to integrate this into border security. While the United States and other countries continue to struggle over how to implement their own biometric system, India can, and must for its own sake, push ahead by incorporating this technology into border crossings so as to ensure the security of its borders.

Biometric identification, coupled with the introduction of sensors and virtual fences along the border is a potentially powerful combination. Over the past three years, India has teamed up with Israel with the instillation of sensors along the border with Pakistan.\textsuperscript{24} The primary concentration has been in the Kashmir region however given the success that that been seen with the initial instillation, the possibility remains that additional resources can diverged into sensory technology which will certainly benefit in the long run.

\textit{Border Security Solutions}

\textit{Consolidation of Responsibility}

In the long term, the primary focus of the Indian government when it comes to

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 2.

border security is to focus on the consolidation of responsibility. Ideally, border management should be the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs during peacetime. However, given the active nature of the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, and the need to maintain troops close to the LAC on the border with the PRC in a state of readiness for operations in high altitude areas, these situations have compelled the army to permanently deploy large forces for this task.

While the BSF should be responsible for all settled borders, the responsibility for unsettled and disputed borders, such as the LoC and the LAC, should be that of the Indian Army. Initial steps have been taken however, the political will does not seem to be there to see the job through and just as in the United States, when there is a restructuring of control, those entities, more often that not political, will fight to retain their influence.

*Improved Relations with Neighbors*

While this is a long term solution rather than a short term fix, by improving relations with its neighbors, India ultimately will not have to take such a heavy handed approach when it comes to protecting *all* of its borders. The LoC will continue to raise concern well beyond any permanent peace deal with Pakistan. This is something that both sides will continue to monitor regardless of any political deal. That being said, as relations with Nepal and Bangladesh improve, and trade between India and these nations continues to grow, economics will trump security and the healthy growth of its neighbors markets can only alleviate the security concerns of India. This is a rather hopeful notion in the long term but it is certainly something that Prime Minister Singh and future Indian governments should strive for.
Adoption of Technology

When one looks at the successes that the BSF have enjoyed on the border with Pakistan with the introduction of motion sensors, virtual fences and inferred cameras, one can’t help but acknowledge the many benefits that come with this. First replacing BSF personnel with technology on the border not only reduces the risk that these men face by patrolling often dangerous regions of the country, but it also is a cost reducer to the Ministry since man hours will be greatly reduced. BSF will continue to be required as a secondary force to the technology, but by adopting such equipment, Indians forces will receive earlier tip off’s of insurgents positions and tactics.

The adoption of technology is not merely restricted to motion sensors and cameras. The adoption of additional surveillance technology, particularly satellite and aerial imagery, can help to maintain a constant vigil along India’s borders where its military assets are positioned. This will make it possible to reduce physical deployment since surveillance assets can be distributed on a regular basis to forward deployed forces, and the intelligence can be returned to the reserve position for analysis. Not only will this reduce military costs through the redeployment of personnel, but also it will enable India to maintain real-time control of its borders and enable it to engage in intelligence gathering practices.

Improved Fencing

While India will be unable in the foreseeable future to build fences that are on par with the southern border of the United States, certain efforts can be made at strengthening the fences that do exist. In order to prevent illegal crossings of its borders inexpensive fencing solutions should be adopted. While expensive fencing is totally out
of the question as far as India is concerned, through strategic planning and management of its border fences, India should be able to drop its controversial ‘shoot to kill’ policy that it has adopted along the Bangladeshi border.\footnote{25 Brad Adams, “India’s Shoot to Kill Policy on the Bangladesh Border,” \textit{The Guardian}, January 23, 2011.}

India’s border with Nepal remains the most open of all its borders and certain steps need to be taken to mitigate the threat that exists with such a situation. The combination of smuggling, narcotic trafficking, and Naxalite-Maoist insurgents operating in the region, adds further weight to the argument that improved fencing is required. There are unique problems that face this particular region. Some villages in recent years have grown to such a size that they straddle the border between the two nations. Dialogue between the two sides needs to take place so as to alleviate the situation, but in the meantime, the construction of effective fencing would assist in securing India’s borders again the previously mentioned threats to its security.

\textit{Port and Airport Security}

Ports of entry into any nation tend to be the economic heartbeat of that country. Without economic growth countries cannot develop, they will be unable to provide for its citizens, and untimely they run the risk of political upheaval. India is no exception to the rule and the government of Prime Minister Singh has set aggressive economic targets in the areas of economic growth, energy consumption, and the reduction of poverty in the short term. The development of its infrastructure will play a vital role in reaching these targets and it is this infrastructure that will need to be protected in order to achieve the goals.
With just under 60 major airports and 26 major and intermediate shipping ports, India cannot afford to have its ports of entry impacted by security threats in any way. These assets are the gateway to economic development and it is vital that they remain open and operating at optimum levels so that commerce may flow. This has not always been the case however. During the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the port of Mumbai was virtually shut down and the economic impact was felt well into 2009. The Mumbai attacks again demonstrated to the Indian government that securing its ports of entry was vital in preserving and indeed growing its 6.1% GDP growth rate.

What is worth noting the difference in the styles of attacks that have occurred in India versus say 9/11. With the exception of Mumbai in 2008, terrorists have not targeted airports or ports. Indeed even the 2008 Mumbai attacks, shipping and shipping assets were not the target of the assailants. The port of Mumbai was primarily used as a staging platform from which the terrorists gained entrance to the city itself.

What has been striking in India since the Parliamentary attacks of 2001 is the number of attacks that have targeted mass transit centers and routes. In the city of Mumbai alone, between 2002 and the 2008 attacks, there have been 14 other attacks that have targeted mass transit locations. The unfortunate thing for the Indian authorities is


that these locations are almost impossible to defend. Given the sheer number of people who use mass transit every day throughout the country, the antiquated system that is in operation, and the sheer size of the Indian railway system, not every station or mile of track can be protected. Through a risk-based approach the Indian government it going to have to make the hard decisions in this area but what it clear at least is that the nation’s airports and seaports have to be protected at all costs.

India’s airports are protected by a paramilitary organization call the Central Industrial Security Force (CISF). CISF was formed in 1969 and charged with the protection of all of India’s industrial sectors including but not limited to space installations, oil fields and refineries, seaports, power plants and dams.\footnote{Government of India, Central Industrial Security Force, Ministry of Home Affairs, \url{http://www.cisf.nic.in/} (accessed November 2012).} It was not until the hijacking of Indian Airlines flight 814 did the CISF gain authority over the nation’s airports. Until that time airport security was the primary responsibility of general airport police, which was under the jurisdiction of the relevant state government.\footnote{Ibid.}

The highjacking of Indian Airlines flight 814 took place in 1999 and was carried out by the Pakistan based group Harkat-ul-Mujahideen.\footnote{Ibid.} The hijacking lasted a week and only ended when India released three militants, Mushtaq Ahmed Zargar, Ahmed Omar Saeed Sheikh, and Mualana Masood Azhar.\footnote{Ved Prakash, \textit{Terrorism in India} (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 480.} One passenger was stabbed to death
on the flight and a number were injured. After the event, all passengers were returned to India. Sheikh later went on to murder the American journalist Daniel Pearl and also allegedly played a significant role in the planning of 9/11.

The CISF is under the regulatory framework of the Bureau of Civil Aviation Security who oversees all security standards in the aviation industry in India. The Bureau ultimately falls under the authority of the Home Ministry. Aviation security in India is highly regulated given the number of attacks that take place in India every year, and the fact that aircraft have historically been easy targets. The security in and around airports is some of the strictest in the world with only ticketed passengers being allowed access to the terminal buildings. Bags often pass through two and sometime three screening stages while there is a 100% baggage screening process.

There are a number of important issues that need to be addressed by the Indian government when it comes to airport and airport security. One such issue relates to the number of people living in the vicinity of the nation’s major airports. Huge slums have grown up around the airports in all the major cities and these slums can pose a serious security threat to the safety of incoming and outgoing aircraft. They potentially provide cover for would-be terrorists who would be able to blend into the chaos of the slums after having carried out an attack against either aircraft or the airport itself. As is the case

34 Ibid., 481.
35 Ibid.
37 The author experienced this during his work and academic travels through the country.
with all major cities in India, population growth outpaces the government’s ability to provide low cost housing.

Generally speaking India’s airports are notably secure but there are several areas that could be improved upon.

*Airport Solutions*

*Bomb Detection*

One of the key areas that remains unsupervised in India is that of explosive detection when it comes to the travelling public. In the United States all bags, laptops, and shoes are traced for residual explosive residue that may have attached itself to garments or the traveler himself in the event that the individual describe has handled explosive material. Through the adoption of technology and explosive detection apparatus, all passengers are thoroughly searched as they pass through security in the U.S. All hand luggage receives the same treatment which involved the swabbing of luggage and or shoes, and the swab is then tested which takes a matter of seconds thereby not slowing down the security processing process. This allows the Transportation Security Agency (TSA) to identify any persons of interest who may have handled explosive devices recently and then the threat can be neutralized. India does not perform such tests and the moment and this does indicate a weakness in their system that needs addressing.

*Passenger Screening*

While it could be argued that the current security measures in India are more stringent than those that are deployed in the United States, there is always room for improvement. Using the practices that Israeli security agencies and private screening
firms use in their country, India could begin to build a detailed database of travelers that could go hand-in-hand with the National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID). Stricter, more detailed screening prior to boarding all aircraft should be part of the layered approach to airport security that needs to be improved in India. The risks that domestic radicalization and groups such as the Indian Mujahidin (IM) pose are very serious and thus more needs to be done in order to mitigate this threat.

India’s peninsula is one of the longest in the world with terrorism, hijacking, smuggling, piracy and theft being issues that Indian ports currently struggle with. While plans to triple port capacity in India are underway, few ports in India have increased security levels from Level 1 to Level 2 in accordance with the International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) code.\(^{39}\) While the plans to develop India’s port capacity are significant, the level of growth at India’s major ports from 2010 to 2011 was a fairly insignificant 1.57%.\(^{40}\) This figure could be affected by terrorist activity given the number of attacks that have taken place, which shakes investor confidence. There are many other markets that are more secure and do not face the risk of terrorist attacks. This is yet another example of why India needs to shed its ‘soft target’ title through strong, effective, and efficient security measures.

\(^{39}\) The International Ship and Port Facility Security (ISPS) Code is an amendment to the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS) Convention (1974/1988) on minimum security arrangements for ships, ports and government agencies. Having come into force in 2004, it prescribes responsibilities to governments, shipping companies, shipboard personnel, and port/facility personnel to "detect security threats and take preventative measures against security incidents affecting ships or port facilities used in international trade.

Seaport Solutions

Increased patrols

In the wake of the Mumbai attacks, it was discovered that the LeT terrorists had gained access to Mumbai by travelling by boat over the Arabian Sea and infiltrating the port of Mumbai.\textsuperscript{41} Mumbai is one of India’s most important trading ports handling around 55.5 million tons of goods per annum.\textsuperscript{42} This number has remained virtually flat over the past two years as a result of the number of terrorist attacks that take place in the city. The attacks of 2008 illustrated how easy it was to infiltrate the sea routes leading into Mumbai and so this should provide the perfect case study for the Indian government, where they can increase the number of patrol boats and coast guard resources. Following the attacks, the Maharashtra government (the state in which Mumbai is located) planned to buy 36 boats to patrol the coastal areas however this plan remains unfulfilled.\textsuperscript{43} Ultimately it remains the responsibility of the Indian Coast Guard to patrol the coastal waters of India and therefore more resources need to be directed to the recruitment, training, and deployment of Coast Guard personnel. Going hand in hand with this is the construction of a larger Coast Guard fleet. This fleet needs to work in cooperation with the Indian Navy, so that each branch has very clear operational duties so that no duplicative orders are issued. The Coast Guard has a responsibility to protect and defend the littoral waters of India and this can be accomplished through strategic

\textsuperscript{41} Ved Prakash, \textit{Terrorism in India} (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 651.

\textsuperscript{42} Government of India, Indian, Ports Association, Ministry of Shipping, \url{http://www.ipa.nic.in/oper.htm} (accessed March 2, 2012).

planning of its current and future assets.

Currently the Indian Coast has 93 ships in service with an additional 48 aircraft.\textsuperscript{44} There are plans underway to build an additional 80 ships, each with various mission capabilities.\textsuperscript{45} With a coastline about a third of the length of the United States and one that is similar to that of Brazil and Mexico, India should be looking at these countries efforts and also at the pattern of past events that have occurred in India when planning the future role of the Indian Coast Guard.

Once the number of boats have been built, the number of patrols could be increased in and around India’s major ports, especially those in the Western and North Western Regions, as these are the regions closest in proximity to India’s main enemy, Pakistan.\textsuperscript{46} The Indian Navy has the responsibility of protecting India’s waters in the Arabian Sea and so the Coast Guard need not be concerned with the responsibility of encountering major naval activity. What the Indian Coast Guard should be focusing on is the risk of small boat terrorism; a prime example is the means by which the LeT terrorists gained access to Mumbai in 2008. Increasing the number of patrols in and around India’s major ports will be a vital component to prevent future attacks by sea.

\textit{High Speed Vessels}

The number of sorties that the Indian Coast Guard is able to mount is important. Terrorists seeking to gain access to Indian ports to either blow up ships moored at anchor or to access the urban areas that engulf the ports so as to attack civilian targets, will more

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\textsuperscript{44} Government of India, Indian Coast Guard Personnel Use, Indian Coast Guard, http://indiancoastguard.nic.in/ (accessed December 3, 2011).
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
often than not use high-speed vessels that are small and highly agile. These vessels are relatively cheap to operate and maintain compared to the larger Cutter type vessel and they are able to operate in shallower waters and in areas with a high volume of sea traffic. India needs to build up its fleet of high-speed vessels, which are less than 60 feet in length, in order to have a greater capability of intercepting terrorist groups, and drug and human traffickers.

Technology

The adoption of technology remains a vital aspect of counter terrorism that needs to be adopted in and around India’s ports. While the aforementioned increase in patrols and the introduction of high speed vessels are both important, the fact remains that a finite number of resources are available to the Indian Coast Guard. Therefore, the introduction of a variety of technologies in and around India’s ports is required to act as investigative and preventative tools. These technologies can include, but are not limited to the following:

- Automated shore radars – Radar is the primary method of collision avoidance for water transport. Improved radar will be able to detect unregistered and unscheduled sea bearing traffic and thus allow Coast Guard personnel and vessels to intercept any potential threat.

- Maritime Patrol Aircraft (MPA) – Already deployed by the Indian Coast Guard, frequent sorties can be flown in and around India’s coastal waterways providing vital reconnaissance and a simple security presence which could discourage would be terrorists from conducting activity in highly patrolled areas.

- Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV’s) – UAV’s have proved to be highly efficient in land theaters and so the adoption of UAV’s in a maritime environment should be a simple procedure. UAV’s could patrol harbors and remote coastlines at night using thermal imaging to detect illegal shipping and trafficking of goods and personnel.
• Unmanned Surface Vehicles – Similarly to the aerial version, unmanned surface vehicles could potentially patrol congested waterways relaying information back to Coast Guard headquarters on traffic, pollution levels of the water, and other valuable information.

• Procedures (i.e., AIS policy) - The Automatic Identification System (AIS) is an automatic tracking system used on ships and by Vessel Traffic Services (VTS) for identifying and locating vessels by electronically exchanging data with other nearby ships and AIS Base stations.\(^{47}\) AIS information supplements marine radar, which as mentioned, continues to be the primary method of collision avoidance for water transport.

**Cooperation with Neighbors**

As described by Sri Lankan Navy Commander Vice Admiral Thisra Samarasinghe while addressing the 19th International Sea Power Symposium in Rhode Island, U.S., “A terrorist organization with maritime capability needs to operate from foreign soil or a safe base; the prevention of the use of foreign soil for all illegal activity particularly on remote islands and isolated coastal stretches needs to be addressed.”\(^{48}\) With the exposure of the Karachi Project, it is clear that in order to prevent terrorist organizations from establishing strongholds in neighboring regions, cooperation with other nations’ security and defense organizations is vital.\(^{49}\) India must work with nations like the Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh to prevent groups like LeT from gaining a foothold in these nations. Through joint military exercises, the sharing of intelligence, and great political


\(^{49}\) The “Karachi Project” has been described as part of an overall strategy adopted by the Pakistani Army to use terror outfits as a crucial part of a strategic arsenal to bust India's military and economic might. More will be discussed about the Karachi Project in Chapter IV.
dialogue, these nations can work together to prevent further terrorist attacks from taking place not only within India, but in their countries as well.

*Legislation*

Working hand in hand with the three previously mentioned areas of improvement is the fact that none of these areas will be able to see progress unless there is strong counterterrorism legislation supporting them. Coupled with strong legislation is the need for the political will to see the legislation enacted on the ground. As the United States has seen on more than one occasion, creating and passing well-intentioned legislation is the easy part of the equation; seeing its goals through and watching the progress on the ground is where it really matters.

In the wake of September 11, 2001, the United States Congress was unified around President Bush and the drive towards creating strong, definitive counter terrorism legislation. In the months and years that followed, significant legislation was passed including the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001 (PATRIOT Act), the Homeland Security Act of 2002, and the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004. All of these pieces of legislation saw significant opposition not only from Members of Congress, but from the general public, however there was sufficient political will to see all of these pieces of legislation through. While the success of each law remains to be seen, there were certain benefits that were felt almost immediately including:

- The creation of the Department of Homeland Security saw the amalgamation of 22 agencies and sub agencies brought together into a single entity so as to allow for the creating of a joint, single mission, the streamlining of information
sharing, and the removal of old, stove piping practices.\textsuperscript{50}

- Gave numerous departments, including the intelligence community, the ability to track, trace, and gather information on all persons residing in the United States, including citizens.

- Broke down the walls separating respective intelligence offices and created the position of the Director of Intelligence so as to allow for the streamlining of information and intelligence through the intelligence community.\textsuperscript{51}

Although the full impact of these pieces of legislation remain to be seen, enormous progress has been made in the United States and while the possibility remains of there being another 9/11 type attack, the chances of it occurring have been significantly diminished.

The same however, cannot be said for India. In the wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, much was promised and very little was actually accomplished. Following Mumbai, counter terrorism policy needed to change and certainly the Indian government began to take steps in the right direction.

It is important to note that when Prime Minister Singh was elected into power back in 2004, one of his government’s first actions was to repeal the Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act.\textsuperscript{52} Having been enacted in 2002, this law was viciously opposed by human rights groups. These groups argued that due to its ambiguous language, the police went overboard in their efforts of searching and arresting suspects, which

\textsuperscript{50} United States Government, Department of Homeland Security, About the Department, Creation of the Department, \url{http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/ge_1297963906741.shtm} (accessed December 3, 2011).


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included religious and ethnic minorities.\(^{53}\) At the time this was the India’s sole counterterrorism law.

It was not until 2008 that the government enacted a revised law to replace it, but in the time between 2004 and December 2008, the government was able to ban extremist groups for criminal activities under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, passed in 1967 and amended in 2004.\(^{54}\)

As previously noted, in the wake of the 2008 Mumbai attacks, the National Investigative Agency Bill and Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Bill (UAPA) were passed in December that year establishing the National Investigation Agency (NIA) to investigate threats or acts of terrorism. As mentioned in Chapter II the NIA is empowered to target, arrest, and prosecute terrorist organizations and related crimes that occur across states without requiring permission from the respective states. Included in the UAPA legislation were the following:

- The establishment of fast track courts for speedy trial of terror-related cases.
- The admissibility of electronic intercepts as evidence that can be used in court.
- Trials will now be filmed by camera in those cases involving terror suspects.
- An extension in the period for which an accused can be kept in police custody.\(^{55}\)

While a number of these provisions are helpful to law enforcement, again, like so many of the steps that India have taken in attempting to address the problem of terrorist

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 1.


\(^{55}\) Ibid. 581.
activity within its borders, these steps do not go far enough. Window dressing aside, strong decisive legislation is required if the government is going to empower its public safety personnel to go after would be terrorists.

UAPA is on the one hand a fairly strong act covering areas such as unlawful associations, what constitutes a terrorist organization and its activities, punishment for carrying out such activities, and the granting to the police the power to arrest, search, seize, and hold suspects. However, on the other it can be argued that UAPA does not go far enough in addressing issues such as intelligence gathering, the composition of the counter terrorist forces of the Indian government, and so on. A great deal of confusion surrounds India’s counter terrorist tools and until there is a clear, legislative fix, these questions will remain.

**Legislative Solutions**

*Coordination Legislation*

The Indian parliament needs to work on legislation that would clearly define the roles and responsibilities of each intelligence agency, law enforcement body, and counter terrorism center so as to avoid confusion and the duplicity of responsibilities and roles. This legislation not only needs to clearly identify these roles and responsibilities, but it must establish cooperation practices and clearly mandate the sharing of information between each intelligence agency and law enforcement body.

It is through the elimination of stove piping that will allow for the true flow of information between these groups. Without this being clearly stipulated in the law, the creation of the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC) will be yet another white elephant in the fight against terrorism.
Intelligence legislation

Going hand in hand with coordination should be legislation concerning the intelligence community. Intelligence agencies and state police had complained in the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks that sharing of information among them was one of the largest problems that they faced on that day.\textsuperscript{56} Despite intelligence inputs given prior to the attack, the Mumbai police reported that the information was not accurate enough for them to develop an effective plan which they could deploy again the LeT attackers. It is clear from this example that the Indian authorities suffered a similar fate to the American intelligence agencies that failed to identify the 9/11 terrorists.

Following the September 11\textsuperscript{th}, 2001 attacks, the entire intelligence apparatus of the United States was reorganized. Obstacles to the flow of information were removed to ensure that information from one agency to another would not be compromised nor interrupted. The position of a Director of National Intelligence was created and a clear organizational structure was developed. Something similar to what happened in the United States post 9/11 needs to be replicated in India.

This points to the need for there to be a sole figure in charge of all intelligence offices, a Director of National Intelligence. This Director would report directly to the Prime Minister. This individual would have total control over all intelligence offices and will direct the flow of information coming from the field to the Prime Minister’s office. Also, there needs to be a total reevaluation of how intelligence is processed in India. Offices charged with intelligence related duties must have clear mission purposes that focus in on certain areas of intelligence and that do not duplicate one another. While no

\textsuperscript{56} Ved Prakash, \textit{Terrorism in India} (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2010), 630.
a paradox that not only the Indian government faces but every nation in the world. That is why the acceptance and cooperation of the General public is not gained easily. The legislation will likely continuously be under attack as it evolves and will require strict enforcement. Unless these limits are clearly defined by a General legislation, clear established limits on invasions into the important fundamental rights of the individual and collective populace, legislation cannot be effective. Nevertheless, it is extremely important that security, ports and airports, personnel, intelligence, and cooperation between ministries can all be addressed through a General, Border security, and the BSF. Legislation that would develop the forces mentioned earlier in this chapter be introduced that will further strengthen the relationship between intelligence agencies and border control. Such developments on a risk-based approach, stronger border legislation can be achieved with the creation of a General legislation. The Indian parliament can work on this chapter. Airports and seaports need additional security resources in the shape of security grants and personnel deployment. Areas that need strengthened security legislation have already been identified in the face of threats and the need for reorganization of any governmental function is easy. The effort could be the single most important step that needs to be taken to mitigate the terrorist threat in India.
being said, without an effective defense against the threat of terrorism, companies will not invest in a nation that badly needs as much foreign investment that it can attract. The constant struggle between commerce and security will continue to be waged in India as the nation grows and becomes more influential in not only Asia, but also the global community. But with this growth will come additional threats to India’s security and its place in the world. The Indian government needs to adopt these recommendations so that not only will India’s markets be secure, but also its citizens.
CHAPTER 4
FUTURE THREATS AND CHALLENGES FACING INDIA

India in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century will face numerous challenges that most other developing nations need not be concerned with. With the world’s 9\textsuperscript{th} largest economy in terms of gross domestic product (GDP), and with all signs indicating that this will grow significantly in the coming years, India will need to focus primarily on its economy so that it can continue to pull millions of people out of poverty as it has done since opening its markets in 1991.

The advent of cellular telephones, mobile banking, broadband Internet, and other technological advances have allowed India to bypass many of the obstacles that nations have previously faced when developing their economies. These advances have provided India with the opportunity to develop quickly and with fewer hindrances in bringing economic growth to some of the poorest regions and demographics throughout the country.

However, as with all benefits, there are certain risks that are directly related to these same opportunities. Terrorist organizations have learned how to adapt to changing defensive and offensive tactics deployed by the same governments they are trying to destabilize and hurt. In much the same manner, these groups take advantage of the same technological advances that governments use in an attempt to benefit their citizens, to wreak havoc and to undermine these governments’ authority.

One only has to look at the advancement in telecommunications over the past 15 years to fully understand the implications of these developments for security challenges that a country like India faces. Today more than 800 million cell phones are used every
day in India and this number is expected to continue to grown.¹ Not only are these phones used to communicate, but they are also used as a secure and easy method to send and verify payment to individuals, connect towns and villages for information sharing, and to link up entire regions in which the governments ability to collect taxes and send welfare benefits were marginal at best. This simple development of increasing the number of cell phone users has allowed the nation to become more connected but in turn, this provides the state with future problems.

While India has the potential to develop economically and thus take its place in the global community as a powerful nation, there are current and future concerns that the government will have to take into consideration as this development continues. Chapter IV shall address some of these concerns.

Cybersecurity

A key area that India needs to develop is cybersecurity practice. Nations such as Georgia and Estonia have fallen victim to cyber attacks in 2007 and 2008 respectively.² These instances illustrate that preemptive attacks on the computer systems and networks of a government can have a significant impact on a state’s ability to defend itself against a potential traditional military engagement.


While the impact that the cyber attacks had on the defenses of these nations was limited, the attacks underlined that the world has now, in the 21st century, entered a new world of cyber warfare.³

The Department of Electronics and Information Technology within the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology is responsible for cybersecurity in India.⁴ This department has numerous responsibilities and objectives including the development of India’s Information Technology (IT) industry, however it places the security of India’s cyber space as one of its top objectives.⁵

Cybersecurity has become a bigger issue in India in recent years and the government has called for greater international cooperation in fields such as the sharing of information, a global vision to counter hacking, a coordination along a legal framework between nations, and a robust response apparatus that can be deployed in the event of cyber attacks.⁶ India’s push to raise the profile of cybersecurity will receive greater attention in October 2012 when it will be hosting the third Worldwide Cybersecurity Summit in New Delhi.⁷

There have been a number of agreements and working groups that have been created in recent months by the Indian government which are all designed to tackle

³ The attacks’ main impact was to limit ability of the government to spread messages to its citizens on government websites and other IT based resources.


⁵ Ibid., 1.


⁷ Ibid., 17.
specific issues in the cyber world. India is planning to tackle the core issues of cybersecurity from supply chain integrity to the adoption of global security standards. This is admirable but difficult work since governments around the world are already experiencing setbacks related to cybersecurity shortfalls.

All one has to do is look at the United States and see the impact of cyber theft. In January 2011, the Chinese unveiled their first stealth fighter, the ‘J-20’. This fighter unveiled at the same time that then U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates was visiting the PRC, has an uncanny resemblance to the U.S. Air Force’s F-22 Raptor. Some analysts believe that as a result of cyber espionage, the PRC was able to ascertain the plans of the F-22 during its development.

While India does not possess the same amount of intellectual property as the United States, unless significant steps are taken by the Indian government, its industries and industrial growth will continue to be vulnerable to cyber espionage as the country aims to develop a grow into a global power.

*China’s Impact*

As the global influence shifts westwards towards Asia, one power continues to grow more and more powerful, far outpacing its rivals. The People’s Republic of China (PRC) boasting an economic growth rate of almost 10% per year is beginning to play a larger role in the international area due to its investment in hundreds of nations around

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9 Ibid., 1.
the world, and it’s development of its military strength to such levels that few nations, bar the United States, can match it for power.\textsuperscript{10}

In the Far East, the PRC has no rival, however when it comes to South Asia, India could be the one country that could potentially resist further Chinese expansion. When thinking about the India/PRC subject, it is helpful to look at history as a guide for the relations between the two countries. Sino-Indian relations enjoy a deep history going back thousands of years. However it is the years since Indian Independence that need to be looked at in more detail.

Following independence, India and the Chinese were locked in numerous border disputes involving Tibet and Kashmir and Jammu. Despite negotiations and agreements on the issues surrounding Tibet, the Indian’s and Chinese fought a brief war over these border regions in October 1962.\textsuperscript{11} Following a separate Sino-Pakistani peace agreement on the borders in Kashmir, and Chinese support for Pakistan on this issue, relations continued to sour between the two nations throughout the 1970’s and 1980’s.\textsuperscript{12} With the opening of India’s economy in the 1990’s coinciding with massive Chinese economic expansion, relations since then have continued to improve.

However, there are a number of issues that India is concerned about which affect its future relationship with the PRC. The border disputes with Pakistan will not be solved without Chinese engagement. This topic is highly contentious and Chinese involvement

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 276.
\end{itemize}
could tip the balance of power towards the Pakistani’s as Chinese influence continues to grow. India needs to act sooner rather than later so as to avoid this potential obstacle.

Chinese naval power continues to rise and with the launching of its maiden aircraft carrier in August 2011, China has demonstrated that it intends to become a major power in terms of naval capabilities.\textsuperscript{13} India’s carrier program details plans to develop its first sea bearing aircraft carrier by 2015, however by then it will already be playing catch up to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{14} It will be important that India develops its naval strength to counter Chinese expansion in South Asia since the two nations will ultimately become economic rivals for the markets in not only the region, but also the rest of the world. Each will each want to protect its trade and economies, but the power that controls the dominant military will ultimately have the upper hand.

\textit{Unemployment}

India has one of the world’s fastest growing economies and foreign investment has been pouring into the country over the past 20 years. The result of this economic boom has been an improvement in infrastructure, higher standards of living, the rise of hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, and a dramatic increase of the number of educated Indians. Unsurprisingly these positive events have in turn raised their own set of serious problems.

With any growing economy, if the number of skilled workers rises faster than the number of available, good paying jobs, an increase of unrest can be expected. According


to an October 2010 government report, unemployment in India stands at 9.4%, which given the size of its population, is a quite remarkable statistic. That being said there is chronic underemployment in India and this is the real concern for the government.

Underemployment describes that section of the population, which has given up looking for work and thus is not considered as part of the unemployment figure. While the official unemployment figure in India is the previously mentioned 9.4%, the real figure will have to be much higher.

There is a considerable concern in the Singh government that there will not be enough jobs for the increasing population of India in years to come. As the economic gap between the rich and the poor grows and the middle class begins to feel the squeeze, the number of disgruntled, well-educated Indians will rise. With the size of India’s cities continuing to increase and the lack of opportunities for the incoming workers becoming more and more apparent, these conditions will provide the perfect environment for radicals, fundamentalists, and ultimately terrorist organizations to recruit young, frustrated men to their cause.

If the situation in India is not addressed with appropriate urgency, then a situation could occur that will make the ongoing Arab Spring seem like a gentle stroll in the park.

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16 Ibid., iii.
The Karachi Project

While a lot about the Karachi Project has yet to be proved, the very fact that it has been written about and testified on by numerous captured individuals indicates that the Indian government should take it very seriously.

As described in Chapter III, the Pakistani government has for some time provided numerous terrorist organizations the cover that they require in order to carry out their operations in India and more recently Afghanistan. These terror groups operate under the direction of Pakistan’s ISI and have generally been good partners for the Pakistan intelligence community.

The problem, according to the testimony of David Headley, a Pakistani-American who is accused of playing a role in the Mumbai attacks of 2008, is that Pakistan today does not totally control the various groups anymore as a number of them have begun to turn on the Pakistani state. It is clear that Pakistan has lost control of the groups that it was using to subvert the Indian government. While there have been reports that Taliban and terrorist groups are using the island sanctuary of the Maldives as a sanctuary through which they plan to attack the Indian mainland, nothing conclusive has been established.

Before intelligence authorities provide further proof, the Karachi Project will continue to dog Indian authorities as that nation continues to fight again Pakistani aggression. However, the very real threat exists that the Pakistani ISI has lost control of

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the groups that it helped to establish and as a result it, along with India, will face a
tremendous security threat in the years ahead.

Much has yet to be written about the Karachi Project and indeed other security
projects that the ISI has established over the years, which had been designed to
destabilize India. What is clear however is that the Karachi Project is a very real threat
and one that needs to be neutralized as it will most certainly prove to be a direct threat to
the security of the Indian state.

While this chapter is speculative in some regards, it is clear that the traditional
concerns shall continue to be there for the Indian government, and at the same time, new
challenges will arise, providing additional tests to Indian authorities. The government
has the unenviable task of taking on all of these challenges with yet more to be created.
It will remain to be see exactly how the government approaches the situation since the
security risks will continue to exist as other problems as solved.
CONCLUSION

India is at the crossroads of greatness. It has the potential to achieve incredible things in the 21st Century but it also retains the ability to fall short in its endeavors. It is a nation that was born out of conflict, grew through conflict, and exists regardless of conflict. The face of conflict has shifted over time and it is up to the current Indian authorities to ensure that the country will continue to thrive despite the threat of terrorism.

The history of India has been dominated by its relationship with Pakistan and moving forward, this relationship will continue to play a major role in defining the successes and growth of both nations. Yet war is an ever-constant threat and one that continues to hover just below the surface when one thinks of Pakistan and India.

In the event of a conventional war against Pakistan, India’s armed forces will be up to the task. Yet as has been illustrated time and again by groups such as LeT and the IM, India has a new enemy, one that is less visible and harder to defeat.

By looking at a history of these conflicts within India, one can begin to put together the puzzle that has led India to today’s terrorist situation: The interethnic conflict between the Muslims and the Hindus which led to the separation of India and present day Pakistan, the Naxalites and the Maoist threat which has again begun to rear its head in the Bengal region of India and of course the evolving threats that groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba, Jaish-e-Mohammed, and the Indian Mujahideen pose to the current and future stability of the Indian government.

In the U.S., the very idea of another terrorist attack sends numerous Departments, intelligence offices, and law enforcement officials into high alert, India simply cannot
draw upon the same level of resources that the U.S. can. It has to protect its citizens with the assets that it currently possesses. However it is important to realize that in order to solve 21st century problems, you need a 21st century mindset. India has illustrated through its biometric program that it is already adopting this line of thinking, yet it must continue to build on this in order to better protect the lives of its citizens.

Tactics need to be rethought, resources must be reallocated and prioritized, and the right personnel must be deployed in the most efficient and effective manner. While India is going to grow economically in the next ten years, public pressure will exist to constrain the growth of government. This restriction in the growth of government is a sentiment that is shared by the Singh Cabinet, unfortunately it has been illustrated that certain areas of government are vastly undermanned and the only solution is to bring the right people in so that solutions can be borne. A boost in the number of government workers is not always the solution, but the elimination of inefficiency, which has been the result of understaffing, should be the more important goal.

The streamlining of the intelligence community, the creation of fusion centers, and the removal of the stove piping of information is vital if India’s law enforcement is to mitigate the threat that the country faces every day. The number of policemen must rise and the resources that they are provided with have to be improved. In Mumbai the LeT terrorists out gunned the responding police. The solution to avoiding this is not to arm every policeman to the teeth, but to provide each major urban area with commando units that will be required to counter the threat that any terrorist engagement might offer.

International dialogue with India’s neighbors, the growth of not only India’s economy but the economy of each of its neighbors goes hand in hand with domestic...
security. As has been experienced in the United States since the financial crisis of 2008, the number of immigrants who have been attempting to enter the U.S. illegally has dropped off considerably, partly due to the lack of economic opportunities that exist in the United States. People want to work at home and if India can help its neighbors to grown economically, then India will find that it can become more secure on the home front.

However the question of Pakistan is not something that will be removed from the equation any time soon. The fragile peace between the two countries remains tantalizingly unstable from the terrorist’s point of view. Pakistan’s domestic instability remains a crucial piece of the puzzle that must be solved if there is to be a lasting peace between the two nations. Pakistan and India are going to have to address the Kashmir issue in time. The status quo is not ideal for either side yet it remains to be seen if the political will exists for a solution to be reached on the matter.

Terrorism has taken many forms in India, especially since 1993. Up until this point India has consistently been reactionary to all events that have taken place within its borders. It remains to be seen whether the Indian authorities have the gravitas to implement the necessary reforms that are required if the country is to secure itself. One only has to look at the furor surrounding the establishment of the National Counter Terrorism Center to understand how fragmented the political situation is in India. This in turn leads one to ask what will it take for Indian politicians, both at the state and federal level, to put their differences aside and in the name of national security do what is right for the country. It is a question that we in the United States can certainly relate to.
India is at the crossroads of greatness. Due to the growth of its economy its place as a major world power in the 21st century seems assured. Its democracy makes it an ideal ally for the United States, and these two countries have been forging closer ties in recent years. With a few bumps along the road, such progress will not be stopped. Both sides realize this and they continue to work towards developing this friendship. India can fulfill the role of the natural buffer to China in South Asia, it can lead the region in diplomacy and cooperation on a variety of fronts. It has the potential to accomplish all of this however the issue of domestic security will continue to linger until the threat of terrorism has been eliminated.

India must seek to become a resolute opponent as opposed to the soft target that it is currently being viewed as. Security begins at home, and the faster that India takes control, the better it will be for all Indians and the world at large.
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