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INDIA: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY – CURRENT CHALLENGES TO THE GOVERNMENT

Beatrice Gorawantschy / Martin-Maurice Böhme

“Terrorism, communalism, Naxalism and regionalism” – this is how the Indian prime minister defined the largest challenges facing India at the beginning of 2010.¹ The bomb attack in Pune of February 2010, which bore similarities to the Mumbai bombing, and the almost daily attacks by the Maoist Naxalites are horrifying examples of the threats currently posed to the country’s internal security. Recently Maoist-Naxalite terrorism reached new high points, with 76 police of the paramilitary Central Reserve Police Force killed in the Dantewada jungle in the state of Chhattisgarh in April and an attack on the Kolkata-Mumbai express in May in which 138 people died. On top of this is the separation struggle of the state of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh that has led to demands to redraw the map of the region and that could compromise the internal security of India, and the border conflicts with almost all its neighbor states that put its external security in jeopardy. Since the attacks in Mumbai in November 2008 at the latest, India has been a focus for international terrorism, thus making new counter-terrorism strategies necessary. Those with responsibility must grapple increasingly with the prevention of violence, internal and external; a restructuring of the National Security Council and the establishing of a “National Counterterrorism Center” should assist in this task.

1 | Cf. “Only Congress can meet challenges, says Manmohan”, in: *The Hindu*, December 29, 2009, 1.

SOCIAL COHESION UNDER THREAT

Following protracted protests, violent riots, and heightened demands for separation by political activists last December in Telangana, the socioeconomically underdeveloped region of the state of Andhra Pradesh, on December 9 the Indian central government announced the start of the process of creating another independent federal state. With over 80 million inhabitants the state of Andhra Pradesh is India's fourth-largest state in terms of size and population. The metropolis of Hyderabad is particularly prosperous, boasting companies such as Microsoft and Google, being a center for biotechnology and the Indian pharmaceuticals industry, and sitting in a productive agricultural region. There has been a movement for division and the creation of a separate state of Telangana for more than 50 years – against a background in which this hinterland region is by the separatists to have been neglected by development projects in comparison with the coastal districts. The economic metropolis of Hyderabad would be included in the new state. Over these five decades there have repeatedly been violent demonstrations in the region. The question that was and remains at issue is the allocation of the regional capital. The loss of Hyderabad to Telangana would mean a drastic loss of economic power for Andhra Pradesh.

The Congress Party, which also governs in Andhra Pradesh, indirectly recognized Telangana's demands for an independent state back in 2004 when it entered a coalition with the regional Telangana Rashtra Samiti party.² This was primarily for reasons of electoral tactics. Observers believe that the central government in Delhi, which announced the separation process in December out of fears that the violent demonstrations would escalate, is playing for time. Not one all-party committee has succeeded in reaching agreement over the future of the state, and the conflict remains close to boiling point.

Telangana is not an isolated case. A strong movement of the Nepalese minority in the north of West Bengal is calling for the formation of a state of Ghorkhaland; there are also

2 | Cf. "Divide but not rule?", in: *The Economist*, December 19, 2009, 46 et seq.

movements among the Tuluver of the southern states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and in the historical region of Bundelkhand, which lies between Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In the Kashmir region moreover there are advocates of a political option of independence from both India and Pakistan, and separation movements in Nagaland claim that they never entered the Indian Union.³

Two schools of thought seek to explain the struggles for separation and division into smaller states. In 1971 India had 16 states, and today there are 28, of which three were formed in 2000. The divisions of the previous decades had been made largely on the basis of language barriers, for reasons of economic and cultural coherence, and on political considerations. If one considers, on the one hand, the three youngest states, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, and Uttarakhand, then these "spin-offs" have grown faster than their "parent states":⁴ the gross domestic product (GDP) of Uttarakhand grew by 8.8 per cent, while that of its parent state Uttar Pradesh grew by only 4.6%.

Experts argue over the influence of the heterogeneous Maoist groups, yet it can be assumed that some 200 out of 630 administrative districts are partly or completely no longer under the power of the state.

Jharkhand profits from its raw materials and achieved 11.1 per cent compared to Bihar, which could show only 4.7% growth. On the other hand, successfully separating Telangana from Andhra Pradesh could have

a domino effect on the other separatist movements. At the same time this would result in further divisions into larger and smaller states, and also into richer states dominated by a relatively prosperous middle class, and impoverished regions dominated by the underprivileged rural poor. The latter are those states that up to now have proved themselves most accessible for the Naxalite-Maoist resistance movement. The real challenge for the Indian government is therefore clear – the growing social gap between the countryside and the city and also between and within the federal states.

3 | Cf. "Nagas deserve more autonomy, says gvt", in: *The Indian Express*, March 6, 2010, 2; cf. "Cry for new States gets louder", in: *The Pioneer*, December 11, 2009, 1.

4 | Cf. Christoph Hein, "Politische Querelen bremsen Unternehmen", in: *FAZ online*, January 22, 2010.

INDIA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST MAOIST TERROR

The Maoist movement in India first appeared in the city of Naxalbari in the state of West Bengal, and for this reason the Maoists are often referred to as Naxalites. As early as in 1967 armed uprisings occurred in the east of India, which were suppressed by the government of the time. Still today the prime minister Manmohan Singh regards the militant Maoists a major internal threat, saying on a number of occasions that "The Maoists are the most serious threat to India's security".⁵ It does indeed appear that the Maoists have been able to attack India's sovereignty. Experts argue over the influence of the heterogeneous Maoist groups, yet it can be assumed that some 200 out of 630 administrative districts are partly or completely no longer under the power of the state.⁶

There is what is known in India as a "Red Corridor" in which the Maoist are particularly present, which stretches for 2000 km along the entire length of India's east coast from the city of Sikkim in the north to the outer edge of the southern state of Tamil Nadu. The states most strongly affected by militant Maoist activity are West Bengal, Jharkhand, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh.

The Maoist movement can be subdivided into a political and a military arm. It is represented in political terms by the Communist Party of India (Maoist). The CPI (Maoist) was formed in 2004 from a merger of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War and the Maoist Communist Centre of India. The party is led by general secretary Muppala Lakshmana Rao, better known as Ganapati, and its highest decision-making body is the so-called Politburo, which comprises the general secretary and 13 other members. Six of these were either killed or arrested in disputes between 2007 and 2010. In July 2009 the Indian government classified the CPI (Maoist) as a terrorist organization under the Unlawful Activities

5 | Cf. "Walking with the comrades", in: *Outlook*, March 29, 2010, 1.

6 | Cf. "Dantewada Massacre", in: *The Indian Express*, April 7, 2010, 9.

(Prevention) Act.⁷ The party has set itself the aim of overcoming parliamentary democracy and seizing political power. For this purpose it uses the military arm of the Maoist movement. Its cadres are recruited particularly from rural areas and consist of several thousand well-trained and armed forces. In March 2010 a 129-page document was found during a house search that gives an insight into the strategies of the Maoists.⁸ Written in 2004, the paper is titled "Strategy and Tactics of the Indian War". It can be concluded from this strategy that key Indian industries such as transport, railways, communications, energy, oil, and gas may be increasingly used as objects of further attacks in the future.

No unanimous figure exists for the victims of the Maoists' attacks and infringements. Nevertheless it may be assumed that in the past five years several thousand people have fallen victim to their terrorist actions.

Only little is known about the structure of the Maoist troops. Security experts assume that the rebels are normally between young and middle-aged, both male and female and only poorly educated. At terror camps they are taught guerilla tactics, how to use weapons, and how to survive in difficult conditions. The Maoists tend to exploit their good knowledge of the region in which they carry out their attacks.⁹ No unanimous figure exists for the victims of the Maoists' attacks and infringements. Nevertheless it may be assumed that in the past five years several thousand people have fallen victim to their terrorist actions.¹⁰ In a major offensive in 2005, for example, intended to combat the rebels, hundreds of civilians were killed and tens of thousands driven from their traditional lands.¹¹ In late January 2010 the Union government began a renewed offensive, "Operation Green Hunt", against the Maoists. The aim of this is to restore the rule of law in the Red Corridor regions. A total of 42 battalions of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) are involved in the action; the government speaks of over 60,000 armed forces all told.¹² Prime

7 | Cf. "Centre bans CPI (Maoist)", in: *The Hindu*, June 23, 2009.

8 | Cf. "Red Alert: Naxals draw up plan to shake urban India", in: *Hindustan Times*, March 12, 2010, 5.

9 | Cf. "Naxal or jihadi?", in: *Hindustan Times*, February 18, 2010, 8.

10 | Cf. "Indiens Maoisten profitieren vom Versagen der Politiker", in: *NZZ Online*, December 31, 2009.

11 | Cf. "A Shiver Runs Through It", in: *Outlook*, February 22, 2010, 44 et seq.

12 | Cf. "India launches Maoist offenses", in: *BBC News*, Kolkata, January 25, 2010.

minister Manmohan Singh began this offensive by calling politicians from all parties and the participating government and security bodies together to create a common, agreed procedure. However, Singh also conceded the lack of jobs and equipment and the inadequate budget of the security services.¹³ Analysts express this admission in figures as follows. 20%, that is, 394,000 police positions are currently unoccupied. In addition, 80% of the security services budget for salaries and pension payments has to be spent. The budget for infrastructure and training is too low.¹⁴ The urgency with which better equipping and training for the security forces are needed was made clear by the Indian interior minister, P. Chidambaram. The numbers of reported incidents and persons killed in 2009 were already considerably higher than those for the previous years. For too long the authorities in the affected states had ignored these problems and challenges. This year Chidambaram expects a further increase in the wave of violence.¹⁵

Initially the pressure exerted by the government on the Maoist rebels seemed to have been effective. On February 22, 2010, about a month after the start of the offensive, the Maoist leadership requested a 72-hour ceasefire for negotiations. In the wake of this the Maoists proposed a suspension of hostilities for 72 days.¹⁶ No successful negotiation could be reached for a permanent peace agreement, however, and instead the Maoists returned to their old strategy of armed attacks. Targets have included schools, and already a number of bomb attacks have been carried out on school buildings. 40 schools in Bihar and Jharkhand alone were the subject of bomb attacks last year.¹⁷ Another favorite target of the rebels is the Indian railway network. Newspaper reports suggest that not a week goes by without a Maoist attack taking place

Because of the losses in the military campaign against the Maoist rebels, one can see an increasing tendency for the governments of the affected states to examine the background causes of the conflict and to try to tackle the social and political roots of the problem.

13 | Cf. "PM wants united fight", in: *The Statesman*, February 8, 2010, 2.

14 | Cf. "So many lives but little value", in: *Hindustan Times*, February 17, 2010, 14.

15 | Cf. "Situation in Naxal-hit states grave", in: *The Times of India*, February 2, 2010, 14.

16 | Cf. "Maoists offer 72-day truce", in: *The Statesman*, February 23, 2010, 2.

17 | Cf. "Maoists attack school in India", in: *BBC News*, December 30, 2009.

on the extensive track network, on stations, or on trains themselves.¹⁸ This approach reached its high point in the attack on the Kolkata-Mumbai express of May 28, 2010 in which 138 people lost their lives. The Maoists manipulated the tracks on the line between Khemashuli and Sardiha in West Bengal so as to derail the capacity-filled train.¹⁹ Following this incident all night trains in eastern India were suspended.²⁰

Security forces are also being increasingly frequently attacked. On April 6, 2010 the most serious attack yet by the Maoist rebels took place against the Indian military police. Some 200 rebels attacked a convoy of armed CRPF police in Dantewada in the state of Chhattisgarh, killed 76 members, and stole armaments and ammunition.²¹ How it was possible for them to kill the security forces, who were heavily armed, has not so far been explained. The police assume that the convoy was caught up in an ambush by the Maoists. The rebels, who were greater in numbers, are thought to have hidden in the forest, then to have surrounded the convoy vehicles when these approached and to have fired abruptly. Indian security analysts are now asking themselves what the next level of escalation may be. The Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) was previously regarded as well trained and equipped for the struggle against the rebels. If the feeling is to go further along the road towards a military offensive, there now remains only to deploy the army and heavy equipment.²²

Because of the losses in the military campaign against the Maoist rebels, one can see an increasing tendency for the governments of the affected states to examine the background causes of the conflict and to try to tackle the social and political roots of the problem. The primary reason for the "success" of the Maoist movement is to be found in the severe poverty and consequent dissatisfaction

18 | Cf. "India fine-tunes fight again Maoists", in: *Financial Times*, February 9, 2010.

19 | Cf. "Terrorists, Not Maoists", in: *The Times of India*, May 29, 2010, 1, 11, 15.

20 | Cf. "India sets conditions for peace talks with Maoists", in: *BBC News*, June 1, 2010.

21 | Cf. "Maoists Butcher", in: *The Indian Express*, April 7, 2010, 2.

22 | Cf. "CRPF Men Walk Into Ambush On False Tip-off", in: *The Times of India*, April 7, 2010, 1.

of the rural populations. The Planning Commission of India has established that the basic living conditions in terms of water supply, electricity, infrastructure, health provision, education (illiteracy rate is about 75%), and childcare in the states particularly affected by Naxalite Maoism - Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, and Orissa - are often considerably poorer than in the rest of the country. On the one hand it is easy to see the cause here of the burgeoning left-wing extremism, while on the other the government stresses that an effective aid program can scarcely be implemented while such a situation prevails.²³

Looking at the problem as a whole, it is clear that the Maoists cannot be overcome by military means alone. The rebels promise the tribes in the rural regions protection of their political rights and respect for their cultural values and autonomy. In some of the affected districts the Maoists collect "taxes", hold summary trials and operate enforced conscription, particularly among the young. The revenue authorities estimate that the Maoists extort roughly a billion Indian rupees (some 17 million euros) from the business community in the poor state of Jharkhand alone, with which they purchase arms and ammunition. International media emphasize that the state is often not represented, as a result of which power vacuums arise. Many of the affected areas lack either schools, hospitals, or courts. Corruption within the state apparatus is blossoming.²⁴ Ultimately an effective fight against poverty among the rural population means an effective offensive against the Maoists. In recent months and years the rebels have succeeded in extending the radius of their actions considerably through their guerrilla tactics, and in doing so have exploited the social grievances of the local populations.

India and China can be classified as regional nuclear powers and it is largely these that determine the way in which security policy develops in Asia.

23 | Cf. "In the worst-affected Naxal areas, govt schemes are the hardest hit", in: *The Sunday Express*, January 24, 2010, 1.

24 | Cf. "Indiens Maoisten profitieren vom Versagen der Politiker", in: *NZZ Online*, December 31, 2009.

INDIA'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS: HIGH EXPECTATIONS

As the most stable democracy and as a regional economic power, India plays a central role in the integration of south Asia. On the one hand India is seeking, through a strategy of promoting peace and prosperity, to prevent the internal conflicts of the SAARC countries from undermining security in the region and heightening mutual tensions. On the other, India's physical size alone is leading to fears among the smaller states in the region of the threat of India's superior strength. India is indeed surrounded by a series of volatile neighbor states; relations with some of these are laden with conflict.

India and China can be classified as regional nuclear powers and it is largely these that determine the way in which security policy develops in Asia. Between the two countries (in northeastern India) the border demarcation remains unclear, and as a result, border conflicts occur periodically between members of the Indian and Chinese security forces. At the same time, however, India relies on dialog with the Chinese, since important water resources for northern India rise on the Chinese side. China's plans to build dams were previously a cause for dispute with India. It should however be noted that representatives of the two governments announced, during discussions in Washington in March 2010, that they would resolve both conflicts (borders and water resources) in the foreseeable future. In the Indian media this increased trust between India and China is attributed particularly to the good personal relations between the Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh and his counterpart Wen Jiabao and to India's balanced policy towards China.²⁵ Nevertheless, India and China are unable to reach a common formulation for dealing with the question of Tibet and the Dalai Lama. The head of the Tibetans, who has lived for a long time in India and enjoys asylum there, is seen by many Indians as a respected spiritual leader.²⁶ Disputes about how to treat the Dalai Lama have resulted several times in heated exchanges between India and China.

25 | Cf. "India, China play down border dispute", in: *The Hindu*, March 17, 2010, 5.

26 | Cf. "Frontier town venerates Dalai Lama", in: *BBC News*, May 2, 2010.

The relationship between India and Pakistan can usually be described as tense. This can be traced to the historic division of the British colonial empire, to current political developments in Pakistan, and to the attacks in Mumbai in November 2008. The dialog process, which began in 2004 on various issues of conflict including Kashmir, and as a result of which many trust-building measures could be undertaken, was suspended indefinitely following the Mumbai attacks. Not until the SAARC summit of April 2010 were there signs of a cautious return to a dialog between the heads of state. However, India is constantly aware of the potential threat from Pakistan; for this reason the atomic tests carried out by the Islamabad administration in recent years and Pakistani terrorist activity have led to further conflicts. On top of this are the historical tensions already mentioned between the two states, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir. A resolution of the UN Security Council in 1948 ended the first armed conflict. In 1965 the two countries fought again over the Kashmir region. In 1971 the Indian military intervened in the civil war in Pakistan, which finally resulted in the independence of Bangladesh. Since then there have been repeated skirmishes between the security forces of the two countries, for which blame for injuries and deaths is frequently expressed. The fact that both India and Pakistan are nuclear powers allows one to hope that both countries will be able to resolve future tensions at the negotiating table. Pakistan's political constitution would however seem to make this increasingly difficult: the Pakistani Taliban is becoming increasingly able to exert influence on the decision-making of those in power. Additionally, spectacular attacks such as that on the Pakistani army headquarters have thrown the capacity to act of the security authorities into question.²⁷

Indian security experts are conscious that security in the South Asian region can only be achieved if it is possible to rebuild Afghanistan on a democratic basis.

As regards Afghanistan, India has a major geostrategic interest in a sustainable reconstruction of the country. This has, on the one hand, to do with relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, since overcoming the Taliban would also mean greater stability for the Islamabad

27 | Cf. "India's Boundary Disputes with China, Nepal and Pakistan", in: *International Boundary Consultants*, April 16, 2010.

administration. On the other hand, there are many historic and familial ties between the Indians and the Afghans. The Indian government has thus announced that it will offer still more support measures for Afghanistan in the area of development, and to maintain its civil engagement in the form of over 3000 volunteers for the establishing of peace and the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Over the next five years investments of the order of 1.5 billion US dollars are planned for reconstruction. Indian security experts are conscious that security in the South Asian region can only be achieved if it is possible to rebuild Afghanistan on a democratic basis.²⁸

A strategic economic agreement between India and Nepal confirms the close relations between the two countries. Nepal's economic dependency on India is substantial. It is also hoped that geostrategic cooperation can be increased since both countries have an interest in fighting terrorism in the region. The open borders between India and Nepal

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present the decision-makers of each country with similar challenges. Moreover China is competing with India for greater political influence in Nepal. This could be the reason why the Indian government is perhaps only little concerned that the Maoists may again come to power in Kathmandu. Even if the extent of political and military links between the Nepalese Maoists and the Indian Naxalites remains so far unknown, the government in New Delhi sees a potential for additional conflict in tackling this question. The rugged terrain between the two states and the open borders mentioned above make the possibility of effective control mechanisms look difficult. As regards India's resource security, it depends on Nepal for much of its water supply. Many of the river courses that are vital for providing the Indian population with water originate in Nepal. This can explain the Indian government's particular interest in supporting Nepal in its reform efforts. This interest finds expression in symbolic political measures that were agreed at the start of this year by prime minister Manmohan Singh and the Nepalese president Ram Baran Yadav. These include increased infrastructure between the countries and consequently

28 | Cf. "India – Afghanistan Relations", in: *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2, 2010.

additional joint border patrols.²⁹ The further development of security policy between India and Nepal depends largely on the outcome of the process of creating a constitution in Nepal and developments in India's regional diplomacy.

Even after the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka in May 2009, the situation for India remains difficult. India recognizes the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka yet wants to see the rights of the Tamil protected. The Tamil diaspora in southern India has a major political influence in the country. A positive future for bilateral relations depends on three factors in particular: the continuation by India of its development aid to Sri Lanka, which is tied to the political reform process; expansion of economic relations; and the commitment by Sri Lanka to dispel Indian security concerns about China's involvement in the country.

India and Bangladesh hope to make a contribution towards the establishing of the rule of law in the region. The border between the two countries is seen as a hideaway for terrorists.

India and Bangladesh have agreed to quickly resolve outstanding problems at working level as regards the border and a fair distribution of drinking water resources; there are also memoranda about increased cooperation in the energy sector. The visit by the prime minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina, to Delhi in January 2010 opened many doors. The bilateral negotiations of the two countries allowed a variety of agreements to be reached. These include agreements on cross-border legal assistance for criminal cases, the transfer of convicted persons and the fight against international terrorism, against organized crime, and against drugs trafficking. With these, India and Bangladesh hope to make a contribution towards the establishing of the rule of law in the region. The border between the two countries is seen as a hideaway for terrorists; security measures were therefore stepped up in 2009. In particular the Indian government is considering setting up a high-security strip, the so-called "zero line". Its construction of the longest protective barrier in the world, a 4000-km barbed wire fence, should shield Bangladesh from the threat of Islamist incursion. Until this strip is completed in 2010, India has about 20,000 additional soldiers, specially trained in anti-guerilla

29 | Cf. "India, Nepal sign air services, railway pact", in: *The Indian Express*, February 17, 2010, 17.

fighting, stationed along the border line. There are thus a total of 50,000 soldiers to whom the securing of the border between India and Bangladesh is entrusted.³⁰

Cooperation between India and the Maldives has recently been secured in a number of fields. In August 2009 an agreement was concluded in the Maldives for a series of joint measures in order to boost defense cooperation between the two countries and to include the Maldives within India's safety net, which represents the beginning of bilateral security cooperation.

Bhutan is making particular efforts towards integration in the SAARC region in economic policy matters. Highest priority here are its foreign policy and economic ties to India. Almost 70% of all imports to Bhutan are from India, and India takes more than 80% of its exports, in particular electricity from large-scale power stations in Bhutan financed by India. When the Bhutanese King visited New Delhi in December 2009, further memoranda were agreed for new hydroelectric power projects.

The attacks on Mumbai were the first to be directed specifically at foreigners, and that on the German Bakery in Pune followed the same pattern. The attacks in Mumbai were proof of planning and preparation with military precision

For geostrategic reasons Myanmar remains permanently important for India – as the threshold to south-east Asia and its link to ASEAN, and because of its large natural gas deposits. Regardless of the human rights situation, India is anxious to balance out the

Chinese influence in Myanmar, primarily through ambitious infrastructure projects. For Myanmar, India is – along with Thailand, Singapore and China – one of its most important trading partners.

It should be remembered that the relations between India and its neighbors and the situation in south Asia are in a process of transformation, which can be attributed to political change in, for example, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives. These developments open up new opportunities – and necessities – for dialog. As regards the remaining bilateral (mostly political) lines of conflict, particularly with Pakistan (small power – big power relations) and those between India and China as

30 | Cf. "Null-Linie zwischen Indien und Bangladesch", in: *ARTE Journal*, April 16, 2010.

regional powers, the intensification of regional cooperation measures such as SAARC, SAPTA, SAFTA, BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation), and those with the SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) and extended regional dialog would seem to be of great value.

STATIONS OF TERRORISM IN INDIA

In April 2010 the US authorities and other foreign missions issued a repeated warning against travel to India and a terrorism warning for Delhi in particular. The Indian security services themselves issue warnings regularly about possible terrorist attacks on airports, markets, and heavily-frequented areas.

On February 13, 10 people were killed and 60 seriously injured in a bomb attack on the "German Bakery" cafe in Pune, a popular meeting place for tourists and locals – the gravest terrorist attacks in India since the attacks in Mumbai of November 2008 in which 170 people fell victim.

The interior minister Chidambaram spoke

of the Pune attack likewise as a "significant terrorist incident".³¹ According to all the information available, the terrorists – as also in Mumbai – were seeking a target frequented primarily by foreigners. Close to the scene of the attack are a sect center visited by large numbers of foreigners, the world-famous Osho Ashram of the Bhagwan movement, and an orthodox Jewish meeting center.

It remains difficult to agree on common topics. While Delhi wants to focus attention particularly on regional terrorism, Pakistan would rather talk of the situation in Indian Kashmir.

The attacks on Mumbai were the first to be directed specifically at foreigners, and that on the German Bakery in Pune followed the same pattern. The attacks in Mumbai were proof of planning and preparation with military precision, characterized by a high degree of logistical planning and coordination, with multiple bombs detonated in parallel; the attack in Pune was likewise highly professional, using a precisely positioned and designed device. Both attacks involved bombs with high explosive force.

31 | Cf. "India restaurant bomb blast kills nine in Pune", in: *BBC News*, February 14, 2010.

Both attacks had a direct effect on relations with neighboring Pakistan and the peace talks, in the form of a “composite dialog”, which had been held for years between Delhi and Islamabad. This dialog was suspended immediately after the Mumbai bombings, as India blamed members of the banned radical Islamist group Lashkar-e-Taiba for the attacks. A resumption of the bilateral talks at ministerial level was agreed at the start of this year, but the attack on Pune is likely to be a heavy setback for rapprochement efforts between the rival nations. In the case of Pune, the Indian government at least made the effort not to point at its neighbor, according

After Indonesia, India is home to the second largest Muslim community in the world, and the Indian Muslims represent an important potential as voters. Symptoms of growing radicalization can be traced to the same causes as those of the violent activities of the Naxalite Maoists: socioeconomic and political disadvantage.

to the well-known security strategist Uday Bhaskar.³² In an interview, however, the Indian interior minister named Jihad terrorism, with its epicenter in Afghanistan and Pakistan, alongside Naxalite-Maoist terrorism, as currently the largest challenge for India.³³

While peace talks with Pakistan have been resumed at secretary of state level, it remains difficult to agree on common topics. While Delhi wants to focus attention particularly on regional terrorism, Pakistan would rather talk of the situation in Indian Kashmir. The “composite dialog” with Pakistan could only be returned to, according to the Indian foreign minister S. M. Krishna, if the Pakistani side declared itself ready to place regional terrorism at the top of the agenda for discussion.³⁴ The latest SAARC summit in Bhutan nevertheless marks an important step as regards Indian-Pakistani rapprochement. Agreement was reached here at government level for the resumption of a “comprehensive, substantial and results-oriented process of dialog” at foreign ministerial level.³⁵ For this thanks are due in particular to the policy nurtured carefully over several years by the Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh, who – despite much criticism from his own ranks and demands for the contrary from political hardliners –

32 | Cf. “India takes measured tone over blast”, in: *Financial Times Asia-Pacific*, February 15, 2010.

33 | Cf. “We will finish the maoists in two to three years”, in: *India Today*, March 29, 2010, 24.

34 | Cf. “Composite dialogue with Pakistan only after talks on terror”, in: *The Hindu*, April 21, 2010.

35 | Cf. “Talks better than expected”, in: *Indian Express*, May 1, 2010, 1.

has not given up his moderate policy strategy towards Pakistan and has thus avoided an escalation of bilateral hostilities.

On April 17, 17 persons, including 9 police, were injured in bomb explosions in the immediate vicinity of the cricket stadium in Bangalore. As with Pune, it has not so far been possible to clarify the perpetrator of this attack; though in the view of the media and of experts, it bears the signature of the Indian Mujahedeen. The Bangalore attack is reminiscent of the various terrorist attacks in India in 2007/2008 (May 14, 2008, Jaipur, 60 killed; July 27, 2008, Ahmedabad, 17 killed; September 14, 2008, Delhi, 20 killed; October 22, 2008, Imphal, 17 killed; October 30, 2008, Assam, 62 killed), which grew in intensity. These attacks, and the assassinations in Mumbai and the incidents that followed in Pune and Bangalore show a dangerous escalation and interdependency of national and international terrorism in India and thus an intensification of the security situation, with threats to both internal and external security in equal measure. According to statistics, altogether 41 major terrorist attacks have been perpetrated in India since 2004.

A priority task for the government is to strengthen the institutions concerned with investigations into terrorist attacks and with developing early warning systems of attacks; a further challenge is to prevent the radicalization of Muslims in India. After Indonesia, India is home to the second largest Muslim community in the world, and the Indian Muslims represent an important potential as voters. Symptoms of growing radicalization can be traced to the same causes as those of the violent activities of the Naxalite Maoists: socioeconomic and political disadvantage.

THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE NATIONAL COUNTER TERRORISM CENTER – TOOLS FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION AND FIGHTING TERRORISM

At the start of the year a change of position took place for the National Security Advisor (NSA), linked to a restructuring of the duties of the National Security Council (NSC) and plans to establish a National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC) by the end of 2010. The position of the NSA was

created in 1998 under the BJP government – initially to take on the management of national security. The NSA also serves as chairman of the executive council of the Nuclear Command Authority and is responsible for the areas of defense, internal security, nuclear policy, foreign policy, and the border conflict in Jammu/Kashmir. Over time the NSA has come to be the main negotiator for the prime minister in all strategic questions with major powers. M. K. Narayanan, who as the former head of the Indian Intelligence Bureau (IB) presided over the NSC for more than five years and played a leading role in the signing of the nuclear agreement with the USA, was nominated in January as the new governor for West Bengal.³⁶

The new National Security Adviser, Shivshankar Menon, comes from the foreign ministry and was formerly foreign secretary and an ambassador to China, Pakistan, Israel, and Sri Lanka. This change of personnel brought with it a change in the area of responsibilities of the NSC. Menon's responsibilities, which by now had reached the rank of those of a minister of state, are in future to be restricted to foreign-policy and diplomatic affairs, and the

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NSA accordingly takes on more the function of a diplomatic adviser. The individual intelligence and investigation organs, such as the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), the Aviation and Research Center (ARC), the National Technical Research Organization, the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), and the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) are expected to be integrated into the yet to be established National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC). Additionally, the intelligence departments of the defense and finance ministries will cooperate with the NCTC. Up to now the NSA has had control over these bodies. The NCTC is intended to function both analytically and operationally in equal measure.

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36 | In the Indian political system the governor, who is nominated for 5 years by the president, has no political mandate. Executive power in the federal state is in fact exercised by the chief minister.

security. The National Security Advisory Board and the NSC Secretariat have up to now been appended to the NSC as structures; critics call attention to the systemic weaknesses, namely the lack of long-term strategic planning and analysis.³⁷ Only the person of the NSA, who acts directly on behalf of the prime minister and is assigned directly to him, is authorized to coordinate the existing structures in the diplomatic arena and at the strategic level. As regards long-term strategic planning, however, the NSC lacks the necessary substructure. The Secretariat is supposed to act as the real think-tank for the NSC, but is dominated by the person of the NSA. The decision by Narayanan to separate the Joint Intelligence Committee from the NSCS was welcomed by experts – though this step was not associated with an increase in personnel, either of the NSCS or of the JIC. In addition, the Indian foreign ministry, which would be an ideal source of experts for the NSCS, is likewise understaffed. The members of the NSAB complain that there is often, in the composition of the committee, a lack of actual expertise in many areas; they also claim that the continual exchange of information between NSA and NCS is not guaranteed.

Even if, in future, terrorism prevention measures are to be taken over by the interior ministry and the proposed NCTC, then in the three core activities of the NSA – diplomacy, nuclear command and long-term strategic planning – closer cooperation between all security services is required; the latter cannot be solved through the bureaucracy alone.

SUMMARY AND OUTLOOK

The risk to social cohesion posed by territorial separation movements and the threat to internal and external security through Naxalite Maoist terrorism on the one hand and national Islamist and fundamentalist Hindu and international terrorist movements on the other are dangerous parallel developments that have resulted from social conflicts and undesirable economic developments.

37 | Cf. the following comment by Siddarth Varadarajan, "It's strategic culture that counts. Revamping the National Security council structure to remedy the lack of long-term planning must be a priority for the new NSA", in: *The Hindu*, January 22, 2010.

The armed uprisings of the Naxalite Maoists are a phenomenon that Indian politics has had to grapple with for more than four decades. New, however, is the ever greater extent of violence and the degree of professionalism of the rebels. The organization and coordination of the attacks carried out by the Naxalites is “more effective” than the strategy of the Indian government in fighting the insurgents. Interior minister Chidambaram has however stated his intentions clearly: “We will finish the Maoists in two to three years.”³⁸ This will however only be the case if the Indian government succeeds in reaching a political consensus as to how to tackle the problem. The unity of the Indian state and the security of the civilian population can only be guaranteed in the long term if the central political leadership in Delhi can work closely with the leadership at the federal state level to bring successful economic development, the rule of law, and measures for tackling poverty into the regions most severely affected by Maoism.

The many lines of conflict between India and her neighbors in the SAARC region indicate that regional integrity represents a continual challenge.

Against the background of increasing internal conflicts focused on national and international terrorism, the Indian government faces the major challenge of creating the planned body for fighting terrorism, the National Counter Terrorism Center, quickly and efficiently and equally to reform the existing structure of the National Security Council and its associated substructure in such a way that long-term strategic planning and analysis are guaranteed.

The many lines of conflict between India and her neighbors in the SAARC region indicate that regional integrity represents a continual challenge. With its existing committees and consultation mechanisms, SAARC – despite its hesitant progress – offers a political platform that represents, through regular dialogs at various levels of government, an element of continuity. Common political threats, such as the risk of international terrorism, increase the necessity for closer cooperation.

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38 | Cf. “South Asia: Securing the Future”, in: *India Today*, March 29, 2010, 24 et seq.