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## Post-26/11, is India better prepared against terror?

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*The BEST assessment is that the Government's strategy has broadly worked but there's no room for complacency. Home Minister gets a pat, but the threat remains and major systematic changes need to be carried out.*

**Aroon Purie**, *Editor-in-Chief, India Today*: Our first meeting was in March 2009 and the Board of Experts on Security and Terror (BEST) was set-up as part of India Today's campaign on "War on Terror" in the aftermath of 26/11. The idea of setting up such a Board was to keep our audience briefed with experts' viewpoints on security and terror and what can be done. Our focus continues to be the threat of cross-border terrorism. Fortunately, in the last 11 months, nothing major has happened. I don't know whether it is our good fortune or if the Government has done something. I expect to hear from you about how we have performed, what needs to be done and what is being done. Meanwhile, other security and terror-related issues have also come up. The other major one is, of course Naxal terror, which is now on top of the national agenda and perhaps we can discuss it and listen to your views on how the Government should tackle it. We can't, of course, stop looking at Pakistan which seems to have its own internal problems but seems also not in any way repentant for what it does to India, continuing its stubborn path. How do we tackle Pakistan still remains an issue. We can look into the Afghan policy of the US, Af-Pak policy and how it affects India and, of course, recent bombings of the Indian embassy in Kabul. How do all of you view these developments? China has again risen its head and become an issue. We would love to hear from you how India is dealing with it and how it should deal with it.

**Raj Chengappa**, *Managing Editor, India Today*: In March, the BEST assessment was that the Government had totally failed to tackle the terror threat post-26/11. We are just a month away from the first anniversary of 26/11 and we need an assessment as to whether we have progressed, have there been any big shifts or, as Aroon mentioned, are we just lucky that we haven't had a major cross-border terror attack?

**Ved Marwah**, *former Governor, Jharkhand*: There are number of factors which have helped in ensuring that we haven't had any major incidents since 26/11. Some of the credit goes to the Government and some to the developments in Pakistan where the jihadis are busy fighting a survival battle of their own; India and J&K are no longer on top of their agenda. If Pakistan Army wins, then we will have trouble and if the jihadis win, of course, we will have even more trouble. But some credit must also go to the Government. P. Chidambaram's taking over as the Home Minister has helped in creating a feeling of urgency in the security agencies-the intelligence agencies, the state police or the para-military forces and, of course, the armed forces.

Certain legislative actions have been taken and the law has been tightened, but a number of things which we all been saying have been included. The Government has also created an investigative agency but it should not be complacent. The danger is very much there and the moment things settle down in our neighborhood, our country will be a big target for the jihadis. Their apparatus inside the country has not been eliminated or identified. So they can use this at an opportune moment. For that the Government needs to take a number of steps which were emphasised in our last meeting. They need to create a national anti-terrorism

agency which will not only investigate cases but also keep an eye on development inside the country, our neighborhood and everywhere else in the world. It analyses every incident that takes place, draws right conclusion and lessons and then takes steps to ensure that the standard of our preparedness is strengthened.

We need a comprehensive law which is easily understood by the investigative agencies, the prosecution agencies, the courts and instead of giving defence an opportunity to exploit the various loopholes, loopholes in law, we should have a comprehensive law and there I have come to a point that we need a broad national consensus. We need a broad consensus among all political parties. They can have a difference of opinion but on a broad framework, there should be no difference and in any case it should never be made an electoral issue. They can criticise each other, make suggestions but drawing political capital out of a terrorist incident is the last thing any political party should do.

**Lt-General Satish Nambiar**, *former Deputy Chief of the Army Staff*: Last time we started on the premise that our focus should be on prevention. I have been articulating this for quite sometime and it has been almost a year and we have not heard of any terror attack anywhere in India. So let's give some credit to the establishment. Hopefully, they are doing something. I would like to see us evolving a pre-emptive strategy, which means we must develop a capability to hit at these guys in anticipation. And I am not talking about a war-like situation. I am talking about dealing with these jihadi groups. We have to find out where they are located, their leadership, if we have not done that then there is something seriously wrong and we must develop it. I am not too sure whether we have it. If we have the capacity to effect precision attacks, then we must focus on developing it as a pre-emptive terror because we can't wait for things to happen and if we can pre-empt, it would be better.

**Chengappa**: Brahma, would you broadly agree with what they have said or you completely differ and you think that the Government hasn't moved forward?

**Brahma Chellaney**, *Professor, Strategic Studies, Centre for Policy Studies*: I agree with the earlier two speakers and I think it is remarkable that for nearly 11 months, there has been no major attack of terror. But that doesn't mean that India is less vulnerable to terror attacks. The vulnerability level remains the same but are we better prepared? Yes, we are better prepared, not institutionally but at the level of governmental response. In case there is a terror attack, we should be better prepared. If you put somebody who is professional as in-charge of a ministry, even if the person who doesn't have a background, he or she will be able to make a difference.

Ever since P. Chidambaram has come to the Home Ministry, we have seen a conscious effort to revamp India's internal security policy. He began from scratch, not knowing anything, and today he is on top. He knows exactly what is happening. Plus, he has put everybody under pressure. Every morning, he meets the heads of different agencies plus the NSA—they all report to him. Therefore, for the first time, we are having coordination at the senior-most level. The prime minister has given him a blank cheque and he doesn't interfere at all with the execution of Home Ministry policies and so you find there is a sea change in terms of management of India's internal security policy. In the last three-and-half-years, I have heard the prime minister say periodically that Naxalism is the biggest threat to India's security but there was no action. It was as if that just waving the red flag was enough.

Now we at least have an effort, if not a strategy, to deal with Naxal violence. All this is happening at a personal level. What happens if the person is no longer there—will it all slide back to where we were a year ago. We have made progress, but this progress is reversible. In terms of marks I would give the Government seven out of 10 for having ensured, whether by luck or by design, that there has been no major terror attack since last November. Given the frequency of attacks in the previous three years before 26/11, it is remarkable that in last 11 months there hasn't been a single major terror attack. It is partly because we have ensured that 26/11 is not forgotten. Even though we know at the policy-making level that Pakistan won't do anything about it, we still have adopted a policy which is to throw a dossier at them every now and then to

keep them on the defensive.

I was quite skeptical at the beginning about preparing dossiers and handing them to the sponsors of terrorism in India but we have so far seen that these dossiers keep them off balance. They have been reminded that as long as they would not act against the masterminds of 26/11, there will be no normalisation of relations with India. That is also remarkable because this Government has not shown this kind of will to stay the course for more than few months and came close to reversing the policy decision at Sharm el-Sheikh. In a way, a message has been sent to Pakistan that the onus is on them. It is one of the key factors that we have been without any major terror attack for 11 months now.

**Chengappa:** Doval, you have been intimately part of the system. Do you agree that a minister can make a difference. Last time, you called for serious institutional changes. Have those changes happened?

**Ajit Kumar Doval**, *former Director, Intelligence Bureau*: I think, by and large I will agree with Chellaney. But now I would like to disagree with him. When you say, "is India now better prepared to tackle the terror attacks?" the terror threat has got to be seen in two umbrellas-one is Pakistan and terrorist groups as an entity, and second is the response, the Indian state's pro-active capability to prevent such incidents and also its ability to punish. Now as far as stimulant analysis is concerned, the threat level has gone down, partly due to what has happened inside Pakistan, the diplomatic pressure on Pakistan and what India has done diplomatically. It played its card in sustaining the pressure, calibrating it and not letting it be put on the backburner.

Plus, I think, Pakistan rightly or wrongly has come to some sort of an assessment that any covert action may probably make and the cost at this time would be unacceptable to them. Might be a wrong internal assessment but it appeared that they are working on it as was evident during General Mahmud Ali Durrani's recent visit and, in fact, Pakistan would not like to encourage something like this. Credit for this goes to India and partly to also to the circumstances. The more important thing might be the response. Institutional changes have not come up in a big way, except for building up an agency for investigation, it doesn't have any case right now because there are no incidents. But coming up of the investigation agency as a national agency is seen as positive, makes the investigation part of it.

Preventative capacity has been better organised and I think the biggest contribution of Mr. Chidambaram is that he has been able to put the house in order. It is not the new capacity-building that has been done but the existing capacity is now being used more optimally. In the proactive, the major things is intelligence, I think I want to go into much more detail of it but I think intelligence is performing and it has been put on such which is much more effective form than it was before. It had gone for hibernation for some time but now it is more effective, whether it is left extremism or it is terrorism or whatever as an input of policy formulation or policy redistribution. I think I will give seven out of 10.

**Chengappa:** Ambassador Parthasarathy, part of the discussion has been India's ability to put pressure on Pakistan. Do you agree with this that we have sought of move correctly and this is the reason we will had relative peace ?

**G. Parthasarathy**, *former High Commissioner to Pakistan*: India's ability to influence the real decision makers in Pakistan is limited. Your leverage with the Pakistan military is limited. There are three countries which wield a degree of clout over that military; the US, China and Saudi Arabia. Now, Saudi Arabia seems to be going along with what the Americans want. In so far the diplomatic achievement of this Government is concerned to that extent the Pakistani attempt which was for the incoming Obama administration to bring Kashmir into the entire terrorist-Afghanistan-Pakistan equation. I think our effort to thwart that was successful. It was well done, imaginatively done from what I have seen in the US.

Therefore, the focus remained Afghanistan-Pakistan. The second point is that we were able to work with this system and get provisions in the Kerry-Lugar Act, which really for the first time singled out and

conditioned aid to Pakistan to terrorism across its border with all its neighbours. This was new and this was a conscious effort. I think the embassy deserves and the ambassador deserves some credit for that. So therefore you have been able to influence one side. You also moved away the initial pressure which existed in which they were sitting on our head and talking of dialogue. I think perhaps in my view we will have to find a mechanism at least on a back channel to engage the ISI, that's my view. Whether or not as in the past to share intelligence but to spell out specifically what they should not do and what we mean by the infrastructure of terrorism. How that works out, I think it still remains to be seen.

Within Pakistan itself, I think I agree with everybody else—they have got their hands full on the western border and I think one message which has been conveyed very clearly that there may be a heavier price to pay if you repeat or try to repeat something like it. And I think that message has got through because primarily also the number of citizens from other countries were affected and the most importantly I think the Israelis has had its own impact. So there was some fortuitous circumstances also. I'm sorry to say but even though they were foreign nationals, the attack on India was a part of global jihad. This was the fallout of Mumbai which is different from the past from which certainly India derived a benefit and in fact it neutralised many of the stupid things the previous government did like weeping about Pakistan being a victim of terrorism, a joint terror mechanism and all this nonsense.

So, I think, if the Government shifts its focus with Pakistan, not to share intelligence in this nonsense which emerged in Sharm-el-Sheikh but to have a mechanism to tell the rulers in some way or the other, about the price which will be paid and about what we mean by the infrastructure of terrorism that will be useful. Pakistan, let's be very clear, we are into a very delicate situation. My own hunch is that the army is going to run into a mess in Waziristan, everybody is running into a mess in Waziristan. You have a power struggle going on between the army on the one hand and President Zardari on the other. How it plays out? we are into an uncertain situation. We are moving into uncharted waters, if the army prevails then they will be emboldened to look eastwards. If they don't prevail they could well be emboldened to divert attention. So under no circumstances should we let down our guard because of 11 months.

And finally, I would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Chidambaram. He has changed the ambience of the Government; he has changed at the way the Government looks towards terrorism. From a stage in 2005 when the prime minister proclaimed that terrorism will not be allowed to come in the way of dialogue to what we have moved towards is I think? I will go along with everybody else here that one individual, whether that will be institutional I don't know, and Brahma says let's make it institutional, we will have to see. In the case of China they have gone to the other direction. Immediately after Mumbai they welcomed the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. General Tariq Majid held out all sorts of goodies to them. The Saudis have been quiet apart from that vote on Kashmir in the OIC. My grading: if it was not Sharm-el-Sheikh, I would have given eight on 10. I will give seven on 10.

**Chengappa:** Air Marshal Kak, you have been dealing with the back channel or second track, whatever you like to call it. What is the sense you get with Partha? do you agree with what ambassador Parthasarathy is saying?

**Air Marshal Kapil Kak (retd.):** Let me come to the point. I think we are congratulating ourselves that nothing has happened in the 11 months in the past. Let's reverse this. Nothing has happened. As Partha said, Pakistan is so preoccupied with the west, we saw that in the wake of 9/11 dramatically from 2001 in Jammu and Kashmir terrorism reduced to virtually a trickle. From 13 a day casualties we are talking about less than one a day. These incidents have not taken place and we are not tested, we are self-congratulating ourselves. I think we are very lucky. When Chidambaram became the Home Minister, the preparedness level has certainly been heightened but we have a long way to go.

Let me tell you. If there is aerial attack, which has been feared and talked about in the media, I am afraid we are not prepared at all on the southern side where it can take place because there are no radars of any consequence there which can detect an aerial intrusion. Of course, if it happens in the north it is almost very

safe. So that process has been let in motion. You will see a dramatic transformation in the usability to handle any air intrusion of the non-state and the state kind in about five to 10 years. An amazing modernisation type of transformation. The third point. For example, you mentioned coasts when talking to Satish Nambiar. Once again, I think the cultural part has not changed. They have made changes in modalities, in the institution, that culture of integrated response to a terror attack.

I'm afraid there has not been that transformation here as we are talking today. There is a Western Naval Command person sitting in Mumbai trying to be responsible for handling a terror strike; he doesn't have the Coast Guard. So the Coast Guard is on its own. So until and unless we get a home land security kind of template to prevent terror attacks and then manage them the way you require to manage, nothing much has happened there. Thirdly, there has been a great deal of improvement in the intelligence side. Situational awareness in managing terror now and in the next 10 or 15 years is utmost crucial for any mechanism that would come in. Last, since you asked for defense, I think it was a statesman-like act in not exercising the military option post 26/11.

We have seen the rich dividends that philosophy has paid because the question about whether we have precision attack capabilities? yes we have developed that, strengthened it competently and to my mind as an outsider can deliver precisely that power where punishment will be imposed which will be fatally imposing to Pakistan. But we also need to take to the calculus the fact that Pakistan is not going to let that attack or series of attacks go uncontested. So are we prepared to get into limited war? Much rather go the Chinese way from 1978 onwards—they slugged their tail between the legs and ran down to Beijing. Keep in mind that strategic importance for India is seven to nine per cent growth rate for the next 20 years. That will address the problem of Naxalism. Grading: I would give seven out of 10.

Chengappa: I'd like to get back to Kiran. You heard the whole force that has been completely neglected. These are your foot soldiers, these are the one that could battle. Have you seen any change in that in these nine months? You had praise for the Home Minister, but on the essentials, at the city level, at the state level, has been any fundamental changes on the way we looked at our police force?

**Kiran Bedi**, *former Director General, Bureau of Police Research and Development*: No, that's exactly the area that is truly unimpressive. I don't know whether any assessment has been made. Assessment is not our habit. In fact assessments, review assessments, training impact assessments, their welfare for assessments, their human resource deployment assessment, personnel policy assessment? we don't have this in practice anywhere. When it comes to assessment we invest nothing and we have no objective assessments. In fact, the only assessment we do get sometimes is through television. These are the only assessments, where are civil society assessments and academic assessments? In fact, I would base this would be just experiential or biased or prejudiced but where is objective assessment? I have not come across a single objective police assessment on police performance.

Let us look at our assessment based on our readings or prior academics our exposures, our travels, our observations but where is ground assessments? I think the real intelligence, real tackle of this terror is actually by foot soldiers. I don't think that Mr. Chidambaram has reached the foot soldiers. Mr. Chidambaram has only reached the central police organisations. Mr. Chidambaram has not reached state DGPs because the state DGPs are under political clout. So where are the changes in the state DGPs? The BSF, the CRPF? they should be a part of that meeting. Why are they not there? Because the BSF is using that information at the border, the CRPF is using it internally and the Suraksha Bal is using it. So why have they been kept out of the loop? The ITBP should be part of it and we don't if we don't trust those DGPs and don't trust sharing that information, then I don't think they are worth being there. Look the millions behind them—they have the real foot soldiers who must start becoming stakeholders. We are still ignoring them.

So unless they feel that their leader is a part of that main cabinet of security, they will never feel that they are involved. So my first dream is that he should start involving others central police organizations (CPOs). What would be truly reformative in the long-term is truly reformative down the line would be when he

involves the chief of the CPOs The Central police organisation is very under utilised, it's still reactive, it's still minimal prevention.

I run two major NGOs and whenever I hold a meeting I call my chiefs asking them to bring their second in commands. If they are on leave tomorrow the other person can immediately take over. I say I am going to trust your second in command. Is he part of that core meeting? It doesn't matter if you have 10, just let someone sit behind you because the more you disseminate and the more confidence you have in your second-rung leadership, it means that you are grooming leadership. I want to see Mr. Chidambaram grooming leadership. Is he grooming leadership? I doubt it. I don't see a grooming of leadership as a part of Indian culture. It is still minimum.

My second thing is that I don't see Mr. Chidambaram. We all have to be in a hurry when we are a good leader. We have to be impatient as great leaders. I don't see impatience; in fact, impatience should be building structure. Are home ministers and home secretaries coming together at the state level? If it is not translated at the state level then Delhi and Mumbai will not come together. Is Kolkata prepared? Is Chennai prepared? Is Pune prepared? Are these cities and states coordinating at the state level? Maybe our expectations from Mr. Chidambaram are too high.

I remember there is a big difference in the way we are responding to this meeting than we had at the last meeting. In our last meeting there was total helplessness. Today we feeling we are on the moon but we are not satisfied with how far we have gone. I would think he needs to put his little house in order and be on top of the situation. We expect him to spread good practices, structures, systems, responses and human resource policies down the line.

Now if you say that the police is a state subject that will not be acceptable for me because he can groom leadership. I was just thinking, does he invite the DGPs when they visit the home ministry or saying you are invited to come and see me, I want to listen to you one to one. Remember I said sometime last time also who is listening whom? Is he listening? I want him to listen. I don't think our DGPs are being heard. Now I am not asking him to pass the DGP. You tell me frankly if you are prepared to tackle terror. Let the DGP without the home secretary sitting as the chief minister sitting why just say sir I am not that he could say as a home minister what do you want? What do you want indirectly from the home ministry to see that the state helps you? At the moment he is home minister for the central government but being ready to risk and send the NSG, the CRPF and the BSF may be our expectation from the home minister.

**Chengappa:** So how do you rate the Government?

**Bedi:** Well as far as putting the system in place is concerned, it would be fine but when it comes to the home minister of India then it would probably be less. As far as the central government is concerned, I would say six out of 10.

**Chengappa:** Ajai, I am going to come to you on this because you have always been falling up with what Kiran has said. You have always talked of having this third rate police force trying to deal with the first rate problem. I am not quoting you correctly but still two things, one your organisation does monitor a lot of the terror strikes that are happening and you probably would be able to tell us the pattern and this lull that is there? Is this a real thing, is it because we made a dent or is it just because other things are happening? Two, looking at mega city policing, you know while Kiran talked at a larger of this thing, on cities because Mumbai was under threat, Delhi is ,with commonwealth games are coming up, is going to be also a prime target. Have we made a difference in that?

**Ajai Sahni, executive director, Centre for Conflict Studies:** Well, in general, I would tend to borrow the phrase Mr Parthasarthy used that there is a tremendous change in ambiance but ambiance is essentially something on the surface. Basically, Mrs Bedi said our expectations are perhaps too high. I would like to suggest that our standards have fallen so low that we are delighted with anybody doing anything. India is

the only country in the world which idolises people for doing their jobs. What has been done in terms of real capacity transformation? Yes, there has been some additional efficiency in utilisation of existing capacities. In certain very narrow sectors, intelligence is doing one of the critical one, Central agencies have also been geared up to start trying to coordinate with state agencies, I repeat, start trying to coordinate with state agencies. It's not happening as yet; the setup is still not there.

Your question is: are we better prepared? My answer is Chidambaram's answer. We are as vulnerable as we were on 26/11. He said it, I think, not more than a week ago. So I think we are getting lost in muss. It would be wonderful of course if Chidambaram became the home minister of India and not just the Home Minister of the Centre, he can't. It's not his job. If I borrow a phrase from Mr Gill-he said it recently-Chidambaram can not be the Field Marshal of India. He can't be running a police station at down at the ground. Yes, he can coordinate better, he can create a better ambiance-again to borrow from there-but he can't be running the security apparatus of this whole country. He cannot as that is not his job and it's somebody's grave error. I was no admirer of Patil but it was completely nonsensical to say that Patil must go because there has been a terrorist attack in Mumbai. Protecting Mumbai is the job of the Mumbai police in coordination with the other agencies, with the Central agencies. Is the Mumbai police better off today? They have a Force One which shares its ground with the NSG which shares its ground with a pig sty.

The NSG and the Force One have been allocated lands which have both compromised in other words they are not in free possession. One is encroached upon by a builder and the other is encroached upon by a legal jhuggi jhopri colony. Are we really serious? What we have done by in large national investigative agencies and all this nonsense, is really stuff I can throw in the face of critics and say I am doing something? A bulk of this is demonstrative. I will meet all the DGs in the country but are the DGs running a police force that can be effective? The answer is no. Orissa has an IPS cadre and this brings me to the Home Minister and the Centre, this is not an Orissa problem. An IPS cadre with his sanctioned strength of 207, it has 84 officers in place. They asked for eight officers this year, they were given four. More than four will retire this year. Who is addressing that? You talked about capacity-deficits. There are 30-40 per cent capacity-deficits in leadership at different levels in the state police forces. You can coordinate all you like; we are delighted oh! They passed a new law! Who cares? Who can implement any law in this country? You can have the harshest law in this world. You can still do nothing with 1.2 judges per one lakh population.

Police Reform! Our whole orientation! I mean the most ludicrous ideas including the Supreme Court and including the most senior police officers in this country. Let's have establishment boards, let's have accountability boards? For what? A police force can't do its job and can't do its job because it doesn't have the capacity to do its job and IB, which has been improved upon tremendously wonderful in terms of coordination, but what about in terms of capacities? How much of transformation, I think, Mr Doval would be better able to answer the question that what has been the real quantum of capacity-addition over here apart from coordination? But you can coordinate all you like, but if you got four chips on the table and you aren't adding a five, there is a just so much you can improve your performance by. There is moreover a certain critical mass below which no augmentation is going to diminish our vulnerabilities. That's our question: are we more secure? Air Marshal Kak very importantly says, five to 10 years from now, I will be able to deploy an outstanding air defence. That kind of time-frame perhaps we will be in position to say we are more secure at this juncture. See the recruitment in the police forces, see the training of police forces. Thirteen weeks of training and they are throwing boys into SOG from raw recruits.

We were on 26/11. Chidambaram gave the answer despite the fact, I keep on emphasising the distinction between the individual and the institution which I think was also something Mr Marwah pointed out, he is doing a good job but it is not his job to protect India. It can't be his exclusive job. The rest of the system is still in dysfunction and it is the capacity deficits, the accumulative capacity deficits are so great and the rate of redressal of these deficits is so slow, there it will be overtaken by the challenges when they come. You can celebrate 11 months without an incident but believe me that has virtually nothing to do with any response we have put in place. As I said before, the critical mass is simply not there to have altered the quantum of

threat we are confronted with. We are just as vulnerable today as we were before. It is a different matter that a number of groups have been picked up but go through the record, we were picking up more Islamist terrorist cells three-four years ago than we are today and that was because of an individual officer in a particular place, end of matter. He goes. You can see the record, it has completely changed. The capacities are where they was an individual officer and an individual home minister will make little difference in the ambiance and make us very happy with how things are going but when the bombs go off again, we will be precisely where we were and our responses will be roughly precisely as good or bad as they were last time around.

The rating, as I said twice last time, I will say thrice this time, I will give one point for what Chidambaram has done. And one last thing, Mrs Bedi also made this point, this is a state problem. It's not something that in our system can be handled. Counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency are always as we have said this again and again. There are small commander wars, you need the most decentralised capacity. No one can run the operation sitting in Delhi. Home minister, secretary homeland security, forget all this nonsense about homeland security. First of all we can't put in the kind of resources America has put in. Second, where the hell was homeland security when Katrina came, that was also a disaster relief organisation, so where were they? That's not India. They have got an ocean between them in there with their closest enemies. They have got to strip-search every Muslim who comes in or every brown man who comes in and they are secure. Don't look at America for your models. They are all wrong.

**Chengappa:** General Datta, taking off from this point, you have from national disaster, you have been looking some of these issues. You also last time talked about NSG. Mr Chidambaram has done a few things. Your overall quick assessment.

**V.K. Datta, former DDG MO (Special Operations):** Let's not be taken into a lull by nothing happening since 26/11 till now. If nothing has happened, we are lucky and the luck is due to circumstances which Pakistan is facing right now. But the demon has not gone away, only the attentions are diverted. While this was happening, infiltration in J&K was not soft, certain activity is still going on where they are keeping the thing on the boil. What we must examine is that after 26/11, the types of evidence we had, it was first time maybe that we were able to actually prove to the international community, by the virtue of the other national getting hit in Mumbai, that Pakistan is a rogue nation and the combined cumulative pressure of that particular episode of the evidence which were able to produce throwing a dossier on an off to Pakistan has put them on a guard to some extent. It is not LeT or a Hizbul Mujahideen which were attacking. We keep on saying that it is LeT and why that guy is not being hanged. Absolutely not, if the Pakistan Army and the ISI has put somebody in place, they are not going to hang him, irrespective of the fact whichever Government is there. Now the situation is that, by the virtue of the Taliban, activity by the Americans in Afghanistan and the NATO forces, ISAF, they were not being able to control the Taliban on the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan and they needed the Pakistan Army to intervene.

The Pakistan Army was very reluctant and they always try to create a bogie that there is an Indian threat on the eastern border. The Americans has to assure them that India will do nothing wrong to you if you move your forces to the western border and that is an understanding which I personally feel the Americans gave to Pakistan that you please move your forces, your reserves to Waziristan and Swat Valley to combat the Taliban. So that is where at the moment the Pakistan army is concentrating by the force of the Americans to concentrate there but the moment they are over with that depending on what happens finally in Waziristan and Swat Valley. Whether the Americans and Pakistani combine with the NATO or are able to beat the Taliban and bring peace to Afghanistan is a question mark; time will tell. The longer you drag the more questions mark will come in to the entire operations of the NATO and the American forces in Afghanistan. You cannot keep on prolonging an operation without a resolve or an answer. Now, as far as we and Pakistan are concerned, it's a different ball game. It said it is just an interlude; it is going to come back to square one. We are going to face terrorism as long as the Kashmir problem remains whether it is resolved mutually or it is resolved by international pressure. Till the time it is resolved, you are going to continue facing Pakistan-

sponsored terrorist acts in India. There may be lull now.

Now are we better prepared? What did we do after 26/11? After Mr. Chidambaram took over and even before that? NIA is an investigative agency; we have created more halves of the NSGs in different locations. I wouldn't like to work out the time frame that is something happens in Hyderabad outskirts, how much time will the hub of Hyderabad take to intervene in the outskirts of Hyderabad. If you been to Hyderabad, there are traffic problems, it takes about hour and a half minimum to move. You need clearances from the MHA and DG NSG to give permission for the force to go and carry out operations. You will come back to square one of the timings whether flying from Delhi or whether moving from Hyderabad any way. I want to discuss on that because it's a decision taken. So the hubs are created, I think you all were aware, where were they all put and beside the hubs, the armies, special forces wherever they are located have also been given a role in a counter-terrorist mode, a too response to a situation but now ultimately, can a 26/11 happen again? Yes, any time.

Our responses may be better, when we talk about our crisis and a disaster. We always propagate please prevent try to prevent that happening. What does prevention involve, your intelligence, pre-emptive sites if we are capable of doing that. You prevent that thing to happen, if that module is coming, strike him before he strikes you. That is prevention, prepare for it. Let your police force, your special forces, your intelligence apparatus, the people in the country become aware and prepare for a situation which may arise. That's what preparation is. Prevent, prepare, mitigate and response so we might say that we have improved our response at the movement.

Our preventive capability, I don't think, we improved any thing. Better intelligence depending on the person in the chair plus-minus. Therefore, our response has improved to some extent if a strike takes place, when it happens instead of two hours, we have to make it in half-an-hour, but are we able to prevent it, are we prepared for it fully, is everybody down the state police forces, ready to handle it on its own? There is no equipment of them, finances are short, motivation depends on individual personality. So it is not an overall structure of our national mission, national goal will vary from state to state and that's where I will agree with Mrs Bedi and as far as Pakistan is concerned, it will remain. It is only diverted at the moment. If nothing has happened, we have just been lucky and from what Mr. Chidambaram has said what has been brought out, he is himself saying.

You can be struck at any moment, you leave aside that, we may have been talking about Naxalism you are nowhere in the better position than you were in 26/11 and thereafter. You maybe getting into a worst scenario as it grows up. So that is all I would like to say. As for rating the government, last time I said 3 or 4 something and I will upgrade it to 5 only from a response point of view. Overall we are still lacking in a lot many things. But the question that we need to ask: has the commander on the ground who is in that metro city been given the mended to his force immediately the moment the state police asked or is he still going to asked for at the clearance from the Centre, from the Ministry of Home, from the Director General of the NSG, then the force commander and down the chain? If you don't have this response mechanism properly organised, you will still be finding the time lack which has just been mentioned. It should be an immediate response by the NSG team which is located at the metro and that mended should be given to that officer.

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