

26/11 THE FOUR SPEECHES

PM'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION

Source - http://pmindia.Nic.In/speeches.Htm

November 27, 2008

Dear Citizens,

The dastardly terror attacks that took place in Mumbai last night and today leading to the loss of many precious lives and injuries to many others have deeply shocked the nation. I strongly condemn these acts of senseless violence against innocent people, including guests from foreign countries. I offer my deepest condolences to the bereaved families and sympathies to those injured. The Government will take all necessary measures to look after the wellbeing of the affected families, including medical treatment of injured.

The well-planned and well-orchestrated attacks, probably with external linkages, were intended to create a sense of panic, by choosing high profile targets and indiscriminately killing foreigners.

I salute the courage and patriotism of the police officers, including the Chief of the Anti-Terror Squad, Shri Hemant Karkare and men who have laid down their lives in fighting these terrorists. I assure the country that we will attend in an urgent and serious manner to police reform so that the law and order authorities can work unitedly, effectively and in a determined manner to tackle such threats to national integrity.

We are not prepared to countenance a situation in which the safety and security of our citizens can be violated with impunity by terrorists. It is evident that the group which carried out these attacks, based outside the country, had come with single-minded determination to create havoc in the commercial capital of the country.

We will take the strongest possible measures to ensure that there is no repetition of such terrorist acts. We are determined to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure the safety and security of our citizens.

Instruments like the National Security Act will be employed to deal with situations of this kind. Existing laws will be tightened to ensure that there are no loopholes available to terrorists to escape the clutches of the law. Most importantly, it is essential to immediately set up a Federal Investigation Agency to go into terrorist crimes of this kind and ensure that the guilty are brought to book.

We will take up strongly with our neighbours that the use of their territory for launching attacks on us will not be tolerated, and that there would be a cost if suitable measures are not taken by them. We will take a number of measures to strengthen the hands of our police and intelligence authorities. We will curb the flow of funds to suspect organizations. We will restrict the entry of suspects into the country. We will go after these individuals and organizations and make sure that every perpetrator, organizer and supporter of terror, whatever his affiliation or religion may be, pays a heavy price for these cowardly and horrific acts against our people.

In this hour of tragedy, I appeal to the people to maintain peace and harmony so that the enemies of our country do not succeed in their nefarious designs. All concerned authorities are on alert and will deal sternly with any attempts to disturb public order.

I am confident that the people of India will rise unitedly to face this grave challenge to the nation's security and integrity.

JAI HIND!

PM'S OPENING REMARKS AT THE ALL PARTY MEETING

http://pmindia.nic.in/speech/content.asp?id=761

November 30, 2008 New Delhi

"Esteemed Chairperson UPA, respected colleagues and friends.

I thank you all for being here at such short notice.

The ordeal at Mumbai, which occupied the attention of the entire nation, has finally come to an end. All of us share the grief of those who have lost their loved ones in this dastardly and brutal attack and also the pain and anguish of those grievously wounded. We cannot lessen their grief. But we will do all we can to alleviate their suffering. I give you my solemn assurance that we will look after the needs of those who survive this horrible tragedy.

We salute the bravery of our security forces who fought the terrorists in exceptionally difficult circumstances. They tried their utmost to save innocent lives at great personal risk. Twenty officers and men made the ultimate sacrifice by laying down their lives. The entire nation owes a debt of gratitude to these men that we can never repay.

We have had terrorist attacks before also. But this attack was different. It was an attack by highly trained and well-armed terrorists targeting our largest city. They came with the explicit aim of killing large numbers of innocent civilians, including foreign visitors. They sought to destroy some of the best known symbols of our commercial capital.

We share the hurt of the people and their sense of anger and outrage. Several measures are already in place to deal with the situation. But clearly much more needs to be done and we are determined to take all necessary measures to overhaul the system.

We are further strengthening maritime and air security for which measures have been initiated. This will involve the Navy, the Coast Guard and the coastal police, as well as the Air Force and the Civil Aviation Ministry.

The anti-terrorist forces of the country will be further strengthened and streamlined. The National Security Guard, which is the principal anti-terrorist force of the country, will be given additional facilities and the size of the force is being augmented. Steps have also been initiated to establish another 4 NSG hubs in different parts of the country. Additionally, the special forces at the disposal of the Centre would be appropriately utilized in counter insurgency operations.

We have finalized a set of legal measures based on the recommendations of the Administrative Reforms Commission which includes the setting up of a Federal Investigating Agency.

In the face of this national threat and in the aftermath of this national tragedy, all of us from different political parties must rise above narrow political considerations and stand united. We should work together in the interest of the country at this critical juncture.

We should build a consensus on what needs to be done to strengthen the ability of our system to meet these threats. The terrorists and enemies of our nation must know that their actions unite rather than divide us.

I do hope that at the end of our discussions today we will be able to give our collective assurance to the nation that, across the political spectrum, we stand together at this hour. I look forward to hearing the views of each one of you."

The Prime Minister then requested his cabinet colleague Shri P. Chidambaram to open the discussions."



EXCERPTS OF PM'S INTERVENTION IN LOK SABHA DURING DISCUSSION ON THE RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS IN MUMBAI

http://pmindia.nic.in/parl/pcontent.asp?id=38

December 11, 2008 New Delhi

As I rise, I am acutely conscious of the fact that acts of terror are on the increase and we have lost lives of many citizens in these dastardly acts. I am conscious that our systems and procedures need review. On behalf of the Government, I would like to apologise to our people for the fact that these dastardly acts could not be prevented.

As far as Mumbai is concerned, it was a very calculated and sinister attack, intended to cause widespread terror and damage to the image of India. The forces behind these attacks wanted to destabilize our secular polity, create communal discord and undermine our country's economic and social progress.

Each one of us has condemned this horrible incident and also extended our deepest condolences to the bereaved families and sympathies to those who have suffered injuries. We have all saluted the courage and patriotism of the Police and security forces, including the special forces, like the NSG and the Naval Commandos. This nation is proud of them. I also note with great sorrow the number of foreign nationals who have been victims of this onslaught. I have personally spoken and written to leaders of countries apologizing for the loss of their nationals.

Nothing that we can say or do will compensate for the lives that have been lost. But it is important to ensure that the memory of their sacrifice does not get dimmed with the passage of time. Parliament must resolutely reinforce our nation's determination to defeat terrorism and destroy it root and branch. The scourge of terrorism has to be, and will be, fought with determination. All means and measures needed for this purpose will be utilized.

Our immediate priority is to restore a sense of security to the people of India. We will not countenance a situation in which the safety and security of our citizens are violated with impunity by terrorists or other militant forces.

I believe that we have to work at three levels. Firstly, we have to galvanize the international community into dealing sternly and effectively with the epicentre of terrorism, which is located in Pakistan. The infrastructure of terrorism has to be dismantled permanently. This is for the good of the entire world community, including the well being of the people of Pakistan themselves.

Several Heads of State and Government have spoken to me in the wake of the terrorist attacks in Mumbai. Each one of them praised India for demonstrating restraint. They agreed that strong action should be taken against those responsible for these acts. I conveyed to them that we could not be satisfied with mere assurances. The political will of the international community must be translated into concrete and sustained action on the ground. It is time for the international community to squarely confront the challenge of terrorism.

Parliament
must resolutely
reinforce our
nation's
determination
to defeat
terrorism and
destroy it root
and branch.

The use of terrorism as an instrument of state policy is no longer acceptable. There should be no double standards in the global fight against terrorism. There are no good or bad terrorists. There is no cause that justifies the massacre and killing of innocent people.

We need effective steps not only to bring those responsible for the Mumbai attacks to justice, but also to ensure that such acts of terrorism do not recur.

I am happy that the United Nations has taken the step today to put sanctions on four individuals of the LeT, including Hafiz Muhammad Saeed, and on the front organizations under which the LeT was operating such as the Jamaat-ud-Daawa. This is the kind of purposeful action that we believe should be pursued in a sustained manner by the world community to ensure that the entire infrastructure of terror is dismantled.

Secondly, we have taken up strongly with the Government of Pakistan the use of their territory for launching an attack of this kind and the need for the strongest possible action against the perpetrators of such ghastly acts. The world community must be convinced that action by Pakistan against the brutal perpetrators of these crimes against humanity will be effective and will be sustained over time.

We have so far acted with utmost restraint. But let not our commitment to civilized norms be misconstrued as a sign of weakness. Every perpetrator, organizer and supporter of terror, whatever his affiliation or religion or location, must pay the price for such cowardly and horrific acts against our people. We have noted the reported steps that have been taken by

Pakistan. But clearly much more needs to be done and the actions should be pursued to their logical conclusion.

Thirdly, we need to recognize as a nation that we cannot depend on either of these two approaches for obtaining the outcomes that we desire. The Mumbai incident has highlighted gaps in our preparedness to deal with these kinds of assaults. We need to equip ourselves more effectively to deal with this unprecedented threat and challenge to our country's integrity and unity.

The Home Minister has already outlined a number of steps that are being taken. The Administrative Reforms Commission report has taken a comprehensive look at the problem of terrorism and the course of action that the Commission has indicated is under the active examination of the Government. The need for stronger measures to protect our coastline has been highlighted before, but the progress on ground in this regard has obviously been tardy and too slow. We are strengthening maritime security against asymmetric threats from the sea. Since there are currently multiple agencies tasked with coastal security, it has been decided that the sole responsibility of quarding the coastline would be entrusted to the Coast Guard. The Indian Navy would provide the necessary back-up support to the Coast Guard for this purpose. This would come into effect immediately. Special security and protective arrangements are being put in place for all major ports. Similar steps have been initiated for guarding sensitive installations in the vicinity of our shore line.

Arrangements for securing our air space taking into account conventional as well as non-conventional threats have been

streamlined. Real time monitoring of aircraft movement jointly by the Air Force and the civil authorities has begun. Air defence measures to prevent intrusion of rogue / unidentified aircraft are in place.

The attacks highlighted the need to be able to act in response to such incidents with much greater speed. We have worked out a mechanism for a comprehensive crisis management response. It has already been decided that the National Security Guard should be decentralized and dispersed and should be located in major metropolitan areas. At the same time, arrangements must be put in place such that rapid response units can reach other locations without loss of time. Till such time as the strength of the NSG is increased, and new units are trained, the Special Forces available with the Army, the Air Force and the Navy and other civilian agencies will be used. Commando units would be created by each State.

We have already decided to strengthen the legal framework to deal with terror and also to set up a national investigation agency. As promised by the Home Minister these Bills would be brought to the House at the earliest.

As has been indicated, mechanisms have already been put in place to provide more timely intelligence to pre-empt future terrorist attacks. Daily meetings at the level of the Home Minister are being taken. The Multi Agency Centre of the Intelligence Bureau will be concentrating exclusively on collecting, collating and disseminating information relating to terrorist threats. Integration and coordination among the various intelligence agencies is being improved. The States

have been requested to energize intelligence collection at the district level to produce more actionable intelligence.

While we will be taking a number of short-term and long-term measures, there is a general consensus that the long-term strengthening of our security will only take place by strengthening the police establishment, particularly at the local level. We are committed to police modernization and will spare no effort and no resource to undertake this task within a definite timeframe. We must provide our security forces with the modern and sophisticated equipment they require to tackle the increasing sophistication of terrorist crimes. The morale of our security forces is of utmost concern and importance and if there are any deficiencies these will be made good. The country needs a modern and efficient police force to deal with the twin challenges of security and development in this day and in this age.

The terrorist attacks in India have tried to sow communal divide in the country and weaken our polity and our social fabric. We have emerged stronger with every challenge, and will do so again. I have no doubt that the Mumbai attacks will also fail in their nefarious designs. All political parties have an obligation to unite against communal hatred and discord. We cannot fight and win this war against terrorism if we are a divided house.

In conclusion, I wish to say that it is in times of adversity that the true mettle of a nation is tested. We must remain calm and be resolute. We should stand firm as one nation and one people to meet this challenge posed by terrorism. We will We must
provide our
security forces
with the modern
and sophisticated
equipment
they require
to tackle the
increasing
sophistication
of terrorist
crimes.

give a fitting rebuff to our enemies. The idea of India as a functioning democracy and a pluralistic society is at stake. This is a time for national unity and I seek your cooperation. Truth and righteousness are on our side and together we shall prevail.

HM ANNOUNCES MEASURES TO ENHANCE SECURITY

http://pib.nic.in/release/release.asp?relid=45446&kwd

14:51 IST LOK SABHA

The Home Minister Shri P. Chidambaram has announced a number of measures to enhance security and check terrorism and insurgency in the country. Following is the text of his suo moto statement made in the Lok Sabha today on the recent terrorist attacks in Mumbai:

"I wish to make a statement on the terrorist attacks that took place in Mumbai between November 26, 2008 and November 29, 2008. With deep regret, I have to report to this House that 164 persons (civilians and security personnel) lost their lives and 308 persons were injured. Among the civilians killed were 26 foreigners belonging to many nationalities. Besides, nine terrorists were killed in the operations by the security forces. One terrorist was overpowered and captured.

2. At the outset, I wish to pay homage to the innocent civilians who were killed and the brave security personnel who laid down their lives in order to save the lives of many others. I offer my heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families. The Government of India and the Government of Maharashtra have announced a set of measures as compensation for the terrible loss suffered by the families. Monetary compensation and free treatment have been offered to the injured. While words of sympathy and money can never adequately recompense the loss, I sincerely hope that our gesture will bring some comfort to the affected families.

3. The broad facts of the horrific tragedy are, by now, known to the Honourable Members and the people of India. According to information gathered during the course of the investigations, it appears that 10 Pakistani nationals belonging to the Lashkar-e-Toiba, a proscribed terrorist outfit, had left Karachi on November 23, 2008; boarded a launch by the name of Al Hussaini; accosted and hijacked an Indian fishing vessel, M. V. Kuber, off the coast of Gujarat; killed its occupants; and a few miles short of the coast of Mumbai abandoned the fishing vessel, got into an inflatable rubber dinghy, and landed near Budhwar Park, Colaba, Mumbai between 8.00 p.m. and 8.30 p.m. on November 26, 2008. The terrorists split into four groups and the main targets of the four groups were (i) Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST); (ii) the Leopold Café and Taj Hotel; (iii) the Oberoi - Trident Hotel and; (iv) the Nariman House. These attacks involved indiscriminate firing, throwing of grenades and bomb blasts at 13 locations. Considering the extensive publicity that the whole episode has already received in the media and through official statements, it may not be necessary for me to go into the details of what happened at each of these locations.

4. I shall now give you a brief account of the response of the authorities to the terrorist attack. At the CST, security personnel belonging to the Mumbai police and the RPF confronted two heavily armed terrorists. After causing mayhem at CST, the two terrorists escaped via a lane opposite the station. Meanwhile, as soon as news of the firing at the CST and near Cama Hospital was received, police officers rushed to the sites. There was an unexpected – and fortuitous – confrontation between the

two terrorists and the police personnel in which three officers were killed. Subsequently, the two terrorists were challenged by a police party and, in an exchange of fire, one terrorist was killed and one was captured alive. The name of the apprehended terrorist is Mohammed Ajmal Amir. Interrogation and investigation have revealed that he belongs to Village Faridkot, in District Ukada, in the province of Punjab in Pakistan.

5. As information about the terrorist attacks poured in from the Nariman House, Taj Hotel and the Oberoi-Trident Hotel, police parties were rushed to the places.

6. Shortly before 11 p.m. on November 26, 2008, information was received by the Central Government that there were incidents of firing in several places in Mumbai. Immediately, the Central Government authorities got in touch with the authorities of the Government of Maharashtra. At the request of the Government of Maharashtra, the local Army and Navy authorities were asked to provide assistance. Accordingly, the Army deployed 5 columns to cordon off the affected areas and the Navy deployed their commandos to deal with the terrorists. Meanwhile, at about 11.30 p.m., the Government of Maharashtra asked for the National Security Guards. The Central Government immediately alerted the NSG and mobilized their counter terrorist units, based at Manesar in Haryana. A group of around 200 men (which was reinforced the next day) was airlifted to Mumbai late that night. They were deployed at the various sites of the operation in the early hours of November 27, 2008.

7. The operations were conducted under very difficult circumstances: the terrorists were heavily armed, there was a hostage situation, and the terrorists had the advantage of shield and height afforded by the tall buildings that they had entered. Nevertheless, through their patience, skill and bravery, the security forces were able to neutralise the terrorists and rescued hundreds of persons who had been trapped in the buildings. The operations came to an end at about 8.20 a.m. on November 29, 2008.

The authorities of the Maharashtra Police and the Central agencies have extended their full support to the Mumbai Police in the conduct of the investigations.

- 8. Cases have been registered and the investigations have been entrusted to the Crime Branch of the Mumbai Police. The authorities of the Maharashtra Police and the Central agencies have extended their full support to the Mumbai Police in the conduct of the investigations. Honourable Members will appreciate that it would not be appropriate to disclose any details of the investigations except to draw attention to the official briefings given by the Mumbai Police. Nor would I be able to comment on the many reports that have appeared in the media from time to time. I would respectfully urge patience until the investigations are completed and the reports are filed before the court of law.
- 9. I am, however, able to say that the finger of suspicion unmistakably points to the territory of our neighbour, Pakistan. The interrogation of the captured terrorist has yielded valuable material evidence. The origins of the ten terrorists who entered India have been established conclusively. There is also abundant evidence gathered from the inflatable rubber dinghy, the fishing vessel and the bodies of the terrorists that has enabled the investigators to reconstruct the sequence of events from the origin to the targets.

- 10. I know that Honourable Members as well as the people of the country would wish to ask a number of questions concerning the nature and extent of the terrorist threat to India, the intelligence gathering machinery, the preparedness of our security forces, the effectiveness of the operations, and on the path forward. There are genuine concerns on each of these matters. I share these concerns. In the last ten days, even while familiarising myself with the security situation and the working of the Ministry of Home Affairs, the intelligence agencies, the Central Paramilitary Forces and the State Police forces. I have initiated a number of steps that will, I believe, enhance security and restore the confidence of the people.
- 11. Honourable Members, in my assessment, South Asia is in the eye of the storm of terror. Several terrorist organisations operating from territories beyond India's borders have been identified as the source of the terrorist attacks in India that have occurred over the last several years. India told the United Nations Security Council yesterday that "India will act to safeguard and protect its people from such heinous attacks; however long and difficult that task may be. We have acted with restraint in the face of terrorist attacks. We must do our duty by our people and take all actions as we deem fit to defend and protect them". That is our policy. My colleague, Shri Pranab Mukherjee, Minister for External Affairs will intervene in the discussion and deal with the external and diplomatic aspects of the situation arising out of the terrorist attacks in Mumbai.
- 12. We have a number of intelligence gathering agencies. Intelligence is shared, evaluated and acted upon. However, I have found that there is a tendency to treat some

intelligence inputs that are not specific or precise as not actionable intelligence. Further, the responsibility for acting upon intelligence inputs is quite diffused. In the case of the Mumbai attacks, intelligence regarding a suspected LeT vessel attempting to infiltrate through the sea route was shared with the Director General, Coast Guard and the Principal Director, Naval Intelligence. The Coast Guard made a serious effort, including deploying vessels and aircraft, to locate the suspect vessel, but was not successful. The Navy found that the coordinates of the vessel, as reported, placed it well within the territorial waters of Pakistan. Nevertheless, the Navy had committed several surface units and aircraft in the zone during the period November 19-20, 2008. In the absence of further inputs or information from the agencies concerned, the Navy concluded that no further action could be taken on the basis of the available information.

13. I wish to inform Honourable Members that all aspects concerning intelligence are under my examination. While the basic structure seems sound, there is a need to make intelligence gathering and intelligence sharing more effective and result oriented. Some changes have already been made and more are underway.

14. The NSG is our best trained and best equipped force to counter a terrorist attack. On many occasions in the past – and in Mumbai too – they have displayed exceptional courage and skill. They are hampered by the distance between their headquarters and the airport; the absence of a dedicated aircraft; and the poor logistics in the theatre of operations. Nevertheless, once deployed, the NSG is a very effective counter terrorist force. I have initiated a number of steps to remove the logistical weaknesses in mobilising and deploying

the NSG. A decision has been taken to locate NSG units in a few regional hubs. A decision has also been taken to draw upon the commando units of the Armed Forces to create more regional hubs until a decision is taken to locate NSG units in those hubs too. These decisions will be implemented as expeditiously as possible.

15. The Mumbai terrorist attacks have brought into sharp focus the vulnerability of our coastline that extends to 7,500 kms and the imperative need to enhance maritime and coastal security. A coastal security scheme was approved in January 2005 for implementation over a period of five years with an outlay of Rs.400 crore for capital expenditure and Rs.151 crore for recurring expenditure during the first five years. We have reviewed the scheme and we have concluded that there is a need to strengthen it and integrate it into a larger security system. A decision has been taken in-principle to create a Coastal Command for overall supervision and coordination of maritime and coastal security. The mandate of the Coastal Command will be to secure India's coast line.

16. I may also report to this House a number of other decisions that have been taken in order to enhance security:

- (i) Intelligence gathering requires human resources and technical resources. We have identified the gaps. Steps are being taken to fill the vacancies in the intelligence organisations expeditiously and to provide them with advanced technical equipment.
- (ii) India Reserve Battalions are being raised in a number of States with financial assistance from the Central Government. Government have already authorised that two companies

of each battalion may be raised as special commando units for which additional assistance will be provided for training, equipment etc.

- (iii) It has been decided to set up 20 counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism schools in different parts of the country for training the commando units of the State police forces.
- 17. A separate exercise is underway to strengthen the laws relating to terrorist acts. We are in the process of consulting different political parties and I hope to introduce in this session, with the leave of this House, a set of Bills to strengthen the legal provisions relating to the prevention, investigation, prosecution and punishment of terrorist acts. One of the Bills is for setting up a National Investigation Agency. I would urge this House to consider and pass these Bills in this session. I would also urge this House to pass the Amendment Bill to the Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002.
- 18. The Prime Minister, in his address to the Nation on November 27, 2008 declared the resolve of the Government to take the strongest possible measures to ensure the security of the Nation and the people. I promise, on behalf of the Government, that we will strain every nerve to carry this resolve into determined action. There is one thing that I wish to make clear: given the nature of the threat, we cannot go back to "business as usual". In the next few weeks and months, it will be my endeavour to take certain hard decisions and prepare the country and the people to face the challenge of terrorism.
- 19. I appeal to all sections of this Honourable House and to the people of India to stand united and brave in the face of the

challenge of terrorism. I ask you to remember the extraordinary courage of Assistant Sub-Inspector Tukaram Ombale who grabbed the barrel of the gun and took all the bullets in his chest to enable his fellow policemen to overpower Mohammed Ajmal Amir. I ask you to remember the supreme sacrifice made by Major Sandeep Unnikrishnan who ordered his men to stay back while he confronted the terrorists. Ordinary men and women like us cannot match their bravery, but we can stay united in our resolve and in our actions. Nothing should divide us – not religion, not language, not caste. In our fight against terror, there will be need for self-restraint, discipline and even some sacrifice. I seek your support; and I have no doubt that, with your support and the support of the people, we shall overcome and vanquish the forces of terror."

RS/KKA