

## INDIA PAKISTAN RELATIONS-POST MUMBAI ATTACKS

### Chronology of Indian Statements (November 2008-January 2009)

#### **Background:**

*On November 26, 2008 India's commercial city Mumbai witnessed terrorists attacks at five locations: CST Railway station; the Leopold Café; Taj Hotel; Oberoi Trident Hotel; and Nariman House (also known as Chabad House, generally used by Jew visitors). In the attacks some 165 persons (civilian and security personnel) including 26 foreigners were killed and 304 persons were injured.*

*According to the Indian Dossier, submitted to Pakistan on January 5, 2009, providing information based on Indian intelligence investigations, the attacks were conducted by ten terrorists who were Pakistani nationals. They travelled from Karachi on November 22, 2008 and reached Mumbai on November 26, 2008. According to the Indian information the terrorists were trained at Lashkar-e-Taiba training camps in Pakistani cities of Muridke, Mansehra and Muzaffarabad (capital of Azad Jammu and Kashmir). Out of the ten terrorists, nine were killed during the Indian operation and one, Mohammad Amir Kasab, has been captured by Indian security forces.*

*Indian government claims that the attacks were planned and controlled by senior Lashkar-e-Taiba activists and supported by some ISI officials. Indian government demands that Pakistan should arrest the activists linked with Mumbai attacks and hand them to India for trial, or conduct "fair trial" in Pakistan. The Indian government has also launched a diplomatic offensive aimed at isolating Pakistan. In the aftermath of the Mumbai attacks there is a deadlock in the peace process between India and Pakistan.*

*Following is the chronology of Indian official statements between November 27, 2008 and January 2009 accusing Pakistan of involvement and demanding "tangible" action against terrorists in Pakistan.*

#### **November 2008:**

- On November 27, Prime Minister of India, Manmohan Singh, during his address to the nation condemned the Mumbai attacks and said, "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 ... 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". (*Text of Indian Prime Minister's Address to the Nation, Ministry of External Affairs of India*)
- On November 28, Indian External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, during a telephonic conversation with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Shah Mahmood

Oureshi, said: "while the Government of Pakistan has said that it wants a leap forward in our bilateral relations, outrages like the attack on our Embassy in Kabul and now the attack on Mumbai are intended to make this impossible. The groups responsible and their supporters are, therefore, also acting against the direct interests of the Government of Pakistan. We expect Pakistan to honour its solemn commitments not to permit the use of its territory for terrorism against India". (*Statement issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of India*)

### **December 2008:**

- On December 1, Pakistan High Commissioner Shahid Malik was handed a strongly worded demarche which said: "the recent terrorist attack on Mumbai was carried out by elements from Pakistan. Government expects that strong action would be taken against those elements, whosoever they may be, responsible for this outrage". (*Text issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of India*)
- On December 2, in an interview to NDTV Indian External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, commenting on the future of the peace process said: "Naturally it has vitiated the peace process ... What we expect is not only a reply. Much more important than reply or response is action. We have suggested to them to take action against the terrorist organizations located in Pakistan, against the persons to whom the needle of suspicion points. If they take appropriate action, definitely the process would be invigorated". (*Text issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of India*)
- On December 3, during the joint press conference with the visiting US Secretary of State, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, Indian External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, said: "I informed Dr. Rice that there is no doubt that the terrorist attacks in Mumbai were perpetrated by individuals who came from Pakistan and whose controllers are in Pakistan ... Government of India is determined to act decisively to protect India's territorial integrity and the right of our citizens to a peaceful life with all the means at our disposal. We look forward to the international community's cooperation in our longstanding struggle against terrorism". (*Text issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of India*)
- On December 10, addressing the Indian Parliament the Home Minister, P. Chidambaram said: "Investigations are still going on, and going by the results of it, all fingers point towards our neighbour ... We will strain every nerve to defend our borders. Given the nature of the threats, we cannot go back to business as usual. Hard decisions will be taken to protect our country and its people". (*Times of India, December 11, 2008*)
- On December 13, in an interview to Karan Thapar for CNN-IBN's Devil's Advocate programme, commenting on the sealing of Jamat-ud-Dawah offices and various arrests made in Pakistan the External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee said: "Let us wait and see whether these actions are taken to their logical conclusion. You know what happened after the attack on Parliament in 2001. Almost similar type of action was taken at the initial stage when the international pressure was mounting

on. But after that it was let off. Therefore, we shall have to see whether these are taken to their logical conclusion". (*The Hindu, December 14, 2008*)

- On December 13, in an address to the nation Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said: "We are determined to take whatever measures are necessary to ensure the safety and security of our citizens ... We will go after these individuals and organisations and make sure that every perpetrator, organiser and supporter of terror, whatever his affiliations or religion may be, pays a heavy price for these cowardly and horrific acts against our people". (*The Hindu, December 14, 2008*)
- On December 14, addressing a public meeting in Occupied Kashmir commenting on relations with Pakistan the Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh said: "Pakistan should control situation in its country as it is evident that some people in Pakistan are engaged in carrying out terrorist attacks like the recent Mumbai attack in our country. Our relations with Pakistan will not improve until it curbs the terrorists who are operating on its soil to carry out terrorist attacks on India ... our kind desire should not be treated as our weakness". (*The Hindu, December 15, 2008*)
- On December 22, in his inaugural address at the Missions' conference in New Delhi, External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee said: "The recent terrorist attack on Mumbai was unprecedented both in terms of its scale and audacity. This and the series terrorist incidents preceding it including the attack on our embassy in Kabul, where we lost our colleagues indicate that terrorism emanating out of Pakistan is acquiring an increasingly dangerous dimension and continues to threaten peace and stability in this region and beyond ... Unfortunately Pakistan's response so far has demonstrated their earlier tendency to resort to a policy of denial and to seek to deflect and shift the blame and responsibility ... We have so far acted with utmost restraint and are hopeful that international community will use its influence to urge Pakistani Government to take effective action. While we continue to persuade the international community and Pakistan we are also clear that ultimately it is we who have to deal with this problem. We will take all measures necessary as we deem fit to deal with the situation". (*Text issued by the Ministry of External Affairs of India*)
- On December 22, addressing the Missions' conference Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh said: "India sought peace and stability in its neighbourhood. The situation is, however, worrisome. Non-state actors were practising terrorism that is aided and abetted by state establishments. The Mumbai strikes are an attack on India's ambitions to emerge as an economic power". (*The Hindu, December 23, 2008*)
- On December 23, addressing the Indian Parliament the Home Minister, P. Chidambaram said: "Investigations are still going on, and going by the results of it, all fingers point towards our neighbour ... We will strain every nerve to defend our borders. Given the nature of the threats, we cannot go back to business as usual. Hard decisions will be taken to protect our country and its people". (*Times of India, December 24, 2008*)
- On December 23, speaking to reporters in New Delhi Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said: "Nobody wants war ... The issue is not war, but terrorism being aided

and abetted by Pakistan. We want Pakistan to make objective efforts to dismantle the terror infrastructure". (*Times of India, December 24, 2008*)

- On December 23, talking to reporters in New Delhi, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said: "The issue is that there has been an attack on Mumbai that originated from Pakistan's soil. India has requested Pakistan to take action against the perpetrators of the crime. We have again urged the Pakistani authorities to fulfil their commitment ... friends in Pakistan is to address the issue that is terrorism and not create war hysteria. They should act against those responsible for the Mumbai terror attacks". (*Times of India, December 24, 2008*)
- On December 28, speaking to reporters External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, said: "No ultimatum was set. There is no question of any ultimatum. Nobody has set any ultimatum ... Not once, but twice Pakistan made a commitment. Once by Musharraf and now by President Zardari. Where is the commitment? Where is the action against terrorists?... We have evidence and gave the names, not once but 10 times. Pakistan had earlier accepted that the perpetrators of the Mumbai attack emanated from there. But now they are contradicting it". (*The Hindu, December 29, 2008*)
- On December 29, speaking to reporters in Shimla Minister of State for External Affairs, Anand Sharma said: "As a mature democracy of the world India does not want to fix any time-frame for Pakistan but to initiate action against culprits of Mumbai terror attack". (*Times of India, December 30, 2008*)
- On December 30, commenting on Pakistan's claim that India had moved its troops closer to the border and activated the forward air bases the External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee said: "We have not created any tension. First, there should be escalation from our side, and then the question of de-escalation will come. We have not escalated anything ... There is no need for creating an atmosphere of some sort of hysteria ... "We are only asking that you fulfil these commitments you have made. Kindly dismantle the infrastructural facilities, dismantle the camps... up to now we have not seen any such thing". (*The Hindu, December 31, 2008*)
- On December 31, in her message in party mouthpiece 'Sandesh', Congress chief Sonia Gandhi said: "It is abundantly clear that the perpetrators of these barbarous acts belong to organisations based in Pakistan ... These organisations (Pakistan based) must and will be dealt with in a resolute manner". (*Times of India, January 1, 2009*)

### **January 2009:**

- On January 1, in an interview to NDTV External Affairs Minister, Pranab Mukherjee said that Pakistan is yet to demonstrate "tangible" action. He said: "An extradition treaty is not required to take action on these matters ... So far as the desired results are concerned, the taste of the pudding is in the eating. What we are asking Pakistan to do, requesting them [is] to fulfil their own commitments which they have made to our Prime Minister twice". (*Times of India, January 2, 2009*)

- On January 2, while speaking to reporters in Shillong ( Meghalaya ) Prime Minister Manmohan Singh referring to Mumbai attacks stressed, "we are determined to root out terrorism at any cost... Our government will not compromise with terrorists ... It (Pakistan) has to take action on the demand from all civilised countries that the perpetrators be brought to book. We hope these criminals will be handed over to us ... We are making all efforts to ensure that those involved in spreading terror in our country are handed over to us. We have not succeeded so far. But I hope better sense prevails on Pakistan". (*Times of India, January 3, 2009*)
- On January 2, speaking to reporters in New Delhi Defence Minister A.K. Antony said that India had not escalated tensions and there was "no unusual troop movement" on the borders. He said, "After 26/11, nobody will [have to] tell us. We must be prepared to meet all eventualities, but these [steps] are not escalation and nobody is making any provocation ... we have to meet any challenge, threats from any quarters". (*The Hindu, January 3, 2009*)
- On January 2, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said, "When Lashkar-e-Taiba was banned, it came up as Jamat-ud-Dawa (JuD). Now it has been banned. It (JuD) might have taken another name.... This is the pattern we have noticed in Pakistan, he said adding that it was "the responsibility of Pakistani government to stop the activities of these banned organisations in any form, in any name, in any shape". (*The Hindu, January 3, 2009*)
- On January 4, in an interview to NDTV, Indian Home Minister P. Chidambaram said: "What we now want are 'cast iron guarantees' that no state actors or non-state ones will be allowed to use Pakistani soil or sources to launch an attack on India ... Guarantees have to come from those who control the levers of power and that means, the elected civilian government, plus the army. These are not guarantees that you can execute on a piece of paper. These are guarantees that have to be given to the international community". (*The Hindu, January 5, 2009*)
- On January 5, in his statement on evidence on Mumbai attacks handed over to Pakistan and other countries, the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said, "We have today handed over to Pakistan evidence of the links with elements in Pakistan of the terrorists who attacked Mumbai on 26th November, 2008 ... What happened in Mumbai was an unpardonable crime. As far as the Government of Pakistan is concerned, we ask only that it implement the bilateral commitments that it has made at the highest levels to India, and practices her international obligations. These are clear. It is my hope that the world will unite to achieve the goal of eliminating the threat of such terrorism". (*Text of the Statement issued by Ministry of External Affairs, India*)
- On January 5, briefing reporters about the evidence provided to Pakistan Indian Foreign Secretary, Shiv Shankar Menon said, "Our goals are clear. We want the perpetrators to be brought to Indian justice ... The assistance from Pakistan extends up to and includes extradition". (*Text of the Statement issued by Ministry of External Affairs, India*)

- On January 6, in his inaugural address to the Chief Ministers Conference in New Delhi, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said: "The terrorist attack in Mumbai in November last year was clearly carried out by a Pakistan-based outfit, the Lashkar-e-Taiba. On the basis of the investigations carried out, including the Agencies of some foreign countries whose nationals were killed in the attack, there is enough evidence to show that, given the sophistication and military precision of the attack it must have had the support of some official agencies in Pakistan". (*Text of the Statement issued by Ministry of External Affairs, India*)
- On January 13, in an interview with *The Times*, Indian Home Minister, P. Chidambaram accused Pakistan of not doing enough. He said, "What have they provided? Nothing." Regarding the proposed action in case Pakistan continues to be unhelpful, Mr. Chidambaram said: "There are many, many links between India and Pakistan, and if Pakistan does not co-operate and does not help to bring the perpetrators to heel, those ties will become weaker and weaker and one day snap". (*The Hindu, January 14, 2009*)
- On January 15, in an interview to Aaj Tak channel commenting on the trial of Mumbai attackers and other fugitives, Indian External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said: "It would be ideal if they [Pakistan] can hand over the fugitives from India to us. If that is not possible, there should at least be a fair trial of these fugitives in Pakistan". (*Times of India, January 16, 2009*)
- On January 16, speaking to reporters in New Delhi, in response to a question about extradition of terrorists to India the External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said: "We have never given up the demand that perpetrators of terror acts should be extradited to India. There is no question of that or climb down ... Major terrorist acts have been committed in India. These were planned and launched from Pakistan. Only full investigations which are transparent and verifiable in Pakistan can unveil the full conspiracy. We have been requesting Pakistan to take sincere and effective steps in that direction. Pakistan is obliged to investigate and prosecute the criminals ... However the fact remains that dastardly terror crimes have been committed in India. Therefore the perpetrators must face Indian justice. This is not an either or situation as these things are not mutually exclusive". (*Text of the Statement issued by Ministry of External Affairs, India*)
- On January 17, in his address at the Economic Times Awards ceremony in Mumbai. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said: "Pakistan should act against the LeT and other terrorist groups and their sponsors - in its own interest, in the discharge of its obligations under international instruments, and to honour the bilateral commitments it has given us at the highest level. It should ensure that nothing like Mumbai, or the attack on our Embassy in Kabul ever happens again". (*Text of the Statement issued by Ministry of External Affairs, India*)
- On January 18, speaking to reporters in Palakkad (Kerala) Indian Defence Minister A.K. Antony said that the Pakistan government should "act against terrorism instead of [making] mere promises on India's demand for stern action against the terrorists operating from that country ". (*Times of India, January 19, 2009*)

- On January 20, commenting on reports that Pakistan may seek custody of Indian nationals in connection with the Samjhauta Express case, Indian Minister of State for External Affairs Anand Sharma said: "It would be better if there is no diversion or deflection at this stage ... I think we are talking here about what is firmly established about the dastardly attack in Mumbai carried out by organizations which have been identified and named and individuals who are nationals of Pakistan". (*Times of India, January 21, 2009*)
- On January 22, speaking to reporters in Mumbai, the Navy chief, Admiral Sureesh Mehta, when asked if the terrorists had received assistance from Pakistani state agencies said: "Of course there is indirect support.....some professional organisations could be involved ... Pakistanis have been saying...that there is no state agency that is involved. These are non-state actors who have got the job done. Whatever that be, the fact of the matter remains that non-state actors emanating from a state become the responsibility of the state". (*The Hindu, January 23, 2009*)
- On January 29, commenting on Pakistani report that the Mumbai attacks were not planned in Pakistan, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee said, "We are expecting Pakistan to act". (*The Hindu, January 30, 2009*)

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