

## **Contemporary National Security of India: Puzzles and Policy Options**

**Debasish Nandy<sup>1\*</sup>, Saifuzzaman<sup>1</sup>, Anupam Patra<sup>1</sup>, Ananta Kumar Besra<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Department of Political Science, Kazi Nazrul University, Asansol, West Bengal, India

\*Corresponding Author E-mail: [debasishnandy.kc@gmail.com](mailto:debasishnandy.kc@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

The study argues that India's national security has faced significant challenges over the years, both domestic and foreign. The socio-political landscape plays a crucial role in shaping the dynamics of internal security. Separatist movements, as well as radical political and religious ideologies, have emerged as major threats to national stability. On the other hand, suspicious actions by neighboring countries have raised concerns about India's external security. In addition to maintaining territorial integrity, India is also concerned about maritime security and potential nuclear threats from parties considered as strategic adversaries. The study also examines non-traditional security threats and how the Indian government has responded to these challenges through various security policies and strategic alliances with other countries. Given the increasingly complex and evolving challenges, an integrated approach is needed across the three main branches of India's defense. In addition, the study will discuss the ongoing security tensions between India and Bangladesh, and the role of China and Pakistan in exacerbating bilateral security issues. The study uses content analysis as the primary approach in examining the dynamics of India's security as a whole.

Keywords: India, national security, territorial, nuclear, extremism, maritime security, non-traditional security.

---

## **INTRODUCTION**

In recent years, the Indian economy has experienced a growth rate of seven percent. There has been notable advancement in the expansion and diversification of its industrial capabilities. Presently, India ranks among the most industrialized nations globally and boasts the third-largest pool of skilled and educated labor worldwide. Additionally, substantial increases in agricultural production have resulted in self-sufficiency in food grains and the establishment of significant buffer stocks. Today, India stands as a formidable economic power on the international stage, bolstered by a large middle class, extensive untapped trade and industrial opportunities, and considerable foreign investment. Furthermore, India has

\* Copyright (c) 2025 **Debasish Nandy et.al**

This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/).

Received: March 12, 2024; Revised: April 16, 2025; Accepted: April 18, 2025

achieved a commendable level of defense capability, possessing the fourth-largest military force globally, known for its exemplary professionalism. Over the past few decades, the defense infrastructure has been systematically enhanced, rendering it both reliable and credible. The swift advancement of India's missile development program serves as a testament to the nation's technological capabilities. However, in the post-Cold War context, India's security has faced challenges due to various factors.

The growth of the economy and the effective management of foreign policy are intrinsically linked to national security. Essential components for ensuring national security include good governance, adherence to the rule of law, social welfare, the protection of democratic rights, economic development, and military strength. The activities of non-state actors, along with the influence exerted by superpowers and neighboring countries, play a significant role in this context. Safeguarding regional security is vital for the overall national security framework. The security situation in South Asia, particularly with India at its center, remains unstable. The increasing presence of external powers poses a significant security challenge for both India and the broader region. India's growing capabilities and its maritime collaborations with other regional entities extend beyond merely countering Chinese influence. These enhanced capabilities and maritime partnerships are not only aimed at mitigating any encirclement strategies from China but also at alleviating the potential negative security implications arising from China's naval activities and its ambitions to establish a maritime silk route, which seeks to connect Africa and Europe through the Indian Ocean (Majumdar, 2016).

## **RESEARCH METHODS**

This research paper aims to achieve three primary objectives: (1) to analyze the characteristics of India's national security challenges, (2) to explore the internal and external factors contributing to these challenges, and (3) to examine the initiatives undertaken by the Indian government to mitigate security threats. The study is guided by three research questions: (1) What defines the nature of India's national security? (2) What are the significant domestic and international challenges facing India's security? and (3) What security measures has the Indian government implemented to tackle national security issues? The paper employs content analysis as its methodological framework, utilizing both primary and secondary

sources. The literature includes governmental reports, academic books, scholarly journals, and newspaper articles.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **India's Experience of Terrorism**

The violent protests conducted by liberation fighters against their oppressors and foreign occupiers should not be conflated with acts of terrorism (Bhattacharya, Ghosh, and Bhattacharyya, 2006). Terrorism manifests in various forms, including ideological, religious, cyber, ethnic-nationalist, biological, or a combination thereof. In particular, religious terrorism has emerged as a significant threat to India's national security, paralleling similar challenges faced by other regions globally. Beyond the implications for national security, the polarizing rhetoric of certain spiritual leaders also poses a threat to the integrity of Islam. Furthermore, terrorist organizations based in Pakistan are implicated in perpetrating genocidal acts within India.

Following its independence, Pakistan has maintained a preoccupation with India, driven by its profound concerns regarding the strategic threats that the neighboring Hindu state poses to its national security. The rationale for categorizing India as an adversary is rooted in geographical, ideological, and historical contexts (Chengappa, 2004). From a geographical standpoint, Pakistan perceives India as the singular potential danger to its national security. India encountered significant security challenges and geopolitical complications during the 1990s, primarily attributed to the resurgence of the Taliban, particularly in the Kashmir region. Currently, India is grappling with serious security concerns stemming from the United States' withdrawal in 2021 and the Taliban's resurgence, which is bolstered by support from Pakistan (Yousuf and Mir, 2024). This perception is further reinforced by the belief that India represents the only significant threat to its sovereignty. In the context of terrorism, which is often regarded as a tactic employed by weaker entities, it is associated with non-state actors such as insurgent groups and clandestine terrorist organizations. Conversely, certain military regimes in Latin America during the 1970s and early 1980s resorted to utilizing security forces to eliminate rival military leaders within the region. In contrast, India has been grappling with the issue of terrorism for an extended period. For the past sixty years, since the dawn of its independence, India has endeavored to address terrorist threats with its limited resources.

A terrorist organization based in Kashmir has been responsible for numerous civilian casualties and extensive property destruction. For instance, on January 26, 1998, militants brutally murdered 23 Kashmiri Pandits using explosive devices. A particularly violent incident in Indian-administered Jammu and Kashmir took place on June 9, 2024, marking one of the most severe attacks in recent history. While the area has historically experienced violence, experts are increasingly concerned about a notable shift: militant activities seem to be migrating from the Kashmir Valley to the relatively stable Jammu region (Javeed, 2024). (Pakistan has been providing support to various terrorist groups operating within India, aiming to destabilize Indian security. This aligns with Islamabad's policy of hostility towards New Delhi. Throughout the 1990s, cross-border terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir escalated, largely due to Pakistan's involvement. Notably, terrorist attacks in 1993 inflicted significant damage on the Bombay Stock Exchange, a plan conceived by Daud Ibrahim (India Today, 2013). From 2017 to 2019, Jammu and Kashmir experienced 1,550 recorded incidents of terrorism, resulting in the deaths of 627 terrorists, 118 civilians, and 251 security personnel (Business Standard, 2000). Daud, who is believed to have found sanctuary in Pakistan, is considered the orchestrator of criminal activities in Mumbai. This particular incident led to 257 fatalities and left 1,100 individuals severely injured. Various actions deemed anti-Indian have been perpetrated, including bomb attacks on Indian forces at the New Jalpaiguri station in West Bengal during the summer of 1999, coinciding with the Kargil conflict.

On October 1, 2001, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) executed a terrorist assault on the Srinagar Legislative Assembly, significantly jeopardizing regional security (Swami, 2001;SATP,2004). (Provide reference, if any of ISI Involvement). Islamabad aimed to undermine Indian defenses and strategically shift the Line of Control (LoC) in its favor. In December 2001, Aftab Ansari, affiliated with Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), launched an attack on the American Centre in Kolkata. Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) serves as a prominent illustration of an extremist group operating within India, having targeted the Indian Parliament House on December 13, 2001. The LeT, or Lashkar-e-Taiba, is recognized as one of the most structured terrorist organizations based in Pakistan, boasting a considerable support base. Notably, the organization was established in 1991 amidst the turmoil in Jammu and Kashmir (J&K).

The financing of terrorism in Asia reveals emerging trends, particularly regarding the Jamaat-ud-Dawa (JuD), which was established in 1985 and subsequently led to the formation

of the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) as a terrorist entity in 1990. Although it presents itself as a charitable organization, this façade primarily functions as a cover, effectively expanding its appeal among impoverished and uneducated populations who may be more susceptible to participating in its global jihad. Furthermore, this charitable image creates an environment conducive to encouraging ordinary Pakistani citizens to contribute financially, which constitutes the primary source of funding for the LeT (Shruti, 2016).

### **Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and India's Security Threat**

The Islamic State (IS) group, with support from Bangladesh extremist factions, is planning terrorist operations. Following the Paris attacks, countries like the UK, France, Germany, Australia, Russia, the US, Turkey, and Israel are enhancing security measures. ISIS has not significantly penetrated Indian society, but its radicalization and potential to attract youth and the local populace make it a potential threat. Governments must quickly evaluate intelligence to mitigate this threat.

Following Osama Bin Laden's murder in Pakistan in 2011, there was a possibility that religious extremism would become extinct worldwide. Al-Qaida supremo did, however, have a sizable fan base. It was discovered following ISI's quick rise to prominence. There have been several name changes for this group. The group known as "al Qaeda in Iraq" was founded in 2004, which is when ISIS first emerged (ISIS came into being in 2014). ISIS was very much active in Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Afghanistan, and Yemen. Within a very short span, IS had gained enormous power and built a worldwide network. This organization is considered much more powerful than al-Qaida. Byman indicated that ISIS prioritizes the creation of an Islamic state within the Muslim world, in contrast to Al-Qaeda, which perceives the United States and Europe as their "far enemy." Following the demise of Osama bin Laden, the leader of Al-Qaeda, in 2011, a power vacuum emerged in jihadist operations. Nevertheless, since 2014, ISIS (previously known as ISIL) has risen to prominence as the most formidable terrorist organization globally, having seized extensive territories in Iraq and Syria. (Byman, 2016).

Individuals affiliated with jihadist movements from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Maldives have increasingly been recruited by the Islamic State (IS). A notable number of young individuals from these regions have shown a keen interest in aligning themselves with this extremist organization, thereby fostering implicit connections with IS. The propensity of youth in South Asia to affiliate with IS poses a significant threat to

regional security. The Islamic State has notably attracted a considerable number of Maldivians, with estimates suggesting that around 200 individuals from the Maldives have traveled to Syria to join IS. An increasing contingent of Maldivians began to embrace the ideologies of ISIS following the dissolution of al-Qaeda's Maldivian faction in 2014; some individuals even took the significant step of participating in the jihad in Iraq and Syria. On April 17, 2020, an explosion of five bombs at Mahibadhoo harbor destroyed a marine ambulance, four speedboats, and two dinghies. ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack through its weekly Arabic-language publication, al-Naba, characterizing the vessels as belonging to the apostate Maldivian Government and its loyalists. This incident marked the inaugural assault by ISIS on Maldivian territory (Counter Extremism Project, 2022). This figure is particularly alarming given the Maldives' small population, raising concerns that extend beyond its borders to encompass the entirety of South Asia. Additionally, there is apprehension in India regarding the allure of IS for some young Indians, who have been inspired to join its ranks. A small number of Indian youths have been linked to IS activities. As a non-state actor, IS has amassed significant power and has effectively resonated with youth on a global scale. The connections between IS and other jihadist factions in South Asia have posed challenges to modernization and Westernization efforts in the region, particularly in India.

Indian national security faces significant threats from various terrorist organizations, the majority of which receive support from external entities. Some of the major terrorist organizations in India will be briefly discussed in this section.

### ***Lashkar-e-Taiba***

In early November 2024, during an anti-terrorism operation in Khaynar, Jammu and Kashmir, security forces successfully eliminated Usman, a notable commander of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT). The execution of this mission was characterized by an atypical approach. Usman gained notoriety in the early 2000s for orchestrating a series of terrorist activities as LeT began its operations. Notably, he was implicated in the assassination of police officer Masroor Wani in 2023, who was shot at close range while engaged in a cricket match on the Eidgah pitch in the capital. Usman has been active in Jammu and Kashmir for several years, having returned to the region in 2016-17 after a period spent in Pakistan, and has been linked to numerous terrorist incidents since his return (First Post, 2024).

### ***Hizb ul Mujahedeen***

Hizb ul Mujahedeen represents one of the longstanding insurgent factions engaged in conflict with the Indian government in the contested region of Jammu and Kashmir. This group is often characterized as the military arm of the Islamist organization Jama'at e Islami, with particular connections to its Kashmiri affiliate (Gupta, 2020). An analysis of the current organizational frameworks reveals the degree of Jama'at e Islami's involvement in the Kashmir conflict and its relationship with Hizb ul Mujahedeen (Majid, 2022).

### ***Indian Mujahideen***

Indian Mujahideen, an elusive Islamist militant organization, has been associated with fatal bombings across India. Although it maintains a relatively low profile, the group focuses on soft targets within urban environments. Security expert Praveen Swami characterizes it as the most deadly urban terrorist organization. Following the Mumbai train bombings in 2006, which resulted in the deaths of 187 individuals, there are indications that the group may have connections to that incident (BBC, 2013).

### ***Jaish-e-Mohammad***

In 2019, a military conflict erupted between India and Pakistan in the aftermath of a terrorist assault on an Indian army unit, perpetrated by the group Jaish-e-Mohammad. This incident reignited discussions regarding the implications of state-sponsored terrorism for international stability and security. While India successfully negotiated the release of hostages in 1999, it opted for an aerial strike against targets in Pakistan in 2019.

On June 24, 2013, an attack by militants affiliated with Hizbul Mujahideen resulted in the deaths of eight Army personnel during an assault on an Army convoy. Subsequently, on September 26, 2013, twelve military members lost their lives. Further, on December 5, 2014, eleven security forces, including Lt. Colonel Sankalp Kumar of the Punjab Regiment, were killed when militants infiltrated an army base located near Uri in Baramulla. In July 2015, a Pakistan-supported terrorist organization attacked the Gurdaspur police station in Punjab, leading to the deaths of seven individuals. In January 2016, terrorists breached the Pathankot Air Force Station in Punjab, resulting in a total of twelve fatalities, including five militants of Pakistani origin. The terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammad, with ties to Pakistan, played a significant role in this incident.

This particular terrorist organization stands out as the most perilous among the 32 identified in Pakistan. India's security measures regarding Pakistan have repeatedly fallen short of effectiveness. The strategic significance of Jammu Kashmir and Punjab has made them frequent targets for terrorist groups headquartered in Pakistan. Additionally, Pakistan is reportedly utilizing Bangladesh to bolster cross-border terrorism activities in India's eastern regions. Recently, the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) has extended its operations into Bangladesh, another neighboring nation. Several terrorist training facilities are believed to be funded by the ISI and run in partnership with Bangladeshi authorities. These factors indicate that cross-border terrorism is a critical component of the security landscape in India.

### **Narco-terrorism and Drug Trafficking**

Currently, drug trafficking and narcoterrorism represent significant threats to the security of India. Allegations have been made against Pakistan, suggesting that the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) maintains a close association with narcoterrorism across South Asia, particularly in the Northwest Frontier Province- Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK). This situation indicates that Pakistan has been facilitating various ethnic groups in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) to engage in the smuggling of weapons and narcotics into India through unofficial border routes (Ghosh, 2019). In 2018, several bank robbery incidents were reported in the southern region of Kashmir, leading Indian intelligence to conclude that the proceeds were likely utilized by militants to procure illegal firearms from the black market. Similar occurrences have been noted in the Northeastern states of India. The Kashmir valley is inundated with arms, and young individuals have access to advanced weaponry, including RPGs, INSAS rifles, SLRs, LMGs, UMGs, SMGs, MMGs, grenades, detonators, and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Terrorist organizations in Jammu and Kashmir have established a parallel military infrastructure that is heavily reliant on drug trafficking and narcotics.

The efforts undertaken by Punjab to combat drug trafficking have resulted in the apprehension of 10,524 smugglers and the seizure of considerable quantities of heroin and other narcotics. Nevertheless, law enforcement must advance beyond mere statistical reporting by identifying and publicly denouncing prominent traffickers, as well as expediting judicial processes. While the existing strategy has demonstrated notable effectiveness, a more profound impact could be achieved through the public exposure of key traffickers and the



eradication of the prevailing sense of impunity (The Tribune, 2024). The northeastern states of India, commonly referred to as the "Seven Sisters," have historically been associated with cross-border drug trafficking, which is intricately linked to the "Golden Triangle," with Myanmar serving as a central hub in this illicit global drug economy. In response to this challenge, Indian law enforcement agencies have been empowered to implement various laws and regulations aimed at curbing drug trafficking in the region (Nag, 2024). In May 2023, authorities in Aizawl, the capital of Mizoram, seized 100,000 methamphetamine tablets, valued at approximately Rs. 33.33 crores, through a coordinated effort involving the Assam Rifles and the Special Narcotics Cell. The frequency of such drug seizures has notably increased over time. Reports from the International Narcotics Control Board and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) indicate that Myanmar ranks among the foremost producers of illicit methamphetamine in Asia (India Times, 2023).

### **The Maoist Insurgency**

In specific areas of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh, Maoist insurgent groups wield considerable influence. These Maoists, who advocate for their radical beliefs through the use of armed force, are staunch proponents of socialism achieved through coercion. Since 1967, India has been experiencing a revolutionary movement spearheaded by radical leftist factions. The revolutionary current of Indian Marxism, exemplified by Naxalism and Maoism, has promoted the necessity of armed struggle, rejecting the notion that parliamentary democracy could facilitate essential transformative changes. Since approximately 2005–2006, the Maoists have posed a significant security threat to the Indian state, prompting the deployment of thousands of parliamentary forces into their strongholds. In 2005, the Chhattisgarh government initiated a civilian militia known as Salwa Judum, which collaborated with security forces in a campaign that resulted in widespread arson, sexual violence, and looting, impacting hundreds of villages and displacing over one hundred thousand individuals. Salwa Judum, a paramilitary group operating in Chhattisgarh, India, was employed in counterinsurgency efforts aimed at combating Naxalite insurgency. In 2011, a landmark ruling declared the militia illegal and deemed the appointment of surrendered Maoists and untrained residents as Special Police Officers unconstitutional, leading to a protracted legal dispute (Sundar, 2021).

In the last decade, the nature of Maoist operations in West Bengal has transformed into acts of terrorism. These groups have heightened threats to national security by involving civilians and law enforcement, as well as employing explosives and landmines. Additionally, Maoist factions in Nepal are providing support to their counterparts in India. The Maoists have also targeted public transportation, destroying buses, railway stations, and telecommunications infrastructure belonging to both state-owned and private service providers (Kugelman, 2011). One of the most enduring insurgencies that India has faced since gaining independence is the Maoist movement, which has persisted for over five decades (Kaushik, 2022). Among the Indian states significantly affected by left-wing extremism, Jharkhand ranks just behind Chhattisgarh. The first half of 2024 recorded 64 fatalities among Maoists, with Chhattisgarh accounting for 142 of these deaths, marking the highest toll in 15 years. In Maharashtra, 96% of Naxalite incidents are concentrated in Gadchiroli. Following the BJP's return to power in Chhattisgarh in 2023, there has been an intensification of anti-Naxal operations (Saha, 2024). Additionally, in 2024, the Naxals wreaked havoc in the regions of Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal (Times of India, 2024).

### **North-eastern Security Threat**

A significant number of movements in Northeast India have their roots in the colonial policy of inner line permits and excluded zones, which severed relations between the plains and hill peoples, resulting in the creation of isolated "tribal areas" and communities. Insurgents represent a variety of ethnic groupings and political ideologies; some of these groups are at odds with the Indian government, while others are supported by it as part of its counterinsurgency tactics (Baruah, 2007). Terrorist acts that began in the 1960s have had an impact on Northeastern India. Regionalist ideology is the basis for secessionist movements. The seven sisters from Northeastern India are vocal about issues of economic hardship, identity crises, and autonomy.

The majority of violent incidents in the Northeastern states are perpetrated by small tribal factions. In the diminutive state of Manipur, there exist approximately 40 insurgent groups (Joshi, 2023). In Nagaland, various terrorist and separatist organizations consistently advocate for the state's secession from India, asserting that it has never been a part of the nation. The Naga movement traces its origins to 1918 with the establishment of the Naga Club, which prominently included former labor corps members from World War I (Sundar & Sundar, 2014).

Since its independence, Tripura has faced similar challenges. Alongside the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), the National Liberation Front of Tripura represents a significant force in the region's agitation. Additionally, the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) stands out as a formidable separatist organization that remains actively engaged in ongoing acts of terrorism. Although the intensity of violence has diminished, sporadic confrontations between the Meitei and Kuki-Zo communities continue to raise concerns regarding the government's preparedness to restore stability in the fragile border state. Since May 2023, ethnic conflicts have erupted in the northeastern Indian state of Manipur, resulting in the deaths of hundreds and displacing thousands (Bhattacharyya, 2024).

### **Threats of China through Myanmar**

India is confronted with a security threat emanating from Myanmar. The northeastern region of India is particularly apprehensive about the security implications stemming from the relationship between China and Myanmar. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has forged strong military and diplomatic ties with the military regime in Myanmar, which has been characterized as "allies in isolation" due to their military collaboration (Lintner, 1990). An analyst of Myanmar's political landscape notes that "just as China's support for Pakistan exerts pressure on India from the West, the strengthening of Chinese relations with Myanmar exacerbates India's strategic anxieties in the eastern region" (Selth, 1991). China has supplied Myanmar with substantial quantities of military equipment, including fighter jets, tanks, anti-aircraft artillery, heavy weaponry, and naval patrol vessels (Jane's Defence Weekly, 1991). China is supplying arms and medical supplies to conflicting factions in Northeast India. This development follows an agreement established between the military government of Burma and several insurgent groups, resulting in a relocation of the narcotics trade to India.

The security of India along its eastern frontier has been significantly compromised due to the activities of the Indo-Burma Revolutionary Front (IBRF), which emerged from the collaboration of three underground groups in the northeastern region (Stobdan, 1999). On June 9, 2015, Indian military forces executed a cross-border operation targeting NSCN-K militants. This operation was a direct response to an ambush on the convoy of the Indian Army's 6 Dogra Regiment in the Chandel area of Manipur, occurring in proximity to the Myanmar border. During this military engagement, Indian forces reportedly crossed into Myanmar. The combatants engaged in this operation experienced considerable losses during

the assault. Authorities have indicated that the exact figure of fatalities resulting from the offensive remains uncertain, though estimates suggest it could be between 50 and 100 (India Today, 2015). However, the Myanmar government has denied these claims, asserting that Indian troops conducted their operations solely within Indian territory and did not breach the border. The border between India and Myanmar spans 1,643 kilometers, presenting a considerable security challenge for India.

The security landscape of India has recently been compromised by the influx of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar. These individuals have been fleeing their homeland due to severe persecution by the military, police, and other security forces over the past several years. An estimated 700,000 Rohingya have sought refuge in Bangladesh. Their presence has been associated with various criminal activities. India is home to around 40,000 Rohingya refugees, a significant number of whom lack proper documentation, residing in numerous camps and informal settlements throughout different cities and regions (Hassan, 2024). with a limited number holding identity cards issued by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The proposed mass deportation of these refugees by India could have catastrophic consequences for those returned to Myanmar. The migration of the Rohingya population poses a significant threat to India's security and presents socioeconomic challenges in several Indian states, including West Bengal, Delhi, and the northeastern regions (Roy, Prodip, and Nandy, 2021).

### **India's Response to International Terrorism**

India faces challenges from adversaries in its vicinity, having endured numerous assaults throughout its history. To address the threat of international terrorism, India has adopted a policy of "zero tolerance." However, combating terrorism independently proves to be a formidable task. Consequently, India has sought to forge alliances with neighboring nations and global powers. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, India responded with urgency and determination. At that time, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee urged his senior advisors to lend full support to the United States in its campaign against international terrorism (Kux, 2002). For both India and the United States, terrorism has become a significant and persistent issue. Samuel P. Huntington has referred to this period as the "age of Muslim wars" (Huntington, 2001). The ideological foundation of contemporary international terrorism is rooted in radical Islamic fundamentalism (Mohapatra, 2002).

The Islamic State (IS), while considered somewhat less perilous than al-Qaida, remains a significant threat to global security, including in India. The group has successfully recruited thousands of young individuals from various countries. Initially, there were no reports of Indian youth joining IS; however, recent months have witnessed a marked increase in the number of young Indians aligning themselves with the organization. Following South India and particularly Maharashtra, West Bengal has emerged as a region of concern regarding IS activities. Intelligence Bureau assessments indicate that a considerable number of Muslim youths in the Howrah area of Bengal may have been influenced by IS ideology. Reports suggest that many young individuals are actively seeking information on ISIS-related websites. The regions of Murshidabad, Nadia, and Malda, located near Howrah, are considered particularly susceptible to various challenges. The demographic group most impacted by these issues is the youth, specifically those aged 16 to 30. West Bengal, which shares its borders with Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal, holds considerable strategic importance for the security of India (Mishra, 2024).

### **India's Neighbors and Security Question**

The Mumbai attacks highlighted the limitations of India's military capabilities. Repeatedly, India's national security has been threatened by our Western neighbor by military and militants. Terrorism has been a great threat to India and Pakistan (Feyyaz, and Husnain, 2024). Pakistan alleged for the state-sponsored terrorism (Nandy, 2017). Indian maritime security has been questioned. After the Mumbai attack, Indian security capacity has criticized mainstream terrorism studies for a lack of attention to state terrorism. (Kolas, 2010).

Additionally, China's activities in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) have exacerbated apprehensions regarding India's strategic landscape (Kugelman, 2011). China is actively developing ports in the Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh, and has previously constructed a port in Gwadar Pakistan. This strategic encirclement poses significant challenges for India. As Indian political leaders expressed heightened apprehension regarding China's expanding influence in the region, relations between China and India deteriorated in August 2022. This escalation was marked by the arrival of a Chinese surveillance ship at a Sri Lankan port, following a period of ambiguity. The vessel, which docked at the southern port of Hambantota, was scheduled for refueling over several days in 2022. It is part of a fleet of Yuan Wang ships utilized by the Chinese military to monitor satellite and ballistic missile launches (The New York

Times, 2022). Historically, China has provided support to insurgent groups in northeastern India through Myanmar. In mid-2015, the Indian military successfully executed an operation against militants along the Myanmar border. The escalation of airstrikes by the military junta targeting armed insurgents from various ethnic factions coincided with the deployment of six Chinese FTC-2000G fighter jets to Myanmar in August 2024 (Sagar, 2024).

Nevertheless, Bangladesh hosts numerous anti-Indian militant camps, and the ongoing influx of Rohingya refugees from Myanmar into Bangladesh and India has created a substantial security threat (Nandy and Majee, 2022). Due to the proximity of the border with India, numerous individuals from Bangladesh, especially those in political positions and their supporters, have sought asylum in India to escape the political turmoil and repressive environment prevalent in their home country (Nandy, Roy, and Sarkar, 2024). A series of political offenses in West Bengal can be attributed to Bangladeshi criminals who are considered a threat to India's security. Notably, on May 13, 2024, Anwarul Azim Anar, a member of the Bangladeshi parliament, was murdered after he forcibly entered an apartment in New Town. Investigators from both Bangladesh and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) reported that the assailants strangled him shortly after his arrival (The Times of India, 2024).

During the administration of Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan extended food assistance to both Al Qaida and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Nandy (2022) notes that initially, Pakistan was the sole nation in South Asia maintaining economic relations with the Afghan government, which lacked international recognition. However, very recently, India started a 'back-channel diplomacy' with the Taliban administration. The Indian delegation engaged in discussions with Mullah Mohammad Yaqoob, the acting defence minister of Afghanistan, suggesting that Iranian enterprises utilize the Chabahar Port to deliver humanitarian assistance to Kabul. Although the Taliban has been in power since 2021, India has refrained from formally recognizing their government while continuing to offer vital aid (The Economic Times, 2024).

The security landscape for India has been significantly compromised following the Taliban's complete takeover of the Ashraf Ghani government on August 15, 2021 (UN News, 2022). The rise of the Taliban and the associated financing of terrorism are intricately linked to the pervasive corruption within Afghanistan, which has exacerbated the issue of cross-border terrorism (Nandy, 2020a). The unrecognized madrasas have served as both a foundation for

jihadism and a central command hub. Although Sheikh Hasina's leadership of the Awami League government included several commendable initiatives, it was not wholly embraced by all sectors of society. The Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), a Pakistani intelligence agency, is reportedly engaged in efforts to convert Bangladesh into an Islamic state, receiving support from political entities such as the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and its former ally, Jamaat-e-Islami. This involvement has significantly impacted the movement against the quota system in Bangladesh. On August 5, 2024, Sheikh Hasina was forced to exit the country. Following her departure, radical political factions, unregistered madrasas, and Islamist extremist organizations intensified their focus on India (Sarker, and Mahmud, 2024). India is confronted with challenges posed by radical elements and Islamist groups associated with Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Jamaat-e-Islami. These factions have co-opted the protests in Bangladesh and exhibit pro-China and pro-Pakistan sentiments, which may have implications for the political landscape of future governments (Sharma, 2024).

The United States is utilizing Myanmar's geographical position as a strategic foothold to extend its influence into South Asia. The population in the Kuki-Chin region, predominantly Christian, is perceived as susceptible to external manipulation. The conflict involving the Kuki-Chin insurgents against the Myanmar military is primarily aimed at bolstering and rallying support for Christian combatants. Recently, the United States introduced the Burma Act, highlighting the need for the sub-region to respond to the escalating violence in Manipur (The Sunday Guardian, 2024). The American strategy became apparent following the collapse of the Sheikh Hasina administration in Bangladesh on August 5, 2024. This development raises significant concerns regarding India's national security, particularly as the United States appears to be backing radical factions within Bangladesh. The policy statement issued by the United States broadly endorses the aspirations of the Burmese populace for freedom, democracy, human rights, and humanitarian assistance. By exerting pressure on the military junta governing Myanmar, the United States has the potential to decrease the influx of Rohingya and other ethnic minorities into India. Additionally, this approach may mitigate Chinese anti-Indian operations that are facilitated through Myanmar (Martin 2023).

The influence of the Jamat-e-Islami party has significantly increased. Central to this party's ideology is a strong anti-Indian stance. Financial support for the party is being provided by several West Asian nations. The extensive border separating Bangladesh and India remains

largely unfenced in many areas. These unprotected borders serve as pathways for both illegal arms trafficking and cross-border terrorism. Since the Taliban regime's collapse, India has encountered substantial security challenges emanating from Afghanistan. India has established friendly relations with the governments that succeeded the Taliban. However, in Afghanistan, where pro-Pakistani sentiments prevail, the Taliban remains a powerful force. Recently, attacks by Taliban militants have targeted the Indian Deputy High Commission in Afghanistan. Additionally, the borders with Nepal are open, allowing terrorist groups based in Pakistan to infiltrate these areas. According to the United Nations Organization (2022), the humanitarian and human rights situation in Afghanistan significantly worsened after the Taliban's takeover in August 2021. The resurgence of heroin and opium production, alongside the activities of organized crime and terrorist organizations, has created complex challenges and posed a security threat to the broader South Asian region.

### **Maritime Security**

The Indian Ocean is crucial for global energy markets and maritime commerce, but its security has been impacted by China's naval capabilities and nuclear submarines in Myanmar. Post-Cold War events, such as the 1971 Bangladesh conflict, have heightened India's maritime security risks. China's growing influence in the Indian Ocean complicates India's maritime interests, while Pakistani terrorist groups continue to operate in the Arabian Sea. The growing deployment of Chinese naval assets in the northern Indian Ocean represents a significant challenge to India's security. In response, India is taking measures to counteract the movements of Chinese vessels and submarines. To monitor the activities of the Chinese navy, India has deployed its advanced submarines within the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, India is focused on curbing the expansion of Chinese naval influence in the Malacca Straits by securing critical maritime chokepoints. Additionally, India aims to sustain a naval presence in the Andaman Islands, which play a crucial role in the trade routes linking Suez and Singapore (Jacobs, 1990).

The Indian Ocean region has seen significant militarization due to geostrategic competition, with the US establishing a stronger presence. China favors a G-2 arrangement, viewing smaller nations as subordinate partners. Analysts suggest US policy shifts could lead to China's influence enhancement. This perspective advocates for the formation of a middle power alliance that would encompass key nations within the Indo-Pacific super zone, including



South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Australia, and India, deliberately excluding both the United States and China (Medcalf and Rajamohan, 2014). Additionally, in conjunction with its base on Diego Garcia, the United States Navy operates from various bases located in littoral states such as Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia.

Since the late 1990s, piracy has escalated significantly around the Horn of Africa, posing a substantial threat to the maritime security of all merchant vessels navigating these waters. The Somali pirate groups have repeatedly compelled foreign ships to seek rescue from the Indian Navy, which has been actively patrolling the region. The shipping lanes off the coast of Somalia have emerged as a notorious hotspot for piracy since the early 2000s, witnessing numerous attacks and hijackings. The International Maritime Bureau reports that Somali pirates executed 237 attacks and took hundreds of hostages at the peak of their activities in 2011. Between November 2023 and March 2024, they managed to capture 12 fishing vessels and a minimum of two cargo ships. The period from 2008 to 2014 saw these attacks inflict billions of dollars in losses on the global economy. Recent incidents of piracy have led to increased costs for shippers. Furthermore, the security gap resulting from Houthi assaults is being leveraged by these pirates (Paravicini, Saul, and Hassan,, 2024). Following the takeover of Mogadishu by the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) in mid-2006, piracy was officially criminalized; however, the situation remained dire. In 2009, despite the deployment of international naval forces in the Horn of Africa, there were still 217 reported incidents involving Somali pirates, resulting in the seizure of 47 vessels and the capture of 867 crew members (Hancock, 2024)

To ensure the entire maritime security India has several strategies for various Oceanic reasons which are as follows---

The Indo-Pacific region represents a crucial geostrategic zone, characterized by its strong connectivity with East and Southeast Asia. This region offers long-term advantages to India in both security and economic dimensions. India aims to establish a regional security framework that is grounded in rules and norms, emphasizing the importance of peaceful dispute resolution without resorting to coercion or military force (Banerjee, 2019). India is enhancing its maritime security in the Indo-Pacific by collaborating with other nations and organizations. The strategic objectives include economic development, peace, and stability. India advocates for international cooperation, interconnectedness, and transforming exclusive policies into inclusive ones. The Indian Ocean Region is crucial for trade, energy security, and

territorial integrity. The US dominates the Pacific, while China gains ground. Russia's Indo-Pacific activities complicate geopolitical dynamics. Russia proposes a trilateral alliance with India and China to counter US influence. India faces challenges due to the US security partnership. France also seeks strategic alliances in the Indian Ocean. France seeks collaboration with India to address South Pacific challenges, but global superpower competition complicates efforts. India established the Forum for India-Pacific Island Cooperation to safeguard its island territories.

### **Chinese Developmental Projects and India's Security Threat**

The security landscape in India is increasingly threatened by China's growing ambitions and its influence over global military and economic dynamics. India harbors serious apprehensions regarding China's six ongoing projects associated with the "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) initiative. These projects encompass a range of strategic corridors, including the New Eurasian Land Bridge, which connects Central Asia to Europe; the China-Mongolia-Russia Corridor, linking northern China to eastern Russia; the China-Central Asia-West Asia Corridor, which facilitates connections between Turkey and western China; the China-Indo-Chinese Peninsula Corridor, extending from Singapore to southern China; the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC); and the China-Bangladesh-India-Myanmar Corridor (BCIM). India's opposition to the CPEC is particularly pronounced, as it traverses areas of Pakistan-administered Kashmir, which India claims as its territory. Consequently, India finds itself in a precarious position, encircled by a formidable adversary, making it exceedingly challenging for the nation to address these threats independently. China is enhancing its infrastructure initiatives and forging strategic partnerships with Bangladesh, emphasizing areas such as trade, strategic interests, energy security, and infrastructure development. In contrast, India perceives Bangladesh as part of its traditional sphere of security influence. (Karim, 2024).

### **Measures Taken by India on Maritime Security**

India has taken several steps to ensure maritime security, which are as follows—

1. Indo-U. S joint naval exercises have been taking place for the last few years. Several joint action plans have been set up for ensuring security in the Indian Ocean region. The American interest is to counter Chinese influence in this region.
2. India, the United States, Japan, and Australia formed a quadrilateral forum in 2017 at Manila during the ASEAN Summit to secure the Indo-Pacific Region from Chinese growing threats. The fourth time the latest quadrilateral meets in Bangkok. The

issues for discussion during the last meeting were on expected lines centered on the Indo-Pacific.

3. P.M. Narendra Modi visited Seychelles and Mauritius in March 2015 to formulate a future outline of the security of the Indian Ocean's littoral states. India has a long security partnership with both Seychelles and Mauritius. India signed an agreement to conduct hydrographic surveys and launched a coastal surveillance radar project. The radar initiative is part of an ambitious project to build a maritime domain awareness network across the Indian Ocean. Modi also visited Sri Lanka and Maldives and ensured the joint security ventures with these two island countries of the Indian Ocean. India has installed eight surveillance radars in Mauritius, eight in Seychelles, six in Sri Lanka, and ten in the Maldives.
4. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi pledged in the Commemorative Summit at New Delhi on January 25, 2018, to boost maritime security in the South China Sea with the help of ASEAN members. India tactfully wanted to ensure maritime security through the Delhi Declaration.
5. In the aftermath of the attacks on 26/11 incident, India has been trying to improve coastal security infrastructure and law enforcement. A three-tier security grid was installed with the Indian Navy, the coast guard, and the marine police jointly patrolling coastal areas.
6. A healthy seaborne trade can contribute much towards the economic development of a region. Ports have been very lucrative places for criminal and illicit activities. A Coastal Security Scheme has been started since 2005 which has been accelerated now with greater fund allocations for coastal infrastructure, including police stations and radar stations along India's coastline.
7. To stop piracy and hijacking of merchant ships India constituted a Committee of Secretaries on Anti-Piracy and Hijacking at Sea (COSAPH) under the Chairmanship of Cabinet Secretary.
8. Naval escort provided by Indian naval ships in the Gulf of Aden since 2008.
9. Active participation by India in the security meetings of the International Maritime Organization, Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia (CGPCS), and other international forums.
10. A Seafarers Welfare Fund Society has also been set up for the welfare of Indian seafarers and their families.
11. The Indian Ocean plays a crucial role in enhancing global connectivity, drawing considerable international interest in the shifting dynamics of power within the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). In response to this growing importance, the Sagarmala initiative was launched to promote development centered around ports. Recognizing the vital role that ports play in facilitating trade and driving economic advancement, this initiative seeks to improve and establish robust port infrastructure (Kanodia, 2020).

Nuclear power presents a security dilemma for India from two primary angles: the threats posed by both internal and external non-state actors. A significant short-term risk associated with nuclear competition in the Asia-Pacific region is deterrence instability. This instability is

exacerbated by deficiencies in India's nuclear capabilities, particularly in China. The United States faces two strategic choices concerning India's nuclear ambitions: it can either enhance its support by supplying advanced hardware or adopt a more restrained stance. The ongoing crises in South Asia, coupled with the necessity for U.S. involvement and crisis management, will remain relevant as long as Pakistan continues its strategy of low-intensity conflict against India. Furthermore, the future development of Chinese nuclear capabilities may be partially shaped by the nuclear arsenal of its competitor, India.

Traffickers have been identified as a significant security threat in India, particularly concerning the illicit trade of nuclear materials. Reports have surfaced regarding the smuggling of uranium and other radioactive substances within the country. Notably, the Jaduguda uranium mines in Jharkhand were previously purged of illegal uranium activities. In a notable incident in 2001, authorities intercepted a shipment of uranium intended for smuggling into Bangladesh, which had been seized from suspected terrorists in Balurghat, located in northern West Bengal (Kaushal, 2013). Additionally, on September 10, 2008, five individuals were apprehended in Meghalaya on allegations of attempting to transfer uranium. More recently, on May 5, 2018, the Maharashtra Anti-Terrorism Squad (ATS) arrested two suspects found with radioactive materials. According to Mir and Parry (2022), these individuals had 7.1 kg of natural uranium, valued at Rs 21.3 crore.

For an extended period, nuclear security has emerged as a paramount concern for India. Numerous countries around the globe have engaged in the development of nuclear missiles and various other armaments. In recent years, there has been growing apprehension regarding the potential acquisition of nuclear weapons by terrorist organizations. India finds itself under threat from both China and Pakistan, with particular concern regarding Pakistan's advancement of medium-range ballistic missile technology. Furthermore, the transfer of nuclear and missile technology from China to Pakistan poses a significant risk to India's security. The intricate dynamics of the Sino-Indian rivalry have notably influenced India's military expansion throughout the 1990s, especially in terms of enhancing its naval capabilities, guided missile systems, and nuclear arsenal (Budania, 1999). The President of North Korea, whose actions are frequently deemed irresponsible, consistently issues threats regarding the potential launch of nuclear missiles against various nations at any given time. This behavior is underscored by the country's missile tests, which represent a significant security concern for

India. Despite India's ongoing efforts to secure membership in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), these endeavors have yet to yield success.

### **Cyber Security**

Undoubtedly, one of the most significant security challenges confronting India at present is the realm of cybersecurity. Sensitive information about the Indian financial sector, national defense, and foreign relations has been compromised, raising alarms about the integrity of critical data. Terrorist groups and hostile nations are actively seeking to infiltrate India's vital information systems to acquire intelligence, strategic plans, and operational methodologies. In response to the growing threat of cyberterrorism and hacking, the National Cybersecurity and Communications Integration Centre (NCCIC) plays a crucial role in safeguarding these assets. Its initiatives include enhancing the understanding of cybersecurity landscapes, identifying vulnerabilities, managing intrusions, and executing mitigation and recovery strategies. Furthermore, the Multi-State Information Sharing and Analysis Centre (MS-ISAC) engages in collaborative efforts with international partners to facilitate information exchange and effectively respond to cybersecurity incidents.

In response to global limitations and heightened security demands, two leading scientific organizations in India, namely the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) and the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), have developed advanced indigenous security solutions. To address the challenges posed by the National Cyber Security framework, the Indian government enacted the "Information Technology Amendment Act 2008." Furthermore, a National Crisis Management Plan has been established by the Indian government to effectively counter cyberterrorism and cyberattacks.

Pakistan continues to represent a significant challenge to India's cybersecurity landscape, employing not only hacking techniques but also leveraging cybernetic strategies and social media platforms to disseminate disinformation about India globally, with a particular focus on Islamic countries. This campaign aims to foster the narrative that Muslims are collectively under siege, utilizing strategically released video content that depicts isolated incidents of violence or harassment against Muslims in India, thereby targeting Prime Minister Modi's administration. In response to the growing threat of international terrorism, a collaborative working group was formed between the United States and India, which led to the establishment of the US-India Cyber Security Forum in 2004 to specifically address the

issue of cyberterrorism. Furthermore, since the events of September 11, both nations have engaged in joint naval and air force exercises, demonstrating their commitment to mutual defense. India has consistently shown a prompt response to terrorist attacks, reflecting its proactive stance in safeguarding national security.

### **India's Initiatives for National Security**

Following the establishment of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994, India sought to strengthen its already established relationship with Singapore to facilitate a political consensus among ASEAN member states regarding its inclusion in the ARF. By 1995, India successfully gained membership in the ARF (Devare, 2006). In its pursuit of enhancing marine security and expanding its influence in Southeast Asia, India has been actively forging economic partnerships with ASEAN countries. This strategic approach is encapsulated in India's "Look East Policy," which initiated efforts to become an ASEAN Dialogue Partner. The majority of ASEAN nations welcomed India's proactive stance, viewing it as a potential counterbalance to the perceived threat posed by China. This sentiment is echoed among Southeast Asian countries, which share concerns regarding the increasing dominance of China in the region.

In September 2015, during his visit to the United States, Prime Minister Narendra Modi brought global focus to the issue of terrorism, advocating for the United Nations to establish a unified definition of terrorism. This initiative aimed to facilitate the identification of nations and organizations that contribute to such acts. Additionally, Modi called for reforms within the UN and sought a permanent seat for India on the Security Council. While these actions were not unprecedented, they underscored India's increasingly prominent, inclusive, and assertive approach to garnering international attention and cooperation in addressing terrorism. Furthermore, in October 2015, India successfully negotiated the return of two fugitives, gangster Chotta Rajan from Indonesia and Anup Chetia of the ULFA from Bangladesh, marking a significant diplomatic achievement.

India's national security is currently under threat due to China's assertive posture, particularly exemplified by its 'string of pearls' strategy, which poses a significant security challenge for India. Compounding this issue, Russia has initiated joint military exercises with Pakistan, further complicating the regional security landscape. Consequently, India finds itself confronting new challenges stemming from the emerging 'Pakistan-Russia axis.' In response

to these developments, India has launched initiatives aimed at enhancing its maritime security. Prime Minister Modi has undertaken visits to Mauritius, Sri Lanka, and other nations within the Indian Ocean region to foster collaborative security efforts.

## **CONCLUSION**

The rise of radical right-wing Islamist factions within the political frameworks of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh represents a significant threat to India's national security. It is imperative for these nations to cultivate the capacity and determination to confront their security challenges, as India's strategic interests encompass a spectrum that includes low-intensity conflicts, ideologically driven terrorism, and the complexities associated with nuclear arsenals and ballistic missile capabilities. In this context, India must remain vigilant regarding both its external and internal security dynamics, taking into account the implications of its relationships with neighboring countries. A critical reassessment of the porous border with Bangladesh, as well as the open borders with Nepal and Bhutan, is necessary for India to enhance its security posture. Furthermore, India's intelligence apparatus needs to evaluate and address its existing vulnerabilities.

Japan has broadened its anti-terrorism initiatives in South Asia, with a particular focus on India. In addition to providing humanitarian aid and COVID-19 vaccines to ASEAN countries, India has also fostered collaboration in the fight against international terrorism. To tackle the challenges posed by international terrorism, India has entered into a partnership with the African Union. In light of the shared threats of terrorism and piracy, India is reportedly aiming to strengthen its military collaborations with various African nations, positioning itself as a comprehensive security provider for the continent. To achieve this goal, India has formed defense partnerships with countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia, with plans to extend similar agreements to other African nations. Notably, India has offered military training in several African countries and has played a crucial role in developing Ghana's air force. Furthermore, India has been pivotal in establishing an air force, a defense academy, and a naval war college in Ethiopia. India and the United States have demonstrated a commitment to combating international terrorism, having established a joint working group over two decades ago to address this global issue. Thus, India's national security protection depends on both state actors and non-state actors.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Banerjee, S. (2019). India's Foreign Policy: Looking at Maritime dimension. In Raj Kumar Kothari (ed.) *India in the New World Order: The Changing Contours of Her Foreign Policy Under Narendra Modi*, Atlantic, New Delhi.
- BBC. (29 August 2013). Profile: Indian Mujahideen. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-23876150>, accessed on 11 November 2024.
- Bhattacharya, M, Ghosh, S. and Bhattacharyya, R. (2006). *Essays on International Terrorism*, Levant Books, Kolkata, 8.
- Bhattacharyya, R. (13 March 2024). Manipur in India's Northeast Remains in the Grip of Uncertainty and Fear. *The Diplomat*. <https://thediplomat.com/2024/03/manipur-in-indias-northeast-remains-in-the-grip-of-uncertainty-and-fear/>, accessed on 6 November 2024.
- Budania, R. (1999). India in the Post-Cold War Uncertainties: A Security Perspective. In Mukesh Kumar Kayathwal (ed.) *Security and Foreign Policy in South Asia*, Pointer Publishers, Jaipur, 142.
- Business Standard, 2000, March 3.
- Byman, D. (17 January 2017). ISIS Vs. Al-Qaeda: What's The Difference And Does It Matter? *Global Engagement*. <https://global.georgetown.edu/features/isis-vs-al-qaeda-what-s-the-difference-and-does-it-matter>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Chengappa, 2004:97-98 Chengappa, Bidanda M. (2004) *Pakistan: Islamization, Army and Foreign Policy*, A.P.H Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.
- Counter Terrorism Project. (2022). *Maldives: Extremism and Terrorism*. <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/maldives-extremism-and-terrorism>, accessed on 11 November 2024.
- Devare, S. (2006). *India and South East Asia: Towards Security Convergence*, Institute of South East Asian Studies, Singapore, 75-76.
- Feyyaz, M., and Husnain Bari, S. (2024). A critical analysis of India and Pakistan's terrorism discourse in the context of geopolitics and imperialism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 17(3), 606-630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2024.2360274>.
- First Post. (4 November 2024). How biscuits played a big role in eliminating the top Lashkar e-Taiba commander in Kashmir. <https://www.firstpost.com/explainers/how-biscuits-played-a-big-role-in-eliminating-top-lashkar-e-taiba-commander-in-kashmir-13831589.html>, accessed on 11 November 2024.
- Ghosh, N. (2019). The Impact of Terrorism on Globalization and Question of Social Security in India. In Prasenjit Pal (ed.) *India in South Asia: Challenges and Opportunities*, Kunal Books, New Delhi, 77.
- Gupta, S. ( 2020, April 23). After proxy war in Kashmir, Pak launches a cyber war against India and PM Modi. *Hindustan Times*, April 23, New Delhi.
- Hassan, A. (9 April 2021). 'Supreme Court has signed our death warrant': Rohingya in India. *Al Jazeera*, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/4/9/supreme-court-has-signed-our-death-warrant-rohingya-in-india>, accessed on 8 November 2024.
- India Times. (19 August 2023). How Influx Of Drugs In North-East India From Myanmar Has Become A Huge Menace. <https://www.indiatimes.com/news/india/how->



- influx-of-drugs-in-north-east-india-from-myanmar-has-become-a-huge-menace-604703.h, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- India Today. (22 March 2013). The 1993 blasts: A recap of the day that shook India. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/north/story/1993-blasts-timeline-and-locations-156749-2013-03-21>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- India Today. (10 June 2015). Indian Army's Myanmar operation: 10 insider facts. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/indian-army-myanmar-operation-details-indian-air-force-256665-2015-06-10>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Jacobs, G. (1990). Chinese Waves in South China Causing Ripples in far off New Delhi. *Armed Forces Journal International*, October, 40-41.
- Javeed, A. ( 24 July 2024). The surge in attacks brings fear to calmer parts of Kashmir. BBC, <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c728l7n57n7o>, accessed on 24 October 2024.
- Joshi, M. ( 29 November 2023). Manipur Peace Pact With Oldest Armed Group: UNLF's Activities to Amit Shah's 'Historic Milestone'. *News 18*. <https://www.news18.com/explainers/manipur-peace-pact-with-insurgent-group-unlfs-activities-to-amit-shahs-historic-milestone-explained-8681714.html>, accessed on 4 November 2024.
- Karim, M.R. (2024). China's Strategic Partnership with Bangladesh: India's Reaction and Global Migration Effects. In: Ullah, A.A., Ferdous, J. (eds) *Governance, Migration and Security in International Relations*. Springer, Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-9424-3\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-9424-3_7)
- Kaushal, S. (12 February 2013). The tragic tale of toxic Jadugoda: Videos documenting the devastating effects of uranium mining in Jharkhand. *India Water Portal*. <https://www.indiawaterportal.org/rivers-and-lakes/rivers/tragic-tale-toxic-jadugoda-videos-documenting-devastating-effects-uranium-mining-jharkhand>, accessed on 25 October 2024.
- Kaushik, V., Ripamonti, D. (2022). Maoist Conflict in India. In: Richmond, O.P., Visoka, G. (eds) *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-77954-2\\_111](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-77954-2_111)
- Kolas, A. (2010). Mumbai terror attacks: (re-)constructing Indian (counter-)terrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 3(1), pp. 83-98. DOI: 10.1080/17539151003594244.
- Kugelman, M. (ed.) (2011). *India's Contemporary Security Challenges*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., 12.
- Kux, D. (2002). India's fine Balance. *Foreign Affairs*, May-June, 93.
- Hancock, G. (1 February 2024). Piracy is Back in the Horn of Africa – What's Behind its Return? George Hancock. *Rusi*, <https://www.rusi.org/explore-our-research/publications/commentary/piracy-back-horn-africa-whats-behind-its-return>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Huntington, S. P. (2001). The Age of Muslim Wars. *News Week*, December, 17.
- Lintner, B. (1990). Allies in Isolation: Burma and China Move Closer. *Jane's Defence Weekly*, September, 475.
- Martin, M. (6 February 2023). What the BURMA Act Does and Doesn't Mean for U.S. Policy in Myanmar. *Centre for Strategic and International Studies*. Washington, D.C. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/what-burma-act-does-and-doesnt-mean-us-policy-myanmar>, accessed on 28 October 2024.

- Mir, Z. A. and Parry, B.A. (2022). India's Nuclear Security Vulnerabilities and Commitments: Considering Cyber Threats and Nuclear Material Trafficking. *East Asian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research*, 1(7), pp. 1195-1208.
- Mishra, A. (2024, June 2 ). The US is trying to secure a military base in Bangladesh. *The Sunday Guardian*, Accessed on 2 September 2024 from <https://sundayguardianlive.com/world/the-us-is-trying-to-secure-a-military-base-in-bangladesh>.
- Mohan, R.C. and Medcalf, R.(2014). Responding to Indo-Pacific rivalry: Australia, India, and middle power coalitions. Lowy Institute, <https://www.loyyinstitute.org/publications/responding-indo-pacific-rivalry-australia-india-middle-power-coalitions>, accessed on 26 August 2024.
- Mohapatra, A. (2002). Radical Islam. *India Quarterly*, 53(2), 92-112.
- Majid, I. (2022). Violence and insurgency in Kashmir: Understanding the Micropolitics. *India Review*, 21(4-5), 576-598. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736489.2022.2131126>
- Majumdar, A.J. (2016). Innate Security Contest in the Emerging India Theme. In Raj Kumar Kothari and Eyasin Khan (eds.) *India Becoming a Global Power in the Twenty-first Century: Rising Challenges and Newer Opportunities*, Atlantic, 68.
- Nag, S. (8 July 2024). Northeast India's battle against drugs. *Down to Earth*. <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/governance/northeast-indias-battle-against-drugs>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Nandy, D. (2017). *Understanding Pakistan*. Kunal Books, New Delhi.
- Nandy, D. (2020). India's Policy Options in Middle-East: Challenges and Opportunities. *Journal of Historical Archaeology & Anthropological Sciences*, 5(3), 87-93.
- Nandy, D. (2020 a). The Culture of Corruption in Pakistan and Afghanistan: Impacts on Socio-Economic Profiles. In Ramesh Chandra Das (ed.) *Social Sector Spending, Governance and Economic Development*. Routledge, New Delhi.
- Nandy, D. (2022). Terror Financing and Regulatory Economy of Pakistan: An Investigation of an Economically Failed State. *International Journal of Politics and Security (IJPS)*, 4(10), 143-169.
- Nandy, D. and Majee, D. (2022). Refugees in Bangladesh: The Question of Human Security. *Journal of Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation*, 26 (1-2), pp. 63-81.
- Nandy, D. (2024 a). India's multidimensional engagements with the African Union (AU): ambiguities and potentialities (2002-2024). *Journal of Historical Archaeology and Anthropological Sciences*. 9 (2), 74-79.
- Nandy, D. Roy S. and Sarkar, O.T. (2024). The Culture of Political Violence and Punishment in Bangladesh: The Role of Political Parties and Civil Society, *The Economic and Political Weekly*, 59 (20), 1-25. s
- Paravicini, G. , Saul, J. and Hassan, A. (21 March 2024). Somali pirates return, adding to the global shipping crisis. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/somali-pirates-return-adds-crisis-global-shipping-companies-2024-03-21/>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Prodip, M. A. , Roy, G. and Nandy, D. (2021). Education for Refugees in South Asia: Aid or Development? In book: *Refugee Education in South Asia: Policies, Practices, and Implications*, Nova Science Publishers, New York, pp. 223-230.

- Sagar, P.R. (17 October 2024). How Chinese arms to Myanmar junta escalate threats on India's border. *India Today*. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india-today-insight/story/how-chinese-arms-to-myanmar-junta-escalate-threats-on-indias-border-2618601-2024-10-17>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- Saha, B. (19 July 2024). Explained: What's behind the skyrocketing Maoist killings this year? *India Today*. <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/maoist-killing-india-encounter-chhattisgarh-bastar-mahashtra-2569239-2024-07-19>, accessed on 29 October 2024.
- Sarker, S. and Mahmud, F. (8 August 2024). Islamophobic, alarmist': How some India outlets covered Bangladesh crisis. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/8/8/islamophobic-alarmist-how-some-india-outlets-covered-bangladesh-crisis>, accessed on 8 November 2024.
- Selth, A. (1991). *Burma: Hidden Paradise' or Paradise Lost*. *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Sydney, November, 7.
- Sharma, M. (5 August 2024). As the Sheikh Hasina era ends, the rise of anti-India forces in Bangladesh poses major challenges. *First Post*. <https://www.firstpost.com/world/bangladesh-protests-sheikh-hasina-resignation-impact-on-india-khaleda-zia-bnp-jamaat-e-islami-china-pakistan-nexus-13801195.html>, accessed on 7 November 2024.
- SATP (2004). *Major Islamist Terrorist Attacks in India by Pakistan-Based Groups in the Post-9/11 Period*. <https://www.satp.org/islamist-extremism/data/Major-Islamist-Terrorist-Attacks-in-India-by-Pakistan-Based-Groups-in-the-Post-9-11-Period>, accessed on 4 November 2024.
- Stobdan, P. (1993). China's Forays into Burma: Implications for India. *Strategic Analysis*, 16(1), 35.
- Sundar, A. and Sundar, N. (eds.), (2014). *Civil Wars in South Asia: State, Sovereignty, Development*, Sage, New Delhi, 49.
- Sundar, N. (5 July 2021). How Chhattisgarh has stalled a historic judgment. *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/how-chhattisgarh-has-stalled-a-historic-judgment/article35137259.ece>, accessed on 11 November 2024.
- Swami, P. (2001). *An Audacious Strike*. *Frontline*, 18(21), pp.13-26.
- The Economic Times. (7 November 2024). Indian official meets Afghan defense minister, offers use of Chabahar Port to enhance trade. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/indian-official-meets-afghan-defence-minister-offers-use-of-chabahar-port-to-enhance-trade/articleshow/115055736.cms>, accessed on 10 November 2024.
- The New York Times. (16 August 2022). Chinese Military Ship Docks in Sri Lanka Despite India's Concerns. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/16/world/asia/sri-lanka-chinese-ship-india.html?auth=login-google1tap&login=google1tap>, accessed on 9 November 2024.
- The Times of India. (2024, May 24). Bangladesh MP murder: what we know Anwarul Azim Anar. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kolkata/bangladesh-mp-murder-what-we-know-about-anwarul-azim-anar-10-points/articleshow/110388297.cms>,
- The Times of India. (6 August 2024). Naxal-affected regions constricted to 38 districts by April 2024: MHA to Lok Sabha. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/naxal-affected-regions-constricted-to-38-districts-by-april-2024-mha-to-lok-sabha/articleshow/112316002.cms>, accessed on 2 November 2024.

- The Tribune. (2 November 2024). Punjab's drug war. <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/editorials/punjab-drug-war/>, accessed on 27 October 2024.
- UN News. (10 November 2022). Crime and terrorism thriving again in Afghanistan amid economic ruin warns Kőrösi. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2022/11/1130447>, accessed on 4 November 2024.
- Yousuf, M., Mir, N.A. (2024). India-Afghanistan Relations and the Return of the Taliban. In: Peng, N., Rahman, K. (eds) *The Uncertain Future of Afghanistan: Indo-Pacific Focus*. Springer, Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-2409-3\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-2409-3_8).a cetakan ke-12. Jakarta: Rajawali Pers.