FIGHTING TERRORISM WITH FOREIGN AID: A CASE FOR CONTINUED U.S. ASSISTANCE IN LATIN AMERICA

by
Janelle Perez

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ABSTRACT

Often it is believed that terrorist organizations are solely based in Africa, the Middle East and Asia, but what if there were groups using terrorist tactics right in our backyard? The Western Hemisphere has seen its share of terrorist organizations since the early 1960s. In recent years there has been a rise of insurgencies in Latin America, and these groups have been directly linked to terrorist organizations in the Middle East. Counterterrorism is one of America's front line policies in order to create a safer global environment. The U.S. government uses several different strategies to combat terrorism, such as, military force and foreign aid. Critics often debate whether foreign aid is effective or whether it is just creating more unstable governments and increased U.S. dependency. This paper analyzes the effectiveness of U.S. foreign assistance as a counterterrorism strategy. It looks at the role that United States foreign assistance has played in India's counterterrorism strategy, and how the application of a similar strategy in Latin America has proven to be successful to combat the rise of terrorism in the region.

READERS/ADVISORS:

⌈ Professor Blake Ethridge

⌈ Dr. Ken Masugi

⌈ Dr. Kathryn Wagner Hill

⌈ Dr. Douglas Harris

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Introduction

Until the attacks on September 11th, 2001, most Americans aside from those involved in the government or academia had never heard of the term *counterterrorism*. Today, this is a term that resonates all over the news, popular television shows, and other media outlets; it is nearly impossible to have never heard the term *counterterrorism*, but do we really know what it means? According to Jason Rineheart, a Freelance Writer specializing in counterterrorism and Middle East security and Research Assistant at the Terrorism Research Initiative, *counterterrorism* is a term that is very difficult to define and an all-inclusive doctrine.[1] In the U.S. Department of the Army Field Manual's glossary it is defined as, "Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism."[2] This definition is the same for counterterrorism policy and counterterrorism operations.

Historically, terrorist groups have usually established themselves in countries with weak or failed regimes, and therefore, U.S. foreign aid has become a counterterrorism policy instrument. Counterterrorism is one of the United State's front line policies in order to create a safe global environment, and foreign aid is one type of U.S. counterterrorism strategies. This is when the United States supports counterterrorist capabilities in countries that otherwise would not have the means to combat insurgent groups without assistance.[3] Therefore, it is important to know whether foreign aid is

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[1] Jason Rineheart, "Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no. 5 (2010), http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/122/html.

[2] United States Department of the Army, *Field Manual 3-24: Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps Warfighting Publication, 2006), Glossary-4.

[3] Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy,"

effective. Countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq have received millions of

United States dollars in foreign aid towards securing U.S. interests in the Middle East and

South Asia.

Foreign assistance can take the shape of several different types of relief: bilateral

development aid, economic assistance supporting U.S. political and security goals,

humanitarian aid, multilateral economic contributions, and military aid.[4] The largest

category of U.S. foreign assistance is bilateral development assistance, which is mostly

managed by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), because of the

global aid initiatives Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Global AIDS Initiative.

The Department of the Treasury manages most of the multilateral aid, and the

Department of Defense and the State Department manage most of the military and

security-related programs.[5] In 2002 President George W. Bush released his National

Security Strategy, and for the first time, it established global development as a pillar of

U.S. national security just behind defense and diplomacy.

Chapter one of this thesis looks into the effectiveness of U.S. foreign assistance as

a counterterrorism strategy, and uses examples of several different types of assistance to

show their success. Supporters of foreign aid as a counterterrorism strategy argue that

the assistance that the United States gives to these countries has helped the U.S. fight the

global war on terror. Some policymakers and academics believe that through United

States foreign aid, receiving countries help promote stability in their region. Others, like

Published Articles & Papers, paper 153 (2010), http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/153.

[4] Larry Nowels and Curt Tarnoff, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Services, 2005, accessed October 20, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-916.pdf.

[5] Ibid.

economist William Easterly, argue that foreign aid is ineffective and in reality creates

more instability than good. Easterly wrote a book in 2007, *The White Man's Burden:*

Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good, where

he criticizes existing aid strategies for their lack of accountability. Similarly, critics often

argue that the United States invests too much in foreign assistance. Critics debate on

whether foreign aid is effective or whether it is just creating more unstable governments

and increased U.S. dependency.

      With the United States' pivot to Asia, U.S. – India relations have been crucial.

India is the world's largest democracy and its national security is key to U.S. interests in

the region. Chapter two takes a look at India's counterterrorism strategy in clashes

affecting the Jammu and Kashmir region, Andhra Pradesh, and the northeastern states of

Asham and Nagaland. The role of the United States in India's counterterrorism strategy,

and the impact of U.S. foreign assistance in the country have been key to its development

and stability in an otherwise hostile region. India has been the target of several terrorist

attacks from both internal and external terrorist groups since its partition in 1947.[6]

Following the 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai, the need for U.S. – India cooperation to

counter terrorist threats in the region became more prevalent. Intelligence sharing

between the two countries has shown to be effective, but continued U.S. assistance

through training and capacity building are key to the country's stability.

      Given South America's close proximity to the U.S. homeland, the rise of

terrorism in Latin America should be cause for alarm. Chapter three looks at the

similarities between India and Latin America, presents the success of U.S. assistance in

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[6] Eben Kaplan and Jayshree Bajoria, "Counterterrorism in India," *Council on Foreign Relations*, November 28, 2007, http://www.cfr.org/india/counterterrorism-india/p11170.

Colombia's counterterrorism strategy, and argues that similar U.S. assistance strategies to the two countries must continue. The role of U.S. foreign assistance in India compares to that of its role in some countries of Latin America and their counterterrorism strategy. United States foreign assistance to Colombia to combat the violent terrorist group, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia People's Army (FARC), played a major role in the Colombian government's success. Despite the absence of operational terrorist cells in Latin America, the influence of Iran, links to Hezbollah, and both Cuba's and Venezuela's lack of cooperation with U.S. antiterrorism efforts, the components of what leads to the sprout of terrorist networks and capabilities for one to rise are there. Debates on the most effective strategy to combat terrorism in the region need to be given a higher priority.

The author draws on the analysis of studies and programs to defend her position that increased investments with attention to foreign aid can have a more positive long-term effect on counterterrorism, specifically when applied to countries in Latin America. The role that these investments play in national security prove to be effective and eventually reduce wasteful spending on expensive military programs that often backfire on the United States years later. Increased coordination between recipient countries and the United States and consistency in aid giving are key to making foreign assistance as a counterterrorism strategy successful.

Chapter 1:

Foreign Aid an Effective Counterterrorism Strategy

What is Terrorism and Counterterrorism?

According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary terrorism is defined as "the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion."[7] It is not usual to provide a dictionary definition of a term in academic writing, but in this case, a simple definition and the most common Americans will read, is the one in Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Today, "terrorism" is in the top 10 percent of lookups on the popular dictionary website.[8] It is needed for the case of this paper to show the complexity and difficulty of defining the term, and such a definition, should be taken with a grain of salt. "Terrorism" is a term that dates back so many centuries we often wonder why is it so difficult to define, and why are there so many different definitions for it.

Russians in the late 1800s used new communication and transportation technologies to commit assassinations.[9] In the 1920s there was vast anti-colonial movements throughout the world that used terrorist warfare. It was not until the late 1960s, according to Bruce Hoffman, that the "internationalization of terrorism reached new levels."[10] At this time tactics had evolved, and now groups were using hijacking and

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[7] *Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Terrorism," accessed March 10, 2013, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/terrorism.
[8] Ibid., scroll over "Popularity."
[9] Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism: The global politics of cooperation and contestation* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pg. 1.
[10] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), ch. 3.

hostage taking. These new tactics often involved foreign nationals and received an

abundant amount of media coverage.[11] By the twenty-first century, religious terrorism

expanded the transnational reaches of groups that often had worldwide supporters. These

terrorist groups have the ability to reach global crowds and recruit to join their cause and

join in their violence.[12]

There are so many different components and characteristics to terrorism that

having just one simple definition is extremely difficult. Despite the fact that it has been

difficult to reach a generally consensus definition of terrorism, almost all definitions have

three generally agreed upon understandings. The first is "acts of violence committed by

nongovernmental agencies."[13] The second is "for religious, political, or ideological

goals."[14] And lastly, the third is "by creating fear (terror) by deliberately targeting or

disregarding the safety of noncombatant civilians."[15] According to Michael Kraft and

Edward Marks, "the word *terrorism* is politically and emotionally charged, and this

greatly compounds the difficulty of providing a precise definition."[16]

Much like terrorism, the term "counterterrorism," which is one of the most

important terms used in this thesis, is equally as difficult to define. It is important to have

an understanding of both terms in order to fully grasp the difficulty in implementing

strategies. In *Terrorism Versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response* author Paul

Wilkinson, former Director of the University of St. Andrews Centre for the Study of

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[11] Ibid.

[12] Peter Romaniuk, *Multilateral Counter-Terrorism: The global politics of cooperation and contestation* (New York: Routledge, 2010), pg. 1.

[13] Michael B. Kraft and Edward Marks, *U.S. Government Counterterrorism: A Guide to Who Does What* (Boca Raton: Taylor and Francis Group, LLC, 2012), pg. 3.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

Terrorism and Political Violence, writes, "There is no universally applicable counter-terrorism policy for democracies. Every conflict involving terrorism has its own unique characteristics."[17]

Most Americans had not used the term counterterrorism until after the attacks on September 11th, 2001, many had not even ever heard of "counterterrorism." Today, this is a term that resonates all over the news, popular television shows, and other media outlets; it is nearly impossible to have never heard the term "counterterrorism," but do we really know what it means? According to Jason Rineheart, a Freelance Writer specializing in counterterrorism and Middle East security, counterterrorism is a term that is very difficult to define and an all-inclusive doctrine.[18] In the U.S. Department of the Army Field Manual's glossary it is defined as, "Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism."[19] This definition is the same for counterterrorism policy and counterterrorism operations.

What if foreign assistance was used to fight terrorist threats? Well, one of the tools for counterterrorism is foreign assistance. This chapter looks into foreign aid as a counterterrorism strategy by analyzing different forms of foreign aid that play a role in counterterrorism, how it works, and why it is effective if implemented correctly. The United States has provided various forms of foreign assistance to countries around the world. Not all counterterrorism strategies are the same because no two countries are the same, and foreign assistance needs to be looked at similarly. Counterterrorism strategies

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[17] Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism Versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response*, New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 203.
[18] Jason Rineheart, "Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 4, no. 5 (2010), http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/122/html.
[19] United States Department of the Army, *Field Manual 3-24: Counterinsurgency* (Washington, DC: Marine Corps Warfighting Publication, 2006), Glossary-4.

need to be looked at and implemented in a case-by-case basis in order to determine the effectiveness of foreign aid as a counterterrorism policy.

U.S. Foreign Assistance as a Counterterrorism Policy

Historically, terrorist groups have usually established themselves in countries with weak or failed regimes, and therefore, foreign assistance has become an instrument of U.S. counterterrorism policy by helping unstable regimes build capacity. Counterterrorism is one of the United State's front line policies in order to create a safe global environment, and counterterrorism aid is one of the types of U.S. counterterrorism policies. This is when the United States supports counterterrorist capabilities in countries that otherwise would not have the means to combat insurgent groups without assistance.[20] Some types of aid could be direct military assistance and others could be as general as assisting the recipient government with their health programs, something that will be discussed later in the chapter. Therefore, it is important to know whether foreign aid is effective.

There are various types of foreign assistance, but for this thesis a 2004 Congressional Research Service report, which organizes programs into five major categories, will be used. The report titled, "Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy," lists the categories, which could overlap each other, as: "bilateral development aid, economic assistance supporting U.S. political security goals, humanitarian aid, multilateral economic contributions, and military aid."[21] Bilateral

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[20] Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy," *Published Articles & Papers,* paper 153 (2010), http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/153.

[21] Larry Nowels and Curt Tarnoff, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Services, 2005, accessed October 20, 2014,

development assistance, which is the largest, is designed to "foster sustainable broad-based economic progress and social stability in developing countries." Bilateral development assistance is viewed as long-term efforts that effect the prevention of future crises from developing. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), and the Peace Corps are some examples of U.S. institutions that fall under this category. The next category, economic aid supporting U.S. political and security objectives is the second largest aid program, which has a primary purpose of meeting special U.S. economic, political, or security interests.[22] The Economic Support Fund (ESF) is where the bulk of these funds come from and targets countries of importance in the war on terrorism. ESF funds have supported the Middle East Peace Process, and can be used for development projects or cash transfers to help countries stabilize their economies. Programs that provide law enforcement activities, training, and equipment, as well as, anti-terrorism programs and weapons proliferation-related activities are funded through this category of foreign assistance. Humanitarian assistance, the third category, makes up twelve percent of foreign assistance.[23] Unlike development assistance, humanitarian assistance has three programs that are devoted largely to immediate relief during humanitarian emergencies: the refugee program administered by the Department of State, and the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance and Office of Transition Initiatives administered by USAID. Food assistance programs also fall under this category. Multilateral assistance is the smallest category of foreign assistance, which together with other donor countries, finances

http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-916.pdf.
[22] Ibid., 5-6.
[23] Ibid., 6.

multilateral development projects.[24] The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF),

United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and multilateral development banks, like

the World Bank, are all program implementing international organizations that are

recipients of multilateral assistance funds. The last category of foreign assistance is

military assistance, which makes up twenty-three percent of foreign assistance. The CRS

report states that the U.S. "provides military assistance to U.S. friends and allies to help

them acquire U.S. military equipment and training."[25] Military assistance is made up of

three main programs: Foreign Military Financing (FMF), a grant program that helps

governments acquire military equipment from the U.S. or access equipment directly

through U.S. commercial channels; the International Military Education and Training

program offers military training to foreign military officers and personnel through a grant

process; Peacekeeping funds, which are used for non-United Nations (U.N.) operations

and training.

Following September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration emphasized the

importance of foreign aid on the global war on terror, and highlighted thirty "front-line"

states receiving U.S. assistance as a priority for the war on terrorism.[26] According to the

2006 National Security Strategy, America's national interest is "to assist the world's poor

citizens and least developed nations and help integrate them into the global economy."[27]

U.S. foreign assistance has supported peace processes in the Middle East by providing

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 7.

[26] Larry Nowels and Curt Tarnoff, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Services, 2005, accessed October 20, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-916.pdf, 2.

[27] The United States National Security Strategy 2006, accessed December 4, 2014, http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf, 32.

assistance to Israel, Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians; it has supported the

"democratization and stability" of countries like Bosnia, Haiti, Rwanda, Kosovo, and

Liberia; in chapter three of this thesis, the author will discuss U.S. assistance to Colombia

and Latin American countries.[28] The 2006 National Security Strategy also argued that

foreign assistance "reinforces diplomacy and defense, reducing the long-term threats to

our national security by helping to build stable, prosperous, and peaceful societies."[29]

The Bush Administration emphasized that through foreign assistance the United States

would be more effective in strengthening responsible governments and thus promoting its

national interests.

Countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iraq have received millions of United

States dollars in foreign aid towards securing U.S. interests in the Middle East and South

Asia. Some argue that the assistance that the United States gives to these countries has

helped the U.S. fight the war on terror. Some policymakers and academics believe that

through United States foreign aid, receiving countries help promote stability in the

region. A 2011 U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations report stated that, the goal

of U.S. assistance in these countries is "to create the conditions for a more stable,

democratic government capable of resisting attempts by Al Qaeda and other insurgent

groups from returning and establishing safe havens from which to launch attacks on the

U.S. homeland."[30] In turn, much of the United States' generosity has been offset by

widespread anti-American sentiment.

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[28] Larry Nowels and Curt Tarnoff, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Services, 2005, accessed October 20, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-916.pdf, 2.

[29] The United States National Security Strategy 2006, accessed December 4, 2014, http://www.comw.org/qdr/fulltext/nss2006.pdf, 32.

[30] United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Evaluating U.S. Foreign Assistance to Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: GPO, 2011), 5.

Given today's political climate and budget issues, it is important to answer the question of whether foreign aid is effective or not. Today, the United States' foreign aid budget makes up less than one percent of our entire budget,[31] but the "$50 billion that the U.S. spends on foreign aid,"[32] is still a lot of money. Politicians are left with the questions, which programs are effective, what should be cut, what can be fixed or changed? Let's take Pakistan, for example. It has been one of the leading recipients of U.S. foreign assistance.[33] In 2009, Congress passed an act to authorize the President to give "$1.5 billion in annual nonmilitary aid to Pakistan for FY2010 through FY2014."[34] That Osama bin Laden, the U.S.'s most wanted terrorist, had been living in Pakistan is a clear sign that U.S. foreign assistance to Pakistan failing somewhere. The question then arises, is U.S. foreign aid an effective tool of counterterrorism policy?

Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas wrote a paper for CREATE Homeland Security Center, an interdisciplinary national research center based at the University of Southern California, in November 2010. Their paper titled, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy," investigates the role that U.S. foreign aid plays in counterterrorism. The authors present "a model where foreign aid bolsters a developing country's proactive counterterrorism efforts against a resident transnational terrorist group."[35] They have divided the model into three stages with "three active agents: the

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[31] Robert Goodwin, "A new strategy for solving America's foreign aid problem," *The Washington Post*, August 3, 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/on-leadership/a-new-strategy-for-solving-americas-foreign-aid-problem/2011/08/03/gIQAy9vyrI_story.html.

[32] "Can't Afford Foreign Aid, or Can't Afford to Cut It?" *New York Times*, August 15, 2012, Room for Debate, http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2012/08/15/cant-afford-foreign-aid-or-cant-afford-to-cut-it.

[33] Congressional Research Service, *Pakistan: U.S. Foreign Assistance* (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2012), Summary.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy," *Published Articles & Papers,* paper 153 (2010), http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/153.

aid-giving home country (H), the aid-recipient foreign country (F), and the terrorists."[36] In their model, the two countries involved are free to choose their own counterterrorism efforts.

In stage one, the aid-giving country allocates resources to general assistance, counterterrorism tied aid, and defensive measures at home. The authors also show in their model that "general assistance limits regime instability, but at the expense of foreign proactive measures against the common terrorist threat."[37] The opposite goes to show for tied aid, as it "increases these proactive measures, but at the expense of regime stability."[38] In stage two, once the recipient country has received the aid from the donor country, it decides on its own proactive campaign efforts against the common terrorist threat. In the third and final stage of the model, the terrorist groups then direct their attacks to the donor and recipient countries. In this stage the terrorists decide their "attacks on the two countries' interests based on its targeting preferences and the countries' counterterrorism allocations."[39] The authors found that the recipient country's counterterrorism effort reduces the likelihood of attacks to the donor country, but the donor country's defensive measures raise the likelihood of attacks to the recipient country.

One interesting finding that the model showed was the interdependency that is created by foreign aid as a counterterrorism policy. Greater counterterrorism-tied aid from the donor country increases the proactive measures of the recipient country and

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[36] Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy," *Published Articles & Papers,* paper 153 (2010), http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/153.
[37] Ibid., 2
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., 3

regime instability. The opposite happens when general aid is greater: The recipient

country's proactive measures are reduced and so is the regime instability in the recipient

country.[40] In other words, the authors found that giving a country that is occupied by

transnational terrorists aid to combat these terrorists, increases regime instability, but at

the same time, increases the counterterrorism efforts the country makes. In these cases,

"general aid assumes an increased importance in fighting a common terrorist threat."[41]

The authors concluded that countries that are terrorist targets should bolster their

proactive measures through tied aid to countries where these terrorist groups reside.

Given that there are so many targeted countries, counterterrorism aid creates global

benefits because the terrorism is reduced. They do warn that, if "the wrong mix of

general and tied aid is given, then sufficient regime instability can produce a global

public bad to all targeted countries as more terrorism results."[42] The authors suggest that,

"The fight against transnational terrorism must develop a judicious mix of homeland

defenses and counterterrorism foreign assistance."[43]

In *Analytics and Action in Afghanistan*, authors Thomas Blau, a professor at The

Johns Hopkins University Advanced Academic Programs, and Daryl Liskey take a deep

look into why U.S. aid to Afghanistan is not working successfully. They believe that

providing underdeveloped counties development assistance (as the U.S. has done in the

past) in order to "mitigate causes of instability,"[44] may not be the answer for the problems

in Afghanistan because "The evidence [they] find does not convincingly demonstrate that

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[40] Subhayu Bandyopadhyay, Todd Sandler, and Javed Younas, "Foreign Aid as Counterterrorism Policy,"
Published Articles & Papers, paper 153 (2010), http://research.create.usc.edu/published_papers/153.
[41] Ibid., 29
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Thomas Blau and Daryl Liskey, "Analytics and Action in Afghanistan," *PRISM* 1. No.4 (2010), 41.

development assistance contributed to short-term stability in Afghanistan."[45] Blau and Liskey cite a study done by Andrew Wilder that found there is little evidence that reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan would lead to reducing insurgency.[46] When it comes to Afghanistan, they believe that understanding the root causes for why there are insurgencies and instability in the country, will not lead to successful counterterrorism programs.

Another team of experts, Nielson et al, argues that foreign aid plays a much larger role in violent uprisings of rebels. They believe that severe decreases in foreign aid revenues inadvertently shift the domestic balance of power in a country and in turn create more violence. The authors argue that "aid shocks," or increases in foreign aid received by a country, give rebels more to bargain over with the government. The government then gives the rebels what they want, but since the aid is temporary, it cannot continue its commitment to the rebels and violence breaks out.[47] This is relevant because these conflicts often lead to unstable regimes.

They take Mali, for example. In the 1970s and 1980s, Mali became heavily dependent on foreign assistance (more than 30 percent of its budget came from foreign assistance and was often the largest source of revenue) due to desertification and severe droughts.[48] The Tuareg people, nomads of the Sahara region, were greatly affected by this aid. In 1989, foreign assistance to Mali was drastically reduced, weakening the government. Consequently, the government's assistance provided to the Tuareg was

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[45] Ibid., 49.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Richard A. Nielsen, Michael G. Findley, Zachary S. Davis, Tara Candland, and Daniel L. Nielson, "Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict," *The American Journal of Political Science* (2010), Abstract.
[48] Ibid., 1

reduced and a rebellion against the government began in 1990. Since then, Mali has been

plagued with violent uprisings that have weakened the government even more. Al-Qaeda

has found its safe haven in the country. In March 2012, Tuareg rebels captured a large

portion of northern Mali with the support of two extremist Islamic groups, one being Al-

Qaeda.[49] Eventually, the Islamist group fell out with the Tuareg rebels and gained control

of northern Mali, enforcing Islamic law. Today, Al-Qaeda is occupying an area in

northern Mali the size of France and using its control to recruit throughout Africa, the

Middle East, and Europe.[50] United Nations correspondent and author, Joseph A. Klein,

argues that northern Mali will eventually become the current version of Afghanistan in

the 1990s, where terrorists use it as a base for plotting, training, and launching attacks.

Mali can serve an example that cutting foreign aid to a country could lead to more

violence and instability.

It is shown in the theories and analysis presented above that foreign aid as a

counterterrorism strategy needs to be used as a case-by-case basis. In *Counterterrorism*

by Ronald Crelinsten, he presents five different types of counterterrorism. The last form

of counterterrorism that he presents is what he calls, "long-term counterterrorism." He

argues that while "there is no quick fix to the problem of terrorism. Coercive strategies

can take individual terrorists out of circulation or even lead to the demise of particular

terrorist groups."[51] Aid, he states, plays an important role in the "counterterrorism efforts

aimed at undercutting the ideological fuel that drives terrorist radicalization and

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[49] "UN Official Calls for Political Dialogue To Resolve Mali Crisis," *RTT News*, December 6, 2012, http://www.rttnews.com/2018656/un-official-calls-for-political-dialogue-to-resolve-mali-crisis.aspx?type=gn&utm_source=google&utm_campaign=sitemap.

[50] Joseph A. Klein, "Islamist Jihadists Occupy Mali With Impunity," *Canada Free Press*, December 6, 2012, http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/51565.

[51] Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009, 194.

recruitment in a world of haves and have-nots."[52] Crenlinsten calls for a comprehensive

counterterrorism strategy that includes foreign aid. If governments who receive foreign

aid have reduced the presence of insurgent groups in their country, then foreign aid as a

counterterrorism policy is effective. Granted, foreign aid to some countries in specific

should be modified and looked at as a case-by-case basis in order to prevent uprisings

and dependency. Once we determine the effectiveness of foreign aid as a

counterterrorism policy, Congress and policy makers can make complex decisions on the

allocation of U.S. dollars for specific aid programs.

U.S. Bilateral Development as a Counterterrorism Policy

Countries in the Middle East or countries plagued with Muslim extremism are

often the recipients of economic and military assistance. What about countries in Africa,

Asia, or Latin America? These countries have often received non-military, humanitarian

and bilateral development assistance. In the United States, the Department of State and

the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) are the leading

agencies for this type of aid. With a budget request of $46.2 billion for the Department of

State and USAID in fiscal year 2015, the United States is making significant investments

in humanitarian and development aid.[53] Just over 1 percent of the total budget requested

by President Barack Obama, these agencies and the several accounts or initiatives that

fall under them promote "American leadership and national security, diplomatic, and

development priorities in pursuit of stability and prosperity."[54] The goal is to expand

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[52]Ibid., 199.

[53] "The State Department and USAID Budget," *USAID.gov*, last modified March 4, 2014,
http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/223056.pdf.

[54] Ibid.

opportunities that promote U.S. interests in countries around the world, and build

partnerships that help protect these interests.

The United States is consistently the world's leader in foreign assistance

contributions; in 2012 it spent $30.2 billion in aid disbursements.[55] In 2010 the United

Nations set a target for countries to spend 0.7 percent of their gross national income

(GNI) on development aid. The U.S. is often criticized for its contributions because

despite being the largest donor, when compared to the country's GNI, its current

development aid budget is 0.2 percent of the GNI.[56] The table below from the

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows the net

Official Development Assistance (ODA) debt relief provided by its Development

Assistance Committee (DAC) members.[57] The data is presented from the highest

contributing DAC member to the least. The chart below the table illustrates the top ten

highest contributors based on this data, this shows the significantly higher contributions

by the United States. Notwithstanding foreign assistance being merely 0.2 percent of

U.S. GNI, the United States surpasses the next highest contributor, the United Kingdom,

by over $16 billion. Despite what the critics say about the percentage of U.S.

contributions, the entire burden of global development should not fall completely in the

hands of one country.

Table 1.

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[55] Claire Provost, "Aid from OECD countries – who gives the most and how has it changed?" *The Guardian Website* (2011): accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/apr/06/aid-oecd-given.
[56] Ibid.
[57] "OECD Statistics," OECD.org, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.oecd.org/statistics/.

Top 10 Countries for Official Development Assistance (ODA)

Country	Value
Norway	4,753
Sweden	5,240
Australia	5,403
Netherlands	5,523
Canada	5,650
Japan	10,605
France	12,028
Germany	12,939
United Kingdom	13,892
United States	30,687

Chart 1.

Table 1. DAC Members' Net Official Development Assistance in 2012

	2012		2011		Percent change
	ODA USD million current	**ODA/GNI %**	**ODA USD million current**	**ODA/GNI %**	**2011 to 2012 in real terms[a]**
United States	30 687	0.19	30 920	0.20	-2.6
United Kingdom	13 892	0.56	13 832	0.56	-0.5
Germany	12 939	0.37	14 093	0.39	-2.0
France	12 028	0.45	12 997	0.46	-1.4
Japan	10 605	0.17	10 831	0.18	-1.1
Canada	5 650	0.32	5 459	0.32	3.6
Netherlands	5 523	0.71	6 344	0.75	-6.6
Australia	5 403	0.36	4 983	0.34	8.4
Sweden	5 240	0.97	5 603	1.02	-3.5
Norway	4 753	0.93	4 756	0.96	0.3
Switzerland	3 045	0.47	3 051	0.46	5.3
Italy	2 737	0.14	4 326	0.20	-32.3
Denmark	2 693	0.83	2 931	0.85	-2.7
Belgium	2 315	0.47	2 807	0.54	-12.6
Spain	2 037	0.16	4 173	0.29	-47.3
Korea	1 597	0.14	1 325	0.12	21.1
Finland	1 320	0.53	1 406	0.53	-0.4
Austria	1 106	0.28	1 111	0.27	5.5
Ireland	808	0.47	914	0.51	-5.9
Portugal	581	0.28	708	0.31	-11.0
New Zealand	449	0.28	424	0.28	1.5
Poland	421	0.09	417	0.08	8.0
Luxembourg	399	1.00	409	0.97	1.3
Greece	327	0.13	425	0.15	-16.1
Czech Republic	220	0.12	250	0.12	-4.0
Slovak Republic	80	0.09	86	0.09	-1.5
Iceland	26	0.22	26	0.21	6.3
TOTAL DAC	**126 881**	**0.29**	**134 607**	**0.31**	**-3.6**
Average Country Effort		0.40		0.41	
Memo Items:					
EU Institutions	17 479	..	17 391	..	7.4
DAC-EU countries	64 665	0.40	72 834	0.43	-7.0
G7 countries	88 538	0.25	92 458	0.27	-2.9
Non-G7 countries	38 342	0.41	42 149	0.43	-5.4

a) Taking account of both inflation and exchange rate movements.

*Note: Chart is based on data from the OECD Aid (development) statistics for Net ODA debt relief provided by DAC countries in 2012.[58]

The United States Agency for International Development and the Department of State seek to protect U.S. national security, strengthen the U.S. economy, and combat

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[58] Ibid.

global challenges.[59] For 2015, the President's budget highlights funding to maintain U.S.

global leadership as it responds to the crisis in Syria and the conflicts plaguing the

Middle East and North Africa.[60] President Obama announced in 2013 a new initiative,

Power Africa, where the United States would commit $7 billion in financial support over

the next five years to double access to power in sub-Saharan Africa.[61] This new initiative

will bring together the U.S. government, six African countries, and private sector partners

to attract investment in Africa's energy sector and expand the markets for U.S. goods in

Sub-Saharan Africa.[62] The budget calls for $3 billion to fund support for United Nations

and $150 million for a new peacekeeping account separate from UN-peacekeeping

commitments.[63] Over $8 billion was requested for global health initiatives and over $3

billion for development assistance programs have been requested for fiscal year 2015.[64]

The United States currently supports 6.7 million people on HIV antiretroviral therapy,

and supports funding for maternal and child survival programs. Another initiative started

by President Obama is Feed the Future, which addresses "the root causes of hunger and

poverty through agriculture development, resilience, and nutrition programs intended to

reduce extreme poverty and malnutrition and increase food security for millions of

families by 2015."[65] These are just a few of the several U.S. initiatives that seek to

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[59] "The State Department and USAID Budget," *USAID.gov*, last modified March 4, 2014, http://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1868/223056.pdf.

[60] "Department of State and Other International Programs," *WhiteHouse.gov*, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2015/assets/state.pdf.

[61] "Fact Sheet: Power Africa," *WhiteHouse.gov*, last modified June 30, 2013, http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/06/30/fact-sheet-power-africa.

[62] "Department of State and Other International Programs," *WhiteHouse.gov*, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2015/assets/state.pdf.

[63] Ibid.

[64] "InterAction Federal Budget Table," *InterAction.org*, last modified April 28, 2014, http://www.interaction.org/document/interaction-federal-budget-table.

[65] "Department of State and Other International Programs," *WhiteHouse.gov*, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2015/assets/state.pdf.

provide development aid and other humanitarian assistance, including refugee relief,

climate change, educational exchanges, poverty reduction, economic growth, and science,

technology and innovation developments.[66]

U.S. Perception in Foreign Countries Receiving Assistance

In 1963, the late American Enterprise Institute political scientist and presidential

advisor, Edward Banfield, published a report, "American Foreign Aid Doctrines." In the

report, Banfield sets out to examine the doctrines that justify U.S. non-military foreign

assistance. A critic of the idea of justifying aid on the ground that it would contribute to

national security, Banfield believes that this position is based on two incompatible

doctrines.[67] The doctrine of indirect influence, which "asserts that national security will

be promoted by using aid to transform fundamentally the cultures and institutions of the

recipient countries."[68] And secondly, the doctrine of direct influence, which "takes the

cultures and institutions of the recipient countries as given and seeks to achieve the

purpose (promotion of national security) by bringing influence to bear directly either

upon the governments of the countries concerned or upon their public opinions."

Contrary to the positions discussed in this thesis, Banfield believes that even if economic

growth occurs, "it will not necessarily lead to the spread of freedom and democracy."[69]

The scholar believes that the idea that a citizen from an impoverished country receiving

U.S. aid would feel grateful because the United States has saved him or her from

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Edward C. Banfield, "American Foreign Aid Doctrines," *American Enterprise Institute*, Washington, DC: 1963, http://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/20070226_AmericanForeignAidDoctrines.pdf, 4.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 13.

starvation, for example, is unrealistic.[70] In the following section this thesis is going to

focus on one specific type of U.S. bilateral development aid, the global health initiatives

in order to give an example of how, contrary to Edward Banfield, foreign assistance does

have a positive effect on the perception of donor countries.

One of the largest accounts within U.S. global health initiatives is the President's

Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). With the creation of PEPFAR by President

George W. Bush, the United States has been the world's leader in the goal to achieve an

AIDS-free generation.[71] The United States is also the largest donor to the Global Fund to

Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, an international financing institution that fights

the three diseases by partnering with governments, civil society, and the private sector.[72]

Given the continued support by the United States to the Global Fund, the institution

together with PEPFAR have achieved significant results, "of the estimated 9.7 million

individuals in low- and middle-income countries who currently receive treatment, nearly

9.1 million receive support through PEPFAR bilateral programs, the Global Fund, or

both."[73]

In the recent study, "Doing Well by Doing Good: The Impact of Foreign Aid on

Foreign Public Opinion," published in March 2014, Benjamin Goldsmith, Yusaku

Horiuchi, and Terence Wood seek to answer, "Does foreign aid extended by one country

improve that country's image among populations of recipient countries?"[74] Answering

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[70] Ibid., 28.

[71] "About PEPFAR," *PEPFAR.gov*, accessed on May 3, 2014, http://www.pepfar.gov/about/index.htm.

[72] "About the Global Fund," *TheGlobalFund.org*, accessed on May 3, 2014,
http://theglobalfund.org/en/about/.

[73] "Latest PEPFAR Results," *PEPFAR.org*, accessed May 3, 2014,
http://www.pepfar.gov/funding/results/index.htm.

[74] Benjamin E. Goldsmith, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Terence Wood, "Doing Well by Doing Good: The Impact
of Foreign Aid on Foreign Public Opinion," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9 (2014): 87.

this question is key to understanding why foreign assistance is an effective

counterterrorism strategy. A donor country has the ability to sway the minds of potential

terrorist recruits when they are providing life saving assistance to villages and citizens.

In other words, if a person has directly or indirectly knowingly received assistance from

the United States, he or she is less likely to have negative sentiments about the U.S. and

therefore less likely to be recruited by a terrorist organization with a mission to harm the

U.S. and it's interests. The study acknowledges that in order to achieve a range of

objectives in foreign relations, countries must have a positive image of themselves among

foreign publics; foreign aid seems to be the most effective tool.[75] Goldsmith, Horiuchi,

and Wood use PEPFAR because it is an ongoing aid program and it is given across

several different countries and contexts.[76] PEPFAR is different from aid programs that

are a response to a natural disaster or a result of a military conflict. It is important to

investigate the impact that consistent foreign aid has on the public opinion of recipient

countries. The authors prove in their study that in the case of PEPFAR since it is

"targeted, sustained, effective, and visible"[77] it has had a positive affect on the opinions of

recipient country populations.

It is believed that foreign aid can serve as a leveraging tool over recipient

countries and political leaders to advance commercial or foreign policy goals important to

the donor country.[78] In "Doing Well by Doing Good," the authors state that "by instilling

gratitude in those it helps or through promoting an image of positive action, compassion

and generosity, foreign aid may create or strengthen positive perceptions of donor nations

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[75] Ibid., 88.
[76] Ibid., 93.
[77] Ibid., 89.
[78] Ibid., 91.

in recipient countries."[79] Programs that meet similar conditions to PEPFAR would "be more likely to affect opinion among recipient populations about the donor state."[80] So why would the results of this study be important to the United States policy makers? The answer is simple, if the comparably small amount of funding provided in the foreign aid budget (the Department of Defense has a $495.6 billion budget request for FY15)[81], specifically to programs like PEPFAR, could have this kind of affect on the foreign opinion of the United States, then imagine the effects it could have on our national security if it were to be expanded.

Concluding Thoughts

With the growth of terrorism in Latin America and regime instability in South American countries, Muslim extremist leaders in the Middle East may see this as the perfect opportunity to introduce their radical ideology. Countries like Iran have been attempting to infiltrate their anti-American principles on Latin American leaders for years. I previously stated that terrorist groups feed off instability and poverty, South America has been afflicted with both. Given that the United States shares the Western Hemisphere with Latin American countries, it is important that it maintains a positive public opinion with its neighbors to the south. This study by Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Wood, shows that with consistent and stable investments in development U.S. assistance could prove to be successful. The United States cannot let what happened in the Middle

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 95.

[81] "Fiscal Year 2015 Budget of the U.S. Government," *WhiteHouse.gov*, accessed May 3, 2014, http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2015/assets/budget.pdf, pg. 57.

East to occur in South America, we are at a crucial time when the need to make these types of investments in the region can make the biggest impact.

Fiscally constrained policy-makers in the United States need to make decisions on funding programs that protect our national interests through militarization, or funding programs that promote an image of positive action. As Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Wood argued that "if targeted, sustained, effective, and visible aid gives the best chance of influence, this may compel great powers to actually do good, and to be seeing doing so, in order to do well in their global competition for influence."[82] It's like that saying, "you catch more flies with honey than with vinegar." Enhancing U.S. power can also come from improving the United States' image through aid and not just by having the world's largest army, this can be a more effective counterterrorism strategy in the future.

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[82] Benjamin E. Goldsmith, Yusaku Horiuchi, and Terence Wood, "Doing Well by Doing Good: The Impact of Foreign Aid on Foreign Public Opinion," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9 (2014): 90.

Chapter 2:

Terrorism and Counterterrorism in India

India's Troubled History

India gained its independence from the British on August 15, 1947 when it was partitioned.[83] Most of the unrest and conflict affecting India are a consequence of the partition and the inability to have a Muslim-Hindu unity.[84] In India, the Muslims are poorer than the Hindus, and less educated with a literacy rate less than the national average.[85] In January 2013, the author had the opportunity to travel to India for a month, and through conversing with New Delhi locals she learned that a majority of Indians consider themselves middle class. Unfortunately, there is no real Muslim middle class in India, part of this is due to the lack of Muslim entrepreneurs and the under-representation of Muslims in professions and government services. "Forty percent of Muslims in cities lived below the poverty line; the situation in the countryside was not much better."[3] Hindu fundamentalism played a large role in putting the Muslim minority of India on a defensive mentality. In the Jammu and Kashmir region, which we will discuss in depth later in this paper, the Muslim majority was "increasingly expressing its aspirations in religious terms."[3] Pakistan has largely aided the militant groups in Kashmir through the

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[83] Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007), 19.
[84] Ibid., 42.
[85] Ibid., 641.

Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (PSI), which runs camps were terrorists could be trained.[86]

From 2001 to 2005 there was a total of 22,688 terrorism related incidents in Jammu and Kashmir, and the Northeastern States of India alone.[87] Of these incidents, 18,791 people were killed. In a 2011 assessment by the South Asia Terrorism Portal they state, "The worst and steadily worsening of conflicts in India is, without a dispute, the Maoist insurgency, principally spearheaded by the Muslim-friendly, Communist Party of India – Maoist (CPI-M)."[88] The CPI-M is responsible for nearly 45 percent of the country's terrorist activities, and it has caused nearly the same amount of deaths as al-Qa'ida in Iraq.[89] The assessment also states that of India's 636 Districts, 310 of them are affected by "chronic activity, including subversion, by insurgent and terrorist groupings." In 2012 the Institute for Economics and Peace along with the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, or START, released the "Global Terrorism Index (GTI)," which ranks nations according to their terrorist activity.[90] India ranked fourth in the report, only after Iraq, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. The December 7, 2006 train bombings in Mumbai ranked fifth in the GTI highest ranked incidents.[91] The Lashkar-e-Taiba group was responsible for these bombings, killing 187 people and injuring 817 in a string of seven blasts that spanned 56 kilometers.

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[86] Ibid., 642.

[87] "Country Report: India," United Nations Asia and Far East Institute, http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No71/No71_12PA_Pathak.pdf.

[88] "India Assessment – 2011," South Asia Terrorism Portal, http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/index.html.

[89] Institute for Economics & Peace, "2012 Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism Over the Last Decade," released December 4, 2012, http://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/2012-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report1.pdf, 17.

[90] Ibid., 6.

[91] Ibid., 14.

TABLE 8 Worst terrorist attacks over the period 2002-2011[7]

RANK	COUNTRY	CITY	DATE	FATALITIES	INJURIES
1	Nepal	Bedi	21/3/2004	518	216
2	Spain	Madrid	11/3/2004	191	1800
3	Russia	Beslan	1/9/2004	344	727
4	Iraq	Tal Afar	30/3/2007	290	340
5	India	Mumbai	12/7/2006	187	817
6	Nigeria	Maiduguri	27/7/2009	304	Unknown
7	Iraq	Baghdad	I25/10/2009	153	720
8	Indonesia	Kuta	12/10/2002	202	300
9	Iraq	Baghdad	14/9/2005	160	542
10	Iraq	Baghdad	23/11/2006	202	257
11	Iraq	Baghdad	3/12/2006	183	278
12	Iraq	Kahtaniyah	15/8/2007	200	170
13	India	Mumbai	26/11/2008	183	252
14	Iraq	Baghdad	8/12/2009	132	500
15	Iraq	Tal Afar	27/3/2007	153	351
16	Afghanistan	Herat	12/5/2006	206	1
17	Iraq	Mosul	16/8/2007	200	Unknown
18	Iraq	Baghdad	19/8/2009	104	568
19	United Kingdom	London	7/7/2005	56	784
20	Iraq	Amerli	7/7/2007	150	250

| 10 | Philippines | | | 6.80 |

Table 2.

*NOTE: Institute for Economics & Peace, Table 6 shows the ten countries most affected by terrorism in 2011. India is ranked number four. [92]

Table 3.

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[92] Institute for Economics & Peace, "2012 Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism Over the Last Decade," released December 4, 2012, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2012-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report.pdf, 12.

*NOTE: Institute for Economics & Peace's Table 8 shows the worst terrorist attacks from 2002-2011. The Mumbai attacks in December 2006 are ranked number five.[93]

India has been plagued by both foreign and internal terrorism, and most of the foreign terrorism deals with the dispute over Kashmir with Pakistan. The internal and external terrorism both have a nationalist or separatist aspiration, but in "the case of Kashmir, the ideology is largely religious (Islamic) whilst the other is political (communist)."[94] Often groups of each ideology support each other's causes. In an October 2009 interview, the supreme commander of CPI-M explained that the Islamic jihadist movements of today are a product of imperialism and the CPI-M supports the "struggle of Muslim countries and people against imperialism."[95] Lets take a look at each of the five regions in India that have had long term terrorist activities: Jammu and Kashmir, Western India, Northern and Northwestern India, The Seven Sister States, and South India. By doing this we can understand the various different types of terrorist groups in the country and better understand India's counterterrorism strategies.

Terrorism in India

The conflict in the state of Jammu and Kashmir is one of India's oldest unresolved international conflicts. In 1947 the subcontinent was partitioned between Hindu-dominated India and the Muslim state of Pakistan. Since the partition, the territory of Jammu and Kashmir has remained a constant conflict between the two

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[93] Ibid., 15.

[94] Ibid., 17.

[95] Rahul Pandita, "We Shall Certainly Defeat the Government," OPEN Magazine, posted October 17, 2009, accessed September 14, 2014, http://www.openthemagazine.com/article/nation/we-shall-certainly-defeat-the-government.

countries.[96] Given that there are so many insurgent groups in the region, each wanting

different outcomes, a BBC news report, "The Future of Kashmir?" provides online

readers with 7 scenarios for the Kashmir conflict.[97] Some want independence from both

India and Pakistan, others want to join Pakistan, and some just want greater independence

from the Indian government. One of the most organized terrorist groups in the region is

the Islamic fundamentalist group, Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HM), led by Syed Salauddin,[98]

which supports the liberation of Kashmir and its accession to Pakistan. On the START

terrorist organization profile for HM it states that according to Pakistani reposts, it is

estimated that HM controls about 60 percent of terrorists operating in Kashmir.[99]

Another Kashmir and Pakistan based terrorist group is the Islamic, Lashkar-e-

Taiba (LeT), which has approximately 300 members, is responsible for the November

2008 Mumbai attack that claimed the lives of over 150 people.[100] This is not the first

time Mumbai has been the target of a terrorist attack though. On March 12, 1993, twelve

serial blasts killed 257 people and injured 713.[101] In Western India, the city of Mumbai is

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[96] "India – Pakistan: Troubled relations," BBC News Online, last updated May 19, 2011,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/south_asia/2002/india_pakistan/timeline/default.stm.
[97] "The Future of Kashmir," BBC News Online, last May 19, 2011,
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/south_asia/03/kashmir_future/html/.
[98] Animesh Roul, "South Asia: Hotbed of Islamic Terrorism," in *NBR Analysis: Aspects of Islamism in South and Southeast Asia*, vol. 19, no. 4, (The National Bureau of Asian Research, August 2008), 20.
[99] "Terrorist Organization Profile: Hizbul Mujahideen (HM)," National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism,
http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=52.
[100] Ashley J. Tellis, "The Menace That is Lashkar-e-Taiba," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: Policy Outlook*, 2012, http://carnegieendowment.org/files/LeT_menace.pdf.
[101] Meena Menon, "20 years on, mayhem still haunts Mumbai," *The Hindu*, March 12, 2013,
http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/20-years-on-mayhem-still-haunts-mumbai/article4500797.ece?css=print.

the most targeted by terrorist organizations. Since 1993 there have been fourteen terrorist

attacks in Mumbai claiming 710 lives and injuring 2,393 people.[102]

In the mountainous region of northeastern India, an area known as The Seven

Sisters, violence has plagued the states since the partition in 1947.[103] Ever since the

country of Bangladesh was partitioned off, fighting in the states of Assam and Nagaland

has been particularly high.[104] In an area greatly affected by poverty, tribal friction due to

the number of religious and cultural differences has led to several groups demanding

independence. One of the largest terrorist groups in the region is known as the United

Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), which has approximately three thousand members

according to the START Terrorist Organization Profile.[105] ULFA is responsible for

several terrorist attacks targeting political opponents, and has the dual goal of

establishing Assam as a separate country with a socialist government. The organization

has managed to establish relationships with two other non-state groups, Kachin

Independence Army and the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland, as well as, gain

the support of some in the ruling party of Assam, Assam Gana Parishad.[106]

One issue with the Seven Sisters region of India is the amount of indigenous

tribes. The Nagas alone are made up of some seventeen tribes and over twenty sub-

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[102] "Terrorist Attacks in Mumbai since 1993," South Asia Terrorism Portal,
http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/mumbai_blast.htm.
[103] James A. Piazza, "Terrorism and Party Systems in the States of India, *Security Studies* 19, no. 1,
(Routledge, February, 2010), 100.
[104] Jayshree Bajoria and Eben Kaplan, "Counterterrorism in India," *Council on Foreign Relations*,
November 27, 2008, http://www.cfr.org/india/counterterrorism-india/p11170.
[105] "Terrorist Organization Profile: United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA)," National Consortium for
the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism,
http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3686.
[106] Ibid.

tribes, and each tribe speaks a different language.[107] Nagaland attained Indian statehood

in 1963 and since then there has been continued violence in the state. Nagaland is known

as the most volatile state of the Seven Sisters; there is violence between militant groups

themselves and the militant groups against the Indian government. In the period between

2000 and 2012, a total of 182 civilians had been killed in terrorist related attacks.[108]

Between the seven states that make up the Seven Sisters, Nagaland, Assam, Tripura,

Manipur, and Mizoram, there is a total of 110 terrorist, insurgent and extremist groups

according to the South Asia Terrorism Portal.[109] Another key group in the region is the

People's Liberation Army (PLA) located in the state of Manipur. The PLA has less than

3,000 members, and since it's founding, has engaged in a guerilla insurgent campaign

against the Indian government in order to gain independence for Manipur from India.[110]

Unlike the groups in Nagaland, the PLA claims to be a trans-tribal organization that seeks

to unite all of the tribes in northeast India in order to oppose India's occupation of

Manipur. In 1979, the PLA created a political wing called the Revolutionary People's

Front that "still runs a government-in-exile out of Bangladesh."[111] In 2000, the PLA

militants rejected a cease-fire offer, and therefore it is expected that attacks against the

government of India will continue. The PLA is feared to be incorporating the use of

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[107] "Nagaland Backgrounder," South Asia Terrorism Portal,
http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/backgrounder/index.html.
[108] "Nagaland Assessments – Year 2013," South Asia Terrorism Portal,
http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/index.html.
[109] "India – Terrorist, insurgent and extremist groups," South Asia Terrorism Portal,
http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/terroristoutfits/index.html.
[110] "Terrorist Organization Profile: People's Liberation Army," National Consortium for the Study of
Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?
id=4590.
[111] Ibid.

improvised explosive devices after recent arrests of militants have found explosives and bomb making materials.

Southern India has also been affected by terrorist activity. In Andhra Pradesh, the Naxalites, or People's War Group (PWG), is a communist/socialist group that is responsible for killing "an average of 60 civilians… and a dozen police officers each year during their active period."[112] Today, the PWG has joined the Communist Party of India-Maoist whose goal is to create an independent communist state extending from the Nepalese border to Andhra Pradesh. It is believed that the Naxalites "have 9,000-10,000 armed fighters, with access to about 6,500 firearms."[113] In 2005 there was nearly 1,600 violent incidents involving Naxalites leading to the deaths of 669 people. "Naxalism" affects 170 of India's 602 districts.

Counterterrorism in India

India has taken several initiatives for its national counterterrorism strategy. At the international level, India has played a supportive role in all United Nations related efforts to combat terrorism. It has held a consistent stance on terrorism and believes that there is no justification for it, the fight against terrorism must be a top priority, counterterrorism must be long term and comprehensive, and international cooperation is key.[114] In India's local government there are also a few key legislations that deal with the country's counterterrorism: The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967, The Armed Forces

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[112] "Terrorist Organization Profile: People's War Group," National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=3658.
[113] "India's Naxalites: A spectre haunting India," *The Economist Online*, August 17, 2006, http://www.economist.com/node/7799247.
[114] "Country Report: India," United Nations Asia and Far East Institute, http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No71/No71_12PA_Pathak.pdf.

(Special) Powers Act of 1967, The National Security Act of 1980, The Arms Act of 1959, The Explosives Act of 1884, The Explosives Substance Act of 1908, The Indian Penal Code of 1860, The Code of Criminal Procedures of 1973, the Anti-Hijacking Act of 1982, and The Prevention of Money Laundering Act of 2002.[115]

Now let's take a look at just two of these pieces of legislation. The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of 1967 gives law enforcement agencies the power to deal with unlawful activities directed against the integrity and sovereignty of India.[116] Recently, this law has been under strict criticism from international human rights organization, like Human Rights Watch, for misuse of the law and new amendments that would worsen the abuses. "The counterterrorism law has long been abused to detain suspects for excessive periods, file charges on fabricated evidence, and ban organizations without due process of the law," stated Meenakshi Ganguly of Human Rights Watch.[117] The National Security Act of 1980 provides the Indian government with the power to detain certain persons, including foreigners, "whose action may be prejudicial to the defense of India, security of India, prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community."[118]

Since 1989, more than 30,000 people, including civilians, terrorists, policemen, and army soldiers have died in Jammu and Kashmir.[119] In the article, "Defeating Terrorism: A Study of Operational Strategy and Tactics of Police Forces in Jammu &

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[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

[117] "India: Reject Amendments to Counterterrorism Law," Human Rights Watch, December 14, 2012, http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?page=printdoc&docid=50d054372.

[118] "Country Report: India," United Nations Asia and Far East Institute, http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No71/No71_12PA_Pathak.pdf.

[119] Yateebdra Singh Jafa, "Defeating Terrorism: A Study of Operational Strategy and Tactics of Police Forces in Jammu & Kashmir (India)," *Police Practice and Research* 6, no. 2 (2005): 140.

Kashmir (India)," Yateendra Singh Jafa sets out to analyze the counter-terrorism strategy used in Jammu and Kashmir, and prove that "the police forces can substantially debilitate the terrorist movement by isolating its activists from the masses and winning over the people."[120] According to Jafa, "the counter-terrorism strategy is simply to hunt down the terrorists."[121] With the use of two police forces, Border Security Force and Central Reserve Police Force, vulnerable areas are guarded in both a defensive and offensive way. One of the issues Jafa discusses and suggests should change is the attitude of the Kashmir people towards the police forces. There is a very strong dislike and distrust between the Muslims of Kashmir and the police forces, as they have often been the victims of human rights violations inflicted by the Indian police forces.[122] Some of the other suggestions he makes are: better intelligence for planning operations, tactical changes, better management of processions of unarmed protesters, avoiding complaints of misbehavior with women, and denial of funds to terrorist groups.

The November 20, 2008 terrorist attacks in Mumbai has brought an enormous amount of global attention to India's terrorist incidents. Paul Staniland states that these attacks "brought into clear focus the inability of the Indian security apparatus to anticipate and appropriately respond to major terrorist incidents."[123] Staniland argues that India needs to "dramatically enhance its domestic counterterrorism infrastructure," and in order for there to be improvement several resources will need to be used, consistency in policy, and a political will is necessary. In Staniland's article, "Improving India's

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[120] Ibid., 142.
[121] Ibid., 154.
[122] Ibid., 157.
[123] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *CTC Sentinel* 2, issue 4 (2009), http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol2Iss4-Art4.pdf.

Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," he outlines the current structure of

counterterrorism strategy in India and then suggests a couple of reforms. Due to the

fragmented and inefficient Indian bureaucracy, Staniland believe that the necessary

reforms will be extremely challenging and will require international partners.[124]

Ajai Sahni believes that the Indian government's response to the Mumbai 2008

attack does nothing "whatsoever to contain the rampage of terrorism across a country that

remains pitifully under-policed."[125] One of Staniland's first points in the domestic

structure and capabilities of India's police and internal security system is that it is highly

fragmented and poorly coordinated.[126] The policing responsibilities are left to each

individual state that usually have their own counterterrorism and intelligence units.

Unfortunately, these units are often poorly trained and equipped, and often officials are

hired based on politics. The level of corruption is extremely high in India, especially with

the police.[127]

In a paper published by RAND Corporation, "The Lessons of Mumbai,"

intelligence failures by the Indian government are one of the "key weaknesses" in the

country's counterterrorism structure.[128] The Indian government is composed several

agencies that deal with intelligence, central investigation, and law enforcement. The

Intelligence Bureau, Central Reserve Police Force, Indian Police Service, and the new

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Ajai Sahni, "The Uneducable Indian," *Outlook India*, December 1, 2008,
http://www.outlookindia.com/printarticle.aspx?239084.

[126] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *CTC Sentinel* 2, issue 4
(2009), http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol2Iss4-Art4.pdf.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Robert D. Blackwill, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, C. Christine Fair, Brian A. Jackson, Brian Michael
Jenkins, Seth G. Jones, Angel Rabasa, Nathaniel Shestak, and Ashley J. Tellis, "The Lessons of Mumbai,"
Rand Corporation (2009),
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP249.pdf.

National Investigation Agency are all part of the Ministry of Home Affairs.[129] Under the

Prime Minister, there is the Research and Analysis Wing and the Central Bureau of

Investigation. The focus of the Indian military is on foreign threats, but it often generates

intelligence on domestic terrorism as well. Within the military is the National Security

Guard that specifically deals with hostage and terrorist attack situations.[130] There is a

Multi-Agency Center, task forces, joint committees, and subsidiary intelligence bureaus

that coordinate between the several agencies, but according to Staniland "they are often

slow and cumbersome." Competition between states and the central agencies over

resources and bureaucratic autonomy are just some of the problems. Most are

"understaffed, undertrained, and technologically backward."[131] In the case of the 2008

attacks, RAND reports that there was little coordination between the central security

agencies and the local Mumbai police.[132] Another problem that RAND reported is that

the metal detectors at the CRT were of questionable reliability and despite armed officers,

"their weapons were relatively antiquated and in short supply (one for every two

officers)."[133] Failures in the response were also evident in 2008; local contingents of the

army arrived a full five hours after the first shots were fired. It was not until six hours

later, nearly 10 hours after the first shots, that the National Security Guard, the country's

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[129] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *CTC Sentinel* 2, issue 4 (2009), http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol2Iss4-Art4.pdf.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Robert D. Blackwill, Peter Chalk, Kim Cragin, C. Christine Fair, Brian A. Jackson, Brian Michael Jenkins, Seth G. Jones, Angel Rabasa, Nathaniel Shestak, and Ashley J. Tellis, "The Lessons of Mumbai," *Rand Corporation* (2009), http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/occasional_papers/2009/RAND_OP249.pdf.
[133] Ibid.

premier rapid-reaction force, arrived.[134] The first responders were poorly equipped and not properly trained.

Since the attack, India's parliament passed the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, which created the National Investigative Agency. The NIA is responsible for investigating terrorism and gathering and processing intelligence.[135] One of the aims of the NIA is that it will do all of the investigative work without having to be asked to do so by the states.[136] According to Paul Staniland, these efforts alone will have little positive results unless they have "three major characteristics."[137] The first is that these efforts need to be sustained over a long period of time. Just because there is a new federal agency or set of laws does not mean that this will take care of the core problems in India's counterterrorism strategy. Years need to be dedicated to training efforts and institution building. The second characteristic is that the reform efforts need to be properly resourced. Given that India is a country plagued with poverty, security funding in the country is not sufficient, leading to undertrained and underequipped personnel, as well as corruption. India needs international assistance in the form of grants to properly train and equip the police. The third and final characteristic Staniland believes will bring positive results to India's counterterrorism lies in the hands of political leadership. The political leaders need to "push past bureaucratic and state-centric rivalries."[138] The electoral competition in India creates challenges that do not allow consistency and follow-through so that the reform process does not stall or waste resources. There needs

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[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *CTC Sentinel* 2, issue 4 (2009), http://www.ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Vol2Iss4-Art4.pdf.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

to be oversight over the entire security apparatus, but the inefficiencies in the Indian bureaucracy pose a challenge.
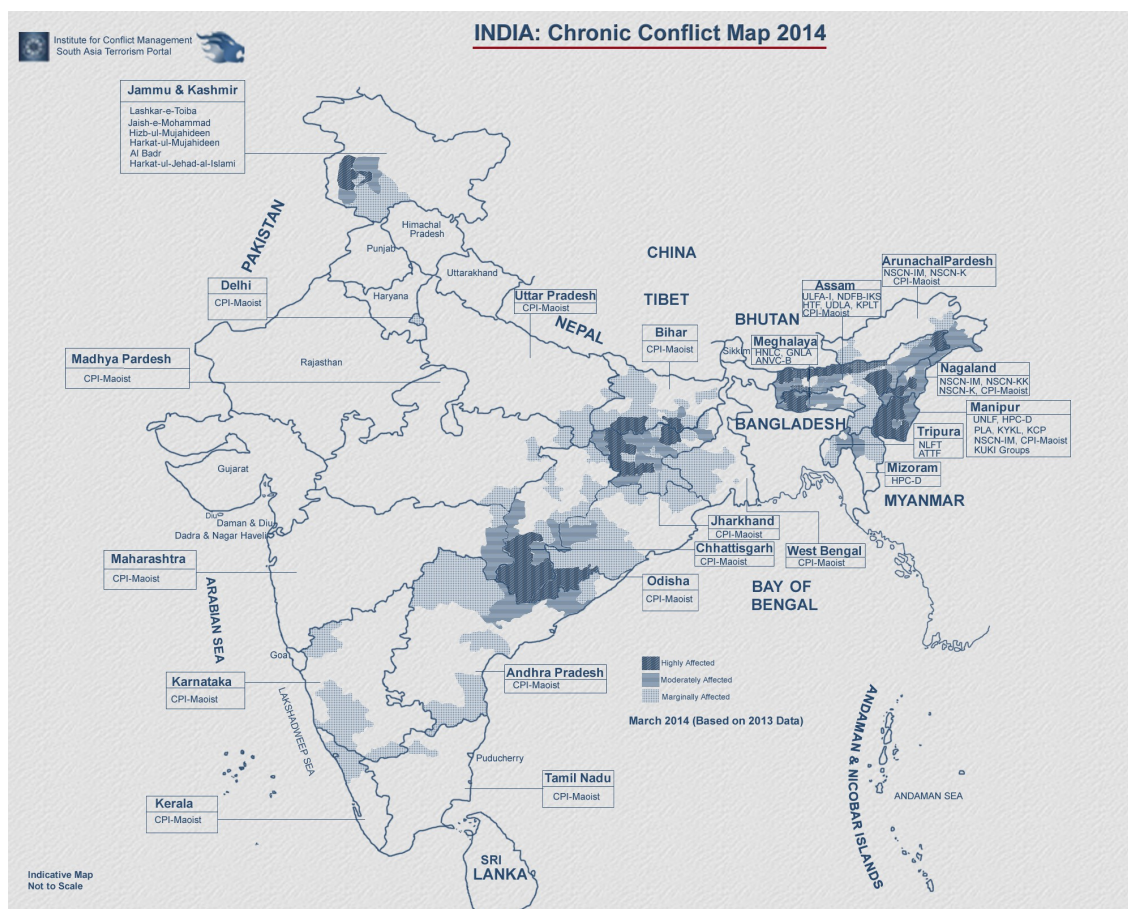
Another example of India's counterterrorism strategy that can be closer looked at is the country's handling of the Naxalites or Maoist uprisings. As of 2010, the Naxalites have an estimated 14,000 full-time fighters and loosely control the jungle areas of eastern India.[139] According to *The Economist*, three things explain the Naxalites' rise. The first is the merge between the two largest factions in 2004. Second, is the poverty affecting the eastern tribal communities of India. Lastly, the rapid economic growth due to mining that has given the group new targets for extorting cash.[140] Despite calls from the central government to respond to the uprising, the response has been disgraceful. In 2006 the Indian prime minister described the insurgency as the "single biggest internal-security challenge," because unfortunately, most states are responsible for law enforcement and they have not done a thing.[141] One of the problems is that politicians have just become complacent, and the worst affected states are some of India's worst governed. The map below shows the different terrorist groups that can be found in India and the areas they affect.

Map 1.

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[139] "India's Naxalite insurgents: Politics with bloodshed," *The Economist Online*, April 8, 2010, http://www.economist.com/node/15869400.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.

INDIA: Chronic Conflict Map 2014

*NOTE: Institute for Conflict Management: South Asia Terrorism Portal[142]

In another *The Economist* article, one of the pitfalls of the government's inability

to control the insurgency is the lack of a unified government response.[143] Government

leaders are constantly debating on how to handle the uprisings. One argument is that the

rebels pose a military threat and force should be used to bring them down. The other

argument is that the insurgent group feeds off of the grievances of the poor and if

development were brought to these areas, the group would dissolve. *The Economist*

article suggests "a comprehensive response – which combines both security and

[142] "India Chronic Conflict Map 2014," Institute for Conflict Management: South Asia Terrorism Portal, accessed September 14, 2014, http://satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/database/conflictmapindia_2014.html.
[143] "Maoist insurgents in India: More bloody and defiant," *The Economist Online*, July 22, 2010, http://www.economist.com/node/16650478.

development."[63] In response to the debate, the government set up a unified command structure to oversee the state-level counterterrorism efforts and promised more funds for development projects in Naxalite dominant areas. Like I stated earlier, the police force in this situation is also ineffective in containing the spread of the movement. It was not until late 2009 that the government sent thousands of federal police into the worst affected states, but there was no success. Instead, the violence in the region escalated. It is believed that if simple amenities (roads, water, and schools) were provided to the tribal areas, the insurgent movement would diminish. As discussed in the previous chapter, providing assistance to citizens can sway the perception of the donor. If the Indian government were to provide these simple amenities, it is a possibility that the likelihood of increased violence could reduce. The state of Andhra Pradesh is an example of its success and the Maoist insurgency has weakened in the state. The counterterrorism, anti-Naxalite, police are well equipped and much better trained than the other states involved. Political scientists argue that the policing forces should be recruited from the region itself rather than bringing in men from different backgrounds and languages.[63]

According to the United Nations Asia and Far East Institute (UNFEI) for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders there are a couple of measures India should take in order to improve its counterterrorism strategy. When it comes to counterterrorism tactics it states that India must have a clearly defined policy and absolutely no compromise when it involves terrorism; there needs to be pro-active measure, including pre-emptive strikes if necessary; India needs to strengthen its current antiterrorism laws; there needs to be punishment for those who sympathize with the terrorist groups and those who benefit from their actions; it should use psychological

warfare on terrorist groups; there should be the creation of and joining of more anti-

terrorism cooperative groups; denounce and alienate states sponsoring terrorism or not

doing anything to control their insurgent uprisings.[144] Another suggestion it makes is

that India needs to find a balance in its laws between prosecuting perpetrators and not

violating human rights while doing so. In the end though, UNAFEI suggests the same

thing that the previous specialists have suggested, India needs to have strict and effective

enforcement of its laws.[145]

U.S. – India Relations and Concluding Thoughts

After the November 2008 attacks in Mumbai the need for U.S. – India

cooperation to counter terrorist threats in the region became more prevalent. Given its

proximity to countries like Pakistan, both the United States and India stand to gain from

these cooperative efforts. Terrorism scholar Lisa Curtis argues that "The U.S. and India

should expand cooperation on sharing intelligence and promoting democracy and

religious pluralism to disrupt terrorist recruitment. They should improve cooperation on

maritime security, cyber security, energy security, and nuclear nonproliferation to

increase both countries' defenses against new terrorist threats."[146] Following the Mumbai

attacks, the United States Federal Bureau of Investigations worked closely with Indian

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[144] "Country Report: India," United Nations Asia and Far East Institute,
http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No71/No71_12PA_Pathak.pdf.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Lisa Curtis, "After Mumbai: Time to Strengthen U.S. – India Counterterrorism Cooperation," *The
Heritage Foundation*, no. 2217, December 9, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/12/after-
mumbai-time-to-strengthen-us-india-counterterrorism-cooperation.

security forces, and there has been an increase in intelligence sharing between the two countries; specifically with intelligence related to Afghanistan and Pakistan.[147]

Paul Staniland believes that the relationship between India and the United States "should move beyond investigative collaboration and intelligence sharing into a broader project of training and capacity building" of India's counterterrorism apparatus.[148] Staniland believes that of the strength of the United States is the law enforcement establishment that has been training other countries' police and intelligence forces for so many years. If the United States offered a small and sustained program for India that could bring Indian police (state and federal) to the U.S. for training and sending Americans to train in India, the impact on India's law enforcement would have a much broader effect on increasing the professionalism of the country's security forces.[149] In 2000 the United States and India formed the Counterterrorism Joint Working Group, which meets twice a year. Through this group the two countries have "exchanged information, training material, and methods related to interrupting terrorist financial networks, institutional and law enforcement steps to strengthen homeland security, border management and surveillance techniques, aviation security, and disaster management in the event of a terrorist incident involving weapons of mass destruction."[150]

One of the obstacles in the United States – India relationship is the amount of distrust the two countries have with one another. India's issues revolve around Kashmir

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[147] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *Combating Terrorism Center Sentinel* 2, issue 4 (2009), https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/improving-india's-counterterrorism-policy-after-mumbai.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Lisa Curtis, "After Mumbai: Time to Strengthen U.S. – India Counterterrorism Cooperation," *The Heritage Foundation*, no. 2217, December 9, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/12/after-mumbai-time-to-strengthen-us-india-counterterrorism-cooperation.

and the U.S. policy towards Pakistan, "which has provided training, financing and military and logistical support to militants fighting in Kashmir."[151] India sees inconsistencies in the U.S. opinion towards the Pakistan-based terrorist threat to India and believes that the United States has withheld information on terrorist operatives that have ties to Kashmiri militants.[152] On the other hand, the United States is concerned with India's relationship with Iran, a country that sponsors international terrorism and is pursuing nuclear weapons capabilities. Despite India's opposition to Iran's pursuit of a nuclear program, it views its relationship with Iran as essential in order to prevent an even closer tie between Iran and Pakistan.[153] In the late 1990s the two countries worked closely to support the Afghan Northern Alliance forces against Pakistani-supported Taliban. Now, according to Lisa Curtis, the United States needs to: "increase intelligence sharing through established U.S. procedures for intelligence-liaison relationships"; "increase official diplomatic and non-governmental exchanges on improving counterterrorism cooperation"; "enhance U.S. – Indian cooperation in promoting democracy and religious pluralism as a way to disrupt recruitment and support for Islamist-inspired terrorism, particularly in Afghanistan"; "expand cooperative efforts on maritime security"; "review coordination of cyber security, energy security, and nuclear nonproliferation efforts to increase both countries' security against new terrorist threats"; "avoid high-profile attempts to mediate the Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir"; "take a wide view of challenges in the region and focus on broad-based regional diplomatic

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[151] Ibid.

[152] Polly Nayak, "Prospects for US-India Counterterrorism Cooperation: An American View," in *US-Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century: More than Words*, ed. Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell (New York: Routledge, 2006), 135-144.

[153] Lisa Curtis, "After Mumbai: Time to Strengthen U.S. – India Counterterrorism Cooperation," *The Heritage Foundation*, no. 2217, December 9, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/12/after-mumbai-time-to-strengthen-us-india-counterterrorism-cooperation.

efforts."[154] Both the United States and India would benefit greatly from working together on counterterrorism efforts, and Curtis believes it needs to begin with "trust and confidence" in each of the other's counterterrorism strategies.

India is often hailed as the world's largest democracy, but the country's human rights violations in the name of counterterrorism put a damper on its reputation. "From 1984-95, Indian security forces tortured, "disappeared," killed, and illegally cremated more than 10,000 Punjabi Sikhs in counter-insurgency operations."[155] One of the country's top counterterrorism experts, K.P.S. Gill, who runs the Indian counterterrorism institute, is known for justifying torture and murder in the name of counterterrorism. Often citizens in India, specifically Punjab, believe that fundamental human rights do not exist during insurgencies.[156] In Amritsar alone, one of the cities in India I have had the opportunity of visiting, the Indian National Human Rights Commission has received over 3,500 claims from victims of state-sponsored abuse. It is unfortunate that one of the pride examples of democratic government, India, has a counterterrorism reputation that includes a "legacy of broken families, rampant police abuse, and a judicial system unwilling to enforce fundamental rights."[157] After a brief visit to the Supreme Court in India, the author found it easy to believe that the judicial system has failed some of the country's one billion citizens; it seemed unorganized and chaotic. The author noted that visitors were coming in and out of the courtrooms where cases were being argued, several cases were being presided over by one or two judges at the same time, and

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[154] Ibid.

[155] Jaskaran Kaur, "The legacy of India's counter-terrorsim," *The Boston Globe Online*, July 17, 2005, http://www.boston.com/news/globe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2005/07/17/the_legacy_of_indias_counter_terrorism/.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid.

compared to U.S. courts there was no order or organization with the way cases were presided over.   Human rights also need to be taken into account when implementing these laws in order to create trust between the people of India and the government.

India is one of the "most ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse countries" in the world.[158] The country "ranks third last in the region in terms of having the necessary formal and informal institutions in place which can create and sustain a peaceful environment."[159] It is inevitable that India will be hit by terrorism again, but it is key to not make the same mistakes in the response to the attack. Through a partnership with the United States and other key allies, India could avoid disrupting the policy changes that have been put in place to counterterrorism. There are existing counterterrorism reform efforts in India and policies that when implemented could be effective in the country's prevention and response to terrorist attacks. One thing that I noticed during my trip to the country was the lack of police on the streets. In New Delhi, I did not notice many uniformed officers or police vehicles in heavily populated areas, like Connaught Circle or Dilli Haat. United States cooperation could play an essential role in assisting with implementing existing laws, but the Indian government and the law enforcement in India needs to view the reform as a higher priority. There needs to be a strict crack down on corruption and harsher consequences for accepting bribes. With a population of over one billion people, it is important for the government to take all the necessary reforms and tactics to improve its role in protecting the citizens of India.

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[158] Lisa Curtis, "After Mumbai: Time to Strengthen U.S. – India Counterterrorism Cooperation," *The Heritage Foundation*, no. 2217, December 9, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/12/after-mumbai-time-to-strengthen-us-india-counterterrorism-cooperation.
[159] Institute for Economics & Peace, "2012 Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism Over the Last Decade," released December 4, 2012, http://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/2012-Global-Terrorism-Index-Report1.pdf, 17.

Chapter 3:

The Rise of Terrorism in Latin America

Latin America and India

Latin America and the Caribbean consist of thirty-three distinct countries, from tiny islands to massive countries in South America. As a region it is made up of "three principal sub-regions: the South American continent, Central or Meso-America from Mexico to Panama and the Caribbean."[160] A 2013 report by the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean of the United Nations (ECLAC) showed that Latin America is becoming a magnet for foreign investment with $179 billion in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in 2013, which is the highest record for any region.[161] This figure has declined in the first half of 2014 due to the absence of big corporate acquisitions and a decline in mining investments; a decline mostly concentrated in Mexico.[162] Latin America boosts a combined Growth Domestic Product (GDP) of $4.9 trillion dollars and is home to 600 million inhabitants.[163] With its close proximity to the United States of

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[160] Deepak Bhojwani, "India and Latin America: Looking Ahead," *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, March 2014, vol. 70, no. 1, 33.

[161] Manish Chand, "India and Latin America: Its Time to Tango," Government of India Ministry of External Affairs, published July 12, 2014, http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?23616/India+and+Latin+America+Its+time+to+tango.

[162] "Foreign Direct Investment in Latin America Declines 23% in the First Half of 2014," Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), press release, October 24, 2014, on the ECLAC website, http://www.cepal.org/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/prensa/noticias/comunicados/9/54049/P54049.xml&xsl=/prensa/tpl-i/p6f.xsl&base=/prensa/tpl-i/top-bottom.xsl.

[163] Manish Chand, "India and Latin America: Its Time to Tango," Government of India Ministry of External Affairs, published July 12, 2014, http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?23616/India+and+Latin+America+Its+time+to+tango.

America, attention to the rise of terrorism in Latin America has increased following the attacks on September 11, 2001,[164] and given today's influx of immigrants from the region, Latin America needs to be of higher concern to U.S. diplomats.

Map 2.

[164] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf.

*NOTE: Congressional Research Services[165]

      With a landmass of five times that of India's and nearly half the population, Latin America is a region that is of interests to countries near and far. India has had a long history with countries in Latin America. In 1959 India was one of the first governments to recognize Fidel Castro's new regime in Cuba, and even opened an embassy in the country in 1960.[166] In November 1997, India's Commerce Ministry launched the program "Focus: LAC" which focuses on the potential market in Latin America.[167] Recently, the newly elected Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, visited Brazil for the sixth annual BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) summit on July 15 – 16, 2014. The summit was held in South America as part of the BRICS outreach to the region, and meeting with heads of state was key to the new Prime Minister in order to "open new windows of engagement and opportunities between Asia's third largest economy and a resource-rich vibrant region that is rapidly emerging as an economic dynamo and a growth pole in the world."[168]

      Since the 1990s India's bilateral trade with Latin America has gone from some couple hundred million dollars to $42 billion in 2013.[169] India's top recipient of exports is Brazil, which is shortly followed by Mexico, Colombia, and Peru. Ten percent of India's energy imports come from Brazil, and in 2010 India increased its Argentinian

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[165] Mark P. Sullivan, "Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Issues for the 113th Congress," Congressional Research Services, August 29, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42956.pdf, 9.

[166] Tridivesh Singh Maini and Sridhar Ramaswamy, "India's Latin American Policy: Looking Beyond Brazil," *The Diplomat Online*, April 12, 1014, http://thediplomat.com/2014/04/indias-latin-american-policy-looking-beyond-brazil/.

[167] "Focus: LAC, Objective and Achievement of Focus: LAC Programme," Government of India Ministry of Commerce and Industry website, accessed October 20, 2014, http://commerce.nic.in/flac/flac1.htm.

[168] Manish Chand, "India and Latin America: Its Time to Tango," Government of India Ministry of External Affairs, published July 12, 2014, http://www.mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?23616/India+and+Latin+America+Its+time+to+tango.

[169] Ibid.

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soybean import from $606 million to $1.8 billion making its total Argentinian imports

$2.5 billion.[170] Venezuela is currently India's largest trade partner in the region with

trade reaching $14 billion for 2012 – 2013; Mexico, Argentina, Peru and Colombia

follow.[171] "Since 2000, Indian companies have invested about $12 billion in the region in

information technology (IT), pharmaceuticals, agrochemicals, mining, energy, and

manufacturing."[172] In Argentina there are seventeen different Indian companies. One

Indian IT company, TCS, is one the largest employers in Uruguay employing over 900

citizens, and established a Global Delivery Center that put Uruguay on the global IT map.

Similarly, TCS and Evalueserve, another Indian IT company, employ more than 2,000

Chileans.

Connections between Latin America and India run deeper than just economics,

the famous Chilean poet Pablo Neruda was influenced by verses from the Bengalese poet

Rabindranath Tagore.[173] Mexican writer Octavio Paz even published a memoir,

Vislumbres de la India, where he wrote about his admiration for the Indian culture and

his time in New Delhi as a diplomat and later ambassador. Through basic observations of

both the Hispanic culture and Indian culture, the author believes there are much more

similarities between the two cultures than most tend to think. Both Indians and Hispanics

give great importance and value to family, with several grandparents, cousins, uncles,

aunts, etc. living closely and visiting often. Both cultures dress with vibrant garments,

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[170] Jorge Heine and R. Viswanathan, "The Other BRIC in Latin America: India," *Americas Quarterly Online,* Spring 2011, http://www.americasquarterly.org/india-latin-america.

[171] Tridivesh Singh Maini and Sridhar Ramaswamy, "India's Latin American Policy: Looking Beyond Brazil," *The Diplomat Online*, April 12, 1014, http://thediplomat.com/2014/04/indias-latin-american-policy-looking-beyond-brazil/.

[172] Jorge Heine and R. Viswanathan, "The Other BRIC in Latin America: India," *Americas Quarterly Online,* Spring 2011, http://www.americasquarterly.org/india-latin-america.

[173] Ibid.

eat colorful foods, dazzle festive decorations, and have large crowd celebrations. With

crowded streets and stray dogs, often cities in Latin America resemble cities in India

mostly due to their large European colonial influences.[174] Both India and the countries of

Latin America have some of the world's largest inequalities and challenges.[175] Due to

these similarities, this chapter discusses the rise of terrorism in Latin America and how

similar counterterrorism strategies used in India should be considered for Latin America.

The Rise of Terrorism in the Western Hemisphere

According to the United States Department of State the lack of progress in Latin

America's counterterrorism capabilities is due to "corruption, weak government

institutions, insufficient interagency cooperation, weak or non-existent legislation, and a

lack of resources."[176] Unlike more the familiar transnational terrorist groups in the

Middle East and those discussed in the second chapter on India, transnational criminal

organizations pose a more significant threat to the region. There have been efforts to

investigate the possible connections of these criminals to terrorist organizations. The

Department of State's investigation found that there are no active cells of al Qaeda or

Hezbollah in the Western Hemisphere, but that there are ideological sympathizers in

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[174] This is based off of the author's personal experience being Hispanic and her travels through India.

[175] "India and Latin America and the Caribbean: Opportunities and challenges in trade and investment relations," Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), United Nations, November 2011, http://www.cepal.org/publicaciones/xml/1/45261/india_latin_america_caribbean_opportunities_challenges _trade_investment_2011.pdf.

[176] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 206.

South America and the Caribbean that continue "to provide financial and ideological support to those and other terrorist groups in the Middle East and South Asia."[177]

Latin America does have a growing presence of Islam. An article by M. David Sills, a professor of Christian Missions and Cultural Anthropology at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, and Kevin Bagget, a candidate for a Doctorate in Missiology at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, looked at the history of the spread of Islam and how it came to Latin America. The authors present three waves of Muslim immigration to Latin America beginning in the sixteenth century with Spanish and Portuguese armies who were required to claim Catholicism as their religion, but secretly remained devout Muslims.[178] The second wave came with the African slaves to the New World with heavy influences in Haiti and Brazil. The third wave began around 1830 with indentured servants from Asia and eventually Syrian and Lebanese immigrants came to the region from 1880 to 1955. These immigrants settled in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. According to the authors, today, large populations of Muslims are arriving to Latin America from West Africa. Although the author of this thesis strongly believes that not all Muslims are terrorists, it is important to note that the presence of Islam in Latin America when discussing the rise of terrorism in the region.

United States policy makers have shown concerns over the increasing influence of Iran in Latin America. Especially since both Iran and Hezbollah are reportedly linked to two separate bombings against Jewish targets in Buenos Aires; the Israeli Embassy in

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[177] Ibid.

[178] M. David Sills and Kevin Baggett, "Islam in Latin America," *The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary*, accessed December 8, 2014, http://www.sbts.edu/resources/files/2011/09/4_sbjt-v15-n2_sills-baggett.pdf, 31.

1992 and the Argentine Israelite Mutual Association (AMIA) on July 18, 1994.[179] Iran

has been trying to work with governments of the region to bypass current U.S. and U.N.

sanctions. More specifically under the leadership of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad,

Iran forged a strong relationship with the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez; a

relationship this paper will later discuss in greater depth. Since the end of Ahmadinejad's

leadership and the death of Chavez, it is believed that the relationship between the two

countries has dissolved. As for Hezbollah one critic, Steven Dudley, believes that "it's

business."[180] In a speech before the Organization of the American States (OAS) Inter-

American Committee Against Terrorism in February 2014, Dudley relayed what some

view as Hezbollah's regional involvement in Latin America as simply a means to raise

money and not to influence their ideological agenda.

On the contrary, some critics believe that Iran and Hezbollah do pose threats in

the Western Hemisphere and point to their role the Argentinian bombings as an example.

In 2011, the United States unraveled a plot to assassinate the Saudi Ambassador in

Washington, D.C.[181] The plot involved Iran allegedly recruiting an agent who it thought

was a member of a Mexican drug trafficking organization, but actually a Drug

Enforcement Administration confidential source. Similarly, these critics also point to

Hezbollah's involvement in drug trafficking and money laundering, and the

organization's connection to the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia People's

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[179] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 15.

[180] Steven Dudley, "Terrorism and Crime in the Americas – 'It's Business,'" remarks before the Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism, Organization of American States, February 26, 2014, http://www.oas.org/en/sms/cicte/Documents/Sessions/2014/CICTE%20INF%208%20REMARKS%20BY%20MR%20STEVEN%20DUDLEY%20CICTE00902E04.pdf

[181] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 16.

Army (FARC), a violent Colombian terrorist group. In May 2013 Alberto Nisman, the lead prosecutor investigating the 1994 bombing against AMIA, released a report that claimed that the AMIA attacks were not an isolated incident, but rather part of a regional strategy involving Iran's establishment of intelligence stations throughout Latin America in order to carry out attacks in coordination with Hezbollah.[182] Nisman believes that the 1994 attacks could be linked to a case of two Guyanese men convicted in 2010 for conspiring to attack New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport since one of the men reportedly confessed to spying for the Iranian Ambassador in Venezuela.[183] Nisman also suggests that Iran could still be developing terrorist plots in Latin America within Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Guyana, Paraguay, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. Unfortunately, he does not provide any evidence to any terrorist plots or of Iranian sleeper cells in the region.

The relationship between Iran and countries in Latin America was strongest under the leaderships of Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Chavez played a key role in Iran's expansion into the region by assisting the country in forging relationships with the Presidents of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua.[184] A Congressional Research Service report found that "while Iran has promised assistance and investment to these countries, observers maintain that there is little evidence that such promises have been fulfilled." During his presidency Ahmadinejad visited the region eight times and the countries included Venezuela,

[182] Ibid.

[183] Simon Romero, "Prosecutor in Argentina Sees Iranian Plot in Latin America," *New York Times Online*, May 29, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/30/world/americas/prosecutor-in-argentina-says-iran-plotted-with-hezbollah-in-latin-america.html?_r=0

[184] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 18.

Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Cuba. According to Stephen Johnson, the Director of the Americas Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Afshin Molavi, a Senior Research Fellow at the New America Foundation, Ahmadinejad's trips to the region were not successful and were more of an attempt to appease domestic concerns about Iran's political isolation. Molavi even stated, "it makes them [Iranians] feel good to have allies in America's backyard."[185] Also during Ahmadinejad's presidency Iran opened six embassies in Latin America in addition to the existing embassies in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela.[186] These new embassies were located in Colombia, Nicaragua, Chile, Ecuador, Uruguay, and Bolivia. In a 2012 hearing before the Senate Committee on Armed Services former SOUTHCOM Commander Douglas Fraser reported that Iran has 36 Shi'a cultural centers in 17 countries throughout Latin America on top of a Spanish-language satellite television network in order to counter the ideologies of the West.[187] Former Commander Fraser has also stated that there is no known increase of Iran's military presence in the region and that it's relationships are purely "diplomatic and commercial."

Iran has strong ties to the Lebanese terrorist group, Hezbollah, which has conducted several fundraising activities in the Tri-Border area of Latin America. The map below shows the border region between Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, which is considered a "regional nexus of arms, narcotics, and human trafficking; counterfeiting; pirated goods; and money laundering – all potential funding sources for terrorist

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[185] Rachel Spence, "Iran in the Americas: A Readout of the Visit," Americas Society and Council of the Americas, January 19, 2012, http://www.as-coa.org/articles/iran-americas-readout-visit.

[186] Anne-Marie O'Connor and Mary Beth Sheridan, "Iran's Rumored Nicaraguan 'Mega-Embassy' Set Off Alarms in U.S.," *Washington Post*, July 13, 2009, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/07/12/AR2009071202337.html.

[187] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 19.

organizations."[188] According to the State Department's report Argentina and Brazil have maintained substantial capabilities to combat terrorism in the Tri-Border area, on the other hand Paraguay has faced some challenges.

Map 3.

TRI-BORDER AREA

*NOTE: Lebanonwire[189]

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[188] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 206.
[189] "Crime and Militancy in South America's Tri-Border Area," *Lebanonwire*, September 27, 2006, http://www.lebanonwire.com/0609MLN/06092702STR.asp.

One of the most powerful organized criminal networks in the Tri-Border Area is known as the Barakat network, primarily operated by Assad Ahmad Barakat.[190] In 2004 Juan Zarate, the Treasury Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Executive Office for Terrorist Financing and Financial Crimes stated, "we are designating a key terrorist financier in South America who has used every financial crime in the book, including his businesses, to generate funding for Hezbollah," following the designation of Assad Ahmad Barakat as an Islamic extremist in Paraguay.[191] Later in 2006, the U.S. Department of the Treasury designated nine individuals and two entities from the Tri-Border area that had provided financial and logistical assistance to Hezbollah through Barakat network.[192] According to a 2009 report by the RAND Corporation on organized crime and terrorism it is estimated that the Bakarat network has channeled about $20 million per year through the region to Hezbollah.[193] The network's former headquarters in Paraguay was found to also have Hezbollah propaganda in videotapes and CDs with suicide bomber materials. Former Manhattan District Attorney, Robert Morgenthau, estimated that between $50 million to $500 million goes to Hamas and Hezbollah from the Western Hemisphere.[194] Paraguay's Cuidad del Este is at the center of the largest

[190] Felipe Umana, "Threat Convergence: Revisiting the Crime-Terrorism Nexus in the Tri-Border Area," Threat Convergence Report Series, The Fund for Peace, 2012, http://library.fundforpeace.org/library/ttcvr1208-threatconvergence-triborder-04e.pdf, 9.

[191] "Treasury Designates Islamic Extremist, Two Companies Supporting Hizballah in Tri-Border Area," Office of Public Affairs, press release by the U.S. Department of the Treasury, June 10, 2004, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js1720.aspx.

[192] "Treasury Targets Hizballah Fundraising Network in the Triple Frontier of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay," press release by the U.S. Department of the Treasury, December 6, 2006, http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp190.aspx.

[193] Felipe Umana, "Threat Convergence: Revisiting the Crime-Terrorism Nexus in the Tri-Border Area," Threat Convergence Report Series, The Fund for Peace, 2012, http://library.fundforpeace.org/library/ttcvr1208-threatconvergence-triborder-04e.pdf, 9.

[194] Trish Regan and Andrew Fisher, "In Paraguay, Piracy Bleeds U.S. Profits, Aids Terrorists," *CNBC Online*, October 4, 2007, http://www.cnbc.com/id/21082897/page/2/.

illicit economy in the Western Hemisphere with an estimated $12 billion a year in illegal

trade. Estimates show that Brazil and Argentina have the largest Muslim populations in

South America with about one million inhabitants each respectively.[195] The Tri-Border

area has about 25,000 Arab residents mostly of Lebanese decent.[196]

In order to provide perspective into just how dangerous this region could be to the

national security of the United States, The Fund for Peace, a Washington, D.C. based

security think-tank, used an example that demonstrated just how these funds are used by

Hezbollah to support its own counterintelligence capabilities.[197] The incident involved

agents from the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) New York Field Office. The

agents were assigned to covertly observe Hezbollah operatives in the Tri-Border area, but

a few minutes after the agents had deplaned they received orders to communicate back

with the office in New York. An anonymous fax from the Tri-Border had been sent to

the New York Field Office with photos of the covert FBI agents. It is not just Hezbollah

that has connections to the region, but according to The Fund for Peace other groups in

the region include, "the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (or the Egyptian al-Jihad), Wahhabi-

aligned Sunni fundamentalists, al-Qaeda (with several informants making trips in the late

1990s), the Taliban, Egypt's al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, the Islamic Jihad Organization

(Hezbollah's terrorist arm68), Colombia's FARC, and (in the past) Peru's Shining Path.

Moreover, several Russian mafia groups (most saliently the Chechen mafia), the Chinese

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[195] Arthur Brice, "Iran, Hezbollah mine Latin America for revenue, recruits, analysts say," *CNN Online*, June 3, 2013, http://www.cnn.com/2013/06/03/world/americas/iran-latin-america/.

[196] Pablo Gato and Robert Windrem, "Hezbollah builds a Western base: From inside South America's Tri-border area, Iran-linked militia targets U.S.," *NBC News Online*, May 9, 2007, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/17874369/ns/world_news-americas/t/hezbollah-builds-western-base/#.VE-50Yfkbww.

[197] Felipe Umana, "Threat Convergence: Revisiting the Crime-Terrorism Nexus in the Tri-Border Area," Threat Convergence Report Series, The Fund for Peace, 2012, http://library.fundforpeace.org/library/ttcvr1208-threatconvergence-triborder-04e.pdf, 10.

Triad."[198] This is particularly significant because despite the lack of operational terrorist cells in Latin America, the equation for what leads to the sprout of terrorist networks in a country and capabilities for one to rise are there.

Colombia

The year 2013 was particularly successful for Colombia as it pertains to a reduction of terrorist activities. The Colombian military launched a successful campaign against the region's most significant and largest terrorist organization the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC).[199] Under the leadership of President Juan Manuel Santos the Colombian government and the FARC were able to reach partial agreements on land reform and political participation, a telling sign of the changes in this internal armed conflict that has plague Colombia for nearly half a century.[200] President Santos has also began engaging the country's second largest terrorist group, the National Liberation Army (ELN). The group has expressed interest in finding a "political exit" and has even released two high-profile kidnapping victims and named a five-person negotiating team.[201] Formal peace negotiations with ELN have not yet begun, and concluding negotiations with the FARC remain uncertain.

The United States Department of State 2013 *Country Reports on Terrorism* maintains that the majority of terrorist attacks in the Western Hemisphere were

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[198] Ibid.

[199] ""Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 213.

[200] Mark P. Sullivan, "Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Issues for the 113th Congress," Congressional Research Services, August 29, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42956.pdf, 28.

[201] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 213.

committed by the FARC. The FARC, which was established in the early 1960s was

declared a foreign terrorist organization by the United States in 1997,[202] and is

responsible for claiming the lives of some 220,000 people.[203] The FARC was originally

created to defend the rights of Colombia's poorest citizens and has several goals

including, "overthrow the Colombian government, create a new state founded on

Marxist-Leninist principles, liberate the country from the ruling-class elites, and defeat

the lawless national military."[204] In Congressman Brad Sherman's opening remarks for

the hearing "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," the Ranking

Member highlights that it is believed that in the FARC's high point, the group had

approximately 16,000 to 20,000 troops.[205] During the same hearing Douglas Farah,

Senior Associate for the Americas Programs at the Center for Strategic and International

Studies, stated that since 1999 the FARC has established a direct relationship with the

government of Iran.[206] Other Latin American countries like Venezuela, Ecuador,

Nicaragua, Bolivia, El Salvador, and Panama have also been revealed to be supportive of

the FARC. Today the FARC is largely unable to hold territory, which is a drastic

decrease from the 1990s when the group controlled more than 40 percent of the national

territory and Colombia is by almost every measure a more safe and stable country.

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[202] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 3.

[203] Brad Sherman, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[204] Lieutenant Colonel Sean M. McCarthy, "Colombia's FARC: Understanding a Revolutionary Movement," *FAOA Journal of International Affairs*, March 2014, Vol. 17 Issue 1, 19.

[205] Brad Sherman, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[206] Douglas Farah, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Testimony, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

Much of the success of the Colombian government's battle against the FARC is due in large part to continued U.S. assistance. One example of a successful joint endeavor between the two governments is Operation Titan. Together, United States and Colombian investigators "dismantled an international cocaine-smuggling and money-laundering ring that allegedly used part of its profits to finance Hezbollah."[207] Authorities made more than 130 arrests, including the arrest of Chekry Harb in Bogota, a Lebanese kingpin who acted as a hub between South American cocaine trafficker and Middle Eastern militants. The two-year operations began as a money-laundering investigation but slowly investigators found links between Harb and Hezbollah, nearly 12 percent of the group's profits went straight to Hezbollah.

During its peak in the 1990s, it almost seemed as though the FARC would actually reach the capabilities of defeating the Colombian government. In 1999, U.S. President Bill Clinton launched Plan Colombia, a multi-year, multi-billion dollar program with the purpose to tackle drug-related issues in the region.[208] With the election of President Alvaro Uribe in 2002, the country had a leader willing to fight with all of the nation's resources by seriously strengthening the military.[209] In 2002, U.S. President George W. Bush authorized the U.S. funds for Plan Colombia to be used directly against the FARC. Previously Plan Colombia funds were strictly used for counterdrug purposes. United States assistance to Colombia was at its peak during President Uribe's administration in 2014, $611 million. Despite Colombia being one of the top recipients

[207] Chris Kraul and Sebastian Rotella, "Colombia drug ring may link to Hezbollah," *The Seattle Times Online*, October 25, 2008, http://seattletimes.com/html/nationworld/2008309259_drugring25.html.

[208] Douglas Farah, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Testimony, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[209] Lieutenant Colonel Sean M. McCarthy, "Colombia's FARC: Understanding a Revolutionary Movement," *FAOA Journal of International Affairs*, March 2014, Vol. 17 Issue 1, 21.

of United States aid, the assistance has never accounted for more than 26 percent of

Colombia's national security budget.[210] In 2004, Colombia was the highest recipient of

U.S. Foreign Aid in the Western Hemisphere with just Iraq, Israel, Egypt, and

Afghanistan ahead of it.[211]

Map 4.

*NOTE: FARC Controlled Area in 2002, BBC News[212]

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[210] Douglas Farah, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Testimony, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[211] Larry Nowels and Curt Tarnoff, *Foreign Aid: An Introductory Overview of U.S. Programs and Policy*, Washington, DC: Congressional Research Services, 2005, accessed October 20, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/98-916.pdf.

[212] "Plea for peace in Colombia," *BBC News Online*, January 10, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1753802.stm#text.

With the increased assistance of the United States, the Colombian government

attacks against the FARC were not the only factors that helped reduce the influence of the

organization in the region.[213] Lieutenant Colonel Sean McCarthy lists three factors that

have eroded the ideological commitments of the FARC's base:

- ⌈ The FARC lost several key members of its leadership, and these positions were difficult to fill with equally qualified replacements.

- ⌈ The quality of recruits noticeably dropped as more under-aged children filled the ranks and struggled to cope with the psychological horrors of war.

- ⌈ Roughly 90 percent of the FARC's soldiers were illiterate and possessed little primary school education. Although competent warriors skilled in guerilla tactics, many were unable to comprehend the organization's complex ideological beliefs.

- ⌈ The FARC was forced to cut back on most of its regular political meetings due to increased operations tempo. As a result, many new recruits weren't properly indoctrinated into FARC ideology and struggled to grasp the political and social needs of the people they were defending.

This is when President Uribe's efforts were beginning to be recognized by the citizens of

Colombia and public opinion of the FARC began to shift negatively. Enter the next stage

of Colombia's counterterrorism strategy against the FARC with the election of President

Juan Manuel Santos. President Santos, unlike his predecessor, advocated on a peaceful

platform to resolving the conflict with the FARC.[214] Santos believed that President

Uribe's strong military approach to the conflict, though successful, was not the answer to

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[213] Lieutenant Colonel Sean M. McCarthy, "Colombia's FARC: Understanding a Revolutionary Movement," *FAOA Journal of International Affairs*, March 2014, Vol. 17 Issue 1, 22.
[214] Ibid.

permanently end the FARC. This is where Colombia is today; the government is

pursuing a comprehensive strategy of negotiations that do not involve armed conflict.

Much like the previous chapter discussed about India's counterterrorism strategy,

Colombia's counterterrorism strategy has also been plagued with accusations of harsh

human rights violations. President Uribe was often criticized for spying on journalists

and political enemies, and even allowing abuses in the military.[215] In 2008, a Colombian

Army Commander resigned after an investigation found military personnel had lured

impoverished young men from a slum in Bogota, Soacha, to a remote city in the center of

a warzone and murdered the men to inflate the number of insurgents killed.[216] Around

the same time prosecutors had also been investigating accusations that President Uribe's

military had killed over 1,000 civilians outside of combat. Colombia's armed forces

were often promised cash payments and more vacation time if they produced more bodies

of dead FARC soldiers.[217] It is believed that the Colombian military had even gone so far

as to disguise civilian bodies in guerilla uniforms, weapons, or rebel communications

equipment. Justice for the "false positive" scandal has also come slowly.[218] A June 2012

article in the *Los Angeles Times* reported that in the cases of Colombia's "false positives

scheme," which are being tried in civilian courts rather than military tribunals, verdicts

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[215] Douglas Farah, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Testimony, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[216] Simon Romero, "Colombian Army Commander Resigns in Scandal Over Killing of Civilians," *The New York Times Online*, November 4, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/05/world/americas/05colombia.html?_r=0.

[217] Ellie May O'Hagan, "The Families of Colombia's 'False Positive' Victims are Still Fighting for Justice," *Vice News Online*, September 16, 2013, http://www.vice.com/read/colombias-false-positives-scandal-lives-on.

[218] June S. Biettel, "Colombia: Background, U.S. Relations, and Congressional Interest," Congressional Research Service, November 28, 2012, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL32250.pdf.

have only been reached for 170 of the 3,350 cases.[219] The article reports that according to human rights groups, "more than 3,300 mostly poor, unemployed or mentally challenged people fell victim to 'extrajudicial executions' by Colombia's armed forces from 2002 to 2008."[220] *Vice Magazine* reported that in 2007, the worst year for false positives, one in every five combat kills was a false positive.[221] As of September 2013, only one of the 19 men that disappeared from Soacha has had their killer convicted, but the conviction was appealed and the defendant is now a fugitive.

Venezuela and Cuba

Cuba was placed on the U.S. State Department's State Sponsors of Terrorism list in 1982 and has remained on that list since.[222] Despite the 2013 State Department terrorism report states, "there was no indication that the Cuban government provided weapons or paramilitary training to terrorist groups," Cuba remains on the list. Under the leadership of Fidel Castro and now his brother Raul Castro, communist Cuba has had a history of supporting revolutionary movements and government throughout Latin America and Africa.[223] The Cuban government has been known to host members of foreign terrorist organizations and U.S. fugitives. U.S. policy towards Cuba over the

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[219] Chris Kraul, "In Colombia, 6 sentenced in 'false positives' death scheme," *Los Angeles Times Online*, June 14, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jun/14/world/la-fg-colombia-false-positives-20120614.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ellie May O'Hagan, "The Families of Colombia's 'False Positive' Victims are Still Fighting for Justice," *Vice News Online*, September 16, 2013, http://www.vice.com/read/colombias-false-positives-scandal-lives-on.
[222] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 213.
[223] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 8.

years has largely consisted of isolating the country through economic sanctions.[224] Today

most of the concern lies in human rights violations committed by the Cuban government.

Venezuela and Cuba consistently make the State Department's list of countries

determined to not be cooperating with U.S. antiterrorism efforts.[225] As discussed earlier

in the chapter Venezuela's late President Hugo Chavez formed a close relationship with

Iran, and since his death the new leadership under President Nicolas Maduro has

maintained the economic, financial, and diplomatic cooperation.[226] Maduro has also

publically stated that he plans to continue and strengthen ties with Iran. Credible reports

claim that Venezuela has maintained its support of activities that benefit known terrorists,

including a safe haven for individuals linked the FARC, ELN, and Hezbollah supporters.

Much like Cuba, Venezuela's record on human rights has been an issue. In 2014, a

student-led protest erupted into violence and 42 people were killed, more than 800

injured, and over 3,000 people were arrested. The U.S. has shown great concern over the

deterioration of democracy and human rights in Venezuela on top of the governments

lack of cooperation with counterterrorism efforts in the region.[227]

Concluding Thoughts

The close proximity of Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States

home front makes the rise of terrorism in the region an issue of great concern. Terrorist

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[224] Mark P. Sullivan, "Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Issues for the 113th Congress," Congressional Research Services, August 29, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42956.pdf, 30.
[225] Ibid., 23.
[226] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 226.
[227] Mark P. Sullivan, "Latin America and the Caribbean: Key Issues for the 113th Congress," Congressional Research Services, August 29, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42956.pdf, 35.

organizations thrive on corruption, weak government institutions, weak or non-existent

legislation, and a lack of resources, all of which are present in the region. Despite

terrorism not being the focal point of U.S. policy in Latin America, anti-terrorism

assistance has been increased in the region since the attacks on September 11, 2001.[228]

With the expansion of assistance to Colombia, the United States has seen tremendous

results in their efforts. Congressman Ted Poe, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on

Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, warned that striking any deal is not necessarily a

good deal.[229] FARC senior leaders may benefit from a deal with the Colombian

government, but the foot soldiers may loose out, which could lead them to break away

from the FARC and form their own terrorist organizations. Negotiations between the

FARC and the Colombian government should be of great concern to the United States;

this is not the time to pull back.

What Latin America is seeing now according to Celina Realuyo, a professor at the

National Defense University, "is a disturbing convergence of terrorism and crime from

the mountains of Afghanistan to the jungles of Latin America that threatens the rule of

law, governments, the economy, and society."[230] Prior to the attacks by al-Qaeda on

September 11, 2001, Hezbollah was the terrorist group responsible for the most U.S.

casualties. The organizations longstanding reliability on support from overseas groups

and individuals, specifically in Latin America, could just be the beginning. While

[228] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 26.
[229] Ted Poe, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.
[230] Celina B. Realuyo, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

Hezbollah may not be plotting a terrorist attack on the United States, its influence in the region could lead deeper anti-American sentiments in the region from non-Muslims.

Conclusion

Terrorist groups have been known to target countries with unstable governments, weak or failed regimes, and a population desperate for salvation. Whether it is a government that oppresses its people or neglects their basic human needs, we have seen terrorist groups infiltrate countries where the government has failed its people. Countries in South America, much like those of the Middle East and Africa, have governments plagued with corruption, oppression and neglect. Terrorist groups throughout South America have links to Hezbollah, who before al Qaeda's attacks on September 11, 2001, claimed more American lives than any other terrorist organization.[231] Government leaders in Latin America have strong relationships with the government of Iran, a government that has repeatedly been designated a State Sponsor of Terrorism by the U.S. State Department.[232] Both Cuba and Venezuela have neglected to cooperate with U.S. antiterrorism efforts and have provided safe havens for terrorists.[233] Despite the absence of operational al Qaeda or Hezbollah terrorist cells in Latin America, the components for what attracts them to a region are there.

Given today's political climate fiscally constrained policy-makers in the United States need to make decisions on U.S. counterterrorism strategy. The rise of terrorism in

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[231] Celina B. Realuyo, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[232] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf.

[233] Mark P. Sullivan and June S. Beittel, "Latin America: Terrorism Issues," Congressional Research Services, August 15, 2014, http://fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RS21049.pdf, 8.

Latin America and regime instability throughout the region could draw Muslim extremist leaders from the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia to introduce their radical ideology right in America's backyard. This thesis has evaluated one form of counterterrorism strategy, foreign aid. The first chapter looks at foreign assistance programs that protect U.S. national interests through militarization, police training, or programs promoting an image of positive action, like PEPFAR, that have proven to be successful. It also looks at countries that have received aid, like Afghanistan and Mali, that have not been so successful and why. U.S. foreign assistance needs to be looked at in a case-by-case basis depending on the country receiving aid. Enhancing U.S. power throughout the world can also come from improving the United States' image through assistance programs, and not just by having the world's largest army. Aid plays an important role in counterterrorism efforts by undercutting the ideological fuel that leads to terrorist radicalization and recruitment.[234]

Foreign aid as a counterterrorism strategy has proven to be an effective counterterrorism strategy in India and Colombia. Chapter 2 looked at India, a country so diverse it could be compared to a continent, like South America. India is the world's largest democracy, but it is a country that has been overwhelmed with tension since its partition in 1947. After exploring terrorist threats in the Jammu and Kashmir region, Andhra Pradesh, and the northeastern states of Asham and Nagaland, it was found that the role of U.S. foreign assistance to the country has been crucial to its stability but it needs to continue. Cooperation between the United States and India through U.S. foreign assistance is vital to maintaining security. India's close proximity to countries in the

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[234] Ronald Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009, 199.

Middle East and its high Muslim population make it more susceptible to terrorist attacks, but the Indian government has consistently made its counterterrorism efforts one of the country's top priorities.

Today the United States is in an engaging in military airstrikes against an al Qaeda splinter group and rival for leadership of global jihad known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). ISIS is a violent terrorist group that has killed dozens of people in its efforts to create an Islamic state across Sunni area of Iraq and Syria.[235] This is particularly significant because in September 2014, al Qaeda leaders believed to be hiding in Pakistan called for the rise of jihad and the return of Islamic rule in India, where ISIS has been recruiting several Indian Muslims. The new al Qaeda offshoot, Qaedat al Jihad, is specifically targeting three Indian states, Kashmir, Gujarat, and Assam.[236] ISIS has already shown to be capable of recruiting fighters from all around the world. According to Ajit Singh, senior fellow at South Asia Terrorism Portal in New Delhi, radicalized Muslims are more likely to fund ISIS and that is why al Qaeda is trying to increase its influence. With both ISIS and al Qaeda trying to recruit from India's 13 percent Muslim population, the role of U.S. assistance to the country is crucial.

One of the strengths of United States foreign assistance discussed in the second chapter is the law enforcement establishment that has been training other countries' police and intelligence forces. ISIS represents what al Qaeda once was, "the world's largest grouping of jihadists bound by a common faith in a hard-line interpretation of

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[235] CNN Library, "ISIS Fast Facts," *CNN Online*, November 6, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/08/world/isis-fast-facts/.

[236] Madison Park, "Al Qaeda says it's opening new branch in India," *CNN Online*, September 4, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/09/04/world/asia/al-qaeda-india/.

Islam."[237] India's National Investigation Agency (NIA) alleges that more than 300 Indian

youths have been recruited to fight for ISIS, and has highlighted the states of

Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh as possible areas

where radicalization could take place.[238] The U.S. and India need to establish a small and

sustained program for India that would train Indian police (state and federal) both in the

U.S. and in India.[239] U.S. assistance to India is currently on a decline because relations

with the country are shifting from a "donor-recipient" to a "strategic partnership"

relationship.[240] The U.S. pivot to Asia during President Obama's first term left many

Indians complaining that the United States focused too much on China and Pakistan by

pursuing economic and counterterrorism links to each country respectively and ignoring

India.[241] It is important to U.S. – India relations that the Obama Administration makes

India relations a greater priority especially with the recent election of a new government

in New Delhi. United States collaboration with India could be key to the fight against

ISIS and al Qaeda, as well as assist in maintaining stability in the Indian homeland.

Celina B. Realuyo, a professor at the National Defense University, described the

changing landscape of South America at a February 2014 hearing before the House

Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade. Realuyo stated, "Terrorists

have political objectives while criminals seek to maximize profits. What we are

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[237] Sudanand Dhume, "The ISIS Siren Call to India's Muslims," *The Wall Street Journal Online*, September 4, 2014, http://online.wsj.com/articles/the-isis-siren-call-to-indias-muslims-1409845828.
[238] Kabir Taneja, "India's Blind Spot on ISIS," *The Diplomat*, September 21, 2014, http://thediplomat.com/2014/09/indias-blind-spot-on-isis/.
[239] Paul Staniland, "Improving India's Counterterrorism Policy after Mumbai," *Combating Terrorism Center Sentinel* 2, issue 4 (2009), https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/improving-india's-counterterrorism-policy-after-mumbai.
[240] "US aid to India drops by 16%," *The Times of India*, April 15, 2013, http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/US-aid-to-India-drops-by-16/articleshow/19556246.cms.
[241] Nicolas Burns, "Passage to India," *Foreign Affairs*, Sep/Oct2014, Vol. 93 Issue 5, p. 132-141.

witnessing today is a disturbing convergence of terrorism and crime…"[242] The United

States has provided foreign assistance to countries of Latin America for years. With its

close proximity to the U.S. homeland regional stability is of high priority to

policymakers. The U.S. role in Colombia's counterterrorism strategy against the FARC

was key to its success. Today, the violent terrorist group is hardly capable of holding

territory, a far cry from controlling nearly 40 percent of Colombia's national territory

during its peak in the 1990s. The Tri-Border area is known as one of the most unstable

areas in Latin America, the border region between Argentina, Brazil and Paraguay, is

considered a "regional nexus of arms, narcotics, and human trafficking; counterfeiting;

pirated goods; and money laundering – all potential funding sources for terrorist

organizations."[243] Much like India, the U.S. needs to continue to provide assistance to

countries in Latin America.

Currently, the Colombian government is in the midst of negotiations with the

FARC. The U.S. needs to play a larger role in these negotiations to assure that any

agreement reached benefits both the high level leaders of the FARC, as well as, the foot

soldiers in order to prevent smaller factions from forming. With ISIS we have seen what

offsets of terrorist groups are capable of doing, preventing the same from happening in

Colombia with the FARC should be of high priority to the United States and its interests

in the region. In chapter two, recommendations for increased U.S. assistance to India in

the form of training local and federal police were discussed. The same should apply for

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[242] Celina B. Realuyo, "Terrorist Groups in Latin America: The Changing Landscape," Opening Remarks, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade, Hearing on February 4, 2014, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 2014.

[243] "Country Reports on Terrorism 2013," United States Department of State Bureau of Counterterrorism, April 2014, http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/225886.pdf, 206.

U.S. assistance to Latin American countries. The U.S. has assisted with counternarcotic police training for Latin American countries in the past, but counterterrorism police training methods need to be included. Now is not the time for the United States to reduce its foreign assistance to the region. Foreign assistance methods provided in this thesis have proven to be successful when administered consistently and in collaboration with the receiving government. A combination of economic and bilateral development assistance in Latin America can change the minds of terrorist sympathizers in the region and provide preventative measures against the rise of terrorism.

India has seen its share of terrorist attacks where as, countries in Latin America have just had a glimpse when in comparison. Much like in India, the U.S. should assist countries of Latin America to strengthen their intelligence apparatuses. Counterterrorism strategy is not perfect, as we saw in chapter 1; it needs to be implemented in a case-by-case basis. India and countries of Latin America would benefit greatly from preventative measures like increasing police capabilities in counterterrorism tactics. The United States is consistently the world's leader for contributions to humanitarian and development assistance, and the U.S. law enforcement agency is one of the most effective in the world. This type of assistance in the Tri-Border Area would be extremely valuable. Humanitarian assistance throughout Latin America could also prove to be helpful in reducing any rise of anti-American sentiments and deter individuals from assisting groups that are tied to terrorist organizations. The goal of U.S. foreign assistance is to expand opportunities that promote U.S. interests in countries around the world, and build partnerships that help protect these interests.

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Conclusion

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Curriculum Vitae

Janelle Sofia Perez
janellesofia@gmail.com

EDUCATION

The Johns Hopkins University
January 2012 – Present
Washington, D.C.

⌈ Master's in Government
⌈ Concentration in National Security
⌈ Course Highlights: Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy, Contemporary Terrorism & American Response, Government & Politics, Strategies: Insurgent & Asymmetric Warfare, Negotiating as a Leadership Skill, and Complex Decision-making in National Security.
⌈ Traveled to New Delhi, India in Jan. 2012 for a course titled *Politics, Security, and Culture in India*; visited the Wagah Border between Pakistan and India; met with the Pakistani High Commissioner to India to discuss the role of diplomacy between the two countries.
⌈ Thesis: Fighting Terrorism with Foreign Aid: A Case for Continued U.S. Assistance in Latin America

Florida International University
July 2006 – December 2009
Miami, FL

⌈ Bachelors in Political Science
⌈ Course Highlights: Politics of the Middle East, Political Development & Underdevelopment, Repression & Rights, Political Violence & Revolutions, Topics in Comparative Politics, World Regional Geography, Intro to International Relations, Dynamics of World Politics, Contemporary International Problems, International Law, Political World Economy, American Government, Legislative Process, Constitutional Law: Powers, American Political Culture, American Ethnic Politics, Ancient & Medieval Political Theory, Modern Political Theory, and Women in Islam

EXPERIENCE

Friends of the Global Fight Against AIDS, TB, & Malaria
February 2014 – October 2014
Washington, DC
Government Affairs Associate

- ⌠ Conduct advocacy activities for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria to expand U.S. support through the U.S. Congress.
    - o Meet with Members of Congress and Congressional staff to discuss U.S. budget appropriations for the Global Fund account.
    - o Respond to inquiries from Congress on specific issues concerning the Global Fund and its role in over 140 countries.
    - o Liaise between Members of Congress and Dr. Mark Dybul, Executive Director of the Global Fund.
- ⌠ Meet daily with global health partner advocacy groups to ensure there is a common and collaborative message in the fight against the 3 diseases.

U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs (Majority Staff)
January 2011 – July 2012
Washington, DC

Director of Travel and Schedule (Oct. 2011 – July 2012)

- ⌠ Assisted with preparing briefs and briefed Congressional Members and staff prior to their missions on U.S. policy pertaining to their specific mission goals and region of travel.
- ⌠ Liaised with State Department officials for Congressional Delegations on fact-finding missions that pertained to U.S. national security, foreign relations, and development aid.
- ⌠ Provided logistics for over 100 foreign affairs related delegations travelling to countries that are key to U.S. national security, such as, Afghanistan, Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Pakistan.
- ⌠ Travelled with the Committee Chairman to South Korea and Taiwan on a delegation representing the President's call for an Asian pivot in U.S. diplomacy.
    - o Met with U.S. troops at United States Army Garrison Yongsan, in Seoul, South Korea to discuss national interests on the Korean peninsula.
    - o Visited the Korean Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) and briefed by the United Nations Command in the Joint Security Area during a tour of the border.
    - o Briefed Members on various topics, such as human rights violations, prior to all meetings, including meetings with President Ma of Taiwan and President Lee of Korea, as well as several other senior officials from both countries.
    - o Meetings with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deputy Minister of National Defense, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, and President of the

Legislative Yuan highlighted the important relationship between the U.S. and Taiwan on matters of security and foreign policy.

Hearing Coordinator (Jan. 2011 – Oct. 2011)

- Prepared all materials and witness information for hearings on matters pertaining to foreign affairs, including topics such as the crisis in Egypt, U.S.-China Relations, the United Nations, the Democratic Republic of Congo, North Korea, Libya, Priorities for the Western Hemisphere, Human Rights, and several other current events that impact U.S. national security.
- Edited, complied, and distributed background briefing materials, testimonies, suggested questions for Members, and policy suggestions to prepare Members and staff for over 75 hearings/briefings/markups.
- Coordinated hearings and meeting with high-level U.S. officials, such as Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton, following all security and protocol.
- Prepared all post-hearing materials and edited all transcripts in order to have them easily and readably accessible to press, academics, constituents, etc.

Ros-Lehtinen for Congress
June 2010 – January 2011
Miami, FL
Campaign Coordinator

- Provided candidate with daily news articles and breaking news relevant to her largely Hispanic and Haitian constituency.
- Oversaw a team of grassroots volunteers, and managed all social media presence and press releases.
- Coordinated with donors and hosts on all fundraising events, as well as, assisting with all FEC and in-kind information.

U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs (Minority)
January 2010- May 2010
Washington, D.C.
Paid Intern

- Gathered daily news clips with a high priority on issues related to national security and international affairs dealing with Latin America and the Middle East in order to provide foreign affairs staff from congressional offices with daily news briefs.
- Researched relevant U.S. policy in order to support Committee staff in compiling Minority Members with briefs, suggested questions, and background prior to all Committee hearings and meetings.
- Monitored several hearings, briefings, and lectures on subjects related to U.S. national security and diplomacy with Latin America and the Middle East, specifically the earthquake in Haiti and the influence of Iran in Latin America.

Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Aug. 2009-Dec. 2009
Washington, D.C.
Intern

⌈ Managed the healthcare debate for the Congresswoman by gathering constituent input through a survey and presenting the information to the Congresswoman with charts and a full report.
⌈ Attended several meetings and events representing the Congresswoman, more specifically a meeting at the Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar's office for the organization of the National Museum of the American Latino Commission and any other subsequent meeting pertaining to the Commission.
⌈ Assisted with general office management and constituent correspondence.

OTHER INTERESTS, ACTIVITIES & SKILLS

⌈ Martin and Sofia Perez Family Foundation, Treasurer
  o Manage the allocation of 80% of the foundation's funds and follow-up with grantees.
  o Evaluated, visited, and participated in a field assessment of the appropriateness of a location for an education project in Maun, Botswana.

⌈ SAVE Dade, Volunteer
  o Managed the organization's participation in the AIDS Walk Miami and Miami Beach Gay Pride Parade 2008

⌈ The Family Place DC, Volunteer
  o Taught Spanish speaking immigrants how to read and write in Spanish.

⌈ Congressional Hispanic Leadership Institute Fellow, Spring 2010
  o George Washington University Semester in Washington

⌈ Fluent in Spanish

⌈ Excellent computer skills in MS Office