India's internal security compulsions

Gen.V K Nayar

India's security is influenced by events in South Asia due to historical, geographical and demographic imperatives. Time has been a witness to the disappearance of convergence of interests and synergies rooted in common colonial experience of the South Asian countries. The biggest challenge for the South Asian countries has been the national consolidation into their new identities, which generated its own external and domestic dynamics due to plural nature of their societies. This has been proved with the break up of Pakistan and birth of Bangladesh. It is argued that mutual distrust is the natural bane of their relations. However this does not exist in the same degree and manner amongst all countries in the sub continent. It is deep between India and Pakistan. This distrust influences not, only the relationship between India and Pakistan and India and other countries of the region but also relationship amongst the countries of the region. The region has seen four major wars and several near wars. Indo-Pak crisis over nuclear tests by both of them and the low intensity conflict over Kashmir are viewed as a flashpoint. Tensions between pluralist democratic governments and unitary form of non-pluralist governments in the sub continent further add to the imbalances and tensions. The situation has resulted in the involvement of extra regional powers in South Asian conflicts, thus making the situation complex and complicating intra regional relations.[1]

South Asia comprises of seven independent states, with over one sixth of world's population and numerous ethnic, religious and linguistic groups is the theatre of ethnic and religions violence which is transnational in its nature and implications. The ethnic, religious and linguistic overlap has not only affected internal political developments in each state but

also inter-state relationships. The boundaries between neighbours are not natural both geographically and ethnically; therefore social tensions are bound to have a transborder impact. Traditional linkages of friendship and inter- action amongst people have become competing arrangements for aiding and abetting subversion, terrorism and insurgencies. The regional geopolitical environment is likely to remain disturbed, which in conjunction with structural political and security confrontations within South Asia[2] will continue to influence our internal security. Social tensions particularly in the ethnic and religious field due to its transborder character will continue to be the main areas of exploitation by our adversaries. Muslim fundamentalism and demographic influx are its major manifestations. The need to turn the proximity between South Asian neighbours into a viable economic and security relationship for mutual benefit cannot be over emphasised.

South Asia is not like other peninsula confined to a region or even a continent. The Northern ranges link it with the "heart lands" of Central Asia and China, while the Southern Peninsula touches the Indian ocean and places it in a position to oversee the sea routes from Mallaca straits to South Atlantic around the South African rim. In the west it rests on the Middle East, with which it has historic trade and cultural ties and in the East it adjoins Yunan province of China and Myanmar, a natural bridge to South East Asia, with close demographic and cultural ties with India' s North East. Multi continental dimension of South Asia is a reality,[3] whose dynamics will continue to influence countries in South Asia.

Two of the three major narcotic centres of the world, the Golden Crescent in the North West and the Golden Triangle in the East have made South Asia vulnerable to drug trafficking Combination of large scale availability of man portable weapons, illegal financial

resources through narcotic trade and cross border nexus for smuggling and terrorist activities has made the environment violence and conflict prone.

Our security is vulnerable to threats, tensions and conflicts originating both from indigenous and exogenous sources. Internal security situation in India should be examined with this background.

The **domestic dynamics** of India's internal security are reflected in its socio-political milieu, the main feature of which is its diversity. It is reflected in the variety of its communities and castes, races and ethnic groups, languages and dialects, religious beliefs and customs and traditions, with different manifestations of culture, all operating in a dynamic environment. Therefore our internal security scenario will continue to be complex and varied. While problems will intrinsically rest on domestic roots but external factors will play a major role in aggravating these. The external forces in conjunction with internal forces of dissent will endeavour to exacerbate our security problems. Threats due to terrorism, narcotics and drugs, small arms proliferation, voids in energy requirement and information warfare loon large on the horizon. Maintenance of internal security will thus be one of the biggest challenges facing the country.

The British exploited the diversity in the Indian society to divide it on communal and religious lines. On independence, based on the colonial experience, our political leadership decided on integration as a cornerstone of its policy. This was to be achieved through economic development along with nation building through cultural and social interaction, as these linkages were considered durable and stronger rather than political assimilation. However, in later years since late sixties, our second generation of political leadership lost sight of federalism and political assimilation became the main thrust. In the economic and development field participation was given short shift and central planning and control of

resources left the states at the mercy of the Central Govt. Gradually, state became all pervading in the political, economic and even in social and cultural fields.

On independence the Indian state inherited only the physical base consisting of the territory and people, the state and its democratic institutions had to provide the cohesiveness to weld India into a nation state. While we have succeeded largely but there are failures in this regard. In certain areas there is a conflict situation to a point of violence and the contesting groups have become the objectives of security. In simple terms a mutual state of insecurity exists between these groups and the state and terrorism, insurgency and violence are only its physical symbols. Similarly, issues of ethno-nationalism and identity are outcome of our failure to integrate diverse segments of the Indian society.

The state policy of secularism came under threat in 1960's when the politicians started manipulating emotional sensitivities of communities and words majority and minority were formally introduced and accepted in politics and vote banks of communities on communal and religious denomination were created. Inept handling of Babri Masjid issue and failure of government to prevent its destruction resulted in communalism entering as a key element in the fragmentation of the society and the nation. The digging out of

Mandal Commission Report added to the fragmentation. The net result of all these and similar manoeuvres for vote catching was a divide and set back to consolidation of the Indian society two decades after independence. The environment of unity and secularism was disturbed.

Ethno-communal strifes in our country are a result of uneven economic development and unfulfilled aspirations of people, which creates a sense of deprivation. This may be

partially due to modernisation itself, result of socio-economic developments and changes and literacy and awareness, resulting in what is perceived to be uneven economic well being. The root cause is social and economic insecurity. If there is just and equitable distribution of economic and developmental benefits people feel satisfied. It is the absence of this satisfaction that drives affected groups to assert themselves and the main target is the government both local and central. In such a state of confrontation the articulation of group interests in itself results in political mobilisation of the ethnic communities as does its exploitation. Since most of such communities are rural and land resource based, any pressure on the land due to population growth or migration further increases the economic pressure. Educated unemployed further add to the economic and social pressures. The sum total of it is the mobilisation of the society in the shape of ethno-nationalism.

Trans-border migration from Bangladesh is a major factor for the problems in Assam and other areas of the North East. The point that Bangladesh immigrants are a source of communal and ethnic tension was well proved by the Assam agitation and subsequent events. There are estimated to be 15 to 18 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India, who have spread to all the North Eastern States with bulk of them being in Assam. A fair proportion of these estimated to be 3 to 5 million have spread to the other eastern states of Bihar and West Bengal and in the North to Delhi and beyond. The influx is likely to continue unless checked and those already identified are deported. Their transgression into land and providing cheap labour is a cause of social and economic insecurity for local communities and a cause of tension and violence. The problem is not only increasing but getting more complex. We need to tighten our immigration controls and there is need for evolving an immigration policy and establishing a set up similar to the Immigration and Naturalisation Service on the lines that exist in USA.

The electoral politics since eighties have resulted in diffusion of both the state and politics, the institutions of governance have been diluted and politics have lost their ideological and moral moorings. While on one hand it has led to expansion of the social base of politics, on the other hand due to bad politics it has resulted in politicisation and aggravation of all problems. Democratic freedom and electoral politics have led to agitation and unrest. More than any other single factor, the exploitation of diversities has resulted in breakdown of the cohesiveness of the society, created insecurity of cultural identity, encouraged religious revivalism in its fundamentalist form, heightened ethnicity and widened the gap between the sub national groups and nationalism. The hallmark of the distortion of the system is political expediency. In the economic and developmental field it has resulted in disorientation, subversion of the system, permissiveness and malpractices with corruption as the natural fallout.

Information Technology (IT) has revolutionized warfare and in the internal security field it has provided means to the underworld to expand their reach for criminal activities without direct physical involvement. Pak ISI has made full use of it by linking up with the Bombay underworld. Our responses have to be quicker and based on the developing technological inputs. This will require updating educational levels in the security forces and developing a technological temper. Similarly, liberalisation of economy has resulted in accentuation of economic disparities as benefits have not reached the masses. This is bound to increase social and economic tensions. The other aspect of liberalisation of the economy is that in our backward areas like Bihar and the North East both liberalisation and privatization are unlikely to succeed due to the lack of basic infrastructure and sufficiently efficient administrative set up. If any, it will add to the frustration.

Social scientists believe that weak states in the third world have a higher level of concern with domestically generated threats to security because they have not been able to create domestic, political and social consciousness of sufficient strength to eliminate large scale use of force as a major element in the political life of the nation[4]. This has also been our experience in India. While the state has responded adequately to external threats, its responses to internal challenges have been totally inadequate. Our inner weaknesses and instability has encouraged external threats and pose a serious challenge to national security.

China is an important factor in India's security perceptions and tempers its relationship with some of its neighbours. Chinese interests in the region have to be viewed in the long term perspective. After eliminating the historical and strategic buffer between

India and China by annexation of Tibet, the Chinese resorted to giving financial aid, arms and sanctuaries to Naga, Mizo and Meitei extremists. This was followed by military encroachments culminating in the conflict in 1962. Chinese unilateral withdrawl after the 1962 border war was a part of the psychological containment of India. Since then China has shrewdly followed a policy of strategic containment of India by regional alliances and arming India's neighbours Mynamar, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Similarly, India's technological and military mordernisation has been effectively counted by technological and weapons transfers to Pakistan in the nuclear and missile fields. The strategy is aimed at building indirect threats to India and in this use Pakistan, India's main adversary as a frontline surrogate.

In the internal security field, Chinese interest in the North East and help to insurgents should remain a point of constant focus by us. Only the methodology may be different : if you can do it by proxy (Pakistan and Bangladesh), then avoid direct involvement. This gives you the widest options strategically and diplomatically. Both Issac Swu and Muivah have

been visiting the Chinese embassy officials in Geneva and there are reports of Chinese offer of basses in Yunan. We must not forget the coordinating bureau set up by the Chinese and Pakistanis in 1969 to coordinate training, funding and arming of insurgents in the North East. If any its dimensions have expanded with greater sophistication and it continues to be a viable low cost option. The potential for mischief is there. Talk of normalisation of relations without any progress in resolving the border dispute make Chinese indentions suspect.

Pakistan in keeping with its anti India stance over the years has been using state-sponsored terrorism as an important instrument of its foreign policy. The threat from ISI is real and grave and its primary focus is to undermine India's internal security : India's open democratic system, judiciary and socio–political setting provides hostile agencies wide ranging opportunities to exploit contentious political issues and local tensions. Pakistan in order to implement its nefarious designs has used ISI for subversive activities by instigating communal disturbances, perpetrating terrorist acts, infiltrated militants and mercenaries and inducted weapons and explosives into India. Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Lashker-e-Toiba (LET) and Jammu and Kashmir Islamic Front have expanded their operations to Delhi, Maharashtra,Gujarat, U.P., Haryana and Punjab. ISI agents have also cultivated transborder operators and couriers for smuggling of arms and explosives via Punjab, J & K, Rajasthan and Gujarat. It has also established espionage networks in different parts of the country. After Punjab and J&K, it has now intensified its activities in the North East exploiting local insurgencies. Pakistan has established bases in Nepal, Bangladesh, Srilanka and the Middle East, the plan aims at encirclement of India. This combined with the upsurge in Islamic Terrorism at the global level with its epicenter in Central Asian Republic, Afghanistan and Pakistan is likely to have persistent affect on India's internal security.

ISI is increasingly targeting the minority community in the Southern states to subvert their loyalty, while Karnataka and Kerala have become prone to smuggling, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh have been targetted for subversion. Communal disturbances in different parts of Tamilnadu and bomb blasts in Madras and Coimbatore bear witness to ISI complicity. The arrest of ISI operative Mohammed Inshtiyaq Ahmed @ Mohammed Saleem Junaid in 1998, revealed its plan to enlarge ISI /Laskhar-e-Toiba net work in India[5]. Similarly, unearthing of Deendar Anjuman with its link with Hizabul Deendar Anjuman of Pakistan which was responsible for church blasts in Goa, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka during July 2000[6] is a clear indication of the spread of fundamentalist Islam and subversion through its network.

The appointment of former ISI Chief Lt. Gen. Javed Nasir as chairman of Pakistan's Sri Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) clearly outlines Pakistan's design to revive Sikh Militancy. His strategy is to drive a wedge between the SGPC and Sikhs settled abroad by accusing the SGPC of misappropriating offerings made in Pakistan Gurdwaras and not spending on its up keep. Simultaneously ISI operatives in Pak missions abroad have been exhorting Sikh expatriate community to go to India for disruptive activities. The surrender of Babar Khalsa International (BKI) members in September 1999 revealed ISI plans that BKI unit of Germany had been contacted to send motivated youth to India for organising explosions in Punjab, Delhi, Haryana and U.P. BKI, Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) and Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF) are being specially targeted by the ISI.

In the North East, the Siliguri corridor with its porous borders along Bangladesh and Nepal has become a major conduit for ISI subversive activities. The mushrooming of madarsas along the Indo – Nepal and Indo – Bangladesh borders is a design contrived by ISI with the help of sympathetic elements in Bangladesh to step up subversive activities in the

North East. The muslim pockets have become the breeding ground for mafia, smugglers, gun running, hawala transactions. narco-trafficking, influx of fake Indian currency and terrorist activities. Bangladesh has also become a nodal point for transhipments of   arms and ammunition acquired by the North East insurgents from the arms bazars in South East Asia. ISI is providing assistance for storage and transhipments through fundamentalist organisations like JEI of Bangladesh, Quami Madarsas and Islamic NGO's under its patronage. Some elements amongst Bangladesh authorities are also suspected to be conniving with the ISI.

The arrest of four Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HUM) activists in Guwahati in July 1999[7], revealed Pak ISI's plans of infiltrating trained activists in the North East, to bring all Muslim organisations under one umbrella and establishing an alliance between Muslim extremists and the North East insurgents to boost the insurgency and ferment communal and ethnic divide. ISI has already established links with the North East insurgents (NSCN (IM) ULFA, PLA, Bodo Security Force, United National Liberation Front (UNLF) and Muslim extremists organisations like Muslim Liberation Tigers of Assam (MLTA) and Muslim United Liberal Front of Assam (MULFA). Presence of large number of illegal Bangladeshi muslims provide a fertile support base for subversive activities. The growth of communal organisations like Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI), Students Islamic, Sevak Sangh (ISS) and All India Mili Council provides impetus to Pan Islamic sentiment, which is vulnerable to exploitation by Pakistan.

There is direct link between drug trafficking and terrorism. The Golden Crescent is a major source of heroine and hashish for the West, which is smuggled through the Indo-Pak border. The ISI has been using these established channels for smuggling of arms and

explosives, which has provided terrorism greater teeth. In an interview to *Washington Post* (12 September 1994) Nawaz Sharif mentioned ISI plans to use drug money to support militancy. Further proof of it is provided by Altaf Gauhar in his article in "Politics and Business" dated 28 September 1994, giving details of how Afghan war was financed by drug trade and that Gen Zia considered it in "national interest" Generals Mirza Afzal Beg and K. M Arif both confirmed of donations to Pakistan Army for the war in Afghanistan. CIA report " Heroin in Pakistan, sowing the wind" confirms the use of drug money by Pak intelligence agencies to finance militancy in Punjab and Kashmir.

From the above it should be clear that the rulers of Pakistan have been waging a systematic proxy war against India with subversion and terrorism as the main weapons. The aim is to destabilize India by direct subversion and ingress into the secular Indian society.

While we must deal with the fundamentalist elements under Pak ISI influence sternly but it must not lead to alienation of our vast minority of Muslims. In this context the authorities need to be conscious of the fact that post 1992 there has been alienation of the Indian Muslims, and it is because of this that ISI was able to subvert the loyalties of some of the Indian Muslims and establish front organisations across the country resulting in 1993 bomb blasts, serial blasts in the capital region in 1997 and the Coimbatore blasts in 1998.

Equally Indian Islam is under attack both by the radicalised Deobandi Schools of Pakistan and the Ahl-e-Hadis Islam of Saudi origin. The need is for fostering Indian Islamic traditions established and propagated by Dar-ul-uloom in Deoband. State institutions have to play a major role by understanding it and fostering Islamic traditions. This is the main guarantee against subversion of Islam by the Jehadis.

Dimensions of **drug trafficking** and **narco terrorism** extend much beyond trafficking and smuggling. It undermines financial security of India by generating black money, hawala transactions, money laundering and above all existence of large cash economy enables cross border terrorist activities and establishment of links with the under world as gains can be channalied through the hawala routes. Pakistan, particularly the ISI has realised the vast damaging potential of money laundering, hawala and counterfeit currency to sustain the subversive activities. Pakistan has systematically aided and promoted narcotic trade to fund terrorist outfits and the underworld to destablise our financial system and economy. Pakistan National Development Finance Corporation in 1992 had estimated that black money economy of Pakistan gained US$ 32.5 billion annually from cultivation, production and smuggling of illicit narcotics from the Golden Crescent, which provides 75% of all heroin supplied to Western Europe and 50% of that which goes to USA. India is being used as a transit route for drugs to Europe and America, the other routes being through Nepal and CIS countries. The quantity of narcotics valued about Rs. 5000 crores are being annually smuggled through India.

The Golden triangle produces over 1000 tons of opium which is refined into very high grade heroin. Very little of it is seized in the North East due to ineffective surveillance and enforcement. A clear indicator of the likely illegal narcotic trade in the NorthEast is the high incidence of drug addition and abuse in Manipur, Mizoram, Assam and Arunachal Pradesh. Similarly, open Indo-Nepal border is the main source of Hashish.

The process of money laundering helps in delinking the tainted money from any association with its criminal origin and long chain of transactions renders it impossible to

locate the original source. Money is then pushed through banking channels by way of gifts, donations and trade accounts. This also helps in tax evasion and is well manipulated by professional facilitators like chartered accountants, auditors, lawyers and traders. Since bulk of service sector (almost 50% of GNP) is prone to tax evasion, it facilitates laundering of black money. Hawala with its ease, speed and anonymity has made it attractive even to the migrants due to tedious procedures and delays in our banking system. Money laundering, income tax evasion and hawala are complimentary to each other.

Drug money acquired from shipments abroad by the ISI and its cohorts collected from drug pushing cartels is launched through various placements and made available to its under world links in Gulf and other countries, from where it moves through banking and other channels to Islamic fundamentalist organisations over the entire country. Unless our Foreign Exchange management, Narcotic Control and money laundering regimes are made more sensitive to the threat, the effect of narco terrorism will not be checked. Similarly, our enforcement of Visa regime applicable to Pakistan visitors needs a fresh appraisal as a larger number of Pakistani visitors do not return and remain untraced, which helps Pakistani designs.

The conflict in JAMMU AND KASHMIR has its distinct external and internal parameters. Kashmir was, is and shall continue to be the center point of Pakistan's India policy as both, an anti India posture and Kashmir are essential justification for its identity. Nuclearisation of both the countries in 1998, may bring about a balance of nuclear deterrence and thus stability in the Nuclear field but it is unlikely to deter Pakistan from continuing the proxy war as was proved by the Kargil intrusions and subsequent escalation in militancy. The sole deterrent to proxy war is to make its cost prohibitive for Pakistan.

The other major factor affecting Indo-Pak conflict over Kashmir is the Islamisation of Pakistan since Zia's time and Pakistan claiming the mantle of spearheading the Islamic resurgence in the region. Within the broader aim of Islamisation of the region, subjugation of Afghanistan followed by Kashmir are her immediate strategic goals. We provided the opportunity and facilitated Pak designs by leaving Afghanistan entirely to it, thereby leaving the core space where all the preparations for the proxy war took place uncontested. Islamisation of Pakistan and its Pan-Islamic orientation has influenced its strategic thinking. In the words of Gen Aslam Beg, it has provided Pakistan territorial depth and strategic opportunities.

The external dimensions of the Kashmir problem have expanded beyond a bilateral confrontation due to nuclearisation of the subcontinent and the expanding transnational dimensions of terrorism. The world community will not permit escalation of the situation into a conventional conflict of high intensity, where danger of a nuclear confrontation or exchange at any level is likely (as was demonstrated by the conflict in Kargil). In international perception, the danger is very real, as both India and Pakistan are outside the international nuclear control regimes. At the same time the world powers are alive to the fact that the Pak Army, ISI and Muslim fundamental organisations have been following their own agenda. So the danger of a runaway strike and nuclear weapons being clandestinely passed to Islamic terrorists is real.

The proxy war has three major dimensions external (requiring action in the diplomatic field,) internal (within J& K), and the third of Pakistan's subversive designs on the rest of the country. All three areas are important for defeating the Pakistani design of Pan - Islamic

expansion and terrorism. Efforts in the diplomatic field to contain and reduce the effect of cross-border terrorism sponsored by Pakistan have had a positive response from the world community. These need to be sustained and reinforced. Special effort to seek the cooperation of China and South and Central Asian countries is required.

Internally, the major destabilising factors are demographic spread of Muslims beyond their traditional areas, fundamentalism and alienation of the people. Any further exodus of the minority community and their being targeting will result in expansion of Muslim dominated areas, which suits Pakistan's design. It is easier to prevent than to reinstate or reverse it. With Islamisation of the proxy war and its main stay being Pakistani and foreign Islamic mercenaries, the game plan clearly is to alter the mixed population pattern in J&K from Kashmir valley to Kargil, Doda to Gulabgarh and in Poonch, Rajouri and Naushera to Akhnoor along the Chenab River, to make it Islamic. To defeat Pakistani design it is essential to prevent demographic changes, which will require action in the political, socio-economic and administrative field.

In the context of Jammu and Kashmir fundamentalism is a multi dimensional phenomenon. It has an ethnic, social, cultural and religious content. The propagated Wahabi Islam is alien to Kasmiri Muslim's social and cultural ethos. We need to prevent its imposition and reinforce the Sufi culture of Kashmiri. Pakistan's main thrust will be to exploit the alienation of the Kashmiris. It is equally important to prevent Hindu reaction to Muslim fundamentalism.

Both anti India sentiment and alienation of the Kashmiri masses are the cumulative facets of Kashmiri contemporary experience, which unless checked will continue to provide a

conducive environment for Pakistan's designs against India. It has its root in the politics of expediency played by both the Kashmiri and central leaders. The other facet of alienation is corruption which has denied the people of Jammu & Kashmir benefits of economic development and real participation in the democratic and developmental process. A combination of political ineptness, corruption and failure of democratic institutions to fulfil people's aspiration resulted in frustration. At the political level, frustration was mixed with protectionism, which not only isolated the Kashmiris but also distorted their identity into one of religious dominant, vulnerable to fundamentalism.

A strategy above party politics aimed at redeeming and consolidating the situation in the political, socio-economic and religious fields should be the aim. The basic task will be to remove the feeling of alienation of the people of Kashmir Valley and other parts of J & K. In the political field, it will require accommodating the sentiment of autonomy and removal of inter regional imbalances. The guiding principle should be the restoration of the self-respect and trust of all segments of the society. The other facet of removing the alienation is revitalization of the state's economy and the developmental process. In the socio-political field, the main challenge is fundamentalism, which will require engineering the dissolution of the support base of the Jammat-e-Islami (Kashmir), reversing the communal divide and demographic changes and reviving the spirit of *Kashmiriyat* (the unique Kashmiri ethos).

The road ahead in Jammu and Kashmir is pitted with obstacles, which can only be overcome by a holistic policy based on recognition of the political, socio-economic and law and order dimensions of the problem. Confining it to proxy war will be courting a failure. The approach must take into account the dangerous dimensions of Islamic terrorism, the

agony and deprivation of the people and federal structure assured under article 370. The core of divergent sentiments in Jammu and Kashmir must be harmonised with each other and with India's interest.

The insurgencies in the **NorthEast** are a reflection of its social, cultural, ethnic and politico-economic milieu and changes in the environment of the area. North-East is an extremely heterogeneous region with high level of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. This is reflected in the pattern of conflicts, which are varied in their nature and causes and the stance of the insurgent groups which remain divergent and ever changing. These range from secession to autonomy, movements against foreigners and immigrants, ethnic integration and looking back to their roots as a reaction to perceived imposition of Indianness, the common factor is resorting to violence in articulation and mobilization for the same. Similarly, political evolution in the North East is influenced by its divergent historical experience, social and cultural diversity and distinctiveness leading to socio-political tensions and instability, which again results in agitational approach to problems and violence. Of these, the recent phenomenon of ethnic mobilization automatically poses a threat to adversaries resulting in a conflict situation. Influx of immigrants poses economic, cultural and social threats and provides a cause for conflict and violence.

The reactive nature of our policies in the North-East has encouraged the belief that agitation and violence only engage attention as our political responses generally followed agitations and insurgency which germinated in Nagaland, spread to Mizoram, Manipur, Tripura and Assam. In addition there are simmerings in Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya. Similarly, our belief that conflicts run their natural course, therefore, confront insurgencies with armed might alone and when militancy weakens, offer negotiations and constitutional

concessions that result in accords, is ill founded. These, with the exception of Mizoram have neither put an end to insurgencies nor improved the environment. Instead insurgencies in the North-East have thrived while retaining their low key posture, a peculiarity of the North East. Retrogression of insurgencies has not resulted in its resolution and consolidation of the situation. The insurgent groups have responded to changing situations internally in the politico-social environment and externally in the geo-strategic field to their advantage, whereas the state's responses have been tardy and disjointed.

The support base of the insurgents has shifted from the rural to the urban areas as this is where the material and financial resources are and Government money being the main source. This has necessitated that their convert presence in population centres must not only be effective but sophisticated to tap diverse sources, both private and Government; contractors and Government department payments are the major targets. Insurgents have learnt by experience that the control of population and subversion accompanied by planned acts of violence and terrorism are rewarding at minimum cost. The emphasis is on exploiting ethnic bonds to influence events in all fields- political, economic, social and cultural. The same motivates insurgent links and influence with the politicians, bureaucrats and elite in all fields. Insurgency in the North East will continue to thrive while retaining its low key posture, with limited periods of high intensity violence and remaining under control for prolonged periods. Increasing acts of terrorism and subversion and a greater degree of collusion amongst the insurgent groups will be its distinctive features.

The core of insurgents will remain separatist and anti-establishment, and ethnic for support amongst the people. The politician-bureaucrat-elite-insurgent nexus in the North-East

particularly in the Hill states, unless checked, will continue to provide support to insurgency to achieve their diverse aims and further intensify deprivation and alienation of the people.

Due to the growing nexus between Pakistan. ISI, the North East insurgents and the Islamic fundamentalists, the dimensions of internal security threats to the region have increased. This needs to be countered on a long-term basis.

The conflicts in the North-East centre around human frustration born out of deprivations of various types primarily in the socio-economic fields with political articulation, possibly with the exception of Nagas which is deep rooted in their feeling of being separate with no political, cultural and economic links with their neighbouring communities. Even this is undergoing a change, while peoples orientation is towards peace, development and economic well being, the NSCN (IM) still articulates the political stance of independence. Meiteis feel deprived as compared to the hill tribes (due to reservations for the tribals) in the economic and employment fields. Similarly, Assamese feel deprived compared to rest of India, as do Bodos compared to the Assamese-primarily in the economic fields. Mizoram feels constrained due to its geographical location and experience of Mautam (famine) in 1959, again basically the cause is economic deprivation. Tribal insurgency in Tripura is as a result of alienation of Tribal land due to Bengali influx resulting in economic and social deprivation.

The deprivation of the people is further accentuated due to extortions, corruption and mal-administration. This is a direct result of our policy of pumping in money when under pressure and to meet the ends of political expediency. Political leaders and bureaucrats have consistently used their offices to siphon off developmental funds at the cost of real

development. Corruption, power through money and narrow ethnic loyalties have resulted in most of the politicians and insurgents being motivated and propelled by narrow parochial gains. This is the main reason for ethnic cleansing, partisan killings, extortions and criminal activities of smuggling and drug trafficking. Insurgency in the North East has become an industry in which main motive is profit for the people in power both through the ballet and the bullet. The situation is made worse by total lack of governance and state apparatus being high jacked for parochial gains. The situation in Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura is precarious.

The solution of conflicts in the North East lies in the political fields, with major emphasis on good governance and removing people's sense of deprivation. The paradigms of conflict resolution and management relevant to the situations in the North East are Ideal Politik and selection of a cooperative approach after identifying the core of deprivation in each area. The focus has to be on the people as deprivation entirely relates to them. In all our endeavours so far the focus has been on politics and insurgents and the real issue of deprivation of people is left out.

In the North East measures in the security field alone are unlikely to turn around the situation. The main thrust has to be in improving the governance and removing the people's sense of alienation due to deprivation in the economic and social fields. This requires correct focus, identification and implementation.

Pakistan used PUNJAB as a testing ground and as its involvement with J& K increased, it cooled off. Pakistan's sincerity to the Sikh fundamentalist cause was doubtful as a Sikh state on its borders was not desirable strategically. Pakistan's design was suspect in the

minds of ordinary Sikhs in Punjab and the idea of Khalistan was neither desirable nor achievable in their minds.

Punjab militancy is to be viewed as terrorism and dealt primarily in the law and order realm. It should not be confused with Sikh grievances and political issues like transfer of Chandigarh and river water dispute. The two need to be separated and dealt as such, the former at the administrative and executive level with full political backing and latter at the political level. There is equal urgency to deal with political issues.

To a diligent observer of Punjab, it should be clear that throughout the militancy there was no Hindu-Sikh divide although traditional bonds of unity and amity did come under stress. It will also be logical to surmise that there never was ever a separatist movement, its few propagators, mostly abroad, utilised this plank with fundamentalist overtones to exploit Sikh grievances actual and perceived and govt's inaction and over reaction highlighted these.

In essence Punjab terrorism was the outcome of political ineptness and drew its strength and legitimacy not from any ideology or religious sanction but from the failures of political institutions, Governance and administration. Its major dimensions were law and order as fragmented militant organisations were pursuing their own agenda or that of their leaders resulting in criminalisation of the environment. The responses had to be in the administrative and security field and so should it be in future.

LEFT WING EXTREMISM is presently confined to Andhra Pradesh and Bihar with long history of armed agrarian violence. Naxalites are also minimally active in Maharashtra and Orrisa, while Madhya Pradesh is emerging as a new centre of left wing extremist

violence. Naxalite groups like CPI-ML (Peoples War Group) in Andhra Pradesh and Marxist Communist Centre (MCC) the CPI/ML (peoples unity) and CPI/ML (Vinod Mishra Group) in Bihar have been getting weapons from arms bazars in South East Asia and from Pakistan and Afghanistan and have achieved high level of sophistication in the use of land mines and state of the art triggering devices. PWG linkages which were earlier limited to South American Guerillas and LTTE, have recently expanded to ISI connections and increasingly networking with militant organisations around the country.

In Andhra Pradesh, PWG is the dominant Naxalite faction with over 1500 revolutionaries and over 3000 committed supporters, it has spread its influence to more than two third of the state, with highest violence being perpetrated in the Talengana area. It generates substantial funds through contractors, particularly beedi leaf contractors, land lords and business houses. It counters official development programmes through its own welfare development work in the forest and rural areas. It has effectively targetted former Home Minister, Police Officers and police posts.

Unlike Andhara Pradesh the naxalite cadre in Bihar is more diffused and divided between the MCC, CPI-ML (Peoples Unity) and CPI-ML (Vinod Mishra), so is the violence perpetrated by them. Most naxalite groups are engaged in class/caste wars under the pretext of protecting the dalits and backward segments of the society. Endemic and mindless violence, mixed with conflicts amongst the rival groups is widespread in central and South Bihar. Left wing extremists as a part of their drive to boycott the recent elections perpetrated widespread violence and killings. MCC activists organised 'Jana Adalats' to punish those who participated in elections, the Jana adalat in Chatra District was held in the presence of 2000 persons to punish by death a police informer.

Madhya Pradesh has been witnessing a rise in left wing extremists activities due to spill over effect of Marxist movement from Andhra Pradesh. The movement is largely an extension of PWG activities from Andhra Pradesh and the main activity is extortions from the Kendu leaf contractors and govt. employees who are compelled to pay cess. PW in its two major strikes killed the state transport minister and an additional SP in a land mine blast and over a dozen districts are affected. Madhya Pradesh MCC in its bid to spread to new areas, it has formed border areas committee with its headquarters at Sarguja to function in conjunction with the UP MCC Area Committee (Sonbhadra) under the overall Bihar-U P-MP Simant Regional Committee. In UP MCC is making its presence felt in Mirzapur, Chandauli and Sonbhadra Districts. In west Bengal Left wing extremists violence has manifested in Midnapore and concerted efforts by CPML-PW to expand its influence in bordering areas of Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa are clearly discernible with the establishment of Bihar-Bengal -Orissa border area committee with both an underground and overground apparatus, the areas affected are East Singhbhum (Bihar), Midnapur, Purullia (West Bengal) and Mayurbhanj and Keonjar (Orissa).

The talk of converting "Guerilla Zones" (areas of maximum activities) into "Liberated Zones" is common and CPML-PW and MCC expansionist designs include spreading into new areas to carve out a "Compact Revolutionary Zone" spreading from Nepal through Bihar and the Dandakaranya region to Andhara Pradesh. This is in pursuance of a decision in September 1998 taken by them and the Nepal based CPN (Maoist). In pursuance of this aim MCC has been exchanging visits with fellow cadres from Nepal and expressed solidarity with the peoples war being waged by CPN (Maoist). CPML-PW and MCC have also agreed to impart training to CPN (Maoist) cadres in exchange of weapons.

The Left wing Extremism can only be contained and defeated by an integrated action plan incorporating security and developmental aspects. Trans-state nature of Left Wing Extremist activities will require coordinated implementation and joint action in the security field.

CONCLUSIONS

50 years after independence there is widespread unrest, discontent and conflicts among a large section of the population. There are threats emanating from regional and social imbalances, which have given rise to and fuel insurgencies, terrorism, sub nationalism and communalism. Economic disparities have created social tensions, urban unrest, rural upsurge and youth disenchantment. Problems of deprivation, unemployment, poverty, hunger and food shortage, lack of housing, over crowding, degradation of basic amenities have given rise to anger and crime. The problem is getting worse as rise of population add to the pressure on demand without corresponding increase in supply. 201 of 535 districts in India are affected with one form of violence or the other.

Individual security concept range from assurance of basic human sustenance needs of food and water and protection against elements. In the socio-economic-culture-ethnic groupings, security is conceptualised around freedom to practice one's precepts, without let or hindrance of other groups. To attain these individual and group security objectives, people and groups expect security from the Indian nation state. The main focus being the people and society, their perceptions are important. By and large people feel insecure both at the individual and community level. They feel they are victims of economic deprivation, poverty, lawlessness and negative politics. They are loosing faith in the system, ability of law

enforcement agencies to maintain order and enforce the rule of law, ability of judicial system to provide justice. Education, health, public distribution system and civic services are on the verge of breaking down. The quality of life in rural and urban areas except for the affluent elite has deteriorated and the gap between haves and have-nots widened. In the disturbed and insurgency infested areas people feel insecure both from the insurgents and the state. The state's response has been to seek more security forces and greater militarisation of the environment. Centrifugal tendencies both at the community and group level are increasing. People feel that state is absent in areas of their interest and state's interest is detached from that of the people and society. In critically disturbed areas states functional presence is diminishing. We have a paradoxical situation that both the state and the society are insecure. Since focus of internal security is society, therefore human aspects of civil society get interlinked, which makes its understanding difficult and management complex. The key to dealing with internal security is to keep the focus on people and society as these clearly set out the parameters both for policy framework and management.

The above observations may appear to be harsh and may not be uniformly and fully applicable to all parts of our country but the growing tendencies need to be taken cognisance of. During the period upto 2025, the internal security situation is likely to escalate unless concerted and well thought out measures are implemented to arrest and counter these tendencies. This will require sustained and well directed actions in the political, socio-economic and security fields. Due attention will have to be paid to thwart the designs of our adversaries, particularly Pakistan to destabilise India through subversion, encouraging and fomenting fundamentalism and terrorism and inducting arms and drugs into India. Pak designs can only be defeated by reinforcing our resilience built around secularism and practice of democracy in essence, spirit and its constitutional and legal framework. Though

our democracy and foundations of secularism have survived many storms but in the coming years there is urgency to establish it fully as it is only through democracy and secularism that we can produce a unanimous backing to the national effort. This would foremost require political wisdom and will, shedding away the culture of political expediency and imposition and replacing it with participation and federalism with accountability and authority institutionalised. The same holds good in the developmental field. Our approach to security management should be more holistic and sensitive to people's feeling and to generate responses to state's efforts.

The political system needs readjustment and changes. People are no longer satisfied with representation only, they also want participation and real empowerment. The diverse elements of the society need to be given self rule and autonomy in their local affairs and their cultural and social identities recognised by adoption of indigenous models suited to their genius and traditions. The agenda for change must ensure stability at the centre, states and lower levels based on consensus and governance decentralised and people oriented. The political process needs to be rejuvenated with reforms in the electoral system and the Peoples Representation Act. The charter of fundamental rights and duties needs to be reoriented and reinforced with primary aim of establishing a civil society in tune with our cultural and traditional values. This will require creation of a new law enforcement apparatus responsible to the people from the grass root level with primary aim to serve the society and be also responsible to it at each level. Religion must be an affair of individual and the community and not to be a part of the political system or process. State must remain neutral and not interfere in its practice. Use of religion for political purposes and political parties with religious orientation should be banned.

The planning process for economic development should have clear orientation of infrastructure creation at the national and central level and local orientation at the state and

lower levels. Employment generation should be part of economic planning, which will require reorientation of education to science and technology, vocational training and community work. Rural development and employment assurance schemes need to be of local origin, to meet local requirements and to be implemented by the community. Civic services should be main area of concern at the local level.

The cost of governance needs to be brought down and government's role in the economic, social and cultural fields need to be reduced. In the economic field, government's role should be to mediate and adjudicate between varying interests and most economic activities should be left to entrepreneurs, corporations and individuals within the laid down policy. Government's role in cultural and social fields should be reduced to the minimum.

The proxy war in J& K, insurgencies in the North East and continuing terrorism in Punjab require a commonalty of perception amongst national agencies, a national level policy to resolve the situation and a regional framework for implementation, keeping in view the local, social, economic, ethnic, religious and political imperatives. Similarly, combating Pak sponsored terrorism, subversion and smuggling of weapons and narcotics with internal and external links needs national level management. Likewise Left Wing Extremism, which transcends state boundaries, require a common approach, cohesive action and joint and

coordinated approach. Issue of fundamentalism and large scale immigrants similarly requires a national policy to be jointly formulated and implemented. Our responses in this regard have generally been reactive and confined to law and order dimensions only. The policy parameters should extend beyond the security (Law and Order) specterm to embrace political and socio-economic dimensions of each of the problems in a hollistic fashion, aiming to alleviate people deprivation and creating a secure and healthy environment.

Due to lack of a holistic approach to IS situations, distortions have crept in the functioning of the administration and governance has become ineffective. The focus is primarily on the law and order aspects and the civil face represented by the political and administrative functionaries has conveniently receded, leaving the responsibility of fighting the proxy war and insurgencies to the security forces. The all important civil face is missing and governance in areas of interest to the people lacking. Lack of clean and responsive administration and effective governance has compounded our problems in the North East and J & K, both are critical factors in the disturbed areas. This has also resulted in greater militarisation without a perceptible improvement in the security environment. Counter insurgency operations carried out by the SF against militants and insurgents have succeeded repeatedly to bring situation under control but our failure to consolidate the gains in the political, social and economic fields have resulted in the situations worsening again. Indifferent governance results in further alienating the communities that continue to suffer from deprivations.

The subversive face of the proxy war waged by Pakistan within India is all too evident. The aim is to extend the Indian state, its administration and security forces and create instability. The primary agencies are Muslim fundamentalist organisations, the underworld,

discordant elements amongst Muslim population and extremists. It needs to be tackled as an all India problem, with a multidisciplinary (political, social, cultural, religious, education and security) and coordinated approach with full cooperation of the states, with political and social sensitivity to secularism. In the security field actions lie in the intelligence and policing fields. Pakistan's established nexus with the Indian underworld and terrorists promoted through the lucrative and mutually beneficial channels of smuggling, narcotics and arms supply in its multifaceted dimensions needs to be tackled on long term basis. This will require enhancement of our own capability supported by modern technology and cooperation of the neighbours and the international agencies.

The North East insurgent groups in the last two decades have gained strength from their close links with the politicians, bureaucrats, business community and in certain cases they even have patronage of state governments. The politician-bureaucrat-elite-insurgent nexus in the North East unless ruthlessly checked will continue to support insurgencies for mutual benefits. This coupled with growing linkages between the ISI, Islamic fundamentalists and the insurgent groups have added serious dimensions to the security threats in the region, which requires a concerted responses and not through sporadic deployment of SF in the troubled states. The ISI design can no longer be countered through a reactive and defensive policy.

Governance comes under greater pressure in the disturbed environment while good governance contributes greatly towards better management, bad or absence of governance puts pressure and serious constraints on management of the situation. This is evident from the

state of affairs during the last eleven years at different times in J&K and in different states of the North East. In these environments policy implementation, rejuvenating the administration, economic development and security management are essential ingredients of governance, while good governance is a prime requirement every where, it becomes a key element in a disturbed environment. Since the ultimate battle is for the "hearts and minds" of the people and deprivation is the core, therefore major areas of concern for governance are provision of basic civic amenities, Public Distribution System, health, communications and transportation, housing and rehabilitation and restoration and functioning of the education system. People must feel and see government and not just hear of it. This is where political will and governance is seen by the common man

The main concern should be to establish the credibility and legitimacy of the state and its institutions. This can only be achieved by a pragmatic and implementable policy, institutionalised approach and a sincere and transparent implementation by credible people. Aberrations must be resolved in a transparent and just fashion as public perceptions are important. Management of ethnic and communal conflicts and resolving them are important areas of governance and political management. Without governance, neither are we able to secure the environment nor implement policies to remove people's hardships. Without governance all other areas suffer, it therefore in a key factor.

The Indian State has looked at the IS problems, only through two faces of the prism political and law and order. The third face represented by religious fundamentalism, ethnic violence, economic disparities and deprivation is only talked about but seldom looked at hard and constantly. We can no longer afford to ignore it particularly when globalisation and IT can make changes fast, furious and most damaging and unexpected. If responses to recent

natural calamities are any indication, the Indian State has a long way to go. There is need for debate and consensus on our internal security problems, particularly due to coalition government and regional political stalwarts pursuing their own agendas.

While the dimensions of our IS problem are well beyond acute law and order and extend to one or the other from of low intensity conflicts, politics have eroded the law and order machinery, law enforcement capacity and the legal framework to deal with such situation. TADA may have been politically and administratively misused but not to have laws to deal with subversion, terrorism and insurgencies is courting disaster. Most democracies in the world have more stringent laws compared to   TADA   dealing   with   terrorism, subversion and drugs. States fears are ill founded, for states cannot be autonomous and strong if the nation is unstable. Let us not rush from one extreme to the other. Both the states and the centre have to be strong, a weak centre cannot protect the states from external dangers and internal threats. Only an effective state can protect its people. The state must arm itself adequately to deal with organised crime, subversion, terrorism and threat posed by narcotics. Similarly, political parties cannot permit a state of anarchy as it existed in Bihar under the garb of political propriety and democracy.

Our response to every new IS situation in the recent past has been an escalation in the types and number of security forces, Punjab gave birth to National Security Guard and the proxy war in J and K to the Rashtriya Rifles. The birth of other Para Military Forces (PMF) has similar history, even if we accept justification for their raising. The point to be understood is that increase in numbers and types of forces is no substitute for efficiency. Along with it there has been diversion of forces raised specifically for border guarding for internal security while on one hand it has made our borders more porus, particularly in the North East, on the other hand a large number of diverse forces with varying capability, ethos and charter handling IS situations has resulted in numbers at the cost of cohesiveness and

enhanced capability. There is need for a long term and professional assessment on employment of forces as prevention of infiltration and to check transborder terrorism networks that have a nexus with smugglers and insurgents is equally important as dealing with the internal elements.

Our response to internal security has been purely that of crisis management, over centralisation and states abdicating their responsibilities. Structural changes are required in decision making process, to ensure independent functioning of law enforcement agencies and a holistic policy incorporating political, economic, socio-cultural and law and order aspects. This most of all will require political will. To counter Pakistan designs, there is an urgent need to develop a national perspective of the developing IS situation and formulate policies for the same.

Inspite of our failures and derailment of the democratic system, India has survived and made progress due to the resilience of its people. The situation can be redeemed by enlightenment of the society and state functioning in a just and credible fashion. The key elements are good governance and credible politics.

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V K N/S/CPR/7   30 October 2000

Dr. V. A Pai Panandiker,
President,
Centre for Policy Research,
Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri,
New Delhi-110021

INDIA 2025

Ref : your memo of 22 May, 2000

Dear Dr. Panandiker,

The chapter on " Internal Security Scenario" for the project " India 2025" is enclosed

With warm regards

                                    Yours Sincerely

                                    (V. K. NAYAR)