

NEXT IAS

INTERNAL SECURITY

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Internal Security

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INTERNAL SECURITY: AN OVERVIEW

1.1 Introduction

The concept of internal security may seem like a modern construct but, unlike the common wisdom, it is as old as the construct of states. The earliest works of statecraft – Arthashastra by Kautilya – had references to management of security of state from internal as well as external threats. *Kautilya in his Arthashastra* places threats into four categories:

- Internal, (e.g. communal and ethnic conflict)
- External, (e.g. Threat from Pakistan and China)
- Internally aided external and (e.g. separatism in Punjab & J&K)
- Externally aided internal. (e.g. ISI sponsored terrorism)

The most serious one arises from internal originators and internal abettors and is like the “fear from a lurking snake”.

In modern times, the form and number of threats to a country's security internal as well as external – has become more challenging than ever. It has become very important for a country to maintain its sovereignty in international statecraft as well as to ensure free will of the citizens. A country has to employ a suitable mix of policies with respect to economic, strategic, military and diplomatic powers at its disposal in order to secure the interest of the country and its citizens.

There are various challenges to internal security of India such as threats due to terrorism, narcotics and drugs, small arms proliferation, voids in energy requirement and information warfare looms large on the horizon. Maintenance of internal security will thus be one of the biggest challenges facing the country. The extent and scope of threats are complex, varied and vast. No other country in the world confronts so many threats, with so much intensity, at the same time. Overall, more than 50 per cent of India is said to be affected by one or the other of these threats, which are not just 'law and order' problems. They have external dimension falsifying conventional wisdom that internal security threats are caused mainly by internal sources.

1.1.1 Difference Between Internal and External Security Threats

The aspects of internal and external security threats are so inter-twinned that it is difficult to differentiate between the two. However, some broad difference could be considered.

Security Threats	
External	Internal
Threat originates from foreign soil	Threat originates from within country's territory
Aggression by foreign country and non-state actors.	It is the result of internal disturbances and law and order problems
These impact the sovereignty of the country	Impact credibility of the government
These affect international relations	Affect relationship of the citizens with government
Mainly dealt by Armed forces and Diplomats	Dealt by Ministry of Home Affairs and State Police

1.2 Definition

Internal Security: Internal Security is simply an act of preserving and maintaining the unity and integrity of the state, maintaining law and order, and thus upholding the sovereignty of the country within the territory of the country from disruptive and anti-national forces.”

Today's definition of security acknowledges the political, economic, environmental, social and human threats, among other strands that impact the concept of security. It is the concern for security of the lowest common denominator of every society, namely the 'human being', which has resulted in the development of the concept of 'human security', with a focus on the individual and the people. Therefore, the definition of security is related to the ability of the state to perform the function of protecting the well-being of its people.

The former Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, in 2005 identified – *terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, low intensity conflicts, and threats to the security of sea-lanes as threats to national security.*

A close examination of the threats to national security revealed that each one of them is connected to one or more other threats. For example, the threat of terrorism is connected to the threat of proliferation of arms including weapons of mass destruction, or the threat to the security of our sea-lanes is connected to the threat to energy security.

It is the duty of Government to protect its boundaries as well as maintain law and order. Safe internal security scenario is very important for growth and development of the country. This aspect was highlighted by the former PM of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, who said: "... *Without effective law and order, economic development would be impossible. We must not, therefore, neglect this aspect.*"

The challenges posed by Internal Security scenario are priority for the nation as emphasised many a times by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Addressing the Inter-State Council meeting, in 2016, the Prime Minister Narendra Modi told the Chief Ministers that "*we should focus on how we can make our country prepared to counter challenges to our internal security*". He asked states to focus on intelligence sharing which will help the country stay "alert" and "updated" in countering internal security challenges.

Thus an enhanced emphasis on Internal Security is needed as an internally weak country is vulnerable to external threats.

Thus to ensure Internal Security a country has to employ a suitable mix of policies with respect to economic, strategic, military and diplomatic powers at its disposal in order to secure the interest of the country and its citizens.

1.3 Constituents of Internal Security

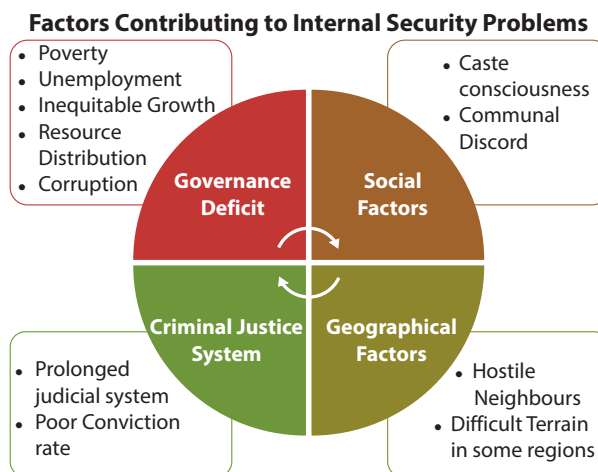
There are multiple attributes that constitute internal security of the country. These could be enumerated as:

- **Maintenance of Law and Order:** Ensuring law and order is the prime responsibility of any government to make sure 'Rule of law' prevails and law-abiding citizens are not aggrieved in anyway.
- **Safeguarding Sovereignty of the Nation:** The challenges posed by the state and non-state actors in the form of terrorism, naxalism etc, need to be neutralised in order to protect the sovereignty of the nation.
- **Ensuring Domestic Peace and Tranquility:** Incidents such as Communal violence, Ethnic clashes, Mob violence etc. need to be checked to ensure peace and tranquillity in the nation.

- **Equality:** Article 14 of the Constitution of India entails a responsibility on the state to ensure equality before law and equal protection of law and therefore state should ensure such rights are protected.
- **Freedom of Expression:** There should be an environment where people can express their views and thoughts without fear. Dissent is important in democracy and differences between sections of people could be resolved through dialogues.
- **Non-discrimination:** There should be no discrimination (which includes exploitation and oppression) of any strata of citizens at the hands of state or society at large. The weak needs to be protected and should enjoy freedom and rights.
- **Social Harmony and Fraternity:** Social harmony between various castes, communities, regions etc. is imperative to prevent and resolve internal security threats.

1.4 Factors Contributing to Internal Security Challenges

Former Prime minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh once said: "*India is unique and a land of contradictions*". These contradictions interact and give rise to factors that contribute to the internal security problems in India. These factors could be enumerated in the diagram below:



1.4.1 Governance Deficit

A. Poverty

There is a positive correlation between poverty and law and order problems. Numerous studies demonstrate that declining national income, low GDP per capita, primary commodity or natural resource dependence, and slow economic growth increases the risk and length of civil conflict.

Widespread poverty may also weaken the state capacity to provide essential human services, and thereby, render states more vulnerable to predation by terrorist networks.

Citizens living in deprived environments become disenchanted with the political and administrative systems. There is no surprise that the some of the most backward and poor districts in India are grappling with the menace of Naxal violence.

B. Unemployment

Unemployment leads to energy of the work-force go unutilised which could have been used for the economic development instead. *India's unemployment rate has increased sharply to 10.22 percent in 2020, the year of the COVID-19 outbreak, from 5.27 percent in 2019.* The more worrying sign is employability of more than 1.5 million engineers who graduate each year 80% are unemployed. When the aspirations of the youth are not met, they get disgruntled, lose faith in the Government and may turn to use disruptive tendencies. The volatile nature of the youth may lead to expression of anger, frustration and may cause social unrest.

C. Inequitable Growth

Income of Indians is becoming more and more inequitable. The *International Monetary Fund (IMF)* has warned that both India and China face the social risk of growing inequality. India's Gini coefficient rose to 0.47 by 2018, from 0.45 in 1990, mainly on account of rising inequality between urban and rural areas as well as within urban areas. The richest 1% of Indians now own 58.4% of wealth, shows a Credit Suisse report. These indicators highlight that growing inequality is a reality in India and it is a cause of concern, as citizens' discontent may become challenge to the Government vis-à-vis internal security.

The Internal Security problems breeds easily in the Bimaru states as compared to state with better developmental prospects and Human Capital.

D. Resource Distribution

Resource distribution is based on the principle of common goods. Fruits of economic growth when distributed unevenly, only selected few reaping the benefits, and a large population gets left behind in the process. India has seen development of industries in mineral rich areas in central India, the economic development in these areas is not akin to rest of the country. These areas have now become what is called as the *'Red Corridor' because here, local population is involved in Left Wing Extremism*, primarily owing to lack of socio-economic development of the people.

E. Corruption

Corruption is widely recognised as a threat to peace and security in the nation. When corruption becomes entrenched, it undermines the development of state authorities and its institutions, leaving a weak state with potentially more space for insurgents to operate.

While the poor often suffer the most, this cycle of impunity leaves ordinary people disempowered, unable to seek justice in courts or hold politicians to account.

When important decisions, from arms procurement to policy changes, are often tainted by corrupt considerations, it is inevitable that internal security will get compromised.

Ultra Left forces were thriving in rural areas because of the vacuum created by politicians and social activists. The corrupt state machinery has contributed to the weakening of the state. It is when the system is subverted that certain elements step in and intervene in favour of the people and win their support, leading to spread to Maoism.

It is not surprising therefore, that we see a constant and sad correlation between corruption and conflict.

1.4.2 Criminal Justice System

The **Malimath Committee** on Criminal Justice System Reforms noted: *"It is common knowledge that the two major problems besieging the Criminal Justice System are huge pendency of criminal cases and the inordinate delay in disposal of criminal cases."*

A. Prolonged Judicial System

About 45 million cases are pending in various courts across the country, thus huge pendency of criminal cases and the inordinate delay in disposal of criminal cases are major problems. People get disenchanted when they do not get quick and affordable justice. Such pendency of cases is detrimental to the national security as criminals acquire notion of impunity.

B. Low Conviction Rate

With lot of pendency of cases in courts, on an average the judges have 2 to 6 minutes to hear the case. Consequently, there is very low rate of conviction in cases involving serious crimes (only 59.2% in 2020). This has encouraged the crime. Violence and organised crimes have become the order of the day. As chances of convictions are low, crime has become a profitable business. Law and order situation has deteriorated over the years and citizens have lost confidence in the Criminal Justice System.

1.4.3 Geographical Factors

A. Hostile Neighbours

India shares a significant part of its border with Pakistan and China, and have had strained relationship with its eastern as well as western neighbours.

India and Pakistan have been at loggerheads ever since they got independence from British Rule. The neighbours even entered four times into war since partition of India in 1947. Control over Kashmir has been a major bone of contention between the two countries. Pakistan is involved in a proxy-war with India through cross border terrorism, pumping Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN), drug trafficking etc.



India and China relations have been contentious owing to unsettled boundary dispute between them. China disputes over validity of treaty signed between British India and Tibet in 1914. A war was also fought to settle the boundary dispute in 1962. In present times, Maoists in India look towards China for ideological support, China has been following a policy of “*String of Pearls*” – acquiring rights to use ports for naval operations in Indian Ocean - encircling India. In addition, China and Pakistan have a nexus and proposed *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)* passes through Pakistan occupied Kashmir and India has reservations with that.

The recent Galwan crises and Chinese claim on Arunachal has complicated the relations further.



B. Difficult Terrain in Some Regions

Difficult terrain in border areas in the North East and Northern region of India makes management of border a challenging task. The presence of insurgents in North East region, militants in Jammu and Kashmir region and Maoist in hilly tract of central India make the task of security agencies more complex and challenging as they have to deal with twin challenges of the hostilities of these groups and difficult terrain.

Porous border: The prevalence of the porous and tough terrain border of Myanmar, and Pakistan for smuggling of arms, and drugs destabilises the nation internally and the porous border of Bangladesh led to illegal immigrants.

Climate Change: It has led to the rise of immigration and increased pressure on limited resources which has posed a serious threat to individual security. According to the Economic Survey 2018, climate change could result in a 20-25% short-term decline in farm revenue.

Disaster Risk: The effect of Climate Change in the form of sea level rise, heat waves, landslides, etc has increased the security threats.

1.4.4 Social Factors

A. Communal Ethnic Discord

Lack of communal harmony and intolerance is leading to communal discord. The Hindu-Muslim conflicts are common in India however, the country has also seen the anti-Sikh riots in 1984. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs communal incidents occurred in the country from 2011 to October, 2015 on an average of 58 incidents in a month. In addition, riots result in substantial property damage, loss of livelihood and residential segregation. Certain vested interests get benefited tremendously from the various divides in our society.

The recent Kuki-Meitei conflict has posed a serious challenge to the Internal Security.

B. Caste Consciousness

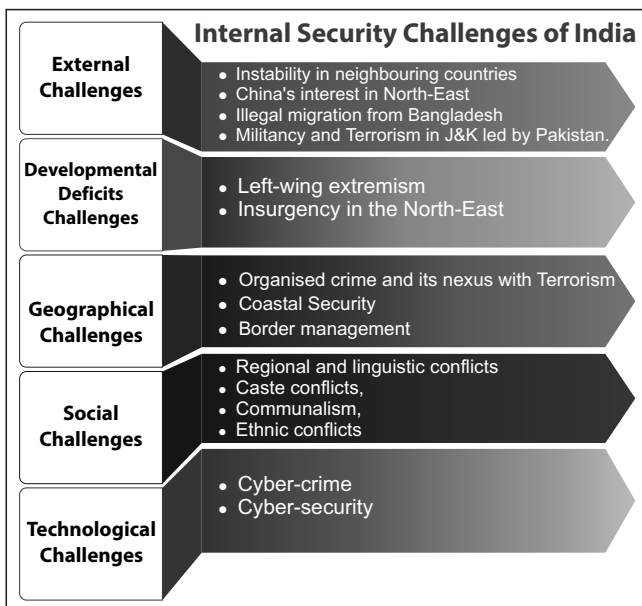
Caste consciousness is deep rooted in our society. Caste system has become inseparable aspect of Indian society and it has influenced all the areas like education, economy, politics, marriage, and religion. Even, seven decades after getting independence, Dalits are mistreated and elections are fought more often on the basis of caste ideology. Fault lines in the society are exploited by few individuals and the society remains on the boil. Taking important decisions through the prism of caste hampers the objectivity of the decisions and in the long run proves counter-productive to strong nation building.

Religious Fundamentalism: The Ideology of Pan Islamic Khilafat and Jihad had further advanced to decentralised radicalisation in the form of the Lone Wolf attack (e.g., the Christchurch attack, and other attacks in European Countries)

Maoism: Its origin in Indian can be traced to the splitting up of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in 1967, which led to the formation of the communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

1.5 Internal Security Challenges of India

The internal security challenges of India emanate from various sources and are of different kinds. These could be enlisted in the following way. Let us consider these security challenges in detail.



1.5.1 External Challenges

A. Instability in Neighbouring Countries induced External Threats

India's neighbouring countries are plagued by instable security environment due to religious fundamentalism or ethnic clashes. Pakistan has been waging a proxy-war in the form of terrorism, counterfeit currency and drug trafficking for more than three decades. It started with giving support to Khalistan separatist in early 1980s and then from late 1980s provided support to militancy in Jammu and Kashmir.

In Bangladesh, crackdown on militant camps belonging to insurgents from North-East India happened in 2014 but it still remains hiding place for the insurgents. More worrying sign is that the fundamentalist forces are

gaining ground leading to rise in sectarian and religious violence. Recently, Bangladesh has seen religious minorities and their religious places being targeted.

Myanmar, which has taken first few steps towards democracy, has a history of harbouring insurgents from North-East India. Now it is under international scanner for its role in persecution of Rohingyas in Rakhine province causing exodus of lakhs of Rohingya refugees in the neighbouring countries which could be potential threat to internal security of India.

Nepal, which has successfully seen general election in 2017, faced Maoist violence till a decade ago. The rehabilitation of Maoists remains a potential internal security threat to Nepal and beyond. Thus, it is evident from above discussion that internal security in India could be disturbed by the unstable environment in India's neighbouring countries.

B. China's Interest in North East India

China claims Arunachal Pradesh as a part of the South Tibet. It has raised few controversies vis-à-vis Arunachal Pradesh by issuing stapled visas to inhabitants of Arunachal Pradesh in the past. Racial and Ethnic similarities of North Eastern population with China has caused few groups to have pro-China attitude. Surveillance and frequent incursions by China's security agencies has been an internal security threat to India. In 2017, there occurred a major border stand-off with China at Doklam plateau near Sikkim border and in 2020, the Galwan Valley clash has made it clear that China's interest in the region will not decline anytime soon.

Doklam, situated on Bhutan-China border is strategically important for India as it is situated at the India-Bhutan-China tri-junction. Bhutan has no diplomatic ties with China and India has a special relationship – including militarily – with Bhutan. In short, India has responsibilities towards Bhutan, which include helping it and guard its sovereignty. India gains too, with Bhutan firmly on its side.

C. Illegal Migration from Bangladesh

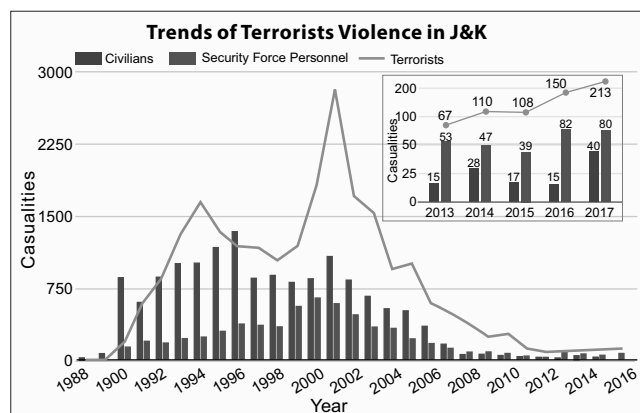
Illegal migration from Bangladesh is a major internal security challenge for India. India shares its longest border with Bangladesh i.e. 4096.7 km. The presence of hundreds of small river streams and few major rivers in this area makes the border porous enabling illegal migrants to cross through water streams and migrate into India. This may lead to anti-India activities such as smuggling of livestock, medicines and drugs, counterfeit currency rackets and money laundering, most alarming concern being the route used by terrorists to intrude India and smuggle weapons into Indian Territory.

Regular influx of migrants has changed the demography of the neighbouring states and presence of illegal migrants in Indian cities is also a potential threat to internal security, they can be involved in anti-India activities at the behest of foreign powers.

D. Militancy and Terrorism in J&K led by Pakistan

Indian forces have been battling militancy in J&K for more than three decades now. There are multiple dimensions to this problem namely, secessionist movements, communal violence – leading to exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from Kashmir, intervention by Pakistan. The presence of militancy has badly hit the tourism industry – prime revenue and employment generator – of the state leading to lack of socio-economic developments and rise in unemployment, this has proved to be a vicious cycle, as youth, when not left with positive prospects, fall easy prey to the propaganda by Pakistan. The misguided youth are trained and equipped by neighbouring country across the border and pose a significant security challenge for India.

With the advent of social media, the threats have become graver as youth are indoctrinated through online campaigns and are able to communicate and coordinate their activities in an unprecedented manner. Consequently, there is a rise in the number of terrorist attacks since 2012.



1.5.2 Development Deficit Related Challenges

A. Left-wing Extremism (LWE)

There is an agreement among security experts that the Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) is the most serious internal security threat facing the country. It has been there from the late 60s and 70s and different parts of the country have been affected with different levels of naxal violence country is facing.

It creates conditions for non-functioning of the government by attacking symbols of state like schools, hospitals, police and actively seeks disruption of development activities as a means to achieve its objective of 'wresting control'.

The central reason for the advancement of Naxalism is the vast exploitation of the poor and the tribals. People, who have been displaced, should be given proper rehabilitation along with police protection. Security, as well as development, has to run hand in hand. Thus, Government needs a multi-pronged approach to deal with this threat effectively.

India's development paradigm pursued since Independence led to commercialisation of forest resources, thereby reducing the traditional access of forest dwellers and tribals to forest produce. Besides destroying their natural environment, mining-based industries and the construction of large dams caused wide-scale displacement of the tribals. Therefore, LWE has gained people's confidence, grown in strength particularly in forest and tribal areas, by mobilising dispossessed and marginalised sections.

B. Insurgency in North East

The year 2017 witnessed lowest number of insurgency since 1997. The integration of North Eastern states into India has not been smooth. Consequently, this region has seen a number of secessionist movements since India gained independence. All eight states in the North East have been associated with some form of movement. There are issues of ethnicity and sub-nationalism in this region leading to use of violence by different groups for meeting their specific demands.

The problem is compounded because of lack of development, non-realisation of autonomy provided within the realm of Constitution of India, difficult terrain and international boundaries. These factors make it difficult for the security agencies to track movements of insurgents and weapons in this region.

The Government of India have had a mixed bag of results when it comes to resolving these issues, as some groups have successfully shunned the path of violence and joined the mainstream, for example, recently 'Centre - National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), Isak-Muivah (IM)' pact was signed, while some, like NSCN, Khaplang (K), are still in fight with the government.

1.5.3 Geographical Challenges

A. Organised Crime and its Nexus with Terrorism

The evolving relationship between terrorism and organised crime poses significant challenges to the internal security scenario of India. Activities of terrorists and organised criminals frequently reinforce each other, where terrorists engage either directly or indirectly in organised crime activities such as trafficking, smuggling, extortion, kidnapping for ransom and the illicit trade of natural resources, for financial and/or material benefits. Such benefits contribute to undermining state security, stability and social and economic development, which in turn may create or maintain the conditions for organised criminal groups to flourish.

Organised crime such as drug trafficking, arms trafficking, money laundering, counterfeit currency and mafia activities are used to finance various terrorist activities in India. The network and money of the organised crime can be leveraged by terrorist organisation to plan, coordinate and execute terrorist attacks, for example, in Mumbai Blasts of 1993, where 257 people lost their lives, were coordinated by organised criminal network of Mumbai.

The proximity of India to the drug trafficking zones, *Golden Triangle* (Myanmar, Laos and Thailand) and *Golden Crescent* (through Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan) also make it vulnerable to these criminal activities.

Thus the trafficking of the drugs and weapons in Northeast is also fuelling various conflicts that is undermining the Internal Security.

B. Coastal Security

India has 7,516 kilometre long coastline. India's coasts have always been vulnerable to criminals and anti-national activities. Numerous cases of the smuggling of goods, gold, narcotics, explosives, arms and ammunition as well as the infiltration of terrorists into the country through these coasts have been reported over the years.

The physical proximity of India's coasts to politically volatile countries adds to its vulnerability. As there is greater emphasis on Land Border thus the security over the ocean domain has been lax, with the sea routes remaining poorly guarded. Forced to explore new routes for infiltration because of near full proof security along the land borders. Terrorists started looking towards the sea as an alternate route to slip into India undetected.

The infiltration of ten Pakistani terrorists through the sea route who carried out the multiple coordinated attacks in Mumbai on November 26, 2008, is the most glaring example of how vulnerable the country's

coasts are. Security implications of the coastal waters and shores cannot be overstated in the present world, hence, secured coasts are imperative for security of the country.

C. Border Management

India has a large and complex border, covering around 15,100 km, which it shares with seven different countries. Most of these borders are man-made and do not follow any natural barrier. Managing borders is difficult for several reasons. Some of our maritime boundaries are still unsettled. Land borders are not fully demarcated. Border guarding forces are often under resourced and ill-equipped. They are also used for purposes other than border guarding. Institutional mechanisms for intelligence gathering, sharing and intelligence coordination are weak. India's vast coastline and island territories also make it vulnerable to attacks and infiltration. In addition, political instability, cultural radicalism and patronage to mafia and terrorism in a few of the neighbouring countries make border management an important aspect to guard India's sovereignty.

1.5.4 Social Challenges

A. Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflict is one of the major threat to the internal peace and security. India is characterized by more ethnic and religious groups than most other countries of the world. Aside from the much noted 3000-odd castes, there are eight "major" religions, 22 scheduled languages spoken in hundreds of dialects, and a substantial number of tribes and sects.

Any diversity and heterogeneity is not conflict-producing, although it may become a potential for conflict. While India presents the picture of "unity and diversity," the possibility of conflict between the "unity" and the "diversity" could not be ruled out. This worry is reflected in quote below by former PM Jawaharlal Nehru: *"While on the one hand, we the people of India are bound together by strong bonds of culture, common objectives, friendship and affection, on the other hand, unfortunately, there are inherent in India, separatist and disruptive tendencies... (which made India suffer in the past. In preserving its unity, India needed to)... fight communalism, provincialism, separatism, statism and casteism."*

This worry remains valid in present times as well. Assam has repeatedly seen ethnic violence for example in 1983 more than 3000 people lost their lives. In 2012, violence in Kokrajhar and adjoining districts took lives of around 80 people. Similar conflict in 2014, in

Sonitpur, Kokrajhar and adjoining districts took around lives of more than 76 people. The cause behind Assam violence was ethnic tension between Bodo speaking indigenous population and Bengali speaking Muslims. Apart from Assam, there are various tribes in other North-East States that involve in ethnic clashes. Such conflicts undermine the spirit of “unity in diversity” and are detrimental to the internal security of the country.

The recent Kuki-Meitei ethnic clash has posed a serious challenge to the security and stability of Northeast.

B. Region and Language based Conflicts

India being a vast country so regional differences are bound to happen. This is because of different customs, languages, heritage and regions. Linguistic conflicts in 1967 took a violent turn in the form of anti-Hindi protests in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh.

Under the stress of emotions and ignorance, linguistic minorities in certain states became object of physical assault and violence and the majority community formed the unequal concept of the “*sons of the soil*”.

There are certain states that have seen movements based on “son of the soil” construct. Regional chauvinism is on rise and in 2010 Maharashtra has seen protests against people from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Similar incident happened in 2012, when Bengaluru witnessed mass exodus of people belonging to North East of India.

Constitution of India has provided freedom to the citizens of India to reside in any part of the country. Above mentioned conflicts are not conducive for Indian democracy and Government must make all effort to avoid reoccurrences of such incidents.

Sons of the Soil Doctrine

The concept of Sons of the Soil (SoS) is deeply embedded in human psychology. It is an elemental concept which ties people to their place of birth and also confers some benefits, rights, roles and responsibilities on them, which may not apply to others.

Sons of Soil Doctrine underlies the concept that a state particularly belongs to the main linguistic group inhabiting it or that the state comprises the exclusive ‘homeland’ of its main language speakers who are the ‘sons of the soil’ or the ‘local residents’.

All others who are living there or are settled there and whose mother tongue is not the state’s main language are declared ‘outsiders’. Though these outsiders might have lived in the state for a long time, or have migrated there more recently, they are not regarded as the ‘sons of the soil’.

C. Caste Conflicts

Caste conflicts have deep roots in our society. Caste system in India has strong historical underpinnings. There are certain castes, i.e. Dalits or erstwhile “Untouchables”, who have been on the receiving end of atrocities and injustice in India for centuries. After India gained independence equality was ensured by the constitution. But it is yet to translate in the socio-economic transformation of the country.

India has a long history of caste conflicts. In 1997, Ranvir Sena gunned down many Dalits at Laxmanpur Bathe in Bihar in retaliation for the Bara massacre in Gaya where many upper castes Bhumihars were killed. The NCRB data stated that crimes against scheduled castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) saw an increase of 9.4% and 9.3% respectively in 2020 compared to the previous year.

The enmity between castes is caused because of competing aspirations among various castes for a limited share of economic resources and social status. India witnessed violence during Gujjar protests in Rajasthan in 2008, Jat protests in Haryana in 2016. Apart from these there have been protests by Marathas in Maharashtra in 2017, protests by Dalits in Gujarat in 2017, Dalit vs. Thakur clashes in western Uttar Pradesh in 2017 etc. All these incidents reflect that there is simmering discontent in communities and society is fraught with hostility between various castes and sections.

The situation has the potential to become a major security challenge. Thus, the Government, civil society as well as citizens have a role to play in dealing with the situation comprehensively.

D. Communalism

Communalism is basically an ideology. Communal riots are only one consequence of the spread of this ideology. Communalism is the belief that because a group of people belong to a particular community or follow a particular religion they have common secular interests, i.e., social, political and economic interests. These interests are propagated by the political leaders of the community to be direct opposition to other community’s interests, thereby laying seeds for divisive political tactics by presenting the other community as threat to its interests. Examples of communalism are Anti-Sikh Riot of 1984, Gujarat Anti-Muslim Riots of 2002 etc.

India is facing the scourge of communalism, the genesis of this problem could be traced back to the British policies of ‘divide and rule’, which first divided the electoral franchise and ultimately, led to the partition of India. Even after independence, India has lost thousands

of lives owing to communal clashes. The rising trend of communalism and the violence is the major threat posed towards the integrity of nation. The increased communal consciousness and the support received from some religious leaders make the phenomenon of communalism more venomous and dangerous.

Communal conflicts fan the feeling of alienation and religious hatred among religious communities. The reason for such a clash could be superficial and trivial, though underlying theme has deeper considerations of political representation, control of and access to resources and power. Thus, such environment is a fertile ground for creating severe internal security challenges for the country.

1.5.5 Technological Challenges

A. Cyber-Crime

Cyber-crime is emerging as a serious threat to the internal security problem of India. Cyber-crime operates in white collar crime, economic crime, intellectual property infringement, telecommunications crime and in the civil jurisdiction. The common feature is the use of information technology (computers) in their commission. At the national and international level governments, police departments and intelligence agencies are seriously thinking about how to check and control the growing menace of cyber-crime in our society. Serious efforts are being planned to curb cross border cyber threats. Indian police has initiated special cyber cells across the country and has started educating and training the Police personnel.

B. Cyber-Security

Cyber Security means securing the cyber space. While India has made good progress in establishing itself as a significant player in the Information and Communication Technology (ICT), there have been numerous incidents of sensitive government and military computers being attacked by unknown entities leading to information being stolen. The frequency and intensity of such episodes are increasing.

The Indian government has embarked upon a programme to turn the country into a digital economy. The move towards a digital economy also poses a big challenge, that of cyber-security. With the move towards a digital economy a large number of transactions will be carried out online, by companies, individuals as well as government departments. That makes India a bigger target for cyber-criminals and hackers. The cost of cyber-attacks in India as on 2017 stands in excess of Rs 25,000 crore (\$4billion). It is important to note that there are many cyber-attacks that go undetected and unreported as well, so this number could be much

higher. Various stakeholders need to be better prepared to handle this security threat.

1.6 Aspects of Internal Security Policy



1.6.1 Political

The Indian constitution provides for a parliamentary form of government which is well entrenched in India and the opposition has an important role to play in any democracy. The political situation in some parts of India is disturbing, there is increasing clamour for secession, separation and sub-regional nationalism. While the armed extremists should be dealt with heavy hand, legitimate demands must be heard with open mind while seeking solutions within constitutional mandate.

Government must plan a strategy to provide political solution to the problem, which could vary from giving more autonomy and regional development, to increase the political representation of aggrieved section in the government.

1.6.2 Socio-Economic

Socio-economic conditions impact the quality of lives of the citizens. Experts believe that the biggest reason for law and order problems and deterioration of internal security is socio-economic conditions of the population.

When the population is not able to meet their basic daily needs and see a bleak future for their next generation, they are forced to think of alternatives to improve the situation. Unfortunately, some of them are attracted to act against the state in desperation or under the influence of some ideology that promises them better avenues in the future. It is rightly said that an impoverished and unequal society is unstable society.

Government should take steps to improve the service delivery, provide basic necessities to the population and distribute the fruits of economic growth in such a manner that socio-economic conditions change for the better.

1.6.3 Law Enforcement Agencies

Law Enforcement Agencies are tasked with maintenance of Law and Order. There is a general perception that state police forces are not sensitive in their dealing with the public at large. While there may be inadequacies with police forces, a part of the blame must go to the political executive who have used police force as per their parochial interests.

There has been lack of interest in modernising the police force, increasing number of personnel in the force as well as providing operational independence and reducing political interferences. The way police operates has led to discontent among the common citizens who feel scared to approach the police. This hesitation has denied the police of the vital intelligence gathering opportunities from the people. The instances of custodial deaths and harassment by the police further damages the perception.

There is urgent need to sensitise the police vis-à-vis their interactions with the public and inspire them to serve public. Comprehensive police reforms must be undertaken to make police an effective force, which can address the internal security challenges facing the diverse and heterogeneous country.

PM Narendra Modi has advocated the concept of 'SMART' policing. In 'SMART' policing:

- S** – Strict and Sensitive
- M** – Modern and Mobile
- A** – Alert and Accountable
- R** – Reliable and Responsive
- T** – Techno-savvy and Trained

SMART policing should be put into action immediately.

1.6.4 Governance

There is always a crucial link between "National Governance" and "Internal Security". If internal security is not maintained Governance cannot be delivered and there would be grave threats to the very unity and integrity of the country. Likewise, Internal Security cannot be safeguarded if Governance is delivered by an inefficient and corrupt administration.

Governance has been adversely affected partly because political leaders remain incessantly preoccupied with the narrow, sectarian and partisan interests of their parties and the pursuit of day-to-day political gains. The failure of the political executive to devote sustained attention to the constitutional responsibilities has led to the governmental functioning in the States being marred by gross delays, inefficiency, insensitivity, unaccountability and pervasive corruption. This has caused the people to develop apathy towards the state and consequently, people are engaged in anti-state activities.

To reinstate the public trust towards the state, it is paramount to bring in transparency and accountability in the administration. This in turn, will be a major contributor in safeguarding internal security of the country.

1.6.5 Coordination between Centre and States

Coordination between Centre and States is of vital importance in the federal polity of India. Since law and order is a state subject, policing authority is vested with state governments. Thus, the central government cannot directly influence the quality of policing, a source of most of the problems in the management of internal security. Unfortunately, the state governments devote little attention to this important issue, and very often, refuse to recognise the basic linkages between normal policing and the maintenance of internal security. They have neither the resources nor the inclination to upgrade the quality of the state police or to raise extra forces, without substantial financial help from the centre. There is, thus, a tendency to let the situation deteriorate till it blows out of their control. At the operational level too, as observed in many states recently, synergy is lacking, particularly when the central and state governments are run by different political alliances.

To ensure internal security, it is imperative that centre and state must bear the responsibilities in their respective domains as envisioned by the Constitution of India. Additionally, there must be synchronisation between centre and state so that, duplication of efforts and shying away from the responsibilities are avoided.

Strategic Policy Group

The Strategic Policy Group (SPG), formed to assist the National Security Council (NSC), has been reconstituted with National Security Advisor Ajit Doval as its chief to strategize on matters dealing with internal and economic security. It will assist the NSC and undertake among other tasks a long term strategic Defence review.

Maharashtra, First State to Draft its own Internal Security Act

The draft Maharashtra Protection of Internal Security Act (MPISA), 2016, defines Critical Infrastructure Sectors (CIS), and brings nuclear reactors, dams, major projects, coastal areas under its ambit, with an emphasis on maintaining law and order and combating terrorism, insurgency, caste-related violence and communalism.

1.6.6 Cyber-Security

Cyber-Security means securing the cyber space. India's move towards a digital economy is likely to help trigger a fresh wave of economic growth, attract more investment, and create new jobs, across multiple sectors. However, it also poses a big challenge, that of cyber security. With the move towards a digital economy, increasing amount of consumer and citizen data will be stored digitally and a large number of transactions will be carried out online, by companies, individuals as well as government departments, making the systems more vulnerable to cyber-attacks, if due attention is not paid to cyber security.

India is taking its cyber security for granted, the challenges we continue to face on this front are greater than ever and, as such, there's still a lot of work that needs to be done. After all, as technological advancements make the threat of cyber-attacks more real, India needs to continue boosting its cyber security to match it.

1.6.7 Intelligence

India's track record on internal security and counterterrorism makes it obvious that the intelligence establishment in the states and the centre require revamping. Our inability to pursue intelligence inputs vigorously and to book the culprits to a logical conclusion is evident in most terror related cases. The intelligence agencies have yet to develop new techniques for countering the penetration of non-state actors through human and technical moles, for the collection of intelligence, greater expertise in data management, analysis, and better coordination between intelligence and law enforcement agencies. This effort is underway now and should produce better results in the future.

1.6.8 Border Area Management

Border Area management becomes more important for the fact that India is like an island of democracy among seas of anarchical or unstable states. Probably, no other neighbouring country has experienced uninterrupted democratic regime for more than 15 years. Additionally, in some countries there is cultural radicalism which is targeted on India, and terrorists as well as mafia groups are patronized by some of India's neighbouring states. There is cross border smuggling of drugs, cattle, humans, artefacts, fake currency note etc. Unfortunately, in this scenario our border forces appear to be severely undermanned and under-equipped which is taking heavy toll on economic, social and political stability of our country.

Along the northern border there is triad of challenges in the form of hostile neighbours, Pakistan and China as well as militancy in Jammu and Kashmir. In North East region there is twin challenge of insurgents and incursions by China. In Eastern border along Bangladesh there is an issue of illegal migration. It could be said that along with difficult terrain, lack of development, and domestic insurgency, the external hostilities are also a challenge in Border Areas.

Border Area Management in the changed context has to be seen as serving the best interests of the nation and the border areas should have a high standard of living to serve as a demographic buffer. The infrastructure should not only cater to current needs but also include scope for further expansion. Thus, Border Area management is critical for ensuring security and peace in the country.

1.7 India's Internal Security Policy

National aims, interests and objectives drive the security, military policies and strategies of a country. The Indian national security strategy, in the current context, must not only deal with threats to our strategic autonomy but also the external military threats to the nation. It must also deal with internal threats to our core values and other non-traditional threats that face the nation.

Articulation of India's national defence policy, must take into consideration the following:

- The need to preserve our strategic autonomy, territorial integrity and core values
- The security related developments in the global and regional environments
- The external and internal threats which impact the nation
- Our capabilities vis-à-vis the capabilities of our adversaries
- The need to contribute towards regional and global security
- Our strategic relationships with other countries.

1.7.1 Security Interests and Objectives

The security interests and objectives vis-à-vis internal security could be enumerated as:

- **Protecting National Interests:** Protect national interests against threats like terrorism (including nuclear terrorism), insurgency and militancy with a view to negate secessionist and related destabilising efforts.

- **Protecting the Core Values of Democracy:** Promote and protect the core values of democracy like: secularism, freedom, unity and human rights as enshrined in our Constitution by value-based ethics and practices as well as providing aid to civil authority, when requisitioned.
- **Maintaining Close Surveillance:** Maintain close surveillance and monitoring of the internal security situations in areas of heightened threat.
- **Rapid Response Capability:** Maintain rapid response capability against terror strikes/hostage taking, involving multiple agencies, both police and military, including the National Security Guard (NSG) and Special Forces (SF).
- **Promoting Peace and Stability:** Promote peace and stability in the region through cooperative economic development backed by diplomatic initiatives for resolution of disputes and conflicts.
- **Ensuring Regional Cooperation:** Promote regional cooperation and coordination for early detection of regional/transnational cross-spectrum threats, to neutralise the same in a timely and proactive manner.
- **Providing Humanitarian Relief:** Provide Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) support in the region, when required/requested.
- **Neutralising Anti-Indian Efforts:** Neutralise anti-Indian efforts/propaganda by potential adversaries/harmful elements.
- **Promoting Diaspora Interest:** Promote/protect diaspora interests in the region and the world.
- **Building Strategic Partnerships:** Establish strong and mutually beneficial relations/strategic partnerships with other countries, and regional/global security groupings, including the United Nations, through defence cooperation, anti-piracy, counter-terrorism and peacekeeping activities.
- **Promoting Security Interests:** Promote security interests at the global level, including coordination of security, intelligence and cyber issues.
- **Central Industrial Security Force (CISF):** Mandated to provide security to major critical infrastructure installations of the country in diverse areas.
- **Border Security Force (BSF):** Guarding India's land border and currently stands as *the world's largest border guarding force*.
- **Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP):** A specialised mountain force deployed on border guarding duties from Karakoram Pass in Ladakh to Jachep La in Arunachal Pradesh.
- **National Security Guard (NSG):** Trained to tackle the various manifestations of terrorism and used only in exceptional circumstances to thwart terrorist acts.
- **Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB):** Functioning in far, flung, remote and climatically difficult areas and motivates the border population across several states towards protecting our national sovereignty.
- **Assam Rifles (AR):** Responsible for counter-insurgency and hold border security operations.

Then there is the *Indian Coast Guard (ICG)* which is tasked with coastal surveillance. Coastal patrolling is done by the State Marine Police up to 12 nautical miles (nm) and by the ICG between 12 to 200 nm. In addition, there is the National Disaster Response Force (NDRF), presently organised in 12 battalions, the strength of each battalion being 1,149. Four NDRF battalions are capable of responding to Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN) attacks. Looking at internal security holistically, the Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) together with the internal security element of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) (Rashtriya Rifles), the state police forces of all the states and union territories combined, with 145 India Reserve Battalions, total up to more than 5,000,000 men in uniform.

1.7.3 Initiative taken by GoI to ensure Internal Security

- **Unlawful Activities Prevention (Amendment) Act, 2019:** It enables the National Investigation Agency's (NIA) Director General to approve the seizure or attachment of property while the case is under investigation by the NIA.
- **Modernization of Police:** The government of India is implementing the Assistance to States for Modernization of Police (ASMP) scheme based on the recommendation of Justice J.S. Verma Committee for amendments to the criminal law.
- **SAMADHAN Initiative:** It is an initiative based on a holistic and long-term strategy to fight against Left-wing extremism.
- **National Policy and Action Plan on Left Wing Extremism 2015:** It is the holistic plan developed

1.7.2 Various Security Forces of India

The MHA is charged with the internal security of the country. It has under its command the Border Security Force (BSF), Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB), National Security Guards (NSG), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF) and Assam Rifles (AR), the latter under the operational control of the Army.

- **Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF):** Premier Central Police Force of the Union of India for Internal Security.

by the government that incorporates LWE-affected areas' development, security, rights, and entitlements of local communities.

- **Infrastructure development:** Through various Government schemes like PM GATISHAKTI with the aim of coordinated planning and execution of infrastructure projects to bring down logistics costs., PM DeVINE for holistic development of the North East region.
- **Aspirational District Program (NITI Aayog):** The government is also focusing on LWE-affected and underdeveloped areas in this scheme which aims for the holistic development of districts across all sectors.
 - The Aspirational Blocks Programme (ABP) has been launched in the Union Budget 2022-23.
- **Civic Action Programme:** Under this grant is given to undertake development in terrorism and Naxal-affected areas, to bridge the gap between the local population and security forces.
 - For e.g., the Project "winning heart and Mind" by CRPF and BSF are building various schools, electricity facilities etc.
 - Recently when Para teachers were on strike in Jharkhand CRPF 26 Bn took the initiative to start teaching in schools as an example of winning hearts.
- **NATGRID:** It is an integrated database of various core security agencies to get easy access to criminal data and crime patterns to all agencies for effective counter-terrorism.
- **Crime and Criminal Tracking Network and System (CCTNS):** For ease in investigation and data sharing,
- it is an initiative under e-governance for creating a nationwide network of Police Stations. Indian computer emergency response team (CERT-In): It is a nodal agency established by the government of India to deal with various threats to cyber security.
- **National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre:** To protect critical information it was set up under the IT Act 2000.
- **National Cyber security policy 2020:** Faster and more efficient implementation of the National cyber security policy is needed to protect the critical infrastructure of the country

1.7.4 Limitations in Present Policy

The present policy is plagued with following limitations:

- Though in the 'State List' in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India, 'public order' and 'police' are the responsibilities of the states, Article 355 of the Constitution enjoins the union to protect every state against external aggression and internal

disturbance. This vast charter of ensuring the requisite security in the face of mounting threats is a mammoth task that appears being handled in a somewhat ad hoc manner.

- Reforms are reactive and piecemeal, not on any integrated and comprehensive level that should have happened as part of a national strategic planning process.
- India has nine major intelligence agencies and charter of some of them not even ratified by the Constitution. In the absence of a national security strategy and absence of defined national security objectives, how do you task the intelligence agencies?
- Leaving the handling of the Maoists to the individual states is not effective because:
 1. The insurgents cross over to the neighbouring state when pressure mounts.
 2. The Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) are placed under the Director General Police (DGP) of the state who is subservient to the Chief Minister while ground level MLAs relies on Maoist support, implying a softer approach and leakage of intelligence.
 3. Senior level CAPF appointments are invariably from the Indian Police Service (IPS) officers who have experience in law and order, not counter insurgency.
 4. Not all CAPF troops going in for counter-insurgency are put through a mandatory pre-induction training.
 5. A coordination and cooperation among police of different States, through intelligence and strategy suffers.
- The National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID) which should be connected to the Global Intelligence Grid (GIG) has been delayed. The National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) needs to be established and connected via the NATGRID to state level Counter-Terrorism Centres (SCTCs) in 'all' states, not just a chosen few.

1.7.5 Suggestions and Recommendations

- **Pro-active Counter Strategy:** The National Security Council (NSE) and Cabinet Committee on Security should evolve an effective and pro-active counter strategy against security threats posed by various state and non-state actors including Pakistan's ISI.
- **Sensitising the Chief Ministers:** The Union Government should sensitise the Chief Ministers about the need to devote the highest priority to security management issues.
- **Implementation of Developmental Schemes:** The Chief Minister and the entire state administration

must devote special attention to the implementation of various developmental schemes, while the security forces are carrying out anti-insurgency/anti-terrorist operations.

- **Modernization of Police Force:** The State Police forces have to be modernized for which Central Government should provide modernization grants and provide assistance to the states to maintain well trained and equipped civil and armed forces.
- **Creation of Specialized Forces:** Every State must be encouraged to create specialized forces to meet its requirements.
- **Setting up Forensic Laboratory:** Each State should take steps to set up a well-equipped and modern forensic science laboratory.
- **Collaboration between Centre and State:** The Centre and the States should ensure close collaboration between the State Special Branches and the Intelligence Bureau along with upgradation of the capabilities of the former.
- **State Governments** should restore orderly and systematic functioning of police stations.
- **Modernization** of Central Para Military Forces (CPMFs) is urgently needed.
- **In operation against insurgency, militancy and terrorism,** arrangements for co-ordination of operational planning, deployment etc. should be evolved, in close consultation with the Central and State authorities.
- **Revamping the Criminal Justice System:** There is an urgent need to revamp the criminal justice system, including making use of provisions of Evidence Act and Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPC) by trial courts, for expeditious conclusion of trials.
- **Strong Legal Measures:** A strong law for Prevention of Terrorism like POTA with adequate checks and balances should be enacted as early as possible for dealing effectively with terrorism.
- **International Cooperation:** Steps should be taken to secure international cooperation in countering the challenges posed by organized crime.
- **Educational Awareness:** Actions should be taken to create awareness about responsibilities of citizens, through educational curriculum in the schools, colleges and professional training institutions.
- **Civil Defence:** Central Government to carry out an in-depth review of the organisation's effectiveness, identify its weaknesses and the new challenges, it will be required to meet, in the contemporary scenario and evolve a concrete plan to revamp it.

- **Choking Maoists' Finance:** Concerted efforts to choke Maoists source of finance and channels of procuring weapons deserve high priority.
- Steps should be taken to secure the involvement of communities in exercising requisite vigilance and in supporting and assisting the functioning of civil police. Defence parties may be formed in villages, mohallas and wards.
- The front organizations, pretending as NGOs and think tanks must be made accountable.
- The rich potential of the electronic media should be used by the Government to make people aware of their duties and obligations.
- India needs to strengthen its coastal security considerations to protect its vital economic interests in two million – sq. km of EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone).

1.8 Constituents of Internal Security Policy Doctrine

The internal security policy doctrine is set of strategies taken by the government to ensure security from internal threats. The external threats also have a bearing on internal security doctrine as external forces can influence the security paradigm within the country. A comprehensive doctrine vis-à-vis overall defence and security system will make sure that internal and external threats are thwarted with ease. The various dimensions/constituents of an able internal security doctrine are represented pictorially and can be further elaborated as given below.

