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UN Secretary General Kofi Annan once proclaimed, ‘No one in this world can be comfortable or safe when so many people are suffering and deprived. Therefore, suffering and deprivation due to underdevelopment are bound to have implications on issues of internal security.

**Major Components of Development**

- **Economic development**: Employment, per capita income, and industrial development.
- **Social development**: Gender equality, women empowerment, pluralism, respect for diversity, education of children, social security, etc.
- **Political development**: Democracy, political rights, civil liberties, etc.
- **Human development**: Health, education, human rights, life with dignity, and self-esteem.
- **Infrastructure development**: Transport, communication, highways, rail network, telephone connectivity, and cyber broadband network.
- **Sustainable development**: Ecological safety, environmental protection, biodiversity preservation, etc.
- **Administrative development**: Good governance, rime bound delivery of public services, public participation in government, transparency, accountability, and pro-people governance.

**Factors Responsible for Spread of Extremism**

- **Jal-Jangal-Jameen**: Disruption of age-old tribal-forest relationship, violation of traditional land rights, land acquisition without appropriate compensation and rehabilitation
- **Economic**: Unemployment, poverty, infrastructure deficit like poor transport, lack of health facility, lack of education, communication and electricity, rising gap between rich and poor
- **Social**: Social inequality, discrimination, denial of human rights, abuse of dignity of life
- **Political**: Lack of people’s participation in government
- **Governance deficit**: Lack of routine administration, complete absence of government machinery in remote areas, poor implementation of laws, mismanagement and corruption in government schemes
  - Ethnic
  - Geographical
  - Historical
The first three factors are development deficit related factors that directly cause extremism. The fourth and fifth factors are not the root causes but give impetus to the already existing extremist feelings and are, thus, used by extremists to propagate their nefarious designs. The sixth, seventh and eighth are not related to development at all and they have their roots in history, geography and ethnicity and have been explained in detail in earlier chapters.

**Development-linked Factors Applicable to India for Spread of Extremism**

- For growth of terrorism in a particular area, we need to have some fertile breeding ground. Poverty, unemployment and lack of development provide that fertile ground. Terrorism needs an ideology which could be in the name of religion, race and region or the Marxist ideology of egalitarian society.
- Combined with fertile ground and ideologies, lack of administration resulting in governance deficit along with political factors is used by hardcore ideologues to brainwash and radicalize the youth. Therefore, lack of development has direct as well as indirect linkages with extremism.

### Tri-Junction Theory:

According to this theory, areas situated around the tri-junction of borders of three states have the problem of governance deficit. These areas lack transport, communication and other infrastructure. Dandakaranya, the worst affected Maoist area in the country is a perfect example of the tri-junction theory.

**Positive Impact of Socio-Economic Development on Reducing Extremism**

- Social and economical development policies can contribute to peace and stability. The sections of society benefitted with development may start working to inhibit local support to extremists. It can discourage terrorist recruits.
- Many terrorist organizations attract new members from communities in which terrorism is generally considered a viable response to perceived grievances. Some terrorist groups also offer recruits financial incentives and additional family support. Social and economic development policies can help to reduce the pools of potential recruits by reducing their perceived grievances and providing the members of these communities with viable alternatives to terrorism.
- The ability of development policies to curb terrorism depends on their implementation.

**The most successful social and economic development policies are those that:**

- Developed in consultation with community leaders
- are based on needs and assessments that address the specific requirements of targeted communities, and
- are accompanied by disbursement mechanisms that ensure proper fiscal management and non-partisanship
  - Social and economic development policies can be used as a ‘stick’ to discourage terrorism. Development assistance can be made conditional on the absence of violence, thus discouraging support for terrorists.
  - We have successful examples of Tripura, Mizoram and other parts of the North-cast where the spread of extremism ideology has been contained after robust and holistic development of these areas.

**Way forward**

- Our mission should be to end left wing extremism by ending extreme poverty and rampant unemployment. Anger, resentment, and despair are a volatile combination in the minds of young men and women who see little hope for escaping their situation. The goal of development is to eradicate
poverty, promote inclusion and social justice, to bring the marginalized into the economic and global mainstream. Building of capacity is the essence of development and is a long-term process. The following are some of the steps required:

- Sensitization to local context and customs, and addressing the critical needs of conflict-affected communities
- Giving more emphasis to topics like community development, governance, service delivery, human rights, and political grievances
- Effective implementation of protective legislation
- Intense dialogue, so as to arrive at conclusions
- Improved infrastructure and large investment in infrastructure
- Protecting tribal rights
- Employment opportunities through tax holidays to investments in those areas
- Ensuring social security, livelihood security
- Food security and education
- Land reforms and equitable distribution of infrastructure projects
- Constructive dialogue with extremists
- Prosperity for all people
- Anti-corruption efforts
- End of political marginalization, social discrimination, cultural humiliation violence by state functionaries, human rights abuses, and social oppression
- Ensuring minimum wages and proper implementation of labour laws

- Terrorism has to have some basis, some ideology or some utopian goal so that a romantic illusion can be created in the minds of some sections of people, especially the younger generation. Sometimes, they use genuine issues like poverty, unemployment, etc. as a tool to attract masses to their cause. Many well meaning, liberal intellectuals fall prey to their propaganda without understanding the true nature of their doctrine which glorifies violence and believes in annihilation of all the people who are not with them. Sometimes, they create false issues by which their support base can be consolidated. But the underlying factor which fuels these movements is the visible lack of economic and social development; this is the basis of the insurgency movements in the North-east or Left Wing extremism in the country.

- However, the link between extremism and underdevelopment is not universal. J&K is an example where extremism is not because of underdevelopment but is due to historical and geographical reasons.

**Armed Force Special Power Act**

**Origin of AFSPA**

- The Act came into force in the context of increasing violence in the Northeastern States decades ago, which the State governments found difficult to control. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill was passed by both the Houses of Parliament and it was approved by the President on September 11, 1958. It became known as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958.

- Armed Forces (Special Powers) Acts (AFSPA), are Acts of the Parliament of India that grant special powers to the Indian Armed Forces in which each act terms “disturbed areas”. According to The Disturbed Areas (Special Courts) Act, 1976 once declared ‘disturbed’, the area has to maintain status quo for a minimum of 3 months.

- One such Act passed on September 11, 1958 was applicable to the Naga Hills, then part of Assam. In the following decades it spread, one by one, to the other Seven Sister States in India’s northeast(at present it is in force in Assam, Nagaland, manipur excluding Imphal municipal council area, Changlang, Longding and Tirap districts of Arunachal Pradesh).

- Another one passed in 1983 and applicable to Punjab and Chandigarh was withdrawn in 1997, roughly 14 years after it came to force. An Act passed in 1990 was applied to Jammu and Kashmir and has been in force since.

- Presently AFSPA is enforced in the 6 states of North East and J&K. Tripura recently decided to lift this act.
Some of the extra-ordinary powers include:

- After giving such due warning, Fire upon or use other kinds of force even if it causes death, against the person who is acting against law or order in the disturbed area for the maintenance of public order
- Destroy any arms dump, hide-outs, prepared or fortified position or shelter or training camp from which armed attacks are made by the armed volunteers or armed gangs or absconders wanted for any offence.
- To arrest without a warrant anyone who has committed cognizable offences or is reasonably suspected of having done so and may use force if needed for the arrest.
- To enter and search any premise in order to make such arrests, or to recover any person wrongfully restrained or any arms, ammunition or explosive substances and seize it.
- Stop and search any vehicle or vessel reasonably suspected to be carrying such person or weapons.
- Any person arrested and taken into custody under this Act shall be made present over to the officer in charge of the nearest police station with least possible delay, together with a report of the circumstances occasioning the arrest.
- Army officers have legal immunity for their actions. There can be no prosecution, suit or any other legal proceeding against anyone acting under that law. Nor is the government’s judgment on why an area is found to be disturbed subject to judicial review.
- Protection of persons acting in good faith under this Act from prosecution, suit or other legal proceedings, except with the sanction of the Central Government, in exercise of the powers conferred by this Act.
Arguments against AFSPA

- It has been alleged that immunity granted by the act has led the armed forces to misuse the powers given to them by this act and commit offences like fake encounters and sexual assault.
- It leads to suspension of fundamental rights and liberties guaranteed to the citizens by the constitution. Thus is weakens democracy.
- Critics argue that this act has failed in its objective of restoring normalcy in disturbed areas although being in existence for about 50 years.
- Both Justice Verma Committee and Reddy Committee have recommended the removal of absolute immunity under AFSPA.
- On July 8, 2016, in a landmark ruling, The Supreme Court of India ended the immunity of the armed forces from prosecution under AFSPA, saying, in an 85-page judgement, “It does not matter whether the victim was a common person or a militant or a terrorist, nor does it matter whether the aggressor was a common person or the state. The law is the same for both and is equally applicable to both... This is the requirement of a democracy and the requirement of preservation of the rule of law and the preservation of individual liberties.

Santosh Hegde commission on Manipur encounter deaths

- A high-power commission headed by the retired Supreme Court judge, N. Santosh Hegde was constituted in January 2013 to probe six encounter deaths in Manipur. The committee, comprising former Supreme Court judge Santosh Hegde, ex-CEC J M Lyngdoh and a senior police officer, has said in its report that the probe showed that none of the victims had any criminal records.
- The judicial commission set up by the Supreme Court is trying to make the controversial Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) more humane, and the security forces more accountable.
- The committee has suggested fixing a time frame of three months for the central government to decide whether to prosecute security personnel engaged in extrajudicial killings or unruly behaviour in insurgency-hit regions.
- The commission noted that AFSPA was an impediment to achieving peace in regions such as Jammu and Kashmir and the North East.
- The commission also said the law needs to be reviewed every six months to see whether its implementation is actually necessary in states where it is being enforced.
- About Section 6 of the Act, which guarantees protection against prosecution to the armed forces, the report said: “It is not that no action can be taken at all. Action can be taken but with prior sanction of the Central Government.”

Justice Jeevan Reddy Commission

The commission recommended to repeal AFSPA as “the Act is a symbol of hate, oppression and instrument of high handedness” but Government of India has not taken any decision in this direction.

Second Administrative Reforms Commission

- The second Administratively Reforms Commission (ARC) in its fifth report on “Public Order,” recommended to repeal of Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. It commented that its scrapping would remove sentiments of discrimination and alienation among the people of the North East India.
- The commission recommended to amend the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967 inserting a new chapter to deploy the armed forces of the Union in the North eastern States. It supported a new doctrine of policing and criminal justice inherent in an inclusive approach to governance.

Supreme Court of India

Supreme Court said that any encounter carried out by armed forces in the garb of AFSPA should be subjected to thorough inquiry. In the words of Supreme Court “It does not matter whether the victim was a common person or a militant or a terrorist, nor does it matter whether the aggressor was a common person or the state. The law is the same for both and is equally applicable to both. This is the requirement of a democracy and the requirement of preservation of the rule of law and the preservation of individual liberties.”
Arguments in favor of AFSPA

- It is essential for the armed forces to function effectively in insurgency and militancy affected areas.
- Provisions of this act have played a crucial role in maintaining law and order in disturbed areas. Thus protecting sovereignty and security of the nation.
- Hundreds of armed forces personnel lose their lives every year at the hands of insurgents and militants. It is crucial to empower them. Withdrawal would result in poor morale.
- In the absence of strict law, the armed forces will not be able to tackle the insurgent inside the country especially in the Kashmir and North eastern region of the country.

National Security Doctrine (NSD)

- In the aftermath of attacks, such as Pathankot, Nagrota, etc., experts were of views that there is an imminent need for National Security Doctrine.
- A Doctrine is a stated principle of government policy in different domains viz. foreign affairs, military etc.
- NSD is a document which guides the government on security matters at both strategic and operational level.
- NSD is applied through strategy, tactics, and specific operations at different situation underlined in the doctrine.
- Currently, only defense establishment in India have a doctrine for external security.

Why India Needs a Security Doctrine?

- Prompt and relevant decision making would result in consistent security response at the time of insurgencies.
- The decisions would be guided by the national security strategy enshrined in the doctrine.
- Maintaining proper co-ordination among security establishments at both at central and federal level.
- This would avoid terror attacks which occurred even when intelligence agencies have inputs.
- This would make the security establishment more accountable in case of any failures to combat terror attacks.
- A prompt and successful handling can ensure peace, progress and development within the country.

Naxalism

History of Naxalism:

- The term Naxalites comes from Naxalbari, a small village in West Bengal, where a section of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) led by Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal, and Jangal Santhal initiated an uprising in 1967. On 18 May 1967, the Siliguri Kishan Sabha, of which Jangal was the president, declared their support for the movement initiated by Kanu Sanyal, and their readiness to adopt armed struggle to redistribute land to the landless. The following week, a sharecropper near Naxalbari village was attacked by the landlord’s men over a land dispute. On 24 May, when a police team arrived to arrest the peasant leaders, it was ambushed by a group of tribals led by Jangal Santhal, and a police inspector was killed in a hail of arrows. This event encouraged many Santhal tribals and other poor people to join the movement and to start attacking local landlords.
- Mao Zedong provided ideological leadership for the Naxalbari movement, advocating that Indian peasants and lower class tribals overthrow the government of the upper classes by force. A large number of urban elites were also attracted to the ideology, which spread through Charu Majumdar’s writings, particularly the ‘Historic Eight Documents’ which formed the basis of Naxalite ideology. Using People’s courts, similar to those established by Mao, Naxalites try opponents and execute with axes or knives, beat, or permanently exile them.
- At the time, the leaders of this revolt were members of the CPI (M), which joined a coalition government in West Bengal just a few months back. Leaders like land minister Hare Krishna Konar had been until recently “trumpeting revolutionary rhetoric, suggesting that militant confiscation of land was integral to
the party’s programme.” However, now that they were in power, CPI (M) did not approve of the armed uprising, and all the leaders and a number of Calcutta sympathisers were expelled from the party.

- Subsequently, in November 1967, this group, led by Sushital Ray Chowdhury, organised the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR). Violent uprisings were organised in several parts of the country. On 22 April 1969 (Lenin’s birthday), the AICCCR gave birth to the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) (CPI (ML)).

- Practically all Naxalite groups trace their origin to the CPI (ML). A separate offshoot from the beginning was the Maoist Communist Centre, which evolved out of the Dakshin Desh group. The MCC later fused with the People’s War Group to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist). A third offshoot was that of the Andhra revolutionary communists, mainly represented by the UCCRI (ML), following the mass line legacy of T. Nagi Reddy, which broke with the AICCCR at an early stage.

- The early 1970s saw the spread of Naxalism to almost every state in India, barring Western India. During the 1970s, the movement was fragmented into disputing factions. By 1980, it was estimated that around 30 Naxalite groups were active, with a combined membership of 30,000.

- Contention was over the development of minerals and raw materials in the area, and development of a paved road to transport them, along with the order the road brought. If the government could construct a road, the rebels would have lost; if the rebels could continue thwarting road development, the government would have lost.

**Phase of Naxalism**

Maoists spread their ideology very systematically and in a phased manner follows—

- **Preparatory Phase**—Detailed survey of new areas identifying important people, important public issues on which masses can be mobilised.
- **Perspective Phase**—Mobilisation through frontal organisations - staging demonstration -against government / administration based on local public grievances.
- **Guerrilla Phase**—Converting the public movement into violent guerrilla warfare.
- **Base Phase**—Here the Maoists try to establish their base and change the guerrilla zone into a liberated zone.
- **Liberated Phase** - Establishment of People’s Government.

**Stated Purpose of the Naxal Movement**

- The Naxalites state their main political purpose as establishing an alternative state structure in India by creating a “red corridor” (the Red Corridor is the region in the eastern, central and the southern parts of India that experience considerable Naxalite–Maoist insurgency) in Naxalite-affected states, stretching from the border of Nepal to central India to Karnataka in the south through violent struggle.

- To achieve this political objective, which requires local support, Naxalite rebel leaders take up causes like protecting people’s rights of Jal, Jangal and Jamin (water, forest, and land) and providing justice through their committees like the Sangam and Jan Adalat (people’s court).

- Local support is crucial for the Naxalites for cadre recruitment, intelligence, logistics, and territorial control. The Naxalite movement engages in guerrilla warfare against the Indian security forces, as propounded by Mao Tse Tung.

- The ultimate objective is to attain political power by violent means and establish what they envisage as “The India People’s Democratic Federal Republic’. The naxalites predominantly attack the police and their establishments. They also attack certain types of infrastructure, like rail and road transport and power transmission, and also forcibly oppose execution of development works, like critical road construction.

- Naxalite activity is also manifesting itself through various civil society and front organizations on issues such as SEZ policy, land reforms, land acquisition, displacement, etc., with the objective of expanding their mass base and acquiring support of some intellectual elite.

- While impending development works and challenging State authority, the naxalites simultaneously try to derive benefit from the overall under development and sub-normal functioning of field institution like...
police stations, tehsils, development blocks, schools, primary health centres and anganwadi centres, which administer and provide services at ground level and also reflect the State Presence and writ.

**Naxalites are not really the Messiahs of the downtrodden**

- From their ideology, it appears that naxals are fighting for the rights of poor people and want to establish a people’s government, while the facts are quite contrary. Social uplifting of the down trodden is not their real aim, rather it is political power. They study the local problems and issues and use them as fodder to foster their end game which is clearly the seizure of power through violent means.
- Maoists have vested interest in keeping poverty alive because it enables them to expand their territory. They don’t allow district administration to do any development work like building roads and improving electricity and water supply in the areas. The local population very soon realizes that they have been used by the naxalites and their social and economic issues take a back sent while the battle for supremacy emerges as the prime motto of the Maoists. But, at times, it is too late and the locals are forced to support them.

**Factors responsible for the growth of Naxalism:**

- The Naxalite movement came into being as a result of prevailing social and economic issues. In fact, while conducting an enquiry into the uprising, the West Bengal State Secretariat of the CPI (M) stated, “Behind the peasant unrest in Naxalbari lies a deep social malady - malafide transfers, evictions and other anti-people actions of tea gardeners and jotedars.” These issues were longstanding and there was no dearth of reform legislation. But the spirit of the law remained confined to paper and the people were left to languish. Therefore, it recognized that the causes were in essence, socio-economic.
- After independence the Indian government started the protracted and difficult process of abolishing the Zamindari system, to eliminate the role of intermediaries. By the end of the 1950s, the process was completed on paper. This meant that 20 million erstwhile tenants were now landowners. One rough estimate says that area under tenancy declined from 42% to around 20% by early 1960s. However, to a large extent this was caused due to eviction of tenants by landlords and not by actual reform in the system.
- The next part of land reform was tenancy reform. Its objectives were to guarantee security of tenure to tenants, to ensure fair rent rates and to gain rights of ownership of land he/she cultivated, subject to some restrictions at well below market rates.
- In west Bengal, two major acts for land reform were passed in the 1950s aimed to eliminate intermediaries (zamindars and jotedars) and bring fixed rent tenants into a direct relationship with the state. It gave the state powers to inquire into land transfers and cancel the transfer if it was not bona fide. Abolition of intermediaries was generally successful. However numerous loopholes and poor implementation meant that the landlords were able to retain control over large tracks of land. It did not protect the rights of Bargadars (sharecroppers), who were the most deprived section of society.
- From 1947 to 1969, as part of land reform implementation in west Bengal, only 300,000 acres of above-ceiling land was redistributed, a little less than 3% of the cropped land in the state. The 1961 census estimated that 82 percent of the tenancies in the country were insecure. Bargadars received no protection until 1970, when the government, woken from stupor by the Naxalbari uprising amended the west Bengal Land Reforms Act to cover them also. The legislations themselves were not strong enough and implementation was extremely ineffective.
- **Mismanagement of Forests:** It is one of the main reasons for the spread of Naxalism. It started with the British government. The monopolization of the forest started with the enactment of various forest laws. The integration with the wider world led to an influx of a new class like moneylenders. The administrative machinery became more exploitative and extortionate at functional level.
- **Tribal policies not implemented well:** Even during the post Independence era, the government was not able to stop the process of the tribal alienation and their displacement caused by large projects. Even the issues of food security were not fully sorted out. Consequently, Naxalism made inroads in Orissa and other states.
- **The Growing inter and intra regional disparities:** Naxalism attract people who have poor livelihood like fishermen, farmers, daily labourers and bamboo cutters. The government policies have failed to stem the growing inter and intra regional disparities. The poor people think that Naxalism can provide solutions to their problems.
- **Absence of proper Industrialisation and lack of land reforms:** The half-hearted implementation of land reforms by the government has yielded negative results. The agrarian set up has not been defined in the absence of proper implementation of survey and settlement. This further damaged
the agriculture production and the rural economy. Absence of proper industrialization has failed to generate employment for rural people leading to dissatisfaction with the government. It is also one of the causes behind Naxalism.

- **Geographical Terrain:** Naxalism thrives in areas covered with forests. It helps them fight against the police and the army by waging Guerrilla warfare.

- **Middle Class Youth:** The educated youths have been the largest supporters of the Naxalist movement as the maximum of the youths involved in the movement are medical and engineering graduates. Universities have turned up to be a pitch for the creation of radical ideologies.

- Hence, Naxalism was the brain-child of exploitative relation of landlords and peasants, but today it has become one of the biggest security problem for India’s future

**Impact Of Naxalism On Development »**

**Affected Districts**

- As of December 2017, 105 districts across 09 states were affected by left-wing extremism. The districts affected by left wing extremism was at 106 in 10 states as on 12 February 2016.

- As of April 2018, the areas where Naxalites were most visible:
  - Andhra Pradesh: Visakhapatnam
  - Bihar: Gaya, Jamui, Lakhisarai
  - Chhattisgarh: Bastar, Bijapur, Dantewada, Kanker, Kondagaon, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon, Sukma
  - Jharkhand: Bokaro, Chatra, Garhwa, Giridih, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Khunti, Latehar, Lohardaga, Palamu, Ranchi, Simdega West, Singhbhum
  - Maharashtra: Gadchiroli, Aurangabad
  - Odisha: Koraput, Malkangiri

- The economic condition of a state plays a pivotal role in its development. The Naxalite movement has severely impacted the economy of the affected states as well as India as a whole.
The major macroeconomic effects of the Naxal movement are:-
▶ Reduction in per capita GDP
▶ Higher inflation rates
▶ Lower tax revenues – The Naxals run a parallel government in their areas preventing the governing agencies to collect taxes etc.
▶ Lower domestic investment and higher expenditure on defence at the cost of lower expenditure on education and health.
▶ Lower exports, reduced bilateral trade flows and reduced foreign direct investment inflows. Due to the Naxal violence and their extortion business foreign and domestic investment remains low. These problems are coupled with the lack of good transportation facilities which are also a victim of Naxal violence.
▶ Micro-economic effects include lower tourist inflows, lower regional tourism market share, reduced usage of public transport, reduced long term investments in agriculture and other potential sectors, reduced enrolment in schools, lower job availability and lack of substantial opportunities
▶ Some instances of Naxal violence adversely affecting the trade and economy are – damaging road construction machinery, shutting down and destroying bank branches, damage to railway lines, highways and telecom towers thereby inhibiting communication and transport and destruction of the pipeline for transporting iron ore slurry in Chattisgarh. According to reports, power and steel industry projects in Chattisgarh with investments of the order of Rs.130billion were stagnated due to Naxalite disturbances.

Why naxalism got huge support from common man?
▶ The naxalites operate in vacuum created by absence of administrative and political institutions, espouse the local demands and take advantage of the disenchantment prevalent among the exploited segments of the population and seek to offer an alternative system of governance which promises emancipation of these segments from the clutches of ‘exploiter’ classes through the barrel of a gun.
▶ The tribal population of the country is around 8% of the total population of India and almost 50% of tribal population lives in Bihar and Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. This means that Central India is the largest tribal belt of the country. Significantly, this tribal belt is inhabited by the poorest, most under-developed and most economically backwards tribal population living under severely oppressive conditions.
▶ Economic Reforms entail unequal payoffs to economic agents. People with higher skills stand to gain more compared to those with lower skill sets (read, less productive people). This has resulted in more skewed income distribution leading to social unrest.
▶ Therefore, Naxalism is essentially an expression of the people’s aspiration to a life of dignity and self-respect. Much of the self-respect and dignity is lost due to limited opportunity to earn income.
▶ Further, the development-induced displacement which can be defined as the forcing of communities and individuals out of their homes, often also their homelands, for the purposes of economic development added more heat to the movement.

Why naxalism is biggest threat to internal security?
▶ Former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said “Naxalism is the biggest internal security challenge and it is imperative to control Left-wing extremism for the country’s growth”.
▶ The Naxalite threat is indeed the biggest security problem for India’s future as its effects are multi-layered. The Maoist movement highlights India’s interior weaknesses, which makes India also vulnerable to external threats too. As part of globalisation, threats such as the Naxalite movement can no longer be viewed as simply internal, as it also affects external security.
▶ The Naxals’ potential for violence has increased substantially with their acquisition of sophisticated weapons and expertise in the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). They are said to be in possession of at least 6,500 regular weapons including AK 47 rifles and SLRs. They have built this arsenal essentially by looting weapons from police/landlords, purchasing them from smugglers, acquiring from insurgent groups like the NSCN (IM) and ULFA and also obtaining some weapons from Nepal.
▶ The Naxalite groups’ nexus with the other extremist organizations has added to the complexity of the problem. There are indications that the PWG cadres received training in the handling of weapons and
IEDs from some ex-LTTE cadres. They have also some understanding with the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (I-M) to support each others’ cause. Some batches of CPML-Party Unity also appear to have received arms training under the guidance of United Liberation Front of Assam. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has close fraternal relations with the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) also.

- Another reason why the Naxalites are the biggest threat to security is because of the way the issue affects India’s economic development. This is apparent in several ways. For example, the more the Maoists concentrate on the poor and marginalised regions of India, the more economic development (which is imperative to improving those regions’ conditions) will be hampered. Furthermore, the Naxalite rebels are no longer just focussing on remote jungles but on urban centres. Maoist leader Kishenji even declared that the group aims to establish an armed movement in Calcutta by 2011. Internal order and stability are necessary for a nation’s economic development.

- For India to continue being able to withstand outside security threats, it must build up its infrastructure, its defence and its people. In terms of lifting its citizens out of poverty, India has a long way to go, and continued economic growth is integral to India’s development as a strong global player. The Naxalite activities are using up scarce resources on defence and internal security when it should be spent on areas such as social development. For example in 2006, 22% of the total government expenditure is on the military, compared with a mere 1.84% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) spent on the social sector.

**Urban Naxals:**

- The term Urban Naxals is not clearly defined. The origin of the word can be traced to the book and a few essays by film-maker and social media opinion-maker Vivek Agnihotri’s book, Urban Naxals: The Making of Buddha in a Traffic Jam.

- The phrase of Urban Naxals is loosely attributed to the people with naxalite bent of mind residing in urban areas and working as activists, supporters, and protectors of the ideology while the active Naxals battle it out in the jungles and vast swathes of Maoist-dominated areas.

- Maoists have an old strategy of looking into urban centres for leadership, organise masses, build a united front and engage in military tasks such as providing personnel, material and infrastructure. This was highlighted even in their 2004 Communist Party of India (Maoist) document titled “Urban Perspective” which elaborates on this strategy with one of the most important focus areas being on gaining leadership from urban areas.

**Government has initiated following measures for improving the situation:**

- **Forest Rights Act:** This Act was enacted primarily to safeguard the rights of the tribals who have been living in forests for generations and to mitigate the injustice by earlier forest Acts (e.g., Indian Forest Act 1927, Wild Life Protection Act 1972, Forest Conservation Act, 1980).
  - The Act recognizes three rights: land rights, use rights over minor forest products (e.g., tendu leaves, herbs, etc.) and grazing grounds and right to protect and conserve the forests.
  - The act was amended to include the following provisions. The Gram Sabha shall monitor the committee constituted for the protection of wildlife, forest and biodiversity. It has to approve all decisions of the committee pertaining to the issue of transit permits to transport minor forest produce, use of income from sale of produce, or modification of management plans. The collection of minor forest produce is to be free of all fees.
  - The committee has to prepare a conservation and management plan for community forest resources. The Forest Rights Committee
(FRC) of the Gram Sabha shall not re-examine recognised forest rights or interfere in the verification of claims that are pending. The number of Scheduled Tribes represented on the FRC has increased from one-third to two-thirds.

- The quorum of the Gram Sabha meeting has been decreased from two thirds to one-half of the members. At least one-third of the members present shall be women. While passing a resolution regarding the claims of forest rights, at least 50 per cent of the claimants to forest rights or their representatives should be present.

- District level committee should ensure that a certified copy of the record of the right to community forest resource is provided to the Gram Sabha. State level monitoring committee should meet at least once in three months to monitor the recognition, verification, and vesting of forest rights, and furnish a quarterly report to the central government.

- **Education initiatives:** The opening of residential schools has been quite effective in retaining children in schools. According to official figures, there are 77 residential schools/hostels in LWE districts with intake capacity of 31650 children. 889 Kasturba Gandhi Vidalaya residential schools for girls have been opened in the affected districts for class VI to VIII. Under the provisions of a scheme of the Ministry for Tribal Affairs, 100 per cent central assistance is provided for construction of all Scheduled tribe girls’ ashram schools and boys’ ashram schools in naxal-affected districts identified by Ministry of Home Affairs from time to time. The coordination with Ashram Shalas and other SC/ST department schools by giving free text books, mid day meal, teacher training school maintenance grant and teacher grant for teaching aids has also helped. Multi-Lingual Education in early grades in tribal districts of Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh is another step that can improve learning comprehension and retention of children in schools.

- **Integrated Action Plan (IAP):** This scheme was launched under the BRGF programme for 82 selected tribal and backward districts of India. The implementation period of the scheme was 2010-11 and 2011-12 and a sum of Rs 25 crores and Rs 30 crores, respectively, were sanctioned for each year for each district. The objective of the scheme was to build public infrastructure and provision some basic services like school, anganwadi centres, primary health centres, drinking water supply, roads, etc.

- **Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA):** This Act came into effect in 1996 when the Indian Parliament passed a special legislation as an annexure to the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution. The new Act entrusted special powers to the Gram Sabha in the scheduled areas. The key objective of the Act was to empower the local Gram Sabha for efficient management of natural and community resources; conservation and protection of traditional customs and rituals; and management of non-timber forest products.

- **Balbandhu Programme of National Commission for Protection of Child Rights:** An innovative Balbandhu scheme initiated by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) in strife torn areas two years back has started making an impact too. The scheme has been introduced in nine districts affected by civil strife in Sukhma in Chhattisgarh, Gadchiroli in Maharashtra, Khammam in Andhra Pradesh, East Champaran, Sheohar, Jammui and Rohtas in Bihar and Kokrajhar and Chirang in Assam. Balbandhurs are young people recruited from within the community to oversee the children in such areas go to school, return to schools if they have dropped out, and trace and restore the missing children to their families. While these balbandhus may not have the power to enforce implementation but they can put pressure on the authorities by involving the community and the Panchayats towards this end. An evaluation report on the Balbandhu programme says that these young recruits have given a distinct confidence to the children in these areas specially the school going ones.

### Major Sub –Schemes under Scheme Modernization of Police Forces for 2017-20

- **Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme:** It aims at strengthening the capacity of the LWE affected States to fight against the LWE problem in an effective manner.

- Under the Scheme, the central Govt. reimburses Security Related Expenditure of 106 districts relating to ex-gratia payment to the family of civilians/security forces killed in LWE violence, training and operational needs of security forces, compensation to LWE cadres who surrendered, community policing, Security related infrastructure for village defence committees and publicity materials.

- **Special Central Assistance (SCA)** for 35 most LWE affected districts which have the main objective of filling the critical gaps in Public Infrastructure and Services, which are of emergent nature.
- **Special Infrastructure Scheme (SIS)** including construction of 250 Fortified Police Stations in LWE affected states. The Scheme aims at capacity building of states by strengthening the security apparatus of the States.

- **Assistance to Central Agencies for LWE management Scheme:** Assistance is provided to Central Agencies like CAPFs, Commando Battalions for Resolute Action (CoBRA), Indian Air Force for anti LWE Operations, where the States have constraints.

- **Civic Action Programme (CAP)** is being implemented since 2010-11 to bridge the gaps between Security Forces and local people through personal interaction and bring the human face of SFs before the local population. Under the Scheme, funds are released to the CAPFs, deployed in LWE affected areas, for conducting various civic activities in welfare of the local people.

- **Media Plan Scheme:** to counter the Maoist propaganda of misleading and luring the innocent tribals/local population by their so called poor-friendly revolution.

### Infrastructure development initiatives

- **Road Requirement Plan-I (RRP-I)** is being implemented by the Ministry of Road Transport & Highways, since 2009 for improving road connectivity in 34 LWE affected districts of 8 States. It envisages construction of 5,422 km road lengths and 08 critical bridges in LWE affected States.

- **Road Connectivity Project for LWE affected areas (RRP-II):** It was approved in 2016 for further improving road connectivity in 44 districts of 9 LWE affected States. Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) is the nodal Ministry for this project.

- **LWE Mobile Tower Project** to improve mobile connectivity in the LWE areas.

- **Approval of Projects under USOF** - Union cabinet has approved the Universal Service Obligation Fund (USOF) supported scheme to provide mobile services in 96 districts of LWE-affected states to help not only in communication with the security personnel, but also, for the residents of these areas.

- **The National Technical Research Organization (NTRO)** is assisting the Security Forces in anti-Naxal operations by providing Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs).

### Skill Development related Schemes

- **ROSHNI** is a special initiative under, Pandit Deen Dayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana, which envisages training and placement of rural poor youth from 27 LWE affected districts.

- **Skill Development in 34 Districts affected by Left Wing Extremism** under implementation from 2011-12 aims to establish ITIs and Skill Development Centres in LWE affected districts.

- **Surrender and rehabilitation policies:** State Governments have their own policy, while the Central Government supplements the efforts of the State Governments through the Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme for LWE affected States. Additional incentives are given for surrendering with weapons/ammunition. The surrenderees are also imparted vocational training with a monthly stipend for a maximum period of 36 months.

### Institutional measures

- **Black Panther combat force** - A specialised anti-Naxal combat force for Chhattisgarh on the lines of Greyhounds unit in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh.

- **Bastariya Battalion** – A newly formed battalion of CRPF, with more than 534 tribal youth from four highly naxal infested districts of Chhattisgarh along with adequate female representation in sync with the Government’s policy of 33% reservation for women making it the first composite battalion in any of paramilitary forces.

- A process has also been initiated to create a separate vertical in the NIA for investigating important cases relating to Left-Wing Extremism (LWE)

- Multi-disciplinary groups to check funding of Naxalites - Union Ministry of Home Affairs has formed multi-disciplinary groups with officers from central agencies, including from the IB, NIA, CBI, ED and DRI, and state police to choke the financial flow to Maoists.

- Constructively engaging youth through education: Seeing the success of educational hub and a livelihood centre in Dantewada district, the government has now opened up livelihood centres, known as Livelihood Colleges, in all the districts.
Skil development initiatives: ROSHNI is a special initiative under, Pandit DeenDayal Upadhyaya Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (Formerly Ajeevika Skills), launched in June 2013 for training and placement of rural poor youth from 27 LWE affected districts in 09 States (Andhra Pradesh-01, Bihar-02, Chhattisgarh-08, Jharkhand-06, Madhya Pradesh-01, Maharashtra-01, Odisha-06, Uttar Pradesh-01 and West Bengal-01). So far two Roshni projects for skilling 1085 candidates in Bihar at a total cost of Rs. 16.82 crore and eight Roshni projects for skilling 3956 candidates in Jharkhand at a total cost of Rs. 100.96 crore have been sanctioned. Main objectives of the Scheme “Skill Development in 34 Districts affected by Left Wing Extremism” under implementation from 2011-12 are to establish 01 ITI and 02 Skill Development Centres each in 34 LWE affected districts of 09 States (Telangana-01, Bihar-06, Chhattisgarh-07, Jharkhand-10, Madhya Pradesh-01, Maharashtra-02, Odisha-05, Uttar Pradesh-01 and West Bengal-01) and to run demand driven vocational training courses comprising Long Term training and Short Term training and Instructor Training courses. Funds allocated to Bihar and Jharkhand are Rs. 41.69 crore and Rs. 69.48 crore respectively.

Government service delivery should be improved in these tribal areas. Both state and government must ensure that things such as statutory minimum wages, access to land and water sources initiatives are implemented. In coming up with strategies for national economic growth, the government must always bear in mind the possible effects of fast growth for all socio-economic groups in a country as large and diverse as India. If the social needs of these marginalised people are addressed, there will be no discontent to fuel the Naxalite’s movements.

The growing Naxalite insurgency also reflects a flaw in the federal structure. Because law and order is seen as a state responsibility, the central government is unable to implement a coherent national strategy to address the threat.

The government has to instill faith in the people that they will be governed in a better manner than by the Narxals. The government should include laws in the forest act that only forest dwelling tribes and scheduled castes should be allowed to use the produce of the forest. Proper guarding of financial institutions sanctioning loans to these tribes should be ensured which will help these tribes to realize that the government is with them.

The Central government should form a separate ministry which will undertake the development of the areas affected by the Naxal activities. The following steps ought to be taken by the government:

- Ensure the safety of the civilians by stopping the Salwa Judum campaign and ensuring that no counter insurgency measures are taken by risking the lives of the civilians.
- Checking instances of human rights violation by the security forces and the SalwaJudum.
- Registering the crimes perpetrated by the security forces, SalwaJudum and the Maoists and bringing them to justice.
- Banning of Bal Mandal (The child division of Naxalites) with immediate effect.
- Ensuring safety of those who surrendered and those who lived in camps or were related with Salwa Judum activities.

Using force against the tribals to deter them from joining the Naxals has and will backfire against the government. The government should ensure peace in these areas so that these people don’t suffer more than they already have and this can be done only if the government takes proactive measures so as to ensure social justice and inclusive growth for the benefit of the marginalized sections.

**AP Greyhounds Model**

- Andhra Pradesh had shown a model for controlling naxalism. Though the ‘Greyhounds’ naxal fighting force was its main element, infrastructure development and effective surrender and rehabilitation policy have also proved effective. The model was so successful that all the Naxalites leaders were forced to leave Andhra Pradesh and try new hideouts in Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra.

- Key elements in the Andhra Pradesh model are:
  - Effective surrender and rehabilitation policy
  - Culture of police leadership
  - Infrastructure, development
  - Sound knowledge of local terrain
  - Grass roots involvement in anti-Naxal operations
  - Incentives to police for good work
  - Superior intelligence, coordination and assessment
  - Operations based on local intelligence
What was Salwa Judum and why it failed?

- Salwa judum was a movement in the Bastar area of chhattisgarh which assumed the form of mass movement against the atrocities committed by naxalites. It literally means ‘collective problem solving platform’ and it gained momentum because people got fed up with naxalites’ intimidation and extortion. The administration claims that it was spontaneous, peaceful, and a voluntary ease or public uprising against the Maoist movement.

- The naxalites never wanted the Salwa Judum movement to succeed in Bastar because they were hounded by the ‘Greyhounds force of Andhra Pradesh and Bastar was their biggest bastion. They established their people’s government in Dandakaranya Zone (which is a cluster in the remotest corner of the five adjoining states of Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra). This is an area of immense strategic and geo-political importance for naxalites. They adopted some counter strategies against Salwa Judum. Firstly, the leadership of this movement was branded anti-people and some key leaders were executed. Secondly, the entire propaganda machinery in favour of the naxalites was ordered to throttle Salwa Judum movement in its infancy. Soon, the movement was discredited on many counts. It was shown that it was a proxy police movement and the police was recruiting children forcibly.

- It is believed that in 2006, more than 100 villagers involved in the movement were killed by the naxalites. Finally, in May 2013, senior Congress leader Mahendra Karma, who had supported the movement, was killed mercilessly. Surprisingly, the so-called human rights activists and intellectual supporters of naxalites; were silent on this killing. With no support from any quarter to counter this propaganda, the Salwa Judum movement was killed in its infancy.

Should Army be deployed Against Naxals?

- The army is trained to fight against an enemy country. Fighting with our own people is not the job of the army. In fact, the army is employed to protect its own people. It would be very difficult for the army to distinguish innocent people from hardcore Naxalites. The Army is a symbol of national pride. We must ensure that the image of the army is not affected. So, naxalism has to be fought by the police and other para military forces.

- Also, a complete armed solution is not the only answer to naxalism. We should give more emphasis on effective administration, development and growth of the affected areas. As of now, it is not advisable to deploy Indian army against naxals. However, air support from army can be taken not for air strikes but for evacuation, supply, medical aid, etc.

Insurgency in North-East

Insurgency in Northeast India

- An insurgency is an armed rebellion against a constituted authority when those taking part in the rebellion are not recognized as belligerents. Incase of Indian scenario it can be seen as armed rebellion and violent protests against Indian Government or authority.

- The Constitution-makers, recognising the significant difference in the way of life and administrative set up of the North Eastern region from the rest of the country, provided for special institutional arrangements for the tribal areas in the region, giving them a high degree of self governance through autonomous District Councils under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. Even critics agree that the Sixth Schedule has to some extent satisfied tribal aspirations and has thus prevented many conflicts.

- At the commencement of the Constitution, the present States of Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram constituted a district each of Assam, whereas Arunachal Pradesh, (then NEFA), consisted of several ‘frontier tracts’ administered by the Governor of Assam and was, therefore, deemed to be a part of that State. The States of Manipur and Tripura were princely States which, after merger with India in 1948, became part-C States, the earlier name for Union Territories. Gradual administrative reorganisation of the region with the formation of the States of Nagaland (1963), Meghalaya (1972), conferring first, status of Union territory (1972), and subsequently Statehood (1987) to Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram and elevation of Manipur and Tripura from Union Territories to States in 1972 attest to the considerable attention given to reduce conflicts in the region through increased empowerment.
North-eastern India consists of seven states (also known as the Seven Sister States): Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur, and Nagaland. Tensions exist between these states and the central government as well as amongst their native tribal people and migrants from other parts of India.

Insurgency in North-east India involves multiple armed factions operating in India’s north-eastern states, which are connected to the rest of India by the Siliguri Corridor, a strip of land as narrow as 14 miles (23 km) wide. Some factions favour a separate state while others seek regional autonomy. Some groups demand complete independence. Others wanted religious law.

Regional tensions eased off in late 2013, with the Indian and state governments making a concerted effort to raise the living standards of people in these regions. However, in late 2014 tensions again rose as the Indian government launched an offensive, which led to a retaliatory attack on civilians by tribal guerrillas. As of 1 January 2015, major militant activities are being conducted in Assam, Manipur, Nagaland and Tripura.

Issues & Conflicts

For more than half-a-century, the North East has seen an unending cycle of violent conflicts dominated by insurgencies with demands ranging from outright sovereignty to greater political autonomy. Indirectly, insurgent movements have spawned a variety of related conflicts. Insurgency has taken a toll of thousands of lives, both of security forces and citizens.

Conflicts in the region range from insurgency for secession to insurgency for autonomy and from ‘sponsored terrorism’ to ethnic clashes, to conflicts generated as a result of continuous inflow of migrants from across the borders as well as from other States. Major conflicts in the region are:

- **National conflicts**: Involving concept of a distinct ‘homeland’ as a separate nation and pursuit of the realisation of that goal by its votaries.
- **Ethnic conflicts**: Involving assertion of numerically smaller and less dominant tribal groups against the political and cultural hold of the dominant tribal group. In Assam this also takes the form of tension between local and migrant communities.
- **Sub-regional conflicts**: Involving movements which ask for recognition of sub-regional aspirations and often come in direct conflict with the State Governments or even the autonomous Councils.

The conflicts in the North-East have some peculiar characteristics: they are asymmetrical; they are ambiguous, making it difficult to differentiate a friend from an enemy; they are fought in unconventional modes, deploying political and psychological means and methods; and the conflicts eventually tend to escalate into prolonged wars of attrition. Violence in the region is also caused by the failure of the State administration to provide security. This has led to the creation of alternative forces of ethnic militia for provision of security. From the perspective of its ethnic constituency, a private ethnic militia is considered a more reliable provider of security when it is threatened by another ethnic group that is
armed with its own militia. This is usually the context in an ethnically polarised situation in which the State administration fails to provide security and the actions of the Army are seen as partisan.

Role of the Neighbours

- Although most militant outfits have originated within their respective states and have operated with relative ease in their homelands, the Indian government has accused neighbouring China and Myanmar of promoting insurgency in the region.
- Pakistan, through its intelligence agency the I.S.I., is believed to have assisted the militant groups in terms of training and finance. Photographic evidence, passports seized from the arrested militants and the confessional statements by the arrested and surrendered militants has been provided as evidence behind the Indian claim. Pakistan, however, refutes such claims.
- China, too, is believed to have provided some assistance to groups such as the N.S.C.N. in the 1980s. The militant leaders have on record confessed to have travelled to China and secured help for their movements. However, such a nexus, if any, does not exist today.
- Besides, militant camps in Nagaland as well as Manipur militant groups exist in the bordering areas of Myanmar. Outfits like U.L.F.A. and the N.D.F.B. have reportedly used the facilities.
- Bhutan remains the only country that successfully dislodged several militant camps of the north eastern groups through a military operation launched in December 2003. A number of cadres of U.L.F.A., N.D.F.B. and the Kamatapur Liberation Organization, an outfit operating in the North Bengal area, stationed in the country since the early 1990s, were either arrested or were forced to flee following the operation launched after several reminders by the Bhutanese authorities failed to force the militants exit.

Reasons for Insurgency in the Northeast

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Factors Responsible for insurgency in the North-East</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feeling of alienation and deprivation among the tribal population</td>
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<td>2. Similar ethnicity across the border on Myanmar side</td>
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<td>3. Porosity of the border with Myanmar due to difficult terrain</td>
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<td>4. Change in demographic pattern due to infiltration from across the border</td>
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<td>5. Disconnect with the other parts of India and fellow Indians</td>
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<td>6. Widespread corruption among the ruling elite</td>
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<td>7. Lack of visionary leadership among the tribal communities</td>
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<td>8. Lack of development and basic amenities</td>
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<td>9. Easy availability of arms and ammunition</td>
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<td>10. Political support from various factions</td>
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<td>11. Instability in Myanmar</td>
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After partition, the Northeastern Areas (Re-organisation) Act, 1971 created three states – Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya and two Union Territories, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh effective from January 21, 1972. The two Union Territories became states in 1987. All the states in the Northeast are in the grip of insurgency or have been through insurgency in the past. The reasons for these are similar and have been enumerated below:

- The roots of insurgency in the area go back to pre-independence days. The tribes were not brought under a strict political control and rigid regulations. The British tribal policy and Christian education are believed to have queered the pitch for Independent India.
- Setting up of reserved forests by British led to the loss of tribal control over natural resources.
- Migration of people from the plains posing economic, cultural and political threat to the tribals.
- Lack of good governance and transparency,
- Faulty nation-building strategies (economic deprivation).
Inappropriate development.
Large-scale unemployment.
Hostile neighbours extending moral and material support.
Lack of good leadership and popular support.
Not anti-India but anti-establishment.
Money for development never reached the target but was diverted to insurgents by politicians to buy security. There was no shortage of recruits as unemployed educated youth were available to join them.
Tensions between these states and the central government.
Tensions between tribal people, who are natives of these states, and migrant peoples from other parts of India.
Geographical reasons – not well connected with present Indian mainland.
Developmental reasons – Poorly developed due to lack of fund from Center/States.
Environmental reasons.
Military reasons – AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Power Act).
Foreign Policy – Look-east policy and market changes bought.
External support – China and Myanmar.

North-East Insurgents and their Foreign Links

The biggest foreign link of north-east insurgents are believed robe with Myanmar. India has a long international border shared by four states, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram, with Myanmar. Difficult terrain and ethnic linkages of population on both sides of the border make it easy for the Indian insurgent groups / underground groups (IIGs / UGs) in the movement across the border as well as establishing camps, including training of fresh recruits, weapon procurement and their transfer to India.

Usually arms are procured from arms market in Thailand, and finally brought to these four states.

The diplomatic and political initiative with the Myanmar government, has yielded some results and Myanmar Government has signed a ceasefire agreement with NSCN (K) and given a deadline to METI insurgents of Manipur. But, because of their ethnic proximity and political compulsions, these groups have relocated themselves closer to the border which makes it easy for them to carry out attacks on Indian security forces.

With the cooperation of (The Bangladesh Government, many UGs (Indian insurgent groups) have been pushed out of Bangladesh. Therefore, these groups have now concentrated more in these four states.

Challenges in handling insurgency

Dual responsibility: For ex-Assam Rifles the country’s oldest paramilitary force provides dual service of guarding the porous Indo-Myanmar border and counter insurgency operations

Guarding open border where a free movement regime is also in place for uninterrupted travel to each other’s territories by people of both the countries.

Taking care of diplomatic sensitivities as Myanmar, Bhutan etc. are friendly countries.

External Support by other nation state: For eg- alleged arms smuggling by China in North east.

Multiplicity of bodies and agencies like the NEC, DoNER and the recently created North East Forum. There is a need for clarity on the roles between these bodies.

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Founded</th>
<th>Area of Action</th>
<th>Allies</th>
<th>Training</th>
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<tr>
<td>BdSF/NDFB</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Indo-Bhutan border</td>
<td>ULFA, NIA</td>
<td>Manas, Nilphamari (Bdesh)</td>
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Arunachal Pradesh

The National Liberation Council of Taniland (NLCT): It was active along the Assam – Arunachal Pradesh border, and its members belong to the Tani groups of people which are demanding Taniland. The group enjoys no support from the local population of Arunachal Pradesh who are fiercely pro-India and the group is all but defunct now. The Tani groups are Mongoloid people (variously known as Mising in Assam and Adi, Nyishi, Galo, Bangni, Apa, Tagin, Hill Miri in Arunachal Pradesh) in India as well as the Luoba in China who live along the frontier of India.

Assam

Assam has been a refuge for militants for a number of years, due to its porous borders with Bangladesh and Bhutan. The main causes of the friction include anti-foreigner agitation in the 1980s, and the simmering Assam-Bodo tensions. The insurgency status in Assam is classified as “very active”.

- **ULFA**
  - The United Liberation Front of Assam was formed in April 1979 to establish a sovereign state of Assam through armed struggle. In recent times the organisation has lost its middle rung leaders after most of them were arrested.

- **NDFB**
  - The National Democratic Front of Bodoland was formed in 1989 as the Bodo Security Force, and aims to set up an independent state Bodoland.

- **KLNLF**
  - The Karbi Longri N.C. Hills Liberation Front is a militant group operating in the Karbi Anglong and Dima Hasao districts of Assam that was formed on 16 May 2004. The outfit claims to fight for the cause of Karbi tribes, and its declared objective is Hemprek Kangthim, meaning self-rule/self-determination of the Karbi people. It is closely linked with the ULFA (United Liberation Front of Asom).

- **UPDS**
  - The United People’s Democratic Solidarity was formed in March 1999 with the merger of two terrorist outfits in Assam’s Karbi Anglong district, the Karbi National Volunteers (KNV) and the Karbi People’s Front (KPF).
  - In 2004, the UPDS (Anti-Talks) renamed itself as the Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Liberation Front (KLNLF), and its armed wing as the Karbi Longri North Cachar Hills Resistance Force (KNPR).
  - In 2014 the UPDS disbanded, following the mass surrender of all its cadres and leaders.

- **DHD**
  - The Dima Halam Daoga (DHD) is a descendant of the Dimasa National Security Force (DNSF), which ceased operations in 1995. Commander-in-Chief Jewel Gorlosa, refused to surrender and launched the Dima Halam Daogah. After the peace agreement between the DHD and the central government in the year 2003, the group further broke out and DHD(J) also known as Black Widow was born which was led by Jewel Gorlosa. The Black Widow’s declared objective is to create Dimaraji for the
Dimasa people in Dima Hasao district only. However the objective of DHD (Nunisa faction) is to include parts of Cachar, Karbi Anglong, and Nagaon districts in Assam, and sections of Dimapur district in Nagaland.

- In 2009 the group surrendered en masse to the CRPF and local police, 193 cadres surrendering on 12-09-2009, and another 171 on the 13th.

**Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO)**
- The objective of the Kamtapur Liberation Organisation (KLO) is to carve out a separate Kamtapur State. The proposed state is to comprise six districts in West Bengal and four contiguous districts of Assam which are Cooch Behar, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, North and South Dinajpur and Malda of West Bengal and four contiguous districts of Assam – Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Dhubri and Goalpara. The KLO in the beginning was an over-ground organisation which was formed to address problems of the Koch Rajbongshi people such as large-scale unemployment, land alienation, perceived neglect of Kamtapuri language, identity, and grievances of economic deprivation.

**Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA)**
- The objective of the Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA) is to establish an Islamic state in India under sharia law.

**Manipur**

**Insurgency in Manipur**
- Manipur’s long tradition of independence can be traced to the foundation of the Kangleipak State in 1110. The Kingdom of Manipur was conquered by Great Britain following the brief Anglo-Manipur War of 1891, becoming a British protectorate.
- Manipur became part of the Indian Union on 15 October 1949. Manipur’s incorporation into the Indian state soon led to the formation of a number of insurgent organisations, seeking the creation of an independent state within the borders of Manipur, and dismissing the merger with India as involuntary.
- Despite the fact that Manipur became a separate state of the Indian Union on 21 January 1972, the insurgency continued. On 8 September 1980, Manipur was declared an area of disturbance, when the Indian government imposed the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 on the region; the act currently remains in force.
- The parallel rise of Naga nationalism in neighbouring Nagaland led to the emergence of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) activities in Manipur. Clashes between the Isak-Muivah and Khaivalang factions of the NSCN further aggravated tensions, as Kuki tribals began creating their own guerrilla groups in order to protect their interests from alleged Naga violations. Skirmishes between the two ethnic groups took place during the 1990s. Other ethnic groups such as the Paite, Vaiphei, Pangals and Hmars followed suit establishing militant groups.

**United National Liberation Front (UNLF)**
- The first separatist faction known as the United National Liberation Front (UNLF) was founded on 24 November 1964.

**PLA, PREPAK and KCP, KRA, and the student organisation**
- Between 1977 and 1980, the People’s Liberation Army of Manipur (PLA), the People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK) and the Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), were formed, immediately joining the war.

**Nagaland**

**Naga nationalism and Nagaland conflict**
- Nagaland was created in 1963 as the 16th state of the Indian Union, before which it was a district of Assam. Insurgent groups classified as active mainly demand full independence. The Naga National Council led by Phizo was the first group to dissent in 1947 and in 1956 they went underground.

**NSCN (IM)**
- The National Socialist Council of Nagaland was formed in 1980 to establish a Greater Nagaland, encompassing parts of Manipur, Nagaland, and the north Cachar hills (Assam). The NSCN split
in 1988 to form two groups, NSCN (IM) and NSCN (K). As of 2015, both groups have observed a ceasefire truce with the Indian government.

- NSCN (K)
  - The National Socialist Council of Nagaland—Khaplang is the second faction with the same aim of a Greater Nagaland and was formed in 1988.

Tripura

- Tripuri nationalism
  - The insurgent groups in Tripura emerged at the end of the 1970s, as ethnic tensions between the Bengali immigrants and the tribal native population who were outnumbered by the former, hailing from other parts of India and nearby Bangladesh, which resulted in their being reduced to minority status even threatening them economically, socially, culturally; this resulted in a clarion call for safeguarding tribal rights and cultures. Such being the extent of desperation, this naturally resulted in hatred and suspicion and their status is classified as active.

- NLFT
  - The National Liberation Front of Tripura was formed in March 1989.

- ATTF
  - The All Tripura Tiger Force was formed by local aboriginal tribes in 1990, who were gradually outnumbered both directly and indirectly, even at the cost of being threatened for their survival economically and culturally, not to speak of their being reduced to minority population-wise; their sole aim is the expulsion of all Bengali speaking immigrants from the rest of India and nearby Bangladesh.

Meghalaya

- Insurgency in Meghalaya
  - The state of Meghalaya was separated from the state of Assam in 1971, in order to satisfy the Khasi, Synteng and Garo for a separate state. The decision was initially praised as an example of successful national integration into the wider Indian state.
  - This, however, failed to prevent the rise of national consciousness among the local tribal populations, later leading to a direct confrontation between Indian nationalism and the newly created Garo and Khasi nationalisms. A parallel rise of nationalism in the other members of the Seven Sister States further complicated the situation, resulting in occasional clashes between rebel groups.
  - The state wealth distribution system further fuelled the rising separatist movements, as funding is practised through per-capita transfers, which largely benefits the leading ethnic group.
  - The first militant outfit to emerge in the region was the Hynniewtrep Achik Liberation Council (HALC). It was formed in 1992, aiming to protect the interests of Meghalaya’s indigenous population from the rise of non-tribal (“Dkhar”) immigration.

- HNLC
  - A conflict of interest soon led to a split of the HALC into the Garo-dominated Achik Matgrik Liberation Army (AMLA), and the joint Systeng-Khasi alliance of Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council (HNLC).

- ANVC
  - The AMLA passed into obscurity, while the Achik National Volunteers Council (ANVC) took its place. The Garo-Khasi drift persisted as the HNLC had set up the goal of turning Meghalaya into an exclusively Khasi region; the ANVC, on the other hand, sought the creation of an independent state in the Garo Hills.

- GNLA
  - The most active outfit in the state is the Garo National Liberation Army (GNLA), which was formed in 2009.
A number of non-Meghalayan separatist groups have also operated in the region, including the United Liberation Front of Assam and the National Democratic Front of Bodoland among others.

Mizoram

Mizoram’s tensions were largely due to the simmering Assamese domination and the neglect of the Mizo people. In 1986, the Mizo accord ended the main secessionist movement led by the Mizo National Front, bringing peace to the region. Insurgency status is classified as partially active, due to secessionist/autonomy demands by the Hmars, Chakmas and Brus.

HPC-D

The Hmar People’s Convention-Democracy is an armed insurgency group formed in 1995 to create an independent Hmar State in North East India. It is the offspring of the Hmar People’s Convention (HPC), which entered into an agreement with the Government of Mizoram in 1994 resulting in the formation of the Sinlung Hills Development Council (SHDC) in North Mizoram. Their recruited cadres are from the States where the Hmar people are spread – Assam, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura and Meghalaya. The HPC (D) is demanding a separate administrative unit under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

Spillover In Bhutan

Operation All Clear

- Following the 1990 Operations Rhino and Bajrang, Assamese separatist groups relocated their camps to Bhutan. In 1996 the Bhutan government became aware of a large number of camps on its southern border with India. The camps were set up by four Assamese separatist movements: the ULFA, NDFB, Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF) and Kamtapur Liberation Organization (KLO). The camps also harboured separatists belonging to the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and the All Tripura Tiger Force (ATTF).

- India then exerted diplomatic pressure on Bhutan, offering support in removing the rebel organisations from its soil. The government of Bhutan initially pursued a peaceful solution, opening dialogue with the militant groups on 1998. Five rounds of talks were held with ULFA, three rounds with DNFB, with KLO ignoring all invitations sent by the government. In June 2001 ULFA agreed to close down four of its camps; however, the Bhutanese government soon realized that the camps had simply been relocated.

- By 2003 the talks had failed to produce any significant result. On 14 July 2003, military intervention was approved by the National Assembly. On 13 December 2003, the Bhutanese government issued a two-day ultimatum to the rebels. On 15 December 2003, after the ultimatum had expired, Operation All Clear – the first operation ever conducted by the Royal Bhutan Army – was launched.

- By 3 January 2004, the Royal Bhutan Army had killed about 120 militants. They managed to capture several senior ULFA commanders. Large numbers of rebels fled to Bangladesh and India. Militants also were dislodged from all 30 camps and 35 observation posts, with the camps burned and razed to the ground.

- Between 2008 and 2011, Royal Bhutan Police and Royal Bhutan Army personnel undertook numerous actions against alleged north Indian militants. Several firefight occurred while Bhutan military personnel were required to dispose of several explosive devices and destroyed a number of guerrilla camps.

CorCom

- In Manipur the following militant groups have come together as the CorCOM which is a short name for Coordination Committee.
  - Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP),
  - Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL),
  - People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak-Pro (PREPAK-Pro),
  - Revolutionary People’s Front (RPF)
  - United National Liberation Front (UNLF)
INTERNAL SECURITY

- CorCom is on the extremist organisations list of the Government of India, and is responsible for many bombings usually associated with Indian holidays and elections.

**WESEA Forum**

- Some of the above-mentioned militant groups have formed an alliance to fight against the governments of India, Bhutan and Myanmar. They use the term “Western Southeast Asia” (WESEA) to describe the region in which they operate: Northeast India, Bhutan, North Bengal and Myanmar. These groups include:
  - The Kangleipak Communist Party (KCP), Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL), People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak (PREPAK), People’s Revolutionary Party of Kangleipak-Pro (PREPAK-Pro), Revolutionary People’s Front and United National Liberation Front of Manipur
  - Hynniewtrep National Liberation Council of Meghalaya,
  - Kamtapur Liberation Organization, which operates in Assam and North Bengal,
  - National Democratic Front of Bodoland and United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) of Assam, and
  - National Liberation Front of Tripura of Tripura.

**Nagaland Peace Accord**

The Naga Peace Accord, a framework agreement as it has been termed, was signed between the National Socialist Council of Nagalim-Isak-Muivah (NSCN-IM) and the Government of India on August 3, 2015. The signing of the pact marks the culmination of over 80 rounds of negotiations spanning 16 years, with the 1st breakthrough made in 1997 when a ceasefire agreement was sealed.

**Background**

- Nagas are a congeries of tribes living in Eastern Himalayas (Naga Hills) along the Burma border.
- The two major demands of the Naga Movement are independence and creation of greater Nagaland by merging of Naga-inhabited areas of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, and Manipur

**Details of Accord**

- Although exact details of the Accord are not out, but following has been reported through media and experts
  - There is a ceasefire Agreement till April 27, 2016.
  - They will drop their demand of sovereignty.
  - Non-Territorial Framework – under this Instead of Greater Nagalim, there will be greater autonomy for Naga in other states by establishment of autonomous district councils. Thus there won’t be any territorial division of other states.

**Critical Analysis:**

- **Benefits**
  - **Advantages of a Non-Territorial Framework for all –**
    - To Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Manipur – maintain the territorial status quo while only giving up developmental privileges in their Naga inhabited areas to a new Naga non-territorial body.
    - To Nagas – meet their core demands – such as recognition of their “unique history” and culture, Naga leverage over deciding the development path for the Naga inhabited areas, etc.
  - Accord has been signed with the strongest insurgent group, the NSCN (IM) which moreover has demonstrated representation across tribes. Rival group NSCN (K) is on decline.
  - The accord is supported by various Naga civil society groups (shows that it enjoys support among people) like the Forum for Naga Reconciliation, Naga Hoho, Eastern Naga Peoples’ Organisation, Naga Mothers’ Association, Naga Students’ Federation, and the specific Hohos of the 14 Naga tribes.
  - It shows the flexibility and realism of the NSCN (IM) to alter goals and will provide a platform of social support for the NSCN (IM) comprising of Naga civil society groups who are insistent on a peaceful path to conflict resolution.
Resolution of Naga conflict can offer a way forward to resolving many other ethnic conflicts in the region such as those involving Kukis, Meiteis, Bodos, Dimasas, Hmars, and Karbis.

**Challenges**

- The exact details are still not out.
- It’s a framework Agreement only, the groundwork needs to be done.
- Not an all group/party accord –
  - Rival faction NSCN (khaplang) has been excluded from accord – it broke ceasefire with GOI (Government of India) in March 2015 and following it up with the June 4 ambush in Manipur that killed 20 military personnel.
  - Shillong accord of 1975 wasn’t accepted by some leaders of Naga movement and led to formation of NSCN. Thus it needs to be all party accord.
- It will be opposed by other three states.
- Can be a time-buying step by NSCN (IM) to regroup itself. According to intelligence, post accord, it has increased its cadre strength.

**Way Forward**

- Naga Movement leader should remember the following
  - In 2014 General Elections, Nagaland recorded a voter turnout of 87% which shows faith of Naga people in Indian Democracy.
  - Mizo peace accord, 1985 ended the insurgency and led to development of Mizoram (has peace and highest literacy).
- The way forward:
  - Bring NSCN (K) also on board via negotiations. If it doesn’t, then reach out to Myanmar and formulate a coordinated mechanism to deal with separatist and terror groups using hard power.
  - Prevent illegal migration from Bangladesh which threatens their identity.
  - Protect their Indigenous Rights of Land.
  - Aim for Socio-economic development of the region. Following recent steps in this direction are a good move.
- Budget 2015 announced the creation of Indian Institute of Science Education and Research (IISER) to be setup in Nagaland.
- In April 2015 Government announced a direct daily air flight from Delhi to Dimapur in Nagaland via Kolkata.

**Impact of Insurgency Activities**

- **Impact of insurgency activities** on society, development and politics in the Northeast is deep, wide and complex.

- **Some of the serious negative impacts are:** Internal displacement of population
  - The Northeast has witnessed eight major cases of conflict-induced internal displacements in recent years:
    - The displacements of Hindus and Muslims of Bengali descent from and within Assam;
    - the displacement of Adivasis (Tea Tribes) and Bodos within and from Western Assam;
    - The displacement of Bengalis from Meghalaya, particularly Shillong;
    - The displacement of Bengalis from and within Tripura;
    - The displacement of Nagas, Kukis and Paite in Manipur;
    - The displacement of the Reangs from Mizoram;
    - The displacement of the Chakmas from Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram; and
    - The displacement of Karbis and Dimasas.
Impact of Cross-Border Migration from Bangladesh

- The large scale migration from Bangladesh has significantly altered demographics in India’s northeastern states, leading to social, economic, and political tensions between tribals and Bangladeshi settlers.
- Illegal Bangladeshi migrants have systematically appropriated farming, grazing, and forest lands traditionally used by the Bodos and other indigenous tribes in Assam for their livelihood, leading to fear and resentment amongst the tribal population.
- Along with illegal migrants, drug smugglers and other criminal elements frequently cross the Indo-Bangladesh border into Assam.
- India’s Supreme Court recently noted the magnitude of the problem when it stated that Assam was facing “external aggression and internal disturbance,” due to the large-scale migration from Bangladesh.

Initiatives taken to negate the menace of insurgency in north east India

- **Government Measures**
  - Constitutional protection in Sixth Schedule which protected not only the tribal laws, customs and land rights; but also gave sufficient autonomy to the tribes to administer themselves with minimum outside interference.
  - **Protected Area Permit:** Due to security reasons, certain areas have been declared as Protected Area/Restricted Areas where no foreigner can enter or stay without obtaining permit from the competent authorities.
  - **Act east policy:** To enhance economic cooperation with South East Asian countries will benefit North East.
  - **Mizoram peace accord and Naga peace accord:** to bring lasting peace and attaining development in North east.
- **Infrastructural development**
  - **Kaladan Multimodal project** to provide connectivity of North East with rest of India through Mizoram.
  - **Trilateral highway (Moreh (Manipur) - Mandalay - Thailand)** will facilitate north east trade with South east Asia.
  - **North-East Road Sector Development Scheme (NERSDS)** is a region-based road development programme in India.
  - Setting up of Venture Fund as initial capital assistance for any young entrepreneur or start-up who wishes to launch an establishment or venture in the North-Eastern region.
  - **Vision Hydrocarbon 2030** to leverage the hydrocarbon potential for the development of north east. Promotion of horticulture and organic farming in North East, Sikkim has been the first organic state of India.
  - **Nagaland Health Project** to improve health services and increase their utilization by communities in targeted locations in Nagaland.

Kashmir Issue

Timeline of conflict

- **August 1947**: Partition of the Indian subcontinent along religious lines results in the formation of India and Pakistan.
- **October 1947** – The Maharaja of Kashmir signed a treaty of accession with India after attacks by a Pakistani tribal army. Under the Instrument of Accession, a temporary special status was granted to the State under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.
- **1947-48**: War broke out between India and Pakistan over the region.
- **January 1948**: India referred the dispute to the United Nations.
- **August 1948**: UN directed Pakistan to remove its troops, after which India was also to withdraw the bulk of its forces. Once this happened, a “free and fair” plebiscite was to be held to allow the Kashmiri people to decide their future. But a plebiscite could not be held, partly because Pakistan would not withdraw its forces from Pakistan-held Kashmir, and partly because Indo-Pak relations got enmeshed in the Cold War.

- **January 1, 1949**: A ceasefire was agreed, with 65% of the territory under Indian control and the remainder with Pakistan. The ceasefire was intended to be temporary, but the Line of Control remains the de facto border between the two countries.

- **1956**: The Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir ratified the accession of the state to India.

- **1965-66**: A brief war between Indian and Pakistan over Kashmir ends in a ceasefire and signing of the Tashkent agreement.

- **1971-72**: Another Indo-Pakistan war ended in defeat for Pakistan and the formation of the independent nation of Bangladesh (formerly known as East Pakistan) which lead to the 1972 Simla Agreement. This turned the Kashmir ceasefire line into the Line of Control, and both sides pledged to settle their differences through negotiations.

- **Start of insurgency**

- **1987**: Disputed state elections in Jammu and Kashmir gave impetus to a pro-independence insurgency. India accused Pakistan of fomenting the insurgency by dispatching fighters across the Line of Control, which Pakistan denied.


- **1990s**: Violence intensified in Kashmir. Militants carried out ethnic cleansing in the Kashmir Valley, terrorizing non-Muslims, mainly Kashmiri pundits, causing large numbers of people to flee, mainly to Jammu. The Indian military responded with repression to the terrorism, foreign infiltration, and the domestic insurgency, which are now all mixed up. There are allegations of serious human rights abuses on all sides.

- **Recent events**:

  - **March 2015**: India’s ruling BJP party was sworn into government in Kashmir for the first time in coalition with the local People’s Democratic Party.

  - **September 2015**: Muslim separatist leaders in Kashmir closed shops, businesses and government departments in protest at the enforcement of a ban on eating beef.

  - **July 2016**: The killing of Burhan Wani, a popular militant and top commander of the Hizbul Mujahideen group by the security forces sparked violent protests. Subsequently, a curfew was imposed in most parts of Kashmir.

  - **August 2016**: Curfew lifted from most parts of Kashmir. At least 68 civilians and two security officials died and more than 9,000 people were injured in over 50 days of violence according to official tallies.

**Kashmir: Indian and Pakistani narratives:**

- **The Indian view:**
  - Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession in October 1947, handing control of the Kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir over to India.
  - Also, the UN Resolution in 1948 accepted India’s stand regarding all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan.
Pakistan has not removed its military forces from the region, which India views as one of the first steps in implementing a resolution.

India accuses Pakistan of funding military groups in the region to create instability, and accuses Pakistan of waging a proxy war.

According to India, most regions of PoK, especially northern areas, continue to suffer from lack of political recognition, economic development, and basic fundamental rights.

The Pakistani view:

- Pakistan claims that according to the two-nation theory, Kashmir should have been with Pakistan, because it has a Muslim majority.

- Pakistan argues that India has shown disregard to the resolutions of the UN Security Council, and the United Nations Commission in India and Pakistan, by failing to hold a plebiscite.

- Pakistan rejects Indian claims to Kashmir, centering around the Instrument of Accession. Pakistan insists that the Maharaja did not have the support of most Kashmiris. Pakistan also claims that the Maharaja handed over control of Jammu and Kashmir under duress, thus invalidating the legitimacy of the claims.

- Pakistan claims that India violated the Standstill Agreement, and that Indian troops were already in Kashmir before the Instrument of Accession was signed.

Root causes behind the Kashmir unrest

- A confrontation between two nationalisms:
  - For India, the question of Kashmir, is not merely one of retaining a small part of its territory; it impinges on the very basic character of the Indian state and society. If Kashmir seceded from India on grounds of religion, the two-nation theory would seem to have been vindicated. It would strengthen the Hindu communal forces and pose a serious threat to millions of Muslims, whose number in India is larger than even that in Pakistan, making their position in India quite untenable.
  - Since Kashmir is predominantly Muslim, Pakistan believes it should belong to them. Moreover, Kashmir has to be won to justify the religious moral significance of Pakistan’s nationhood.

- Political causes

- Economic Causes
  - Even while militancy was in decline and a free and fair electoral system in place since 2002, the governance deficit remained large. Economic growth in the state almost consistently lagged behind the national growth figures.
  - Widespread unemployment and lack of new job avenues
  - Disintegration of traditional handicrafts
  - Poor industrial setup
  - Declining tourism due to terror attacks
  - Loss of crops due to floods, cloudburst, etc.
  - Issues in rehabilitation of flood victims, etc.

- Social causes

- General disenchantment with constitutional measures
  - A general absence of good and sound administration with allegations of corruption and nepotism coupled with allegations of electoral frauds in the initial years lead to a loss of faith in the legitimacy of the constitutional measures.
  - Laws like AFSPA, regular curfews, presence of armed forces, allegations of human right violations etc have contributed in increasing anger of the people against the state.
A large role for the army in Kashmir has been a necessity in view of Pakistani military threat and subversion; but this has also meant a high cost in terms of the functioning of a civil libertarian polity.

A demand for greater political autonomy for the region

An atmosphere of mistrust:

Fear and mistrust are central to this conflict. Fear of people belonging to another religion having a different value system that threatens one’s own, as well as fear concerning the loss of control or the loss of power. This fear has paralyzed progress towards peace as it works against the one ingredient which is essential for positive change: trust.

Stereotyping

Elites from both India and Pakistan stereotype the opposite country. This is the result of misappropriation of information in the education system as well as in the media. History textbooks, for example, distort history to reinforce a particular image, providing an enduring basis for hatred; children are thus socialized at a young age by what are often blatant factual errors. Similarly, mass media present few programs that humanize the other by reflecting true realities and similarities, focusing instead on stark differences and problems.

External factors:

Pakistan incites the sentiments of Kashmiri people especially youth, carries on cross-border infiltration to spread the unrest and uses terrorism as a diplomatic tool to worsen the situation.

Chinese support to Pakistan in an attempt to balance against India.

Islamist fighters from various countries have declared the conflict a Muslim cause.

Factors which have fuelled unrest in the region in recent times:

- Use of social media for false rumours to instigate youth to lead violent mobs
- Stone pelting on security forces by radicalised and incited youth
- Armed militants mixing with stone-pelting mobs and addressing rallies
- Militants using cover of “agitating mobs” firing at security forces and lobbing grenades, provoking security forces to retaliate
- Attacks/threats on government officers, political representatives and policemen
- No identifiable leadership of protests
- The challenge of radicalization of youth

What should be done?

The core issue is not holding territory, it is giving people confidence in the Indian project.

The border with Pakistan should be defended by all means, taking deterrent action against infiltrators but ‘counter-terrorist operations’ in the Valley should be put on hold.

The presence of the army and paramilitary forces should be reduced and the responsibility of maintaining law and order in the Kashmir Valley should be handed over to the J&K police.

Interlocutors should be appointed to pave the way for talks.

The Central government should begin a dialogue with all the stakeholders including civil society groups, student leaders and eventually the separatists.

Should Article 370 be Removed or Amended?

Applicability of the Constitution of India to J&K


Amendment of Article 370

Under Article 370(3), consent of state legislature and the constituent assembly of the state are also required to amend Article 370. Now the question arises, how can we amend Article 370 when the Constituent Assembly of the state no longer exists? Or, whether it can be amended at all? Some jurists say it can be amended by an amendment act under Article 368 of the Constitution, and the amendment extended under Article 370(1). But it is still a moot question.
Demand for Abrogation of Article 370

Equally valid arguments are forwarded by those in favour of and against its abrogation.

Arguments in favour of Article 370 include:

- It has created certain psychological barriers and it is the root cause of all the problems in J&K.
- This Article encourages secessionist activities within J&K and other parts of the country.
- At the time of enactment, it was a temporary arrangement which was supposed to be repealed gradually.
- It acts as a constant reminder to the Muslims of J&K that they have still to merge with the country.

Arguments Against: The arguments against abrogation of Article 370 include:

- Abrogation will have serious consequences. It will encourage secessionists to demand plebiscite which will lead to internationalisation of the issue of J&K.
- The contention of Article giving rise to secessionist activities is baseless as states like Assam and Punjab, which do not have any special stains have experienced such problems.
- It would not only constitute a violation of the solemn undertaking given by India through the instrument of accession, but would also create unnecessary misgiving in the minds of the people of J&K, making the issue more sensitive.

Should a Referendum be done?

In the present scenario a referendum will be meaningless as a lot has changed in the last 65 years, including the demography of Kashmir as about four lakh Kashmiri Pandits were displaced forcibly in the nineties. Pakistan has never withdrawn its troops from PoK, which was a pre-condition to referendum. Therefore, India should not agree to the demand for referendum.

Why are there Frequent Ceasefire Violations by Pakistan?

Ceasefire violations are planned by the ISI mainly to keep the J&K issue alive, to try to internationalise it, keep the Indian forces engaged and to aid the infiltration of the terrorists into the Indian territory.

Should we Destroy Terrorist Training Camps in Pakistan?

This is a very sensitive issue. We should have complete intelligence about these camps and do surveillance to the extent possible. We should create a pressure on Pakistan to unilaterally destroy these training camps by giving ample proof.

An attempt, to destroy these camps from our side will be termed as war by Pakistan and it will surely internationalise the issue. Therefore, it would be better if we can mount diplomatic pressure on Pakistan to destroy such camps and stop abetting and aiding terrorism in India.

Punjab

The Khalistan movement

The Khalistan movement is a Sikh separatist movement, which seeks to create a separate country called Khalistan (“The Land of the Pure”) in the Punjab region to serve as a homeland for Sikhs. The territorial definition of the proposed country Khalistan consists of both the Punjab, India along with Punjab, Pakistan and includes parts of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, and Rajasthan.

There are two distinct narratives about the origins of the call for Khalistan. One refers to the events within India and the other privileges the role of the Sikh diaspora. Both of these narratives vary in the form of governance proposed for this state (e.g., theocracy vs democracy) as well as the proposed name (Sikhistan, Khalistan). Even the precise geographical borders of the proposed state differs among them although it was generally imagined to be carved out from one of various historical constructions of the Punjab.

The Khalistan movement began as an expatriate venture. In 1971, the first explicit call for Khalistan was made in an advertisement published in the New York Times by an expat Jagjit Singh Chohan. With financial and political support of the Sikh diaspora the movement flourished in the Indian state
of Punjab, which has a Sikh-majority population and reached its zenith in the late 1970s and 1980s, when the secessionist movement caused large-scale violence among the local population including assassination of PM Indira Gandhi and bombing of Air India plane killing 328 passengers.

- Various pro-Khalistan outfits have been involved in a separatist movement against the Government of India ever since. In the 1990s the insurgency petered out, and the movement failed to reach its objective due to multiple reasons including a heavy police crackdown on separatists, divisions among the Sikhs and loss of support from the Sikh population. The extremist violence had started with targeting of the Nirankaris and followed by attack on the government machinery and the Hindus. Ultimately the Sikh terrorists also targeted other Sikhs with opposing viewpoints. This led to further loss of public support and the militants were eventually brought under control of law enforcement agencies by 1993.

- In early 2018, some militant groups were arrested by police in Punjab. Chief Minister of Punjab Amarinder Singh claimed the recent extremism is backed by Pakistan’s ISI and “Khalistani sympathisers” in Canada, Italy, and the UK. There is some support from fringe groups abroad, especially in Canada but the Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has declared that his country would not support the revival of the separatist movement.

### What is Canada’s Role?

- India has often accused Canada of sheltering Sikh separatists.
- Sikhs in Canada form a voting bloc for Trudeau, so much so that he even attended a Khalsa Day parade organized by a radical Gurudwara, or Sikh temple, in Toronto.
- To add to the tensions, 16 Canadian gurdwaras announced a “ban” on the entry of Indian elected officials, consular officials, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and Shiv Sena members, without any action from the Trudeau government.
- Another sore was Mr. Trudeau’s insistence on taking along with him the Ministers in his Cabinet accused of sympathising with the Khalistan movement, like Mr. Sajjan and Navdeep Singh Bains to Amritsar.
- Sikhs, numbering less than half a million, form the largest ethnic group among Indian-origin Canadians. All four of Trudeau’s Indian-origin ministers are Sikh.

### Canada’s View

- Canada’s position is that it cannot curtail the right to freedom of speech and expression of its Sikh citizens.
- However, in a meeting between Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Punjab Chief Minister Amarinder Singh, Trudeau has affirmed that Canada does not support any separatist movement in India or elsewhere.

### Steps taken by government

- Enacting legislative framework such as The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967; The National Security Act, 1980; The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), 1985 and 1987; Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 (POTA)
- Cooperation with USA: In 2011, US-India Homeland Security Dialogue was created, which was the first comprehensive bilateral dialogue on homeland security issues between our two countries. The US Department of State Anti-Terrorism Assistance (ATA) programme also provided training to over 250 Indian law enforcement officers.
- Part of Global Network of Cities on Terror Fight: Mumbai has now become part of this network formed at UN Level that will exchange techniques and develop infrastructure to combat extremism and strengthen their cyber security system.

### What is needed?

- Intelligence Agencies- There is a need for cooperation among centre, state, and international intelligence agencies.
- Proper Surveillance- It is of critical importance to penetrate the networks and sleeper cells of the terrorist organizations to gain actionable intelligence.
INTERNAL SECURITY

- Technology to detect and alert for suspicious activity such as loitering by an individual or vehicle should be made use of.
- Security personnel should be sensitized to spotting and segregating suspicious objects that are left behind.
  - Police, must be effectively trained to deal with this new phenomenon of urban terror.
  - Every state should have a NSG-type of commando force to counter lethal terror strikes.
  - Rehearsals should be periodically undertaken for search-and-rescue operations after large-scale terrorist strikes and different contingencies should be simulated and practiced.

De-Radicalization in India

De-Radicalization has been defined as the process of changing an individual’s belief system, rejecting the extremist ideology, and embracing mainstream values.

Root causes of radicalization:
- Communities struck by poverty, disease, illiteracy, bitter hopelessness
- Social inequality, marginalisation and exclusion
- Political oppression and the violation of basic rights
- Injustices, misery, starvation, drugs, exclusion, prejudices, despair for lack of perspectives

Measures taken
- Counselling of ‘vulnerable and radicalized’ youths as well as their families and propagating ‘moderate’ interpretations of Islam to counter the Islamic State (IS) ideology.
- Various measures like an ‘extremist counseling hotline’, set up recently by Austria, has reportedly drawn the interest of Indian authorities.
- The viability of the US’ counter-radicalisation programmes focused on community outreach and the UK’s Prevent and Channel programmes in the Indian context is being considered.

Further steps needed
- Recognition of problem: Instances of communal violence should not be taken lightly or dismissed as incidents typical to a united but dysfunctional family. India already has a highly radicalised population divided along communal and caste lines
- Involve civil society: The role of civil society can prove crucial in fighting the growing threat of radicalisation. It can foster a sense of belonging and shared identity and reduce real and perceived isolation among members of vulnerable communities and bridge internal community divisions
- Community outreach: There is a need to empower the moderate voice among all communities in order to separate radicals from the general population through effective home-grown community outreach programmes.
- Choke funding: There is also the need to track down the channels for the funding of certain religious organisations that may be spreading the poison of radicalization.
- Prevent politicization of religion: At the administrative level, there is a need to check growing politicisation of religion across the political spectrum by stringent implementation of existing laws and strict compliance of the code of conduct during elections.
- Introduce religious studies as a secular academic discipline in our universities, so that the false religious indoctrination of foreign extremist groups through the Internet can be countered. Religious leaders can also be encouraged to counsel against radicalization.
- Using cyberspace: The importance of developing a strong counter-radicalisation presence in the cyber world cannot be understated, particularly in the country’s regional languages in which ISIS and Al-Qaeda. Various steps have been taken by the states. Maharashtra has rolled out a deradicalisation programme for the minority community in February 2016.
Communal Violence

Secularism-Indian Context

- India is a multi-religious, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural pluralist society. Unity in such diversity is the uniqueness of the Indian society. The Indian Constitution is a precious document of lasting value that preserves the composite culture and promotes the essence of Indian polity. The Constitution through its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, and Directive Principles has created a secular state based on the principle of equality and non-discrimination. The Supreme Court has included ‘secularism’ in its doctrine of the basic structure, which cannot be amended even by the Parliament.

- The Indian model of secularism means equal treatment and equal respect for all religions by the State to endorse communal harmony and religious tolerance. It is basically derived from the doctrines of ‘Sarva Dharm Sambhav’ and Sarva Dharm Sadhav’. Unlike the western model of secularism which envisions complete separation of religion and state, the Indian model is based on non-discrimination and equal participation by the State in all religions.

Factors Responsible for Communal Riots

- The following factors are responsible for communal riots.
  - Historical factors: The history of partition and the two-nation theory have generated a deep sense of communalism and lack of mutual trust among both the communities. It discouraged a harmonious association and peaceful co-existence.
  - Political factors: Divide and rule policy practiced by the British and subsequent vote-bank politics followed by Indian political parties after independence have added to the divide between the communities. Lack of liberal, progressive and modern attitude in both communities has weakened the cause of communal harmony.
  - Educational factors: There is a lack of modern education among a large section of the Indian society. A majority of Indians failed to adopt a scientific and technological approach, hence are reluctant to adopt liberal, progressive values.
  - Socio-economic factors: Due to their educational backwardness, the Muslims have not been represented sufficiently in public services, industry and trade, etc. Their economic status is very low. This causes the feeling of relative deprivation and such feelings contain the seeds of communalism.
  - Psychological factors: Psychological factors play an important role in the development of communalism. Both communities have perceived grudges against each other. There is a sort of fear psychosis amongst Muslims. These lead to communal ill-feelings.
  - Identity crisis or identity factors: There is a feeling that Muslims are reluctant to join the national mainstream. Most of them do not enthusiastically participate in secular nationalist politics and insist on maintaining their separate identity.
  - Cultural factors: Orthodox members of both communities feel that they have a distinct entity with their own cultural pattern, personal laws and thought processes. There are strong elements of conservatism and fundamentalism among both the communities.
  - The ISI factor: It is widely believed that the ISI is directly encouraging and promoting communalism by instigating hard core fundamentalist elements of Indian Muslim community. It is also believed that vulnerable youth are trained by ISI to destabilize India’s internal security by spreading communal venom.
  - Influence of international Pun-Islamic Jehadi movements: Pan-Islamic movements have also been mobilizing anti-India Jehadi sentiments in the context of the Kashmir issue and the Gujarat riots.
  - Demographic factors: Demographic changes in Assam, West Bengal and the Kashmir Valley create opportunities for manipulation of communal sentiments for short-term political objectives.
  - Social media factors: Negative impact of social media in spreading rumours, disinformation, bate-campaign and farming violence.
  - Organized criminal involvement: Underworld criminals like Dawood Ibrahim, Chhota Shakeel, etc. are believed to have a key role in acting as agents of vested interest in instigating communal riots. There is also lack of political and social consciousness towards building a harmonious, coexistent society. We also need to build a nationalistic consciousness where the nation is above everything else.
Lack of strong action: Lack of strong and decisive action by police and factions of biased or delayed action by them arc also a cause. Real perpetrators are rarely punished and there is lack of fear of law that would prevent them from instigating communal riots.

The Way Forward

The following measures need to be implemented to curb the menace of communal violence:

- **Taking pride in our heritage**: The feelings of nationalism should be inculcated in the minds of people by reminding them about the glorious moments of freedom struggle wherein Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were united in the fight against the British to safeguard the interests of the country.

- **Impartial administration and police**: Most riots persist for longer periods because people feel that the administration/police is not impartial. Changing this perception is most crucial for stopping riots. Perceived political interference in administration during communal violence must be eliminated. The directives of police reforms given by the Hon. Supreme Court should be adopted by state Governments in letter and spirit. A fixed tenure of District Magistrate/Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police, SHO and Field officers will make a big difference.

- **Policy of zero-tolerance towards violence**: Government policy and practices should be firm and strict in this regard. It should not be affected by vote-bank politics. Police must take immediate, strong and effective action against those who indulge in violence irrespective of their community. There is an urgent need of not just an effective civil administration but also a speedy judiciary. Strict bail provisions must be made in cases of communal violence on the lines of the NDPS Act.

- **Peace committees**: Peace committees should be mandatory in every area. It should include secular and visionary people from all communities. People with high social standing like doctors, philanthropists and social workers must be engaged with such peace committees. Meetings of peace committee should be organized regularly. The district administration should engage actively with such committees to promote communal harmony.

- **Win people's hearts through media and civil society**: The faith of common people in the local police should be restored with the help of civil society, NGOs and media. Community policing and beat-constable system is also helpful in gathering intelligence and grass-roots information.

- **Sensitise police towards feelings of minorities**: The minority community at large views the police as communal and biased against them. Police must be sensitised to feelings of minorities and build trust.

- **Holistic development of minority communities**: There, should be a sincere effort to ensure that employment and skill development opportunities are available in the economic, educational and social spheres for the minority communities. Efforts should be made for bringing them in the mainstream of Indian society.

- **Impart liberal values**: Government should impart liberal values in our society through our education system. Soft skill development training should be provide to police and administration personnel.

- **Strong legal action**: The police should take adequate steps to identify in advance potential trouble makers and make timely use of preventive sections of law. Those inciting communal feelings must be punished. Provocative speeches by religious leaders in public and media must be dealt with strictly and strong legal action should be taken against them.

- **Positive utilization of social media and mass media for awareness**: The misuse of social media and mass media should be prevented. Efforts should be made through mass media for changing the altitude of people towards other communities. People must be made aware of the evils of communalism. Government should sponsor movies promoting communal harmony and secularism.

- **Proper checks and balances on social media**: Rumours/hate propaganda can be prevented through control of bulk SMSes in times of communal tension.

- **Need to evolve early warning signals to prevent communal flare ups.**

- **Ban on contesting elections**: People charge sheeted in cases of communal violence should be banned from contesting elections.

- **Manpower shortage issue in police**: The number of policemen per one lakh people in India is only 130. The minimum United Nations norm is 220. This gap should be filled.
 INTERNAL SECURITY

- A fair representation of marginalized section of society must police and other security forces.
- Capacity building of police and implementation of police reforms.
- Identification of miscreants and action against provocateurs.
- Videography of riots and strict legal action against rioters.
- Creation of sources in communally sensitive areas.
- Preventing community based ghettos in urban areas.
- Formulating counter-radicalization and de-radicalization policies.

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