

INTERNAL SECURITY IN

INDIA

OM PRAKASH

YADAV

Bihar Administrative Service

omjiyadav@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION- The paper intends to examine the internal security threats owing to caste/class rivalries, terrorist and insurgent outfits in different regions of India. It also marks the intra-regional variations in nature, preferences, causes and intensities of these problems. It further examines the contemporary politics, political malpractices and administrative in-efficiency of the state apparatus.

The paper also intends to suggest some short-term and long-term measures to tackle the menace as well as to weed out these problems. The first hand experiences of the field have also been incorporated in this paper to make it more realistic rather than a drawing room concept. The ideas and suggestions given by some prominent writers, academicians, administrators and ruling elites have also been discussed in this paper. A comparative analysis of situation of different countries facing similar problems has also been made so that drawbacks in our system may be identified and consequently suitable steps can be taken.

BACKGROUND- Although, Internal Security has been an important component in India's National security Management, right from the day we became independent. Initially, it was confined to maintenance of law and order, containment of communal violence and in very few cases, counter-insurgencies. The Internal Security became very important from the very beginning, owing to the legacy, which we inherited from the British rule. India was partitioned in the backdrop of

large-scale communal violence due to reasons best known to all of us. The back ground in which the partition was conceived and operationalised, was bound to have consequences like those which were witnessed in many parts of the country after Independence. Therefore, India was the perhaps the first country of its kind, which faced both an external aggression as well as internal disturbances from the day of its birth. Thus, the concept of The Internal Security came into being simultaneously with the birth of this Nation.

Ved Marwah,¹ while giving a speech in IDSA says that Pakistan was born and still exists on the 'Two Nation Theory'. They found it difficult to accept that India has more Muslim population than that of Pakistan, which still hounds and perturbs them. The humiliating defeat in 1947, 1965 and 1971, have made Pakistan more reactionary and; therefore, it misses no opportunity to club India as an Un-Islamic country, in which Muslims are not safe.

Thus, the continuing tensions between India and Pakistan have a direct bearing on the Internal Security Scenario in India. Therefore, any deliberation on the Internal Security cannot be complete without taking into account the Indo-Pak relations. The Internal Security in India may be discussed in the following broader areas-

INSURGENCY

The country faced another Internal Security problem in form of insurgency from the very outset. The Naga leadership under Z.A. Phizo had challenged their integration into Indian Union even before India became Independent. The Naga insurgency started way back in 1950s and as a matter of fact Mr. Z.A. Phizo had founded Naga National Council in 1947 itself. There are

¹ Ved Marwah's (retired IPS and Ex. Governor, Jharkhand) speech in IDSA, downloaded in website of IDSA.

regional variations in the causes, forms and social chemistry of these insurgencies. Some fight on ethnic ground, whereas; others on linguistic and regional basis. Their demands and principles are also different from each other. The geo-strategic location of North-Eastern States is also congenial for such movements. These states are linked to the rest of the country through a narrow strip of land, sometimes referred as 'chicken neck strip'. The lack of physical, cultural and emotional proximity with these states has also augmented the feeling of alienation of tribal and other people living in these states. The *Natto*-friendly² countries bordering these states also encourage secessionist activities by way of providing arms, ammunitions and shelters to these insurgents. It is an established fact, that many insurgent and secessionist groups are running training camps in these *Natto*-friendly countries.

The roots of insurgency in these North-Eastern States lie in the History and Geography of these areas. The geographic location of all the North-Eastern States has augmented the sense of alienation among these States. The challenge of isolation is historically due to both the physical as well as the accident of partition. The total area of these states is approximately 255,000 sq kilometres, which land locked and is connected to central part of the country through a 22-kilometer corridor. Before partition, there was an overnight journey to Calcutta, but now it takes two to three days in reaching here. Out of seven state's capitals, six do not have train links. These handicaps have further complicated the problem. Apparently, all North-Eastern States seems homogenous, but it would be administratively blunder to treat all of them as a homogenous group. Geographically, these States can be divided into three categories i.e. (a) hills (b) plains (c) plateau.

² Pseudo-friendly

It is not possible to find out the exact number of such insurgent groups, however, there are some outfits, which operate in such states are as follows-

(A) **ASSAM-** Assam has been a trouble spot from Internal Security point of view since Independence. The root cause of problems in Assam is the pressure of influx of illegal migrants, especially from Bangladesh. The large –scale influx of Bangladeshis into this State has been continuing since pre-Independence. It gave rise to a massive movement, called ‘Assam Agitation’ from 1979 to 1985. The main demand of this agitation was to flush out the illegal immigrants from Assam. The period from 1979 to 1985 was a period of turmoil in this State. When Rajiv Gandhi came to power, he tried to solve this vexed problem with utmost sincerity and signed the famous ‘ASSAM ACCORD’ in 1985. This accord that was signed between the Union Government and the representatives of All Assam Students Union (AASU), helped the AGP(Assam Gana Parishad) (ASSU metamorphosed into AGP) came to power, but it too failed to do anything tangible to solve this problem.

This problem of immigration in Assam has reached to alarming proportions. Out of total 27 districts in Assam, 11 have become Muslim majority districts. This demographic upheaval has started manifesting itself in many unforeseen dimensions and spectrums. The enormous pressure on forests have resulted in large-scale deforestation and killing of wildlife in Assam, thus creating serious ecological and environmental problems. This immigration has changed the political scenario also in the sense that out of 126 Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly) constituencies, these immigrants have decisive say in as many as 50 constituencies. The gravity of the problem is such that even the then Governor, Lt.Gen.(Rtd) S.K.Sinha, in a report sent to the Union Government, warned about the serious implication of this influx. The Foreign Minister Mr. Pranab Mukherjee also renounced his denial mode by saying that

this influx is posing serious threats to the Internal Security of India.

The problem is further being demonised due to the presence of Islamic Jihadis. These Jihadis are creating several problems like communalising the situation, augmenting hatred among the communities, trans-border drug trafficking and organised crimes. The intermingling of disruptive elements with the anti-national elements makes the situation more dangerous.

So far as the operation and existence of insurgent groups in Assam is concerned, here are some important organisations operating in the North-East States.

(a) ULFA-In Assam, for example, ULFA, the united liberation front of Assam, was said to have been founded on 7th April, 1979 at Rang ghar, a historic structure from Ahom kingdom. The ideology of ULFA is based on the notion that Assam was never a part of India, and; therefore, its integration to India is wrong. It advocates that establishment of an independent and sovereign Assam is the panacea of all the problems. It; therefore, does not consider itself as a secessionist organisation at all. The War Cry is 'Joi Ai Asom'. Among its prominent leaders are Paresh Baruah, who is so-called the commander-in- chief, Arbinda Rajkhowa, is so-called chairman and Pradip Gogoi is so-called the vice-chairman of this organisation. Some political observers say that ULFA established relationship with NSCN of Nagaland in 1983. After this, the assault capabilities of this organisation increased considerably. Before it could be banned by the Union Government in 1990, it was a big menace in Assam. Even after its ban, it continued its subversive and insurgent activities in clandestine manner. The Ministry of Home sources believe that it has close ties with the ISI of Pakistan and DGFI of Bangladesh, an accusation which ULFA never accepted. The ULFA activists are found to have been involved in bank robberies, extortions and murders of prominent businessman and

political leaders also. Mr. Surendra Paul, the brother of Lord Swaraj Paul³, was believed to have been killed by ULFA. Initially, it was not against any particular community and even people from other states were also living with harmony, but gradually it became hostile towards the non-Assamese speaking people in general and Hindi-speaking Biharis in particular. Several massacres have occurred in Assam on this issue. They have unleashed a reign of terror against people of Bihar in areas like Newbongaigaon, Kokrajhar, Tinsukia and upper Assam. These insurgents have done mayhem in other states also. Such dastardly acts of mayhem are bound to have back-lash in other parts of country. But thanks to the high degree of tolerance and compassion, shown by people of Bihar in this connection, otherwise, situation would have been much precarious. Such types of deplorable acts seriously threaten the Internal Security scenario in India. It is an open secret that organisations like ULFA and many other such organisations perform its activities and finds safe passage into the territories of Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and many such countries. In 2003, the Royal Bhutan Army of Bhutan inflicted heavy casualties on them and almost flushed them out from their territory.

But except this, no other countries have ever shown such gestures, which is a matter of serious concern. It is here, where our diplomacy and strategy fails. We have been very instrumental in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. In fact, this is one of the most important reasons why Pakistan is so inimical to us, but still then, Bangladesh is harbouring terrorists and providing all kinds of logistic support to them. It seems that our policy of appeasement and softness towards terrorists has

³Lord Swaraj Paul, famous business man and Member of House of Lords, U.K.

projected our image as a soft state and therefore, everyone including countries like Bangladesh behaves in this manner.

(b) NDFB – The National Democratic Front of Bodoland is another organisation in Assam. The official Bodoland movement for an Independent State of Bodoland was started by Upendra Nath Brahma on 2nd March, 1987, when he founded ABSU, the All Bodo Student's Union. This organisation also fought against illegal immigration into Assam, because, it, what they said, was changing the demographic pattern of Bodo areas. Incidentally, this movement was stated by AASU (All Assam Student's Union), which came to power after the election which was held after the Assam Accord.

Ironically, the Bodo Movement collapsed after the Bodo Accord, which was signed on February, the 20th, 1993, but the NDFB, which came into being on 03-8-1986 in a village called Odlā Khasbari close to Udalguri in north of river Brahmaputra, continued to fight for a sovereign Bodoland. In fact, its original name was BSF (Bodo Security Force), which changed its name and was called NDFB in 1993. So far as NDFB is concerned, they have stopped their insurgent activities after the ceasefire signed with the Government of India. Another outfit is ULFA which is involved in killings of immigrant labourers, especially who came from Bihar. These militant outfits pose serious threats to our Internal Security, and; therefore, require stable solutions.

(c) UNITED PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY (UPDS) – The two the terrorist organisations Karbi National Volunteers and Karbi People's Front merged in March 1999 and gave birth to UPDS. This organisation was formed by Kiri Rangphar. The main area of operation of this outfit is Karbi Anglong district and some area of North Cachar Hill district. At present this outfit is headed by its Chairman Longder Singer alias H E Kathar and

General Secretary is Heren Sing Bey. This organisation has a publicity secretary also. T.Nonloda and Lindok Rongangh is publicity secretary and Finance secretary respectively.

(d)BLACK WIDOW- This outfit is supposed to be a breakaway faction of the Dimasa outfit (DHD). The full form of DHD is Dima Halim Daogah, which is formed on June, the 24th, 2004 by one Pranab Nunisa. This outfit claims that it is fighting for safeguarding the identity of Dimasa tribe and the declared objective is to create a separate home land for this tribe under the frame of Indian Constitution. This outfit has earned notoriety due to its frequent attack on the railways. On 15th May this Black Widow killed two railway employees and few labourers who were working on railway construction site in North Cachhar area of Assam. Due recent spurt in the activities of this outfit, the developmental and operational works of Railways have been badly affected. In fact, such types of disruptive activities are part of their broader design to get their presence felt and their importance recognised. By attacking the economic and industrial establishments, they strike the very core of our economy. In recent times, Railways are becoming soft targets of such elements. Even in a localised political movement, people tend to attack and disrupt the movement of trains. The problem of the Railway Protection Force (RPF) or railway Protection Security Force (RPSF) is that they have very little or practically no power to deal with such situation. As, the law and order and crime control are the State's subject, therefore; the power to tackle and deal with such activities are vested with the GRP (Government Railway Police). This is one other aspect of Internal Security which the concerned ministry or both the State and Central Government must sort out.

NAGALAND-

- (a) **NSCN (IM) & NSCN (K)** - From the Internal Security stand point, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura are very important. Nagaland was one of the many princely states in India before Independence in 1947. Z.A. Phizo, who formed Naga National Council, went underground in 1956 and continued the insurgent activities. In 1980, National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed in order to establish a greater Nagaland encompassing Manipur, Nagaland and North Cachhar hills of Assam. In 1988, this NSCN split into two splinter groups and became NSCN(IM) and NSCN(K). Issac Moiba became the leader of the first group, whereas; khaplang became leader of the second one. But both the groups are fighting for a sovereign State of Nagaland. The Union Government is negotiating with it with the help of Mr. K. Padmanabhaiya, a retired Home Secretary to the union Government. A ceasefire agreement has also been signed with NSCN (IM) also. This has helped improve the Internal Security scenario a lot in these North-Eastern States but the situation is very fragile. Many insurgent groups are divided into many factions. Their leadership is also not unquestionable amongst themselves too. The long lasting peace is still far away. The peace process should go on, but a long lasting and stable solution to this problem is urgently required. The situation in these states is so complex that demand of one group is against the other. For example, When the Government of India was willing to agree on principle, the creation of a greater Nagaland, generated lot of tension in Manipur. This led to spurt in violence in this state and consequently, fire engulfed other States also. That is why it is said that these North-Eastern States are not homogeneous in its socio-politico chemistry.

Therefore, the Internal Security problems in these States are quite different from rest of others.

The above situation in Nagaland is not only worsening the Internal Security in Nagaland, but due to this it is disturbing the entire socio-politico fabric of North-Eastern States. This situation cannot be allowed to go unabated.

If the number of terrorist and insurgent incidents is taken into account, the figure available with the ministry of MHA suggests that up to Nov, 2007, there have been 266 incidents resulting in killing of 43 civilians. The corresponding figures for 2006 were 282 incidents and killing of 28 civilians. According to the sources, some violence are also due to inter-factional clashes. These figures also suggest that there has been considerable decline in the violence after the ceasefire agreement between the Government of India and NSCN (IM). The Union Government has constituted a Group of Ministers (GOM) to hold talks on substantive issues with NSCN (IM). The talks are continuing. As we know that the ceasefire has been extended indefinitely during the last round of talks on 31st July, 2007.

But the situation is said to be still far from satisfaction, because it is so fragile that even a slightest spark flare up the fire and engulf the adjoining areas.

TRIPURA-

(a) Tripura is the state, which at the farthest tip of eastern part of India. The geo-strategic location of the state of Tripura is such that, this state is always in turmoil. The Chakma problem is very old and is not yet solved. The trouble in this State has its origin in the large-scale migration of Bengali refugee from East Pakistan after partition. This problem has worsened with a continuous influx of Muslim migrants from Bangladesh in recent years. The policy of appeasement and lack of strong political will has further aggravated the scenario. Here are

some prominent and important insurgent organisations-

(1).NLFT (National Liberation Front of Tripura)-

This organisation was formed in December, 1989 for the purpose of seceding from India and forming a sovereign State. This organisation was declared unlawful in 1997 under unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and declared a terrorist organisation under POTA in 2002.

(2).ALL TRIPURA TIGER FORCE. This organisation was formed in 1990. The objective of this organisation was to flush to Bengali speaking people out from Tripura. This was responsible for killing of many Bengali speaking people.

(3).CHAKMA REFUGEE PROBLEM- Chakma Tribal people crossed into Tripura from Bangladesh during pre 1971 army repression and settled in some parts of Tripura. In Tripura, Chakmas are concentrated in Chittgong Hill Tract(CHT) also. India says that let those Chakmas who have come from Bangladesh, should be deported, but Bangladesh is reluctant in accepting it. Thus this issue is still unsettled and these Chakmas are vacillating in this diplomatic impasse. This problem is thus very important from Internal Security point of view and therefore requires immediate solution.

MANIPUR-

Interestingly, literal meaning of Manipur is Jewel-land. But unfortunately, this State is one of the poorest States of India.

There are mainly three tribes in Manipur. The Kuki and The Nagas inhabit the hills, whereas; the Meiteis lives in the valley. Kukis and Nagas have been declared Scheduled Tribes as they mostly lived in the hills, whereas; the Meiteis, who were converted to Vaishnavite Hinduism in early 17th century, were not given the status of Scheduled

Tribe. This decision proved fatal in the long run. On the one hand the conferment of status to the Kukis and Nagas helped them a lot in getting Government jobs and other economic activities, the Meiteis felt aggrieved and cheated. The bickering gradually developed into hatred and the youths started taking to the path secessionism. Manipur had an old history of left-Extremism but its steering towards secessionism and Terrorism was a post independence development. Although, agriculture is the main occupation of Manipur, this state is also rich in natural resources like oil and natural gases, which could not be explored. The common people blamed New Delhi for this and squarely blamed the Central Government for this lackesaidial and indifferent attitude. The economic unrest and resentment were perhaps the most important reason for rise of secessionism and Terrorism in Manipur. It was in this background, a young and educated Meiteis named N. Bisheshwar, who had left leaning, formed the People's Liberation Army and wage a war against India to liberate from it. This is how the economic underdevelopment led to economic unrest and economic unrest developed into political alienation and finally, as it often happens, metamorphosed into Secessionism and Terrorism. The first incident of an act of Terrorism was reported in the year 1978, when cycle borne youths killed two police men and escaped in the broad day light.

- (1) **PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY-** this is a very old insurgent organisation and was formed by one N. Bisheshwar Singh on 25th September, 1978. The aim of this organisation is to secede from India and create a separate Sovereign State of Manipur. This organisation believes that India had annexed

Manipur on 15th October 1949, through what they call, an illegal and unconstitutional agreement signed between India and the then rulers of Manipur. This organisation works on the concept of unification of all ethnic and linguistic tribes in the Northern States and carves out an Independent and sovereign Country.

From 1978 till August, 1994, this entire secessionist and terrorist activities revolved round this man. There were so many ups and downs during this period. In fact, after Assam Accord, situation in many North-Eastern States including Manipur showed signs of improvement, but unfortunately it too was short-lived. The years 1979-81 were peak period for Terrorism in this State, as there was unprecedented rise in the number of terrorist attacks reported, but after that, there were some signs of improvement. Bisheshwar Singh was persuaded to participate in the political process and work over ground. He did it and won election and become MLA in 1983. He was even willing to merge his PLA with Cong (I), but unfortunately it could not happen. After few years, he became disillusioned and eschewed democratic politics. This frustration was perhaps due to prevailing political condition which was common in almost all North-Eastern States. With the death of this disillusioned man in 1994, one phase of insurgency in the State of Manipur was over.

In 1994 Mr. Rishang Keishing was imposed by cong high command as the Chief Minister of Manipur, which displeased the then Governor Mr. Nanyar, who finally resigned in resentment. As a matter of fact, this kind of political game in which horse trading and all possible unfair practises were encouraged, did more harm to the politics,

democracy, nation and on the whole to the common people, instead of rendering good to the people and democracy. But unfortunately, such political games are still played without thinking that it ultimately tears up the social and political fabric of our country. Such type of politics has helped develop a situation in North-East region which proved very helpful and conducive to the insurgency. It is very shocking to learn that such power games are being played even today and it seems that our political masters have not taken any lesson from previous mistakes.

If one looks into the politics of chair in North-Eastern States, one can find that there are some and same people in coterie who are always in power, no matter which political party is in the power. They are adept in these games and know how to remain in the power. Such people claim to be the real representative of common people, but actually they represent only the interest of a very small segment. This type of situation is very harmful for our system, because it boosts separatist, fissiparous and secessionist tendencies. This is the crux of the problem here.

The very essence and ethos of democracy has failed to reach to the bottom and the insurgents, terrorists and secessionists harbour on the disillusionment which develops due to such conditions. Undoubtedly, it is threatening our Internal Security scenario, but unfortunately, instead of finding out the root cause, all are engaged in cosmetic and drawing room surgery and doing patch work here and there.

One will be surprised to know that more than 25-30 active, hyperactive and inactive terrorist / insurgent organisations are there in the

State Manipur itself. It is astonishing to learn about their well-knit organisation and hierarchical structures. Sometimes they work better than many intelligent and security organisations and that is perhaps they are flourishing and even getting support of common people also. Some of these organisations which are operating are listed below-

- i) Kanleipak communist party (KCP)
- ii) Kanglei Yawol Kanna Lup (KYKL)
- iii) Manipur people's Liberation Front (MPLF)
- iv) United National Liberation Front (UNLF)
- v) Hmar People's Convention- Democracy (HPC-D)
- vi) Kuki Liberation Army (KLA)
- vii) Kuki National Army (KNA)
- viii) Kuki Revolutionary Army (KRA)
- ix) Zomi Revolutionary Army (ZRA)
- x) Chin Kuki Revolutionary Front (CKRF)
- xi) Hmar People's Convention (HPC)
- xii) Indigenous People's Revolutionary Alliance(IPRA)
- xiii) Iripak Kanba Lup (IKL)
- xiv) Islamic Revolutionary Front (IRF)
- xv) Kuki Defence Force (KDF)
- xvi) Kom Rem People's Convention (KRPC)
- xvii) Manipur Liberation Tiger Army (MLTA)

MIZORAM-

The insurgency and Terrorism in Mizoram is different from the rest of the North-Eastern States on many grounds. Firstly, there is less number of insurgent groups here in comparison with any other North-Eastern States, and secondly, the bitter inter-group fighting is conspicuously absent here. The entire story of insurgency, Terrorism and finally political formation revolves around Laldenga and

his associate, Baikchunga. And last, but not the least, at least two political persons from the Mizoram soil took birth, who helped taking out this State from the tentacles of Insurgency and Terrorism. They are Brig. Thenpunga Sailo and Lalthanwalla. These two persons deserve more credit than anybody else, because, they could earn the amount of faith of the Mizo people and commanded the kind of respect of theirs, which was conspicuously absent in any leader or even insurgent groups in the North-Eastern States. Had these two persons not played their vital roles and shown political sagacity, things would have certainly not been so, as it is today. It is not out of context to mention here that Brig. T. Sailo was an honest and true Christian, who had a very good reputation among the common people of Mizoram. He was held under MISA also, and therefore; people were very sympathetic to him. The election held in 1978, gave Brig. T. Sailo a golden chance to win over the people and prepare congenial environment in this strife torn UT. He won a comfortable majority and became CM in 1978 and held the rein of Mizoram during the period when such an honest leader was urgently required. Although, he was novice as far as politics is concerned, but certainly, he was an honest and a straightforward man. On the other hand, Lalthanwalla was political very mature and generous. The kind of political sacrifice made by him after signing of Mizo Accord, is something a very rare thing in the recent political history of India. He voluntarily resigned from the Chief Minister ship to pave way for Mr Laldenga to be sworn-in as the interim CM of Mizoram in 1986, because post of interim CM ship to Laldenga was the most important precondition for signing this

Accord. Thus, the statesmanship of these two persons should be praised, because such type of political sagacity is unheard in the contemporary politics. Unfortunately, the history forgot to debit adequate number of medals in their accounts.

But, like all other North-Eastern States, this state also share the same story of inept and novice handling of situation by the Union Government. The physical distance of this state made political leadership so indifferent that when MNF declared this Independence of Mizoram on 1st March 1966, Government of India and State Government of Assam could not react till the passage of 48 hours. It was only 2nd March, that the Union Government wake up from slumber and acted. In handling the situation aftermath the declaration of Independence in 1966, also alienate the common people. The air bombarding of Aizawal by Indian Air Force in March 1966, still hurts the psyche of the people of Mizoram. The alienation of Mizo people, their political disenchantment and bewilderment say the same stereo type story of non-committal bureaucracy, naive, inept and insensible political leadership and inter and intra-regional economic inequality. Before conferment of Statehood on it, Mizoram was part of the State of Assam. The hills of Mizoram were earlier known as 'Lushai Hills'. This strategically important territory was located on the India's eastern most borders with Myanmar and Bangladesh.

It is not in the purview of this work to go into the historical dimension of this State, but to peep into the reasons and circumstance which helped and nourished the insurgency and Terrorism in this beautiful territory. The year 1960 is a very important year, because due to inept handling of

the infamous famine which swept across this hill area during this period. The State Government of Assam failed to provide adequate relief and succour to the tribal people living out here. Mizo people remember this period as 'Mautam' in history. The failure on part of the Government to come to help out people gradually metamorphosed into frustration and anger. There were reports of death due to starvation, but Government, instead of making appropriate arrangements, was busy in cover up reports. As a protest against the inadequate relief measures, many Mizo Union MLAs resigned from the Assam Congress Legislature Party and criticised and opposed the Government vehemently. One voluntary welfare organisation, named Mizo National Famine Front was formed to help the suffering people. This marked the beginning of the process of crystallisation of anger and frustration of Mizo people. The formation of this organisation bolstered the morale of the people who were not happy with the treatment being meted out to them by the State as well as union Government. With the kind of support this organisation received, encouraged the people in general and youth in particular. Consequently, on 22nd October 1961 this organisation was converted into a political outfit named Mizo National Front (MNF). With this process of alienation and bewilderment started taking shapes in this hilly terrain. Laldenga remained undisputed leader of MNF till his death. But thanks to the efforts of Brig. T. Sailo and Lalthanwalla who brought the situation to normal. Once the political process started in the state, the insurgency and Terrorism took the back seat.

By and large similar situation exists in almost all the north eastern states. The political, cultural and

administrative alienation of these states must stop. The earlier strategy of pumping more and more money into these states has failed to give desired results. According to one reliable report, about seventy percent of the special aid from the Central Government is spent for payment of salary and other non-plan revenue expenditures. In fact, much part of this aid is siphoned off to insurgent groups also.

B. TERRORISM-

1. The modern English term 'Terrorism' dates back to January, 1795, when it was used by 'The Times of London' to describe the actions of JACOBIN CLUB in their rule of post-revolutionary France, the so-called 'Reign of Terror'. The term Terrorism comes from the Latin word '*terrere*', which means to frighten. There are hundreds of different definitions of the word "Terrorism"; therefore, universal definition of this word is nearly impossible. For example, the US Army has counted as many as 109 definitions of Terrorism in 22 different countries. It is therefore, needless to discuss upon it.

Even the United Nations and its agencies have been discussing and debating in order to find out a universal definition of Terrorism since its formation, it has yet to reach on a consensus. The reason behind is that while one group perceive the act of Terrorism as an act of liberation, whereas the other group which opposes it, terms it as an act of Terrorism. This diametrically opposite perception of different groups is the main cause due to which no universally accepted definition of Terrorism could be found. This non-consensus is however no hurdle in finding the

causes and the after effects of Terrorism. Some political observers and social scientists are of the opinion that the social disillusionment and political alienation are the root causes of rise of Terrorism everywhere in the world including India. Some security analysts and defence strategists believe that inadequate security environment for citizens are the main cause for rise and growth of Terrorism in India. They believe that these terrorists could have been nipped in the bud, but due to lack of political will and inconsistent approach of security agencies, helped Terrorism grow and flourish.

So far as terrorism in India is concerned, some people are of the opinion that the Terrorism in India is a 1980s phenomenon. Saint Jarnail Singh Bhinderwale of Punjab is sometimes tagged as the harbinger of Terrorism in India. It was during this period that the Khalistani Terrorism raised its ugly rabid faces. In middle of 1980s, it reached to new heights. The then PM Smt Indira Gandhi resorted to military operation, known as 'operation blue star', to flush out the terrorists from the 'Golden Temple'. After this operation, the intensity and magnitude of Terrorism gained in momentum. It spread in other parts of the country, in one form or the other. Initially, it was financed by Indian Diaspora, but later it received support from many quarters. The terrorists could touch the sentiments of young Sikhs to such an extent that many of them regarded Indira Gandhi as the perpetrator of atrocities on the Sikhs. This hatred manifested in the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1984, by her Sikh body guards in her official residence at New Delhi. This dastardly act was turning point in the history of Internal Security in India. The anti-Sikhs riots, which followed after this assassination, added new dimensions and gave rise to new spectrums in the Internal Security scenario in

India. The infamous riots, which engulfed many parts of the country, left thousands of people dead and hundreds of thousands of people homeless. There was a mass exodus of Sikhs from many parts of the country. New Delhi, Bokaro, Ranchi, Ramgarh, Kanpur and many other such parts witnessed unprecedented violence. In many such riots, local politicians and goons were reportedly involved. Even after several years, the scar could not be healed.

So many commissions constituted and enquiries held, but hardly any culprit could be punished. All these developments have had direct bearing on the Internal Security scenario in India.

REFLECTIONS ON TERRORISM:

But these are too simple propositions to be universally accepted. The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in different parts of the globe has rejected all such stereo type perceptions and propositions regarding Terrorism. Osama Bin Laden, the world's most dreaded terrorist, is a billionaire and is a son of economically and politically powerful Saudi business man. If American reports are to be believed, Laden is a qualified Technocrat. The stereo type reason for rise of Taleban in Afghanistan is also not convincing. There are some other ideological and ethnic-religious reasons for rise of Islamic fundamentalism. This type of Terrorism, according to some scholars, is heading towards clash of civilization. Henry Kissinger, the famous American Statesman is of the opinion that the Islamic fundamentalism type of Terrorism is the biggest and gravest threat, the globe has ever faced.

Ved Marwah⁴ states (Uncivil Wars Pathology of Terrorism in India) that Terrorism creates a psychological state of extreme fear and anxiety totally out of proportion to the physical damage it causes in terms of loss of life and property. He further elaborates that the total number of casualties as a result of terrorist acts or due to counter-terrorist action by the security forces is only a fraction of what could be caused during a conventional war, even in one being fought between two small powers, or during a civil war. The number of persons killed during the riots in Delhi which followed Mrs. Gandhi's assassination in 1984 exceeds by far the total casualties caused by terrorist acts in Delhi committed in the last decade and a half. Yet, it is terrorist killing, which created more fear and panic than anything the city had ever experienced before. Over 3000 persons were killed during the riots in Delhi in 1984, and the total number of persons killed, since 1980, by terrorist acts in Delhi does not exceed 100. The terrorist shootout at a Greater Kailash house during a birthday party in 1987, in which about ten persons lost their lives, terrified the people of Delhi to such an extent, that they continued to suffer from a tremendous sense of insecurity for days and months after this incident.

Terrorism, as a phenomenon is not a sudden and an abrupt development; rather it is a process which developed in phases over a period of time. In fact, it seems that it developed in a systematic manner in different parts of the globe.

⁴ Ved Marwah, **Uncivil War**, INDUS, an imprint of Harper Collins publishers India Limited, New Delhi.

The early twentieth century witnessed the process of decolonisation in many parts of the world including Asia. The middle of twentieth century was very important for spread of democracy in the world. The post 2nd world war period harbingered democratic wave and blew across Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe. Popular Governments were established and these countries embarked on the path of economic and social development.

In the 2nd phase, in some countries, democracy started facing rough weathers due to a variety of politico-economic-social upheavals. The failure of Governments in many countries in Africa, South-Asia, Middle East, and South-East Asia, led to development of political disillusionment among citizens of these countries. Gradually, this situation metamorphosed into large scale alienation, which in turn converted into political disenchantment among large sections of the society. When legal political process fails, illegal non-political agenda sets in. The extremists and Naxalites took advantage of such situations in many countries including India. Rise of such type situation is not simply a law and order problem.

It seems that when India became independent, the process of democratisation started. It was a healthy trend, because it is the prerequisite of Democracy. In later phase, this process was hindered due to unequal economic development. The distorted and faulty economic development resulted in inter-regional, intra-regional, inter-personal economic disparity, which started manifesting in unforeseen aberrations in the process of democratisation. After this, the process of much talked 'Criminalisation of Politics' started. Ultimately, this metamorphosed into 'Politicisation of Criminals' itself. This process was almost complete in 1980s. The period from 1980 to

2000 A.D. witnessed the birth and rise of many criminals in politics. It is needless to count and enlist the names of those who entered the politics and rose to power during this period. In fact, almost all states are facing the same problem of political disenchantment and disillusionment. This situation itself is not a problem as such, but it provides a fertile ground to cultivate Extremism, Naxalism and finally Terrorism. One may disagree with it by stating that Terrorism is also spreading in countries where such situations do not exist. It may be true to some extent also. But so far as India is concerned, there is not denying the fact the situation in India is different from any other European Countries where Terrorism is spreading its tentacles.

People's Participation in democratic institutions: The point, I am trying to make is that the majority of people in this country have not yet been given the kind of participation in the higher democratic institutions like Parliament and State Legislature as it should have been. If you go through the list of elected members of Lok Sabha and nominated and elected (through proportional representation) members of Rajya Sabha, you will find that these institutions, especially the Upper House of Parliament and State Legislatures have been captured by few people or few families of political oligarchy. It is not very surprising that the same faces are common place in these houses, and you will often find that the same people are getting elected and nominated in these 'Upper Houses'. In fact, the very purpose of creation of upper house seems to have been defeated. One can read, what a common people think in this regard. They are disenchanted by this state of affairs.

There was a lot of hue and cry to tackle this menace. Every political party talked about it but none did anything tangible in this regard. Ultimately, it confined to nothing more than mud-slinging amongst the politicians. The common people were watching all these things very minutely and carefully. The failure on part of the system to rectify this aberration was a severe blow on the process of democratisation of democracy. This failure further accelerated the pace of political disillusionment and disenchantment in the country.

Impact of Globalisation (a context of Bihar): The post 1990 phase witnessed a new phenomenon in India. In was during this period the famous or infamous process of LPG(LIBERALISATION, PRIVATISATION AND GLOBALISATION) started. Although, this process was supposed to be confined to economic arena, it was bound to have its effect on other facets of society. The political process and political parties could not remain unaffected by this process. This period saw emergence of a new trend in almost every national as well as regional political parties. Almost all political parties brought to fore front leaders of non-existent grass root base and gave them important assignments in the parties. Some of them were made general secretaries, vice-presidents and many as 'Spokespersons'. This trend is being witnessed in almost all the political parties. Even so-called cadre based political parties are not exception to this trend. These developments and trend have made profound negative impact on the process of democratisation of our political system. The benefits of participatory democracy failed to reach to most of the common people and it is being monopolised by few persons or at the best few families. Gradually, this process started frustrating many people and their alienation started. Some of them tend to be attracted by

extremist's ideology and some gone astray in other ways. One has to understand the rise and growth of Naxalism, Extremism and Terrorism. One can take the example of Bihar itself. This state is infamous for all sorts of violence. Large-scale violence during elections is a common feature. When Panchayati Raj elections were held in 2001 A.D. after a gap of 25 years in this state, there were large scale violence. In fact according to State Election Commission,⁵ Patna the total number of deaths during 2001 Panchayati Raj election were 48, whereas in 2006 Panchayati Raj elections it down to 16 only . it is pertinent to mention here that in the 2001 election, there was no provision of reservation for other Backward classes. But in 2006 Panchayati Raj elections, 27% seats were reserved for Backward Classes and 50% seats were reserved for women. The Nitish kumar's Government enacted Panchayati Raj Act, 2006 and took a historic step by providing the above mentioned reservations. In 2001 I was posted as an Executive Magistrate in Munger and was also in-charge of Panchayati Raj election here. During 2006 Panchayati Raj Elections, I was posted as an Executive Magistrate in Motihari, one of the most disturbed and Naxalite prone districts of this state. Thus, I could compare the difference between the elections held in 2001 and 2006. I could perceive the amazing effects of the reservation policy. Rural women were enthusiastic and overwhelmed in this election, as many of them were fighting to become Panchayat heads, Mukhiyas and Members of District Boards. I found that many Naxalites, either fought themselves or they pitched

⁵ Bihar State Election Commission, Report on Number of Deaths in 2001 and 2006 Panchayati Raj Elections, BSEC, Patna.

their wives in the electoral fray. Needless to mention here, that most of the Naxalites belong to the Backward Classes and Scheduled Castes for obvious reasons. Since, most of them were either fighting themselves or campaigning for their women candidates, the incidents of violence were drastically reduced. This move of the Government was highly appreciated across the country by many sections of the society. If this step can help bring down political violence to such a great extent, why is this theory not be implemented on the Parliamentary election? The above mentioned reservation has brought in a silent revolution in Bihar. That is why many people are saying that this state is changing.

The point I am trying to make is that, unless large-scale participation of poor and neglected people is ensured, the democracy will not succeed. The has come when the mentor of this Nation i.e. the political leaders will have to think in terms of making some constitutional amendments to do away with the system of back door entry into Parliament. The state legislatures will have to be made more open for the people sitting at the fence. Laws should be made to prevent one person becoming MPs or MLAs for more than twice. National debates should be started and consensus should be arrived at on the issue of abolishing the upper house itself. One may not agree to my stand point, but it is said that extra-ordinary situation demands extra-ordinary steps. Most of the upper houses have become house of back door entry into active politics. The politicians who lost elections, find entry in these upper houses. This has sent a very wrong signal amongst the common people. By and large, they have formed an opinion that political power is meant for few people who belong to that class. If you look at the constitution of Rajya Sabha, you will find that the same flock of people find place

in it. It is very surprising to find that some people are continuing for more than a decade. This is a sad situation and must change. If we want to keep our democracy vibrant and resilient, it must come up to the expectation of the common people, because the very tenet of democracy lies in the common people and not in a selected group of people. It is in this perspective that the entire problem should be analysed and understood. To put it in a more simple way, this kind of sense of alienation and political disillusionment ultimately metamorphosed into violent form like Extremism and Terrorism.

2. JAMMU & KASHMIR- The geo-strategic location of this State is such, that it had been the bone of contention between India and Pakistan, from the date of partition itself. Pakistan is not prepared to accept its accession to India, whereas; India's official stand is that it is the integral part of India. This issue became further complicated owing to its reference to the United Nations. The controversial resolution which was passed by the UN, had internationalised this bilateral issue. India fought three wars against Pakistan and inflicted heavy casualties on them. The 1970 Indo-Pak war and subsequent signing of Shimla Agreement in 1970, left Pakistan frustrated and humiliated. They changed their strategy and the focussed was now shifted from pitched battle to proxy war. This shift in strategy, cost India dearly, because the number of loss of life was far more than that in the conventional war. In fact, it was the post Shimla Agreement phase which witnessed birth of Terrorism, in an institutionalised manner. Mr. Jagmohan⁶, in his famous book 'MY FROZEN TURBULENCE IN KASHMIR', has described the politic- administrative situation in J&K, which

⁶ Jagmohan, **My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir**, Allied Publishers 15 JN Heredia Marg, Bellard Estate, Bombay 400038.

proved to be conducive and congenial for the rise of Terrorism here. In brief, the fragile situation in this State remained a major threat for the Internal Security scenario in India.

The abduction of Dr. Rubiya Sayeed, the daughter of the then Home Minister, Mr. Mufti Md Sayeed and her subsequent release in lieu of many hard-core and dreaded terrorists, was again a major turning point in the history of the Internal Security in India. This was perhaps the first incidence of its kind, in which the entire Country was made to bow down before the terrorists. It portrayed India, as a soft state, which can be bowed down to feet under such pressure. This marked the beginning of a new, but a very dangerous trend in the J&K, which further deteriorated the situation not only in this state but in rest of the country also. This soft attitude of the Government emboldened the confidence of the terrorists to such an extent, that they hijacked the Air India plane and demanded the release of one of the most dreaded terrorists, Maulana Mahmud Azhar, in exchange of the passengers on board at Kandahar, a city in Afghanistan. It is pertinent to mention here that it is this Maulana Azhar who formed Jas-e-Mohammed (JES), which proved to be a major problem in India. After only a few years, this JES unleashed a reign of terror in many parts in India, including J&K.

Gradually, the situation in J&K went on worsening, which encouraged large scale and systematic infiltration of terrorists from across the border. This period also witnessed the emergence of several terrorist organisations like LET, JEM, HUJI, Harkat-ul-Ansar etc. These outfits joined their hands with IIF(International Islamic Front), which was founded by Osama-Bin-Laden in 1988. It is this IIF, which later came to be known as Al-Qaida. This is how the process of Internationalisation of Terrorism was completed.

The period from 1989-2001, saw following challenges for Internal Security policy makers-

- a. **The Emulation of Afgan Mujahiddin** by some groups in J&K- This enriched the assault capability of the Terrorists in J&K.
- b. **Fiyadeen Attacks-** Till 1990, the terrorists in India used conventional tactics in carrying out the terrorists operation. In this technique the casualties use to be less than what is today. The principle in this tactics was to spread terror. Immediately after such acts of violence, the outfits claimed the responsibility. Thus there use to be a rush for claiming responsibilities. In this tactics, the number of casualties was less in comparison to what is today. 1990s witnessed a paradigm shift in the technique of the Terrorists. Now they adopted suicidal attack on the targets. This type of violence had twin benefits. On the one hand the number of casualties in such attacks is far more than the earlier method; on the other it spread more panic. In this method the terrorists were least concerned about the death of their fellow terrorists. **Mr.C.L.Steten**,⁷ in his paper says “In the 90’s that has all changed in a most fatal way. Non-State terrorists of the 90’s and in this new 21st century no longer seem concerned about public opinion of them. Instead, they appear only concerned about increasing the body counts of their perceived enemies. And, to further complicate matters, they no longer have an expectation of surviving their murderous attacks. The terrorists of today also do not claim responsibility for their acts. Or, they engage in misdirection about who might have carried it out. The stakes have undoubtedly been raised. Why is this a paradigm change, the reader may ask? Is it because of an increased number of casualties? No ... that is only a

⁷ Mr.C.L.Steten, ERRI Sr. National Security Analyst stated (ERRI Daily Intelligent Report-ERRI Risk Assessment Service-Monday, April 8, 2002-vol.8, No.098-09:00 CDT)

terrorist intended by-product of the this latest trend. Instead, what has changed, from an anti/ counter-terrorist and national security perspective is the fact that previously unthinkable acts are now possible. A major example of that was provided on September 11th, 2001 as suicide hijackers crashed planes into the World Trade Center, Pentagon and a field in Pennsylvania. What previously unimaginable is now possible.”

This technique of terrorists is a zero failure rate. It was used on Indian soil for the first time by LTTE on Rajiv Gandhi at Sriperumbdur, in the State Tamil Nadu. Later on this method became very popular amongst the Islamic terrorist organisations. Even US forces in Iraq are falling prey to such Fiyadeen attacks. There is mechanism or apparatus to detect and defuse such attacks. The scientists and technicians are working to evolve such techniques and methods, so that such attacks can be aborted and plans be thwarted.

- c. **Maritime Terrorism-** this type of Terrorism is a major threat to Internal Security in a country like India, which has vast coastal areas. Paul Bracken, the ex. Director, CIA, has described in detail in his book “Fire in the East “about the Maritime Terrorism. He said that the terrorists have implanted sea mines in the sea bed in large numbers. All such bombs are in state of hibernation and can explode even after many years. Mr. Says that such types of mines are far more powerful and can cause more devastation than any conventional land mine. The life of such mines is also longer than any other mine, therefore; a country like India, which has vast coastal area, is more prone and susceptible to this problem. Unfortunately, right now, we do not have any device to identify and defuse such mines.
- d. **Economic Terrorism-** The nexus between terrorists, mafia and fundamentalists have added new dimension in it. The attack on Mumbai, the financial capital of the country in 1993 was the first incident of this kind. After

this attack, the terrorists targeted many important financial and industrial organisations in order to injure the financial and economic health of the Nation. It is said that the serial Mumbai blast in 1993 slowed and decelerated the economic growth in India. After a gap of more than a decade, the terrorists again attacked Mumbai in 2007. This time they targeted local trains and local buses. Their purpose is to bring the fast moving Indian economy to a grinding halt. The attack on foreign tourists and tourist places in parts of J&K are well conceived idea of these forces, which want to weaken this country. This is again a new aspect in the concept of Internal Security in India. India is emerging a big power in computer technology. The IT industry of India is second to none. The Indian software technology is a widely accepted reality. The terrorists have started attacking it also. Cyber Crime, Hacking, and other cyber crimes have posed serious threats to the Internal Security in India.

- e. **NARCO-TERRORISM**- The 'Golden Crescent' and 'Golden Triangle' in India's neighbourhood, threaten our Internal Security. The drug trafficking and organised crimes are somewhat inseparable from each other. Although Drug trafficking itself is not a serious threat to Security scenario, but since it fosters organised crimes, it assumes a great significance vis-à-vis Internal Security.
- f. **NEXUS BETWEEN PAKISTAN BASED TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS AND THE ISI**- Trans-National mafia led by Dawood Ibrahim and others is another big threat and concern for our Internal Security. The proxy war started by Pakistan and its association with Trans-National has added a new dimension in our security concern. They have been using this nexus as a conduit to send Arms, Ammunitions and fake currencies into India. Such is the nexus and communication and intelligent system of Dawood that Indian security agencies are hunting for him for the last two decade but has not yet succeeded. Even the US government has declared Dawood as the most dreaded

and most wanted criminal. Interpol has also issued red corner notice against him. There are solid evidences against him in 1990s serial bombings in Bombay.

- g. **ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION FROM BANGLADESH-** This immigration has started way back in 1971 itself even before Indo-Pak war. Initially this immigration was confined to Hindu minority, but later on Muslim population also started immigrating into Indian soil in search bread and better life. Mr.Arun Shourie in his book 'A Secular Agenda' has tried to portray a picture of this problem with the help of census figures. The bordering areas of Bangladesh have been experiencing remarkable changes in the demographic pattern over a period of quite time. Some fundamental elements in Bangladesh have given a slogan "**RO KE DILEN PAKISTAN, HAS KE DEBEN HINDUSTAN**". It means that they will change the demographic pattern in some parts of India in such a way that it will happily secede to Bangladesh. Such is the nefarious design of the enemies; therefore, it should be nipped in the bud itself. Internal Security agencies like RAW and IB have time and again given reports to MHA(Ministry of Home Affairs) about this illegal immigration. They have mentioned that about seventy lakh illegal Bangladeshis are living in different parts of India. Few years back the then DG Police of State of WB had said that approximately seven lakh such immigrants are living in various districts of WB. But due to political compulsions, no concrete step in this regard could be taken yet. The Government of Bangladesh however deny this and say that not even a single illegal immigrant is living in India. One may differ in numbers of such immigrants but this station is a fact which no sensible person can deny. The ethnic and linguistic profile of people living on Indo-Bangladesh border is such that it is very difficult to differentiate between the two. This resemblance helps these immigrants to assimilate into local population very easily. As a matter of fact, due to this resemblance, this

immigration is very difficult to be checked and stopped. Most of them have become successful in getting their names enlisted in the voter's list also. They could get even ration cards and are eating up the PDS food grains meant for BPL families. Vested interests in our political and bureaucratic system have helped this process to flourish and grow. Our is a democratic state and the soft and compromising attitude of ours, have allowing the situation going from bad to worse. The human Rightists and other such organisations have made the task of security and intelligence agencies more difficult in identifying and deporting these people into Bangladesh. Some reports say that even some elements in BSF also, are involved in this illegal immigration. This problem has been systematised and institutionalised gradually and now it has assumed alarming proportions. This situation is a serious concern for our Internal Security. A strong political will is needed to cope with this problem.

- h. **ISLAMIC BOMB AND TERRORISM-** The startling revelation of Dr. Abdul Qadir Khan, the father of Pakistan 'Atom Bomb' about the deliberate transfer of nuclear technology to some 'rogue' countries have raise many doubts. Now, one cannot deny the leakage of such technologies to terrorists organisations. The threat of use of nuclear weapons against some western countries and USA by some terrorists organisation is not a hollow threat. The possibility of use of WMD by terrorists organisation like Al-Quida should not be ruled out. This development is a serious threat to our Internal Security and should be taken into consideration in framing any policy regarding Internal Security.
- i. **ATTACK ON RELEGIOUS PLACES-** Recent attacks on Mecca Masjid in Hyderabad, Sankat Mochan temple in Varanasi, Akshardham Mandir in Gujrat, Jama Masjid in New Delhi etc are examples of well-knit and well conceived nefarious designs of the terrorists. The purpose is to flare up communal sentiments in the country. Thanks

to the high degree of tolerance and compassion shown by both the communities, which frustrated the evil designs of the terrorists. These activities are serious threats to the Internal Security scenario and also putting in extra strain on our security forces. Dr. Amarjeet Singh and Th.Khrushchev Singh have made research in this regard and their paper is published in on 15th October, 2007 titled "A Pattern of Terrorist Strikes on Places of Worship"⁸ for Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis (IDSA). The following list is extracted from it.

Below is a list of prominent incidents of attacks on places of worships in the last few years across the country:

- October 11, 2007: bomb explosion at the Sufi shrine of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti at Ajmer in Rajasthan.
- May 18, 2007: three bombs were emplaced at the Mecca Masjid in Hyderabad though fortunately only one exploded.
- September 8, 2006: the Nurani Masjid at Malegaon in Maharashtra was targeted with three bombs; 40 people were killed and about 100 others were injured.
- August 16, 2006: unidentified terrorists lobbed a grenade into a large crowd of devotees celebrating Janmashtami at the ISKCON temple complex in Imphal, resulting in the death of five people and injury to 50 others.
- April 14, 2006: two explosions ripped through the Jama Masjid in Delhi, injuring fourteen people.
- March 7, 2006: a bomb exploded at the Sankat Mochan temple at Varanasi in Uttar Pradesh, killing ten people.
- July 5, 2005: six militants made an attempt to storm the makeshift Ram temple at Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh.

⁸ Amarjeet Singh and Th.Khrushchev Singh, "A Pattern of Terrorist Strikes on Places of Worship" mimeo Institute for Defence Studies & Analysis (IDSA), New Delhi, Oct, 2007.

- May 9, 2005: a group of terrorists opened fire on people coming out of a mosque after evening prayers at Chakka village in Bhandarwah area of Doda district. Three people died in the incident.
- January 9, 2004: two Chinese-made grenades were lobbed at the Al-Hadis mosque located in the heart of Jammu city, injuring 18 people.
- November 24, 2002: a fidayeen attack was launched against the Raghunath temple in Jammu. Eleven persons, plus a militant and a soldier were killed and several others were wounded in this attack.
- September 24, 2002: heavily armed terrorists stormed the Akshardham temple in Gandhinagar, Gujarat. Some 30 persons were killed and about 100 were injured in this terrorist attack.
- March 30, 2002: a fidayeen attack occurred on the Raghunath temple in Jammu. Seven people, including three security forces personnel were killed and more than 25 others were injured in this incident.
- June 8, 2001: Unidentified terrorists threw a grenade at the shrine of Sheikh Nooruddin Noorani in the premises of the Charar-e-Sharief mosque in central Kashmir. Four women were killed and 60 others were wounded in this incident.
- December 8, 2000: worshippers coming out of the Jama Masjid at Shopian in Pulwama district were attacked by unidentified terrorists resulting in injury to 42 civilians and three policemen.

May 13, 2008 in Jaipur, the pink city of India was made red by the terrorist attack on several places like Javary bazaar, Manek chowk, and busy place near Hanuman Temple, where large number of people had gathered to offer prayer. Tuesday is the day for special prayer for lord Hanuman, therefore, the terrorists selected this particular day for this attack. This again speaks of the well nit and the nefarious design of the terrorists. This attack left at least one hundred people dead and many more injured. Thus, this attack also is a continuation of the same strategy of the terrorists, in which the sole motto is to tatter the secular fabric of Nation and flare up

communal tension among the Hindu and Muslim community. Unfortunately, this time also instead of sitting together and working out strategy to combat such menace, the political parties started settling political scores. The dirty politics again came to fore and deviated and diluted the real issue. No one can deny that it is failure on the part of the intelligence agencies in this regard, but just by blaming and counter-blaming each other will not serve the purpose. It is the time to act and deliver. The security analysts again started reiterating about the necessity of constitution of a federal security agency to tackle these kinds of terrorist acts. The union Minister of State for Internal Affairs, Mr. Sriprakash Jaiswal has also stressed the need for constitution of some federal agencies. Such type of Federal Internal Security and Intelligence Agency do exist in a number of countries like U.S. U.K and many European Countries. FBI of USA is the federal agency which is meant for tackling such type problems.

But as usual, nothing could be done except for making some stereotype statements in the press. After only few months, i.e. in July, 2008, serial bomb blasts took place in Hi-tech city of Bangalore in the state of Karnataka. Two days after this, one so-called 'Indian jihadis' sent one email to 'IB' claiming that they are carrying out another serial bomb blasts in Gujarat and after few minutes, the city of Ahmadabad was trembled by 17 serial bombings.

Such is the situation and still we are only thinking and contemplating. After every act of terror, our politicians and strategists, start acting but we fail to understand what actually they do. On the political front, the accusation and counter-accusation starts and the entire gravity of problem is thus lost in this mud-slinging. Therefore, instead of mud-slinging and labelling allegations and counter allegations, the political parties must understand the magnitude of the problem and evolve effective mechanism and constitute some agency to root out or at least tackle such devastation in a more effective and fruitful way.

It has been said time and again that the acts of terror, organised crimes and insurgent and Naxal attacks are not

simple law and order problems, therefore, it could not be tackled by state police alone and with the help of common criminal procedure and penal codes. But unfortunately, in absence of elusive political consensus, no headway is being done in this regard so far.

According to the preliminary investigation report of the police, this serial bomb blasts in Jaipur might have been carried out by HUJI or SIMI. The soft attitude of our Governments due to electoral political reasons, have prevented the security agencies from coming down heavily on such out fits. The Government has taken certain steps in order to flush out the illegal immigrants, but as usual, this time also the seriousness of this problem is marred by political rhetoric.

CHANGE IN TECHNIQUES IN TERRORISM AND SPREAD IN AREA OF OPERATION-

In recent times, a perceptible change in the techniques of the Terrorists is witnessed. If we look at the modus operandi of the terrorists with regard to the serial bomb blasts in different parts of the country, we can see a remarkable change in their techniques. In the Jaipur serial blasts, the terrorists used cycle bombs. Interestingly these cycles are reported to have been purchased locally. The possibility of involvement of some locals cannot be ruled out. It is also being said by the investigating teams, that these terrorists hired some lodge or hotels. In the serial bomb blasts in Faizabad, Varanasi, and Allahabad, the same technique was used. Even in Bangalore and Ahmadabad, the same techniques are being used. This is a low risk technique; because the security personnel deployed to check are usually concentrate on four wheels and generally the terrorists sneak into the target area when they use 'poor men's vehicle, the cycle'. This technique has also made the security expert believe that now these terrorists are getting support of locals. Prakash Singh, a retired IPS and ex DG BSF said in an interview with BBC Hindi service, that now the terrorists find better access in the locals and perhaps, they are finding more sympathisers in different parts of the country. The incidents in Rajasthan, Hyderabad, UP, Maharashtra and many other parts of the country have made us to believe

that now the tentacles of Terrorism is spreading in other parts of the country, hitherto untouched. This is a serious development from Internal Security point of view. It also, in a way is indicative of the fact that our Anti- Terror policy has so far been not very successful.

Unfortunately, we have not yet been able to learn a lesson from the west in fighting the Terrorism. In west or in USA, whenever there is a terrorist attack, all political parties, all sections of society and all institutions come together and support the Government. But in our country, after every act of terror, we start allegations and counter-allegations. We can take the example of UK, where the Government took serious steps in terms of framing very strict Anti-Terror Laws, when the capital city London was shook by four serial suicide bombers on 7th July, 2005. Every leader, irrespective of political and ideological affiliations supported the Government's move and the UK framed one of the toughest anti – terror law called UK Terrorism Act, 2006. Yes, they also dissent on many issues, they raise voice against possible misuse of the law, but it is limited to the extent that no one is ready to sacrifice the prime interests of Nation. But we, on the other hand see vote bank even at the cost of National Security of the Nation. Almost every country, which faces Terrorism, has anti-terror law in one form or the other, but here in our country, we could not even keep POTA alive. Figures suggest that, we are only next to Iraq and Afghanistan in terms of death due to terrorist attacks, but we don't have any specific anti-terror law.

Thus, it becomes quite clear that now Bangladeshi's terrorist outfits and especially HUJI is posing more serious threats to Internal Security in our country than any other terrorist's organisation. Unfortunately, till date we don't have any clear cut and unambiguous policy to tackle this problem.

NAXALISM AND EXTREMISM-

The growing tentacles of Naxalism and Extremism in many parts of the country are posing serious threats to Internal Security. The basic difference between Naxalism and Terrorism is that, the former wages war against the ruling

class and system but the declared aim is not seceding from the country, whereas; the later threatens the system itself. The aim of the Terrorism is generally to attack on the existence of the state itself, whereas; Naxalism's aim is to attack on the establishment.

The beginning of the Naxal movement is traced back to 1967 itself in Naxalbari area of West Bengal. Charu Majumdar is said to be the man who started this movement in India. In Bihar the beginning of this movement is traced back to last 1970s when this movement was started in Mushari Block of Muzaffarpur district. Now this movement is an all India phenomena and has spread its tentacles in states like Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Chhattisgarh, M.P., Orissa, Jharkhand and many other areas of UP and Maharashtra also. **On 13th March,2006 the Union Minister for Home, Sri Shiv Raj Patil tabled in Parliament a Status Paper⁹ on the problem of Left-wing Extremism in India.** In look at the reports and the figures appended with the report, one can understand very easily the problem of the left-Extremism has assumed an all-India character. According to this official report, which is often deliberately less intensifies; say that 509 Police Stations across 11 States are Naxalites infested. It is 5.8% of the total police stations of India. The report further suggest that after the merger of CPML-PW into CPI(Maoist) in September 2004, they are reported to be trying to woo the other splinter groups and have consolidated their front organisations'Revolutionary Democratic Front'(RDF)to intensify their mass contact

⁹ Government of India, 'Status Paper on the problem of Left-wing Extremism in India'report tabled in the Parliament by Union Minister for Home, Shiv Raj Patil.13th March,2006.

programme. Although, this report points out various steps like (a) Modernisation of Police Force (b) Revision of Security Related Expenditure(SRE) in May,2005 (c) Supply of Anti-Land Mine Vehicle (d)Long-term deployment of Para-Military forces (e) India Reserve Battalions etc, the situation is not showing the signs of improvement so far.

Recent spurt in Naxal attacks both on the civilian and security establishments, in areas like Dantewada in Chhattisgarh, Mehboobnagar in AP, East and West Singhbhum in Jharkhand, Baripada in Orissa and many places in Bihar are of serious consequences. One DSP rank officer had been killed in a place called Bundu near the Jharkahnd State's capital, Ranchi. Few years back, the Maoists blew Jehenabad District's Jail in Bihar and set free many jail mates. Such incidents have thoroughly demoralised the security forces to such extent that the police headquarters have withdrew many police pickets from the extremists infested areas. Areas, hitherto unaffected in Bihar have also been brought under its control by the naxalites . In recent times, districts like Muzaffarpur, Vaishali, East and West Champaran, Samastipur, Madhubani, Sitamarhi and Sheohar have also been affected by this menace. In Madhuban Police Station of Motihari district, the naxalites attacked the police stations, killed many security personnel, looted the arms and ammunitions, attacked block and banks. The main target was a local MP whose petrol pump was gutted. They also set ablaze the house and business establishment of this leader. In June, 2008, the Naxalites blew on block office called 'tetariya' in the same district Motihari. In July, 2008, the Naxalites blew Laxmi Pur Block office in Jammui district. Thus, the Naxalites have proved it without a shadow of doubt that they can blew and attack any target any time whenever and wherever they want.

On 3rd July 'The Hindu'¹⁰ writes in its editorial about the killing of the anti-naxal force in AP "the murderous attack on Andhra Pradesh's anti-naxalite force, the greyhounds, marks a new watershed in Maoist insurgency. This is the first time that so many Andhra Pradesh security personnel (at least 33) have been killed in a single encounter. The police men evidently walked into a well-laid trap, enticed with false information about a naxalite conclave in Malkangiri in Orissa. If the attack was totally unexpected, it was partly because it marked a tactical departure; rather than use of land mines and typical ploy such as ambushes and raids, the Maoists are believed to have employed rocket launchers to hit a launch ferrying the policemen aback ". It is pertinent to mention here that the greyhound was formed in the year 1989 as an elite force to combat naxal menace.

The success of the Maoists in Nepal has emboldened the morale of the Naxalites to a great extent. In fact their infamous slogan 'FROM PASHUPATI SE TIRUPATI TAK' is still relevant for them. They claim that now the one end i.e. Pashupati (Nepal) has been brought under their control. Many security experts opine that the establishment of a red Government headed by Maoists is going to be a major Internal Security problem in India, whereas; many political observers believe that it is in a way, a positive development in the sense that now, what they feel, the Maoists will joined the political main stream and eschew violence. This is however a proposition which only time will decipher.

The meteoric rise of these left extremist organisations is not only on ideological grounds. They might have been pursuing some ideological principles in the initial phase, but now their main motto is extortion of money and

¹⁰ **The Hindu** (daily), Editorial, 3rd July, 2008.

plundering. Reports say that they are eating up the vitals of the developmental funds meant for developmental schemes. These extremists in form of levy take major portion of money meant for execution of Governmental schemes away. That is why these schemes have failed to come up to the expectation of common people. The policy makers, without looking into the ramification of such planning, went on increasing the size of the expenditures. The more money is pumped, the more is plundered. Thus, it has become a vicious circle of corruption, plunder and rise in the power of these elements. Whether it is MCC or PWG or Party Unity or its new name CPI(Maoist), their sole purpose is to extort money and snatch arms and ammunitions from the security forces. According to one estimate, about 70% of the arms of these Senas belong to the security forces. The attack on the security forces serves the twin purposes. On the one hand, it instils a sense of fear in the common people, so that they follow their dictates and on the other hand, they snatch the arms and ammunitions from them which enhances their strike capabilities. They again use these weapons against the security forces themselves. This is how an unique kind of vicious circle goes on. Unemployment and poverty are the major causes of its spread. I have the first hand experience of these things, when I was posted as Circle Officer, Chandil, in West Singbhum district of the present Jharkhand State in 1996-99. I found here, how the local tribal unemployed youths were recruited by the Maoists in this area. The system had been institutionalised to such an extent, that it was more systematic than the security forces recruitment drives of Government itself. Moreover, such drives are free from corruptions, whereas; rampant corruption mars the Government recruitment drives. The morale of the extremists had emboldened in such a way, that they used pamphlets and posters to advertise such recruitment drive.

Incidentally, I got an opportunity of working as an Executive Magistrate in Raxaul, a bordering town of Birgunj (Nepal). I could understand how the Maoists were spreading their tentacles across the borders. Their call of 'from pashupati se tirupati tak' is being pursued very meticulously and methodically. These extremists, after committing crimes could sneak into Nepal very safely. I have seen how the porous border has become heaven for the arms peddlers and drug traffickers. Due to porous and open border the surveillance is very difficult. Initially, the deployment of SSB on this border had helped the situation improve. But, after few years, this force also got contaminated. The situation on this border is far from satisfactory. Now the situation in Nepal has changed drastically. The Monarchy is said goodbye and republic is born. The Maoists have won the election and are likely to form Government. A man of Indian origin Mr. Ram Baran Yadav has been elected as the first President of Republic of Nepal. It is being hoped that the situation in bordering areas would now improve. This new experiment of election with Maoism is believed to be the harbinger of peace in other areas also. It is a right time when we should also strive to create congenial environment to bring Maoists into political process.

LOCAL SENAS- Bihar is known for a typical security problem. Here in this state local senas or Armies have been raised on caste lines. The situation becomes more precarious when they fight against each other. Here are some examples of local senas-

1. Ranveer sena- Bhumihar
2. Lorik Sena- Yadav
3. Bhumi sena- kurmi
4. Search light sena- upper caste etc.
5. Sunlight Sena – Upper caste

These local senas have unleashed a reign of terror in many parts of the state for many years. Over a decade

more than thousand people have lost their lives in inter and intra group fighting. Although, these massacres are not of national consequences but undoubtedly, it puts in lots of strain on the security forces. If the Internal Security scenario has to be improved, these tendencies must be checked. There are some infamous massacres here in Bihar which speaks about the horrendousness of the misdeeds of these senas. Bhelchhi massacre, dalelchak-Baghaura in jehanabad, senari massacre, etc. are some of the massacres which have taken thousands of precious lives. They, on the one hand tatter the social fabric and on the other hand it puts in enormous pressure on the security forces. The failure of land-reform measures in this state is said to be the main cause of such problems. But this is a very simplistic interpretation of this problem. Undoubtedly, in the initial years the land-reform measures were the reasons behind these problems, but, gradually it deviated from this stand and took the shape of typical caste organisations. Many political leaders also allegedly got involved into it. The erstwhile Government in Bihar had constituted one commission headed by a retired High Court Judge Mr. Justice Amir Das few years ago. But this commission did not do anything tangible and meaningful. It took nine years and could not come out with any findings and recommendation; therefore, the Government wound it up. Nonetheless, one thing is clear that this state is very sharply divided on caste line politics, because whenever the summons were served on one political person, the fellow caste men used to raise voice against it and thus this entire exercise proved to be worthless and wastage of time and resources.

OTHER AREAS OF CONCERNS-

- 1- **COMMUNAL VIOLENCE-** A small incident in Godhara led to out-break of India's worst-ever communal riots. It reveals that our social fabric is highly fragile and susceptible to catch fire with small sparks. Even the

result of Indo-Pak cricket match sparks into communal clashes. Apart from thousand lives which it takes, it also puts tremendous pressure on economy and security forces. In fact, the enemies of the country are targeting Mumbai, the commercial capital of India, in order to decelerate the economic growth of this country. Thus the communal violence directly or indirectly hinders the economic growth of nation. This problem of communal violence finds its roots in the pre-independence period in India. The infamous Noakhali massacre still hounds the mind of every sensible Indian. Unfortunately, the post independence period also could not witness any marked improvement in this regard, thanks to the policy of minority appeasement. The continuous policy of securing minority votes in electoral politics made almost all the political parties victims of the policy of appeasement. The rise of Hindu fundamentalism in early 90s is attributed to this policy by many social scientists* *give some references*. The so-called 'Hindu backlash' is supposed to be the reason behind the rise of Hindu fundamentalism. This again made the problem further complicated and vexed. The Godhara and communal riot of Gujarat internationalised the issue, as Mr. Narendra Modi was denied US visa on this pretext. Without going into the pros and cons of the communal violence, one thing is vivid that this problem has made the Internal Security scenario in India, very fragile.

- 2- **CASTE AND LINGUISTIC VIOLENCE-** Frequent violence between the people of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu over Kaveri water dispute exposes our inherent weakness vis-à-vis social tolerance. These are the serious problems for Internal Security in the country. Politics on parochial lines is the root cause of such problems and should be addressed immediately, otherwise, it is going to assume more alarming proportions in the times to come.

MEASURES TO CHECK THREATS AND IMPROVE INTERNAL SECURITY SCENARIO-

1- **POLICE REFORMS-** Supreme court of India has given certain directions in the famous case of Prakash singh vs Union of India¹¹ on 22nd September 2006 in civil writ petition 310 F of 1996 regarding Police reforms. Among other things, the direction has been given to the Central Government for the establishment of a 'National Security Commission' at the National level and to the state Government for the establishment of a 'State Security Commission'. The apex court has also directed all the state Governments to separate the work of investigation and law and order in the police department in order to make the Police more professional and competent. The court also suggested some measures to insulate police from undue and unwanted political interference. Unfortunately, most of the states have shown half hearted interest in this regard. In most of the states the same police personnel are doing investigation and maintenance of law and order job. The modernisation of police force is still due and there is lack of political and administrative will in most of the state Governments. These lacking have direct bearing on the Internal Security scenario in the country. The separation of the functions of police will help improve efficiency. The emphasis must shift from 'more numbers to more professionally trained numbers'. We require 'good force' rather than 'large force'. Adoption of scientific methods, modern apparatus and latest techniques to improve the

¹¹ Judgement of Supreme Court in Prakash Singh versus Union of India regarding Police reforms, downloaded from websites of Supreme Court of India.

quality of investigation is the need of hour. Supply of more sophisticated weapons and better training to police personnel should be given top priority. The scanty and insufficient infrastructure in police station has adversely affected the efficiency of police force. The effects of modernisation have failed to trickle down to the lower level, especially to the police station level. It is need less to count the hardships in which the constabulary live and work. Unless, we seriously address to these problems, we cannot expect the police force to meet the challenges and deliver up to the expectation of the public at large. It is pertinent to say here, that in spite of the constitution and raising of so many companies of Para-military forces, the major role in maintenance of law and order is still being played by local police. Therefore, the role of police stations with regard to maintenance of law and order and prevention of crime cannot be ignored. Dr Kiran Bedi,¹² the famous IPS (retired) officer has suggested some measures in her prescription in order to improve the efficiency and performance level of security agencies. Some of the important suggested measures are (a) access control system/ equipment (b) information encryption (c) air port and multimode protective security, interceptors. (d) anti-riot equipment,(e) armour personal body (e) lab for testing (f) audio surveillance equipment (g) mobile communication (h) bio-metric system (i) model for encryption (j) bomb detection equipment (k) micro-wave communication (l) bomb disposal equipment (m) passenger screening and searching equipment (n) cyber crime surveillance system (o) anti-riot and other specialist vehicle etc.

¹² Speech of Kiran Bedi (IPS)

2- **MILITARY, INTELLIGENCE AND OTHER SECURITY AGENCIES-**

Before deliberating upon the problems and needed reforms in these organisations, we must understand the present structure of our intelligent system.

Structure of Indian intelligence system

National Security Council (NSC)

1. Strategic Policy Group,
2. National Security Advisory Board
3. Secretariat represented by the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC).

A: The Intelligence Bureau

B: Research and Analysis Wing

National Security Council (NSC) of India is the apex agency looking into the political, economic, energy and strategic security concerns of India. It was established by the A B Vajpayee Government on November 19, 1998, with Brajesh Mishra as the first National Security Advisor (NSA). Prior to the formation of the NSC, these activities were overseen by the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister.

Organization

The three-tiered organization of the NSC comprises

1. The Strategic Policy Group,
2. The National Security Advisory Board
3. Secretariat represented by the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC).

1. The Strategic Policy Group is the first level of the three tier organization of the National Security Council (NSC) of India. It forms the nucleus of the

decision making apparatus of the NSC.

This group consists of the following members:

Military-

- * Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Civilian-

- * Cabinet Secretary

- * Foreign Secretary

- * Home Secretary

- * Defence Secretary

- * Finance Secretary

- * Secretary (Defence Production)

- * Secretary (Revenue)

- * Governor of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI)

- * Director of the Intelligence Bureau

- * Secretary of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW)

of the Cabinet Secretariat

- * Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy

- * Scientific Advisor to the Defence Minister

- * Secretary of the Department of Space

- * Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC).

Other invitees will be brought in as and when required.

The Strategic Policy Group undertakes the Strategic Defence Review, a blueprint of short and long term security threats, as well as possible policy options on a priority basis.

2. The National Security Advisory Board forms the third element of the National Security Council (NSC) set up in India. It consists of persons of eminence outside the Government with expertise in external security, strategic analysis, foreign affairs, defence, the armed forces, Internal Security, science and technology and economics.

Thus gathering, processing and disseminating intelligence is very important for Internal Security. The structure as described above speaks a lot without even without discussion. The complicity of structure and procedural wrangles mar the very purpose of it.

Experiences suggest that in most cases, the information could not be passed timely due to procedural web and typical bureaucratic approach and mishap could therefore not be averted. The Kargil war of 1999 led to appointment of a special task force for revamping of intelligence apparatus. This STF recommended among other things, the creation of a MULTI-DISCIPLINARY CENTRE in I.B., which will be equivalent to MI-5 of UK to co-ordinate the intelligence and follow up action. The Government of India has also accepted other recommendations also and is starting an INTERNAL SECURITY CENTER to co-ordinate between law enforcement and intelligence agencies. This centre will be equivalent to HOMELAND AGENCY of USA. The timely and excellent performance of intelligence agencies is very important for improvement in the Internal Security scenario.

3 BORDER MANAGMENT The Government of India and Israel has signed an MOU, which will help us in better border management. Israel has been fighting the menace of Terrorism for a long time and in due course of this, it has acquired unparallel acumen in this area. The expertise of this country in border management is even appreciated by countries like US and many European countries. If we can translate these measures into reality, the cross-border Terrorism and illegal immigration will definitely come down, which will led to improvement in overall improvement in the Internal Security scenario.

4- VIP SECURITY AND OTHER ELITE SECURITY AGENCIES-

- (a) In response to the worsening Internal Security by Terrorism, the first brick of counter-Terrorism architecture was laid in 1980s. This period saw the constitution of NSG (national security guards). It was mainly related to civil aviation security, personal security of VVIPs and anti-explosive security. This force was especially trained for anti-hijacking, anti-explosive and flushing out operations.
- (b) **SPG**¹³- The assassination of Indira Gandhi in October, 1984 led to creation of SPG through an enactment. This agency was given exclusive responsibility of providing security cover to sitting and ex Prime Ministers. The assassination of Smt. Gandhi was a turning point in the history of Internal Security in India, because, it changed the entire existing perceptions regarding Internal Security here in this country. In fact, the Anti-Sikh riot which followed after this killing vitiated the entire internal environment and it became very congenial for the birth and growth of Terrorism on Indian soil.
- (c) **CENTRAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCY-** a proposal to establish a central law enforcement agency has been languishing with the central Government for a long time in search of an elusive consensus. Actually, there is a marked difference between general law and order problems and Internal Security problems. The state Governments being in-charge of maintenance of law and order, is expected to tackle Internal Security problems also, but it has to be recognised that the state

¹³ Special Protection Group (SPG) Act, 1985.

Governments do not have either resource or powers to tackle the contemporary Internal Security patterns of Terrorism, organised crimes and low intensity war. Therefore, intervention of a national agency is becoming an urgent imperative. The recent serial bomb blasts in Jaipur again resurfaced this issue. The Home Minister Mr. Shivraj Patil emphasised the need for creation of a Central Law enforcement Agency. But unfortunately, this time also politics and parochial political interests marred the issue.

(5) STEPS TAKEN BY GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION-

- Erection of fence along LOC.
- Strengthening of counter infiltrations capabilities of BSF and Army.
- Greater role to be played by Army in J&K.
- Raising of VVF in bordering villages.
- Up-gradation and training to coastal guards as a counter-maritime Terrorism.
- Up-gradation and training to CISF to enable them to protect industrial and other economic installations in a better way.
- Raising a pool of officers especially trained for hostage negotiations techniques.
- Physical security to place of worship.
- Crisis management team has been constituted to meet any eventuality.
- Upgrading and training to narcotics department as a counter Norco Terrorism.
- Measures to check money laundering.

(6) LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL STEPS-

According to one estimate, India is next to only Afghanistan and Iraq in number of deaths in terrorist

attacks. Unfortunately, we do not have any specific anti-terror law right now. We had TADA and POTA¹⁴, but these laws have been repealed. MISA was perhaps the first law to deal with Internal Security problems, but unfortunately, this law was misused to such an extent that it proved to be a nightmare for many Indians. Due to its blatant misuse, this Act was abrogated. Thereafter, we enacted NATIONAL SECURITY ACT¹⁵ in 1980. This Act contains 17 sections, but none of them is terror or Extremism specific. Moreover, the power of making orders for detentions is largely marred by procedural wrangles. One must understand that Terrorism, low intensity war, Extremism and organised crimes are quite different from normal crimes. Normal laws like IPC and CrPC can control only normal crimes. Therefore, we do require specific anti-terror laws to tackle crimes related to Internal Security. There is strong international consensus and mandate for stringent anti-terror laws. Even the UN resolution imposed duty on all the members' states to legislate effective laws to contain and tackle terrorist activities and control organisations supporting it. Every time we discuss upon legislations for anti-terror laws, the so-called champions of human rights frustrate this effort. The votaries of this school say that provisions of the IPC can tackle every crime whatsoever.

If we take the examples of the other nations we will find that every nation, which is facing Terrorism, do have anti-terror laws. For example-

¹⁴ Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) and T.A.D.A .

¹⁵ National Security Act, 1980.

1. UK- Up to 2000-01 the United Kingdom has UK Terrorism Act, 2000 and Anti-Terrorism, crime and Security Act, 2001. But after serial bomb blast in London metro rails and Glasgow air post suicidal attacks, the Government of Britain went further tough. They enacted Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2005 and in 2006 the Great Britain made one UK Terrorism Act, 2006. Many experts say that this law the toughest anti-terror law in the modern world.
2. USA- US Anti-Terrorism and effective death penalty Act,1996, Home land security Act,2002, Border protection, anti Terrorism and illegal immigration control Act of 2005, REAL ID Act of 2005, Military commission Act of 2006, USA PATRIOT ACT of 2006, SAFETY ACT of 2002 etc.
3. Australia- Australian Anti terror legislation, 2004 and Australian anti-Terrorism Act of 2005.
4. Canada- Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act of 2002.
5. Belgium- Belgium Terrorism Act,2003
6. Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act,2007
7. New Zealand- Terrorism Suppression Act, 2002.
8. South African Terrorism Act No83/1963
9. Philippines- Human security Act, 2007.

Concluding Remarks

Thus is quite clear that almost all nations in the world have enacted stringent anti-terror laws to keep the terrorist activities under check. Unfortunately, in our country due to narrow political interests, there is no political consensus on this vital issue. The POTA was enacted by the NDA Government at centre to check and punish the terrorists. From the very outset, this legislation became very controversial due the incessant opposition by the so-called 'secular political parties'. In its initial years, this Act proved to be very effective in dealing with the subversive and terrorist elements. There were some reports of its misuse in some parts of the country. But these so-called

'excesses' were not in such magnitude that the entire Act was needed to be abrogated. Anyway, when UPA Government came to power, it immediately abrogated this legislation and fulfilled its promise made to the minority community. They had however reiterated in the parliament to bring about a comprehensive legislation to check the menace, a commitment which remained unfulfilled till date. This is the sad part of the story and thus the commitment to weed out Terrorism from this country meets this fate.

As far as delivery of Judgement in cases related to Terrorism, Extremism and other such crimes are concerned, they are hopelessly dismal. The truth today is that the link between crime and punishment has almost been severed. This is true for almost all crimes, but is most unambiguously the case among those harness criminal violence to political and sectarian ends. Here even the moral imperative of punishment is compromised, if not rejected, as every case becomes an exception to the rule. Unfortunately, unpalatable, perverted and stereotype arguments are placed every time to protect the *political athletes*¹⁶. We have converted our legislations and laws into shibboleths and therefore, the idea of 'rule of law' is somewhat blurred. In J&K for example, less than twenty convictions have been done in the fourteen years of turmoil in which about thirty thousand deaths have taken place during 1998-2001 period only. This figure speaks much without much shouting. The dismal rate of convictions has emboldened the morale of the terrorists, because they feel that whatever they do even if they are

¹⁶Person expert in playing political games

caught, the chances of their being convicted are very-very bleak.

Existing provisions and penalties on mass communal violence is also far from satisfaction and sufficient. The record of conviction in this area is also abysmal. The victims of infamous Bhagalpur communal riot in Bihar had to wait for 20 years for justice. The matter is still pending the judicial pipelines. The Anti-Sikh riots of 1984 in many parts of country including the country's capital Delhi is still a stigma on our criminal justice system. The erosion of authority of law enforcing and justice dispensing authorities is a serious threat to the very existence of the Nation-State itself. The lynching incidents in many parts of the country including in Bihar are the manifestations of frustration and disillusionment of citizen against the institutions of the state. The horrible lynching incident of Bhagalpur, in which a boy was mercilessly beaten by the mob on the charge of a chain snatching in Nath Nagar Police Station of Bhagalpur district of the state of Bihar, was witnessed by many including the police personnel. The entire incident was televised on a local TV channel. In another shameful incident of lynching, more than 10 persons lost their lives by an unruly mob at rajapaker in sadar police station area of Hajipur district in Bihar. The victims were nomads and were beaten to death by the villagers on the suspicion of burglary. The villagers later complained that in spite of repeated complaints to the police about the burglary, the police did not act. Whatever may be the reason, the message is clear, that the mob deliberately lynched the victims because they did not have any fear for the law and punishment. The lack of deterrence against such crimes further deteriorates the situation. It is said that it is important to dispense

with justice, but it is more important to show that justice is being dispense.