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**INTERNAL  
SECURITY**

*for* **Civil Services Examination**

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# UNIT

# 1

# 1.1

## INTERNAL SECURITY CHALLENGES

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### Introduction

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The emerging security environment is fundamentally different from what it was a couple of decades ago. There are national and transnational players who are on the lookout to exploit the fault lines in the internal and external security structure of a nation. Asymmetric means and hybrid threats can destabilize a nation not in years, but in months and weeks.

India is facing multidimensional security challenges from separatist and secessionist movements that have taken root due to socio-political discrimination and religion-based radicalization. The social media and cyber war has made the situation more complex and challenging, by providing the means for the integration of state and non-state actors for common objectives. The active support to some of these movements by inimical forces is further complicating the overall security environment. These threats are ultimately resulting in physical, cultural and structural violence that allows no space for dialogue and reconciliation. The struggle primarily is for control over resources, spread of ideologies and creation of ethno religious transnational states.

George Santayana famously pointed out that *“those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”* India as a nation should take a lesson from history and put in place a system that is perspective in nature and capable of dealing with predictable and unpredictable security challenges. The security mechanism should not wait for the next move by the terror groups or insurgents to perpetuate violence, rather there should be a system to forecast, pre-empt and pre-position resources to prevent and deter acts of direct and indirect violence.

The success of a nation in maintaining security lies in ensuring that there are no exposed flanks and preventing acts of violence by terrorist and insurgent groups that can cause collateral damage. The Asia Economic Institute study which calculated that the overall loss to Indian economy in the wake of the Mumbai terror attacks was about \$100 billion arising from the closure of crucial institutions, such as the stock exchanges, commodities sector, money markets, trade and business and commercial establishments. Further, FDI was hit by an estimated \$20 billion. Such acts of terror and violence have great economic social, political and international repercussions. They also fracture society on communal and religious lines.

Robert Greene in his book, **The 36 Strategies of War** has written: “The best way to fight off aggression is to keep them from attacking you. To accomplish this you must create the impression of being more powerful and prepared.” Preparation for internal and external security threats that could manifest, in the near and distant future, is an investment that a nation must make. A nation that is at the cusp of economic and regional power status cannot afford to be defensive and reactive in its response to internal and external threats. Thus there is a need to forecast/anticipate, prepare, pre-empt and build capabilities to deal with threats that are both predictable and unpredictable. What is of immense significance at this stage is that insurgencies, separatists and forces inimical to India will endeavour to erode institutions of governance with an objective to disrupt and subsequently alter the established order. Therefore, it is important to look at some of the internal security challenges that are likely to have a profound impact on the prevailing security environment of the country, in the near future. The tools that government should look at dealing with the internal security challenges are military and non-military.



## Internal Security: Meaning

- Internal security is the act of keeping peace within the borders of a sovereign state or other self-governing territories, generally by upholding the national law and defending against internal security threats. Responsibility for internal security may range from police to paramilitary forces, and in exceptional circumstances, the military itself.
- Internal security is different from external security to the extent that external security is security against aggression by a foreign country. External security is solely the responsibility of the armed forces of the country, while internal security comes under the purview of the police, which can be supported by the armed police forces, if required.

Internal Security	External Security
It is the security of the country from internal as well as foreign actors, within its boundaries	It is the security of the country from aggression by a foreign country.
Its maintenance is the sole responsibility of the State police, supported by Central police forces and armed forces.	Its maintenance is the sole responsibility of the armed forces.
It falls under the purview of the Ministry of Home Affairs.	It falls under the purview of the Ministry of Defence
It requires unconventional warfare skills.	It involves conventional warfare skills.
Police efforts for internal security maintenance may lead to issues of human rights violation as it often involves a war against our own citizens.	Human rights issues are generally neglected while fighting a war against foreign country.
Internal troubles are often a result of aggrieved citizens because of an inequitable development process.	External troubles are often a result of boundary disputes or economic competition between two countries.

## Background and Evolution

In the Arthashastra, Kautilya wrote that a state could be at risk from four types of threats –

- ▶ Internal
  - ▶ External
  - ▶ Internally aided external
  - ▶ Externally aided internal
- He advised that of these four types, internal threats should be taken care of immediately, for internal troubles, like the fear of the lurking snake, are far more serious than external threats. The most dangerous enemy is the enemy within.
  - The long struggle with the British and the arduous efforts to consolidate British provinces and Princely states into a federal India generated considerable anxiety about sustainability of Indian state, particularly when the country was marked by numerous ethnic groups, varied culture, innumerable languages, multitude of religion, castes and tribes, etc. It was a challenging task for the constitution makers to build the effective institutions and constitutional framework in this regard.
  - The Republic of India took the challenge of internal security with all earnestness. The Constitution of India envisaged a federal framework of polity with clear demarcation of powers entrusted to the Union and the Units in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. It is noteworthy in this context that the Constitution allotted public order and police to the States and put criminal law, criminal procedure, preventive detention, etc. in the concurrent jurisdiction in view of their relevance to the Centre's responsibility for national security and the need to maintain uniformity of criminal law and procedure across the country.



- For extraordinary situation which demand extraordinary interventions, Article 352 was provided which dealt with the 'Emergency Situation'— A potential bearer on Internal Security as felt by our forefathers. Similar provisions were provided in other articles. Article 352, constitutional break-down of state machinery under Article 356 and financial emergency under Article 360 provided such possibilities.
- Article 355 empowers the Union Government to deploy central paramilitary forces in a state where public order is in jeopardy and outside the control of the police as it shall be the duty of the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance. Article 257 (1) provides that in case of conflict, the valid exercise of Union executive power must take priority over the valid exercise of state executive power.
- Then, came The 42nd Amendment to the Constitution (1976), which inserted in the Union list "Deployment of any armed forces of the Union or any other force subject to the control of the Union or any contingent or unit thereof in any State in aid of the civil power; powers, jurisdiction, privileges and liabilities of the members of such forces while on such deployment". The State list was also altered to make additions to 'Public Order' and 'Police'.
- The Constitution also carried a strong centralist thrust and enabled. Thus, the internal security challenges were versioned at the very outset and there were provisions to deal with it, but sadly, because of the last three decades witnessing multiple violence in different part of country, posing internal security threats, it was perceived to make several laws which could provide measures to deal with them. They were: Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act, 1978, Assam Preventive Detention Act, 1980, National Security Act, 1980, amended 1984 and 1987. Anti-Hijacking Act, 1982, Armed Forces (Punjab and Chandigarh) Special Powers Act, 1983, to just name a few.
- Thus, it may be seen that India's readiness to deal with the internal security challenges witnessed organic growth, and was continuous in the sense that, after independence, several measures were taken by Government, Policy makers and Strategic thinkers in this direction.

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## Attributes of Internal Security

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- Secure territorial integrity and protect internal sovereignty
- Maintain domestic peace
- Prevalence of law and order
- Rule of law and equality before law—law of the land should protect everyone irrespective of status
- Absence of fear from the feared implying individual freedom for people as guaranteed by the Constitution
- Peaceful co-existence and communal harmony

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## Threats to internal security

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- Threats to the general peace may range from low-level civil disorder, large scale violence, or even an armed insurgency. Threats to internal security may be directed at either the state's citizens, or the organs and infrastructure of the state itself, and may range from petty crime, serious organized crime, political or industrial unrest, or even domestic terrorism. Foreign powers may also act as a threat to internal security, by either committing or sponsoring terrorism or rebellion, without actually declaring war.
- Governmental responsibility for internal security will generally rest with an interior ministry (Home Minister in case of India), as opposed to a defence ministry. Depending on the state, a state's internal security will be maintained by either the ordinary police or law enforcement agencies or more militarized police forces. Other specialized internal security agencies may exist to augment these main forces, such as border guards, special police units, or aspects of the state's intelligence agencies. In some states, internal security may be the primary responsibility of a secret police force.
- The level of authorized force used by agencies and forces responsible for maintaining internal security might range from unarmed police to fully armed paramilitary organizations, or employ some level of less-lethal weaponry in between. For violent situations, internal security forces may contain some element of military type equipment such as non-military armored vehicles.

## Factors Responsible for Internal Security Problems in India

- There are various reasons, both historical and non-historical, which cause problems for our internal security. These have been discussed in detail in the forthcoming chapters. However, a few root causes are mentioned below:
  - ▶ Unfriendly neighbours
  - ▶ Poverty
  - ▶ Unemployment
  - ▶ Inequitable growth
  - ▶ Widening gap between haves and have nots
  - ▶ Failure on administrative front or Governance deficit
  - ▶ Increasing communal divide
  - ▶ Increasing caste awareness and caste tensions
  - ▶ Rise of contentious politics based on sectarian, ethnic, linguistic or other divisive criteria
  - ▶ Porous borders having very tough terrain
- A poor criminal justice system and large scale corruption leading to nexus between criminals, police and politicians with the result that organised crime goes on unabated.
- We inherited the first three factors at the time of independence. We have failed to resolve all of them still. Unfortunately, we have added more factors which have multiplied our internal security problems. The fourth, fifth and sixth factors in the above list can be termed as administrative failures and the seventh, eighth and ninth could be due to the rise of partisan politics. The last two can be attributed to a pronounced deficit in governance. Every problem gets highlighted because of these factors, and hostile neighbours leave no opportunity to exploit our internal conditions for the pursuit of their own agenda.

### Ajit Doval on Internal Security of India:

- You cannot have a great powerful country if you cannot manage its internal security.
- You have to master the technology. The biggest challenge will be now if you have to fight and win this fourth generation of warfare, whether it is organised crime, terrorism, insurgency or foreign powers trying to meddle into your internal affairs you have got to be demonstrative.
- Now it is a war of a policeman, as civil society is mostly affected. If you win, the country wins. Many countries are collapsing with internal security problems. Only police can fight and win the battle
- You are now in the phase of fourth generation war and this is a very, very difficult war. It is a warfare with an invisible enemy... it's a warfare, in which the civil society is both the battleground and the ground and the people that you have to protect.

## Social Diversity as Issues of Security Threat

- The domestic dynamics of India's internal security are reflected in its socio-political milieu, the main feature of which is its diversity. It is reflected in the variety of its communities and castes, races and ethnic groups, languages and dialects, religious beliefs and customs and traditions. Therefore our internal security scenario will continue to be complex and varied.
- While problems intrinsically rest on domestic roots, but the external factors play a major role in aggravating these. The external forces, in conjunction with internal forces of dissent, will endeavour to exacerbate our security problems.

- Threats due to terrorism, narcotics and drugs, small arms proliferation, voids in energy requirement and information warfare looms large on the horizon. Maintenance of internal security will thus be one of the biggest challenges facing the country.

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## Various internal security challenges of India

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Internal security issues in the country can broadly be categorized as follows:-

- Terrorism in the hinterland of the country.
- Insurgency in the North Eastern States.
- Left Wing Extremism in certain areas. Security situation in Jammu & Kashmir.

### Terrorism

- The cumulative result is a kind unprecedented turbulence. Alienation in the Valley of Kashmir has decreased recently, and they have been brought to the main national stream by restoration of democratic institutions in the state. However, with induction of large scale foreign mercenaries, the arc of militancy has extended to the Jammu region, where attempts are being made to create a communal divide.
- The new government in the state has yet to make their presence felt by attending to the genuine problems of the public and giving them a feel of the 'change'. In Punjab, concerted efforts by vested elements to revive terrorism are being made.

### Insurgency

- The North-east continues in a state of ferment. Intrinsic problems of this area, initially highlighted by the violent Naga underground movement, are yet to be solved to the satisfaction of the people of this region, in spite of the declaration of ceasefire with NSCN (I/M) group.
- Many new issues have risen adding to the volatile character of the entire region. Apart from sections of the Nagas, those among the Meiteis, the Paiteis, the Kukis, the Reangs, the Santhals, the Tripura tribals, the Chins, the Bodos, the Mizos, the Karbis and even the mainstream Assamese, are presently engaged in movements which are far from peaceful. The high level of networking among, the various insurgent outfits operating in the North-east coupled with the inhospitable terrain has made them a formidable challenge to be dealt with.

### Linguistic Chauvinism

- In Tamil Nadu, exclusive forces which had skillfully exploited linguistic chauvinism and launched a significant challenge to India's nationhood during the 1950s and 1960s have not been fully overcome. Similar issues are there in some other states of India.

### Caste Divide

- The other issue is the affirmation for caste imperatives in the name of protection to the disadvantaged. If carried to an excess, it could have the effect of accentuating the stratification of Indian society, thus weakening it at its core. Only a few people comprehend the extent to which caste can lead to a 'salami-type' society.
- Efforts are being made to exploit caste prejudices and also to intensify conflicting and contradicting strands in the caste make-up for political and other ends. These could have a pernicious fall out as is visible in the form of 'Ambedkarisation' and 'Mandalisation' of the entire social fabric in the country.
- Due to vote arithmetics, the governments are diffident to take effective steps to check this disturbing trend. Academic and social processes also need to be initiated to reverse both the above trends.

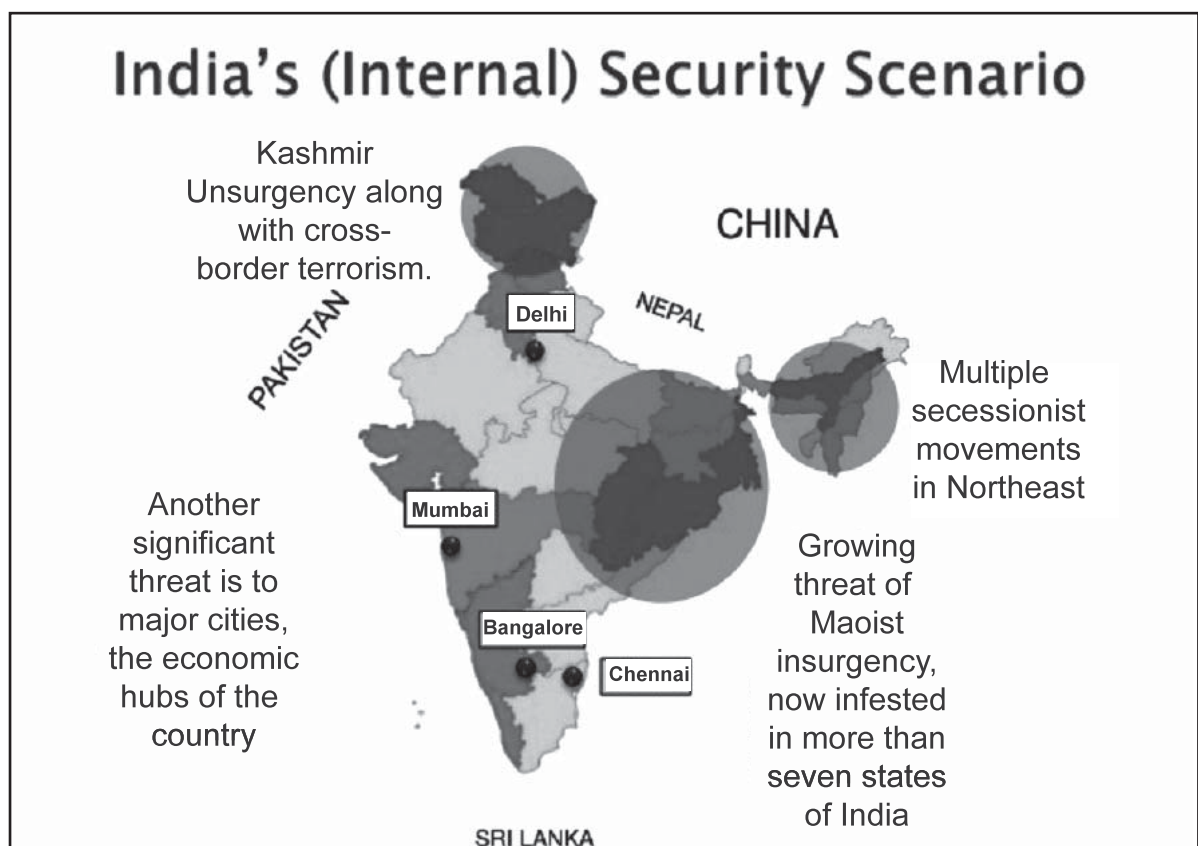
### Left Wing Extremism

- The Red Corridor is the region in the eastern, central, and the southern parts of India that experience considerable Naxalite-Maoist insurgency.

- The Naxalite group mainly consists of the armed cadres of the Communist Party of India (Maoist). These are also areas that suffer from the greatest illiteracy, poverty, and overpopulation in modern India, and span parts of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana, and West Bengal and eastern Uttar Pradesh states.
- As per the Ministry of Home Affairs, altogether 1048 violent incidents of Left-wing extremism (LWE) took place in these 10 states in 2016.
- All forms of naxalite organisations have been declared as terrorist organizations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act of India (1967). According to the Government of India, as of July 2011, 83 districts (this figure includes a proposed addition of 20 districts) across 10 states were affected by left-wing extremism, down from 180 districts in 2009.

## Competitive Politics

- Today, India faces a many-sided challenge. National parties are in a state of decline. Increasing venality of members of the political elite, growth of sectarian, caste-based, and regional parties, the battering that the electoral system has received, all constitute a danger to democratic polity.
- A major effort is needed to cleanse the political and administrative system of corruption and for radical electoral reforms encompassing aspects such as proportional representation and the right to choose 'NOTA' (None of the Above Candidates).



- Organized Mafia Groups
- From 1980 onwards, it has been progressively established that besides the 'proxy' war waged by our neighbours, the security of India is increasingly being threatened by the operation of criminal and mafia elements which indulge in organized crime, money laundering, and smuggling.
- The existence of a nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and crime syndicates was reported in a study undertaken by the Home Ministry in mid-1993, after the bomb blasts in Bombay. Such widespread corruption and scams - subverting the functioning of vital governmental agencies-have frightening implications for internal security. It poses a serious threat to the very unity and integrity of India.



- In addition there are also other emerging pressures. There are demands for more homogenous and smaller states. The proposal to carve out smaller states-Uttarakhand, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh-would give a fillip to these demands and increase tensions. According to one estimate, India has the largest number of such tribal and indigenous people making their presence felt and seeking a fair share for themselves.

## Neighbours as Issue of Security Threat

- India faces several security challenges, both external and internal. Unlike any other country in the World, Indian security is marred by legacy issues that include unresolved boundary disputes, not coming to terms with the partition of the sub-continent, or culture of competition and challenge in case of one and unwillingness to accept India as a reckonable regional player in the case of another, undermining Indian strategic space as it seeks to expand its political, economic and strategic influence. This has resulted in constant friction with two of its nuclear-armed neighbors with whom India has fought wars; increasingly acting in collusion. There thus exists an omnipresent danger of regional strategic instability with potential for escalation threatening India's territorial integrity and strategic cohesion.
- India has a land border of over 15,000 kilometers with seven countries, sections of which remain contested, or not formally demarcated even after nearly seven decades. At places, there is not even a mutually agreed line of control.
- With eleven neighboring countries (including four across the seas), many of which share cross-border with India, internal peace and external security are inextricably intertwined. Given a rising graph of cross-border terrorism over the past two decades, cooperation with neighbors on security is essential.



## Issues of Internal security management in India

- There are several limitations and failures found to be prevalent in the country, which gives rise to the growth of terrorism, insurgencies, and Left-wing Extremism. There are also several causes and factors those demarcate the limitations and failures, which the need to overcome.
- Gradually it emerged that the existing and the largely inherited security apparatus and the security management system in totality are unsuitable and outdated. They are suffering from structural and functional limitations.
- It was also established that the country, in spite of several limitations and faulty system in place, is still capable to defend its security effectively.
- The failure in the containment of Maoism or the Left Wing Extremism can be traced to the involved landscapes and the issue of intractability. The large terrain of the Maoist dominion still remains difficult to control and sanitise, no matter the force levels pumped in. For example, while a large portion of Maoist dominion remains scantily governed, still a large portion of these areas remains inaccessible. A large alienated population that has suffered decades of social and economic neglect remains easily susceptible to motivated propaganda by the insurgents. While, the insurgents use this condition to their advantage and exploit the situation to gather support, the failure of the politico-economic solutions have resulted into the problem getting increasingly militarised.
- The failures of the country at the Northeast front to control the prevailing insecurities are many. Most crucial among them are: the failure of the country to keep absolute control over the volatile and adverse external environment, the failure of the country to keep absolute guard over the 5,215 km long contiguous international border surrounding the Northeast, failure of the country to curb huge illegal migration and other illegal cross-border activities in the area, the failure of the country to establish wide alternative communication routes as the north-east is joined to the mainland-India only through a narrow land-connectivity. All these ultimately consolidate the internal threat-rondure and make the security landscape of the Northeast seriously challenging.

- Failure to curb illegal financial structures and activities is another cause which gives rise to the growth of terrorism, insurgencies and Maoism. Illegal money laundering and extortion are some among such activities on which insurgencies, extremism, and terrorism in the country flourish. It has been found that the easy availability of large amount money gives of scope to these elements to raise new cadres, procure weapons and expand their arc of influence. Because, money plays an important role in luring the poverty stricken youths to join the extremists and terrorist networks, or be become a part of the insurgencies.

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## Internal Security Doctrine

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A country's national security policy is determined by many factors, including external threats, geography, political culture, military capabilities, economic needs, elite opinion, popular opinion (in democracies) and its leaders' perceptions of the country's interests. This conceptual framework manifests itself as foreign policy or national security 'doctrine', which in turn guides leaders in conducting the foreign policy of a country. A national security doctrine helps the statesmen identify and prioritize that country's geopolitical interests. India does not have any such 'doctrine' (Except the Army which has one drafted in 2004).

### Why do we need a National Security Doctrine?

- India has seen crisis after crisis resulting from militancy, insurgency, terrorist attacks, unsettled border disputes etc. For example- Terrorist attack on Pulwama, Pathankot air base (2016), 26/11 Mumbai blasts, Church Street bomb blasts in Bangalore (2015), border disputes with China, Pakistan, Insurgency in the Northeast etc. The Pathankot debacle has triggered a serious debate on the need for a National Security Doctrine.
- There is opacity in the functioning of Intelligence agencies. For Ex, no credible external audit happens, No cohesive command and control structure.
- The existence of such a document will dissuade adventurism and will reassure our citizens that appropriate measures are in place to protect us.
- To fill the gaps in India's security policy planning.

### Internal Security Doctrine should include the following key elements:

- |                              |                             |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ◦ Political                  | ◦ Centre-State Coordination |
| ◦ Socio-economic             | ◦ Intelligence              |
| ◦ Governance                 | ◦ Border Management         |
| ◦ Police and Security Forces | ◦ Cyber Security            |
- **Political:** It could be secessionist, separatist, or even regional in nature. We have to analyse the causative factors of various types of movements, and see whether the demands are within the constitutional framework or not. As a matter of principle, we have to deal with the secessionist movements with a heavy hand. Separatist elements have to be kept at a distance. We need a clear policy with stringent laws to deal with such elements. On the other hand, regional aspirations and ethnic demands require reasonably softer and sympathetic approach.
  - **Socio-economic:** Socio-economic factors are also at the back of many movements which are big threats to the internal security of the country. Many a times, there are genuine socio-economic grievances of a section of the society arising from acute poverty, unemployment, and displacement. In such cases, our approach has to be different. Equitable growth and development is the spirit of our Constitution. Therefore, we have to ensure that development reaches all sections of the society and there are no regional disparities.
  - **Governance:** Lack of good governance also provides a tool in the hands of anti-establishment elements, who pose a challenge to the internal security of the country. Such elements take advantage of mismanagement and corruption in government schemes, poor implementation of laws, and the absence of government machinery in the remote areas. Governance on all fronts becomes an issue whether it is civil administration police of the area, or the whole of criminal justice system. It is the duty of the state to control the malaise in governance and provide good governance to the remotest of the areas and control corruption.

- ◉ **Police & Security Forces:** It has been seen at times that allegations of police atrocities and police indifference towards people's problems aggravate internal security problems. We have seen many agitations the directed against the police or the security forces. Demand for the removal of AFSPA is one such example. Police officers need to be sensitized to become people friendly. We need to carry out police reforms so that the police are seen as neutral, transparent, and professional people. Other security forces aiding the state police also need to increase their understanding of the local situation and maintain the highest order of efficiency.
- ◉ **Centre-State Coordination:** Lack of centre-state coordination also leads to many problems related to internal security. This coordination problem exists in all areas, from intelligence to operations. We need to develop an institutional framework which resolves these issues and ensures synergy at all levels.
- ◉ **Intelligence:** Intelligence is a major component of Internal Security. We need to be alert against external as well as internal enemies posing a threat to the internal security of the country. Most of the big operations have the back-up support of intelligence agencies. We need to have defensive as well as offensive intelligence to forewarn, neutralize the impending threats, and take proactive steps wherever required. The Multi-Agency Centre (MAC) has made a good beginning in this direction.
- ◉ **Border Management:** We have infiltration problems through Punjab and Kashmir borders, illegal immigration problems through Bangladesh, and smuggling of weapons through the Indo-Myanmar border. Kashmiri militants have been taking shelter in PoK while the North-East extremists are taking shelter in Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Myanmar. Therefore, we need to guard our land borders effectively to prevent infiltration by terrorists, illegal immigration, smuggling of weapons and drugs, etc. Coastal security also needs special attention and we need to ensure that the roles of the Navy, the Coast Guard, and, the Coastal Police are clearly defined and all of them work in harmony with each other.
- ◉ **Cyber Security:** The Snowden revelations (WikiLeaks) of 2013 have made it evident that the future wars will not be traditional wars which are fought on land, water, and air. In fact, it appears that cyber space will be the theatre of warfare in the 21st Century. Therefore, any solid doctrine on internal security needs to cover this front also. India has just made a beginning in this direction. We need to cover a lot of distance before we could say that we have a safe cyber space. In the coming chapters, we shall analyse in detail the various challenges to our internal security.

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