

DYNAMICS OF INTERNAL SECURITY IN INDIA: SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NAXALISM

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ABSTRACT

The post cold war era demands to redefine and revise the fundamentals of the national security policies of the modern states. The reformation of the security structure, taking in consideration of traditional perspective of national security (of the military factor) seems to have become imperative (where the principle of armed security would not be the predominant factor). The contemporary universal brotherhood, good faith, and collective security principals have increasingly grown the interdependence among the states. Today the states have moved from realistic to liberal approach for designing the 'common objectives' and use of the methods of 'cooperation' and in ensuring the security of individual states, the group of states or of the whole international community.¹

KEYWORDS: *The Idealized State or Notion of 'Security', the Balanced Physical, Spiritual, Psychical and Material Existence of an Individual and the Community*

INTRODUCTION

What is Security?

The processes and activities in the society and its nature define the notion of security (connected with a series of different aspects of human existence). According to biological terminology definition, security is a tendency of an organism to survive, an adaptation of the organism to the menace coming from the environment and also the basic precondition for the operation of the basic life functions (eating, human reproduction, etc.). Security is thus a level of development and involves a deliberate and conscious human activity to establish a state of security (as a positive act). However, this explains the idealized state or notion of 'security'. The notion is defined in terms of the absence of certain elements (similar to the definition of 'health' which is generally defined as the absence of disease). The conscious endeavor to establish the state of security is a civilizational as well as a cultural category, which embraces all aspects of modern life at the regional, national, international, and global levels. Thus, security can be defined as a conscious human endeavor to establish the state of security through social activity organized into an adequate system. Security seems to be an immanent structural element of society. It involves a state in which the balanced physical, spiritual, psychical and material existence of an individual and the community in totality is ensured in relation to other individuals, communities as well as to the natural environment. Security relates to a particular society as well as to the international community.

¹ Anton Grizold, (1994), The Concept Of National Security In The Contemporary World, International Journal On World Peace, Vol. 11, No. 3, Professors World Peace Academy. Pp.-37

In the former case, we speak of national security, while in the latter of international security.²

What is National Security?

The collocation 'national security' is of a rather recent origin. Its elements can be already found in the works of Madison, and more recently in Walter Lippman's work "US Foreign Policy" published in 1943.³ If we discuss security in respect to a nation or state or in the political sense, the concept of national security is generally introduced in narrow terms which connote the preservation of territorial integrity and sovereignty of a state.⁴ It also coincide a nation's core political and cultural values, against military threats from disruptive elements from within and without. These threats are the result of the use, or threat of use, of force. National security is regarded to hinge essentially on the coercive power of the state and on the reliability and strength of its friends and allies. Accordingly, the safeguarding of national security is believed to be largely dependent upon the state's military capabilities, the efficacy of its internal security system, notably its paramilitary, police and intelligence apparatus, and its ability to forge an effective foreign policy designed to keep at bay threats from inimical foreign elements.⁵ This narrow perspective was popularized by the realist school of thought who had limited their approach to East-West divide following the Second World War and drew upon thoughts from classical Greece and subsequent political theorists such as Hobbes, Machiavelli, John Stuart Mill, Montesquieu etc.⁶ Such an approach, which is preponderantly focused on the force, implies that a nation's security hinges upon its ability to counter (deter an attack or to defeat it). It can be said to be just a military-operated ideology taking about expansionist approach or safeguarding strategy.⁷

According to David Dewitt is a restricted view or definition of national security, as it was in context with the view in earlier ages, both in the East and the West, when it was felt that security denoted the total well-being of the elites and the communities which they led or in the race of super-power. According to him in the contemporary situation, such a limited construct is clearly inadequate, as it does not take into account the innumerable additional factors impinging on national security at the international level.⁸

Supports to the wider view like T. V. Paul and Norrin Ripsman's observe that though states remain the basic security actors in international relations state has to also identify, categorize and respond to harm stretched by globalization, advancements in technology and the rise of a host of threats, from transnational actors to natural disasters. Hence, deepening our knowledge of national security in contemporary circumstances is vital.⁹ From 1980s several writers,

² Ibid

³ Andreja Miletic, (1978), National Interests In The Us Theory Of International Relations, Sarajevo, Beograd: Savremena Administracija, Pp.131-169 And 193-217.

⁴ Hiroshi Ohta,(2009), The Interlinkage Of Climate Security And Human Security: The Convergence On Policy Requirements, Conference On "Climate/Security" At University Of Copenhagen, Denmark, Pp-1-37.

http://www.kankyo.tohoku.ac.jp/Sermss/Lectures/The%20interlinkage%20of%20climate%20security%20and%20human%20security_02-2.Pdf. Retrieved On 25/07/2018

⁵ Satish Chandra And Rahul Bhonsle,(2015)National Security: Concept, Measurement And Management, Strategic Analysis, Vol. 39, No. 4, 337–359, Routledge, Taylor An And Fransic Group, Pp.. No. 337-338

⁶ Satish Chandra & Rahul Bhonsle, (2015)National Security: Concept, Measurement And Management, Strategic Analysis, Routledge, Taylor And Francis, Pp. 1-24

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Matthew Sussex, Michael Clarke And Rory Medcalf, (2017)National Security: Between Theory And Practice, Australian Journal Of International Affairs, Vol. 71, No. 5, 474–478, Routledge Taylor And Francis Group.

like Richard Ullman, Barry Buzan, and Daniel Deudney, also called for an enlargement of the concept of national security. This process was facilitated with the end of the Cold War and the prevailing bipolar international structure along with the changes subsequently wrought by globalization. As economic strength and development is not only the key for generating the financial resources required to maintain and upgrade a country's armed forces but is also a pre-requisite for establishing the basic infrastructure, such as roads, railways, telecommunications, energy and industrial systems, which constitutes the backbone of the coercive institutions of the state and sustainability of democracy and federation. A strong economy, furthermore, enables the state to attain its national security objectives through the use of economic sanctions and incentives.¹⁰

According to the changing dynamics of international relations and interdependency among states, security can be interpreted as:

- Security of people, not just territory.
- Security of individuals, not just of nations.
- Security through development, not through arms.
- Security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment.

In order to verify the status of a nation's internal security, there has to be a holistic and all-encompassing view towards their complexity and interdependency. This shall help in the realization of the emerging challenges due to the reason of factors including globalization and technological advancements like nuclear propagation, terrorism, transnational crime (including cybercrime), environmental degradation, climate change, pandemics, resource constraints, relocation etc. This demands the protection of the independence along with the preservation of the integrity and sovereignty of the nation with regard to the external and internal adversaries. At the same time, a consistent economic development with equity and the overall human development with a specific focus on education, health, housing, and sanitation need to be ensured. It will result in the formation of a knowledge-based society with the system of good governance and existence of the rule of law and also lead to the effective institutional mechanism to manage the security of the nation. Therefore in every aspect of the national life, there is no area where the national security is not concerned and any deficit in this regard shall adversely affect the national security. Every aspect is equally important for the nation's security and there can be no hierarchical upper hand of any one sector over the other. On a larger perspective, the factors like the internal and external security, military and economic strength and development of the social sector and promotion of economic growth or the health issues do overlap as far as the national security is concerned. If a state is secured from inside there is an implied assurance that it is secure from the external challenges as well. Likewise, a state that is strong economically is expected to become militarily strong. The sustainable development of a nation is ensured when there is a proper attention towards the social sector and it can be a continuous process only when the related actors for the purpose are healthy, educated, qualified and above all motivated. This comprehensive view of the national security assures that not only the coercive elements in the state's armory but the overall national power determines the nation's security. The overall national power comprises of the factors like military, police, armed forces, science, and technology, economy, population including its health, education,

¹⁰ Ibid

governance, leadership quality etc. The bottom-line is that the national security shall be great and effective when the comprehensive national power is more and thus it guarantees the national security.¹¹

Change of Dynamics at International Level Relates to National Security

Today in the era of interdependency for dense development, every nation is the participant of global politics and diplomacy, which not only includes the advancements but also the new challenges of the 21st century such as misuse of technological advancement, globalization, climate change, terrorism, proliferation, pandemics with security issues.

The story doesn't end here; as this is not just a diplomatic discussion at the international platform by the state and non-state actors but such issues hinder the livelihood of the common man in a state, and highlight the failure or loophole of the government. All such challenges and security threats start at the macro level and get into the discussion, creating aggression among the citizens. Sooner they become the agendas of politics and elections, which also results in the form of protest and demands against the government, the distrust against the government, which may also convert into ideological protest and insurgency issues, sometimes like Naxalism or demand for seceding from union resulting in big threat to national security (dissatisfaction among the citizens)

The similar applies in the Indian state. The techno-economical up gradation which has succeeded in vanishing the lines between north and south has also supported the knitting of small tangles on the smooth sailing politics and security of a state at intra and international level. Example- globalization and outstanding communication and internet banking are leading to easy access to extensive human trafficking at borders, funding to insurgents by allies(nations), a regular threat of state demands to secede(poked by frontier nations).

Internal Security in India: Special Reference to Jammu & Kashmir Status and Naxalism

Let us now discuss some internal security threat issues in India which have been supported by the technological advancement and development.

India has a population of around 1.21 billion with 80 per cent of the population being Hindu, Muslims constitute 13 per cent and Christians and Sikhs 2 per cent respectively. The pattern of the population across states in India is very multifarious. In order to handle such diversities, India has a two-tier federal structure with decision making divided. India is federal in character like Austria, Belgium underlined by two rules: first, it must have at least two levels of government. Second, each level must have at least one area of action in which it is autonomous. The latter requirement must be guaranteed by a written constitution, and disputes between the two tiers are resolved by a single independent judiciary. In such case, all the states and the Centre have to coordinate in the conditions of normal or special situations. In India the centrifugal (Centre strong) federalism or Centre-state disputes may or have lead to seceding issues, the non-competency of state government may also lead to demand for separate states etc.

Let us now discuss some internal security threat issues in India which have been supported by the technological advancement and development. First, we will talk about the issue of Jammu and Kashmir which is the soft skull of India, regularly poked by Pakistan.

¹¹ Ibid

The state Jammu & Kashmir is an inalienable and integral part of India, which acts as the beautiful crown for the nation, strategically important for security and border disputes.

“Basic facts pertaining to this issue are well established. However, there has been a concerted disinformation campaign that presents a distorted historical account of the developments that led to the irrevocable accession of the state of Jammu & Kashmir to India; the subsequent wars inflicted by Pakistan on India and the unleashing of terrorist violence in the once tranquil and beautiful Kashmir Valley. The involvement of Pakistan in fomenting insurgency and terrorism in various parts of India, especially Jammu & Kashmir, has been well documented and accepted by all impartial observers. Following the cataclysmic events of 9/11, the international community also accepts that there can be no justification for acts of terrorism. Nevertheless, the historical perspective on Jammu & Kashmir needs to be put in the correct, factual light. The following pages attempt to do so.”¹²

In Indo-Pakistan relations, conflict, rivalry, and hostility started immediately after their independence in 1947. Peace resolutions and proposals were initiated like acknowledging the current LoC as the international border between India and Pakistan; joint development of Jammu and Kashmir; revival of the UN resolutions for holding plebiscite; granting independence to Jammu and Kashmir; redefining the existing boundary with some territorial adjustment, composition of constituent assembly, preparation of constitution by Jammu & Kashmir in 1957.¹³ Non-acceptance and abidance of the full proposals or agreements like Shimla pact, Tashkent agreement by both the nations led in status quo or keeping the Line of Control the only viable solution to maintain the Indo-Pakistan relations. Kashmir is the core and one of the oldest conflicts in the UN history. India also claimed that Pakistan was the original invader and Pakistan’s support for the Kashmir insurgency was its attempt to take over Kashmir by force. Pakistan, on the other hand, claimed that Kashmir’s accession to India was illegal and undemocratic. Further, Pakistan argued that India’s continued refusal to hold a plebiscite on the question of accession denied the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri people. Despite UN and many foreign countries including the United States showed their interests and suggestions to solve the Kashmir impasse, all of their efforts were in vain and their suggestions proved to be abortive because none of them was wholly acceptable to India and Pakistan. However, India and Pakistan have expressed their interests to solve the protracted issue in an amicable way and agreed to find a solution over the possession of Kashmir by means of holding bilateral negotiations.¹⁴ Besides this regular losses of lives and property can be seen on the daily basis, unknown invaders and terrorist attackers are frequent in Jammu and Kashmir.

The conflict in Kashmir has cost dearly in terms of the lives lost—26,226 lives have been lost in 43,956 incidents of violence in the state between 1988 and 2000—these include civilians, security personnel as well as militants. One thousand six hundred & sixty-seven militancy related incidents were reported in the year 2006 and 1,133 lives were claimed by these. But this is not the only loss. The enormous sense of insecurity that is experienced in the everyday lives of people on account of conflict and the widespread human rights violations, particularly the misuse of Jammu and Kashmir Public Safety Act of 1978 has caused considerable frustration and hurt to the people of the state. Hundreds of people had gone missing in the state. As per official sources, a total of 3,744 persons had disappeared from 1990 to 2002 and 135 of

¹²External Publicity Division, Kashmir The True Story, Ministry Of External Affairs, Government Of India, Pp.-1

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴Hau Khan Sum, Ravichandran Moorthy & Guido Benny, (2013) The Genesis Of Kashmir Dispute, Asian Social Science; Vol. 9, No. 11, Canadian Center Of Science And Education, Pp. 163-164

them had been declared dead in June 2002. There were 60 complaints of custodial disappearance and 67 complaints of custodial killings from 1996 to 2002; the number was 15 and 26 respectively during 2003-2006. There have also been fake encounters and instances of rape and torture by the armed forces and police.¹⁵

Agricultural and pastoral communities have also been reported to be adversely affected on both sides of the border affecting both in India and Pakistan. Landmines are indiscriminately used by both the armed groups in Jammu and Kashmir, on public highways (thoroughfares to ambush any convoys and injure hundreds of civilians in grenade attacks).¹⁶

The fear of becoming an indiscriminate victim or being victimized for suspicion of disloyalty by both state forces and the militants leads to turning towards drugs. Around 24,000 men and women, mostly youth, have attempted suicide in Kashmir in last two decades. (three thousand were successful)¹⁷

Jammu and Kashmir issue can be blamed too many portfolios like ISI operations, to the failure of the Indian government to respect the wishes of Kashmiris, to institute democracy and create a framework for effective self-rule and autonomy for the people of Kashmir.

Naxalism: A Threat to Internal Security

India's Naxalite insurgency an uprising of armed peasants in the West Bengal emerged in 1967 in Naxalbari. The Naxalites claim this movement as to be the mode of protection of poor peasants rights. They tend to dream and create a classless society.¹⁸In 2006 large parts of (160) of the country's 602 districts were affected by the Maoist movement.¹⁹ The recent data talks about the increase in a number of affected areas from 160 to 223 of a total of 640 districts. 20 out of 29 states are affected by Naxalism activities. However, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra are the states with maximum and frequent cases happening.²⁰

The Communist Party of India (CPI), first emerged in 1920 in the Indian Subcontinent, carrying a Marxist ideology, supporting the ideology of the Naxalite movement. The Naxalbari region of West Bengal is of strategic importance. It is located in the narrow Siliguri corridor that runs between the main portion of north-eastern states in India and its landmass, the corridor adjoins Sikkim (beyond which lies Chinese Tibet), Bhutan in the north, Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) in the east and Nepal in the west. Naxalism is presumed to be the rise of a movement supported by external powers and adjoining states to destabilize India (by promoting secessionist tendencies).²¹

¹⁵On March 2, 2006, Chief Minister Told The State Assembly That Action Was Taken Against 134 Officers Of The Army, 79 Personnel Of Bsf And 60 Officials Of The State Police Who Were Found Guilty Of Custodial Killings, Torture, Rape And Molestation In The Past 16 Years. Of The 134 Army Officers, Two Were Awarded Life Imprisonment, 59 Rigorous Imprisonments, 13 Dismissed From Service With One Year Imprisonment And Five Others Dismissed From Service. Asian Centre For Human Rights, Indian Human Rights Report- Jammu And Kashmir 2007. www.achrweb.org/reports/india/ar07/jammu.htm; Government Of India, Ministry Of Home Affairs Annual Report, 2007

¹⁶ The Tribune, 4 March 2002, Cited In Sanjay Chaturvedi, "The Ethno And The Geo: A New Look Into Issue Of Kashmir's Autonomy" In RanabirSammaddar, Op.Cit

¹⁷ Dolly Arora, Internal Security In India, 51st Ipa Members' Annual Conference/Theme Paper, Pp.-15

¹⁸SohailJawaid, (1979)The Naxalite Movement In India: Origin And Failure Of The Maoist Revolutionary Strategy In West Bengal 1967-1971, Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, Pp. 30-35.

¹⁹Rahul Bedi,(2006)'Maoist Insurgency Spreads In India', Jane's Intelligence Review, Vol. 18, No. 7, July 2006, P. 21

²⁰ Naxalism – A Drag On India's Quest For Great Power Status, Centre For Defense And Strategic Studies At The Australian Defense College, October 2012. Pp.-1.

²¹ Ibid

Evolution of Naxalism

The Indian Communists met in Tashkent in 1920, whose idea was to introduce a communist revolution in India. Finally, the Communist Party of India or CPI was formed on December 26, 1925, at a conference in Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh. In 1946, extension in mobilizing of the people was unanimous on the principle of armed struggle, in Telangana, Andhra Pradesh. This lasted around five years or so and was denoted as Telangana Uprising (1946-51) in history. On October 21, 1951, USSR and India (the communist leaders), decided to terminate the whole movement. This was still in the veins of the followers which further lead to another peasant armed uprising led by the Kisan Sabha, a peasant's front of the CPI, took place in Bengal called Tebhaga Uprising (1946). After some time this movement died. The Indo-China war (1962), summoned the thoughts of the uprising to the stage of choice making as a CPI to whether support India or China (a socialist country).

This tussle among the ideologies proposed split in the party, giving birth to CPI (Marxist) or Communist Party of India (Marxist) at the Seventh Congress of the CPI, held in Calcutta from October 31 to November 7, 1964. The CPI came to be known as pro-Soviet Party and the CPI (M) as the pro-Chinese party. The CPI (M) decided to participate in the election. A group within the CPI (M), known as Dakshin Desh led by Kanhai Chatterjee, was highly critical of the 'revisionism' of the Party. The Dakshin Desh group propounded Mao's thought based armed agrarian revolution, instead of parliamentary democracy. However, the CPI (M) started participating in elections. The United Left Front led by the CPI (M) and People's United Front led by the CPI, both formed in December 1966, came together to form a broad left front, called United Front, in West Bengal. On March 25, 1967, the United Front government headed by CPI (M) formally came to power in West Bengal.

Kanu Sanyal led an armed peasant uprising, on May 25, 1967, and broke out at Naxalbari village in Siliguri district of West Bengal called Naxalbari Movement in history. This led to spontaneous action by the United Front government led by the CPI (M), demanding a police action against the Naxalites, to maintain law and order in the state (West Bengal). A section of extremist cadres of the CPI (M) demonstrated in front of the West Bengal Assembly, protesting against the alleged anti-peasant stand/policies of the Government of West Bengal (June 27, 1967). Force full suppression of the movement and the news of crushing within 72 days attained tremendous support from the 'communist revolutionaries' belonging to the state units of the CPI (M). These revolutionaries organized a conference in Calcutta and formed the All India Coordination Committee of Revolutionaries (AICCR) within the CPI (Marxist), further Renamed as All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) on May 14, 1968 (after the Burdwan plenum in April 1968), it decided to boycott all elections.

AICCCR and The Dakshin Desh group led by Kanhai Chatterjee worked apart. The AICCCR launch a party as a political vanguard and thus broke away from the CPI (M), (as discussed in the plenary session held in Calcutta during April 19-22, 1969). The hundred'th birth anniversary of Lenin on April 22, 1969, led the emergence of Central Organising Committee of Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar was formed.²²

²² Sandeep Kumar Dubey, (2013) Maoist Movement In India: An Overview Institute For Defense Studies And Analyses, New Delhi, 2013 Pp.1-2.

Charu Mazumdar the founder leader of Naxalite movement proclaimed that revolution in India must come from the rural landless peasants, who just needed a push, as they seemed to be ready for revolution against an oppressive social and political system. He proposed directions towards implying attempts for class hatred stimulation by killing village landlords and moneylenders and not about just building of the mass organization.²³ Charu Mazumdar was arrested in July 1972 and died in police custody in Calcutta suffering from cardiac asthma, which further lead to misleading and splitting of parties into various factions with various ideologies. Most significant of these were the People's War Group (PWG) which emerged in Andhra Pradesh in 1980, CPI (ML) PU was established in Bihar in 1982 and CPI (ML) Party Unity (CPI (ML) PU).²⁴ The Naxalite movement sooner exploited the widespread discontentment and frustration amongst landless poor peasants which landed them to take up arms against higher-caste landlords and moneylenders.²⁵

The concept of 'Maoist' in Indian context refers to people Associated with a goal to overthrow and replace India's constitutional structure with dictatorship on the lines enunciated by Mao Zedong in China. The social base of the movement varies in different states. At some places, it comprises of units of peasants and at some places of tribal. Some are the fusion of both along with other marginalized sections of society. In caste terms, the base of the movement consists of lower and intermediate castes of both Hindu as well as Muslim communities. Upper castes at a large extent represent or lead the movement as in the case of Andhra Pradesh. Some conceptualize it as a struggle for basic rights. They target the government machinery, landlords, upper classes, big business houses and the like as their opponents. In their self-identity, their struggle is for basic rights. In the Adivasi homeland where the movement is centered, Adivasis have heard of Mao Zedong or care for what he stood for and did his teachings are used by the tribal people to further their own agenda. According to a Times of India report of August 02, 2011, the loses counts 1241 economic targets, telephone exchanges, towers, electricity lines and power plants across nine states, damaging railway properties. India has never been so bloodied by its 'own'. In the ultimate analysis, the war being waged in India's heartland is a war of ideology.

The Ministry of Home Affairs, quoted 'it requires continued deployment of at least three lakh (300,000) personnel for 20 years to contain the Maoist threat'.²⁶ Naxalism has been repeatedly regarded as the single biggest security challenge ever faced by the country.²⁷

India's economic and technological growth, globalization growth has mainly benefited the rich and middle classes, and the gap between the rich and poor is widening. This is also true for urban areas where slums are like 'cities within cities'²⁸, leading to the feeling of exploitation, emancipation, distrust, disadvantaged among the Naxalites. "It is a battle between democracy and all that it stands for versus a dictatorship involving the suppression of the very freedom

²³ Naxalism – A Drag On India's Quest For Great Power Status, (2012) Centre For Defense And Strategic Studies At The Australian Defense College, October 2012. Pp-1.

²⁴ Keith J. Harnetiaux, (2008) 'The Resurgence Of Naxalism: How Great A Threat To India?', Thesis – Naval Post Graduate School, Monterey, P. 44.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ BhavnaVij-Aurora, (2011) 'Armed And Dangerous; A Home Ministry Report Reveals It Will Take Three Lakh Security Personnel 20 Years To Contain The Maoists', India Today, 25 April 2011 (Obtained From Pro-Quest Database).

²⁷ Government Of India Press Information Bureau, (2010) Prime Minister's Speech To The 2nd Meeting Of The Standing Committee Of The Chief Ministers On Naxalism, 13 April 2006, Retrieved 18 June 2011,. Also See Pr Chari, 'Countering The Naxalites: Deploying The Armed Forces', Institute Of Peace And Conflict Studies Special Report, No. 89, April 2010, P.4.

²⁸ Motlagh, Jason, (2008) 'The Maoists In The Forest: Tracking India's Separatist Rebels', The Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 84, No. 3, Summer 2008, P. 102-129.

democracy believes in. For democracy to win this battle, it must be perceived to be a functional and worthwhile entity. This would require a visible and effective justice delivery mechanism to the poorest in India's heartland, transparency in governance, empathy on the part of government officials and targeted socio-economic development."²⁹

India's external repo and the future great power status concludes that aspiring or moving in the right direction to excel in every field needs to, be able to be more assertive and to resolve its own serious problems. The Naxalite movement and status of Kashmir is one of the most significant internal challenges which may lower the potential of India rising.

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