

# Seminar Report

## NATIONAL SEMINAR: CHANGING CONTOURS OF INTERNAL SECURITY: TRENDS AND RESPONSES

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- India has faced several security challenges since the 1950s, such as insurgencies in the North East region, Left Wing Extremism, secessionist movement in Punjab along with the turbulent 1990s in Jammu and Kashmir.
- The Global Peace Index 2018, published by Institute for Economics and Peace, evaluated 163 countries and divided the world into nine regions. South Asia comes only above the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) to figure as the second least peaceful region in the world. It also calculated the “Economic cost of violence” for countries and India was at a substantial 9 percent of its GDP.
- To reduce conflict and violence, it is important to prevent polarisation based on region, religion, caste. Nation should work towards maintaining social cohesion and harmony, integrity of institutions, socio-economic inclusions, law and order and promote health and education among all citizens.
- On achieving a secure environment in an insurgency affected area, government must ensure developmental processes to begin at an exponential pace to resolve insurgencies.
- The Police force must be strengthened to enforce law and order in matters of internal security. A system of checks and balances must be laid out so that the Police force does not become a mere instrument of politicians using it to further their political interest.
- Cyber threats are becoming critical concerns to internal security. Most of the current cyber infrastructure that exists in India, including that of the defence forces, specially the ones of defence production industry, are vulnerable to cyber-attacks. It is recommended that all critical data must be stored on servers either indigenously made or ones located within the borders of India.

- India requires having a long-term strategic vision and formulation of an internal security strategy clearly laying down terms of negotiation and guidelines for enforcement of law and order.
- Regarding J&K, there is change in Pakistan's strategy, i.e., to indigenise the militancy. The theatre of warfare is changing to acquire a more urban character. Militants are now more home-grown. Further, a trend analysis of the militant's profile suggests that most of them are educated youth within the age group of 15-25 years. Most of them hail from South Kashmir and have received education in government schools. They have no formal madrasa education.
- High rate of unemployment with a literacy rate of 93 percent among the youth population, along with high levels of corruption and mis-governance have contributed to the locals taking up militancy in J&K. Devolution of powers, both in terms of administration and resources is the need of the hour.
- In the North East, a system to cut the oxygen supply to the insurgents specially through cutting the platform of support of external sources is required. Further, it is necessary to facilitate intellectual resonance which can succour in cultural and emotional integration and not just physical integration of the region. Also, strengthen the civil society groups already playing a visible role to function effectively to aid in development.
- To counter religious radicalisation, it was suggested to produce religious counter-narratives, historical counter-narratives and promote a syncretic culture.
- On the areas of economic terrorism and terror financing, it was recommended to monitor the main hubs of transfer of Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) and impose strict control measures. Further, it is seen that most of terror funding is made through legal sources who exploit the open nature of international financial system, it was suggested to place intra and inter transaction of large sums of money in and out from India on continuous surveillance.

- Integrated intelligence architecture is required to obtain a comprehensive analysis on matters of security. Therefore, there should be jointness in the working of all intelligence agencies.
- Hyper-Urbanisation is a growing security threat in India. To prevent it from acquiring a potent character, it is important to empower rural economy by developing rural industries and projects which will result in reduced migration and on the other side improve governance in cities.



# DETAILED REPORT

The aspects as enumerated as part of the report are based on the deliberations by the panellists. These do not necessarily conform to the views of Centre for Land Warfare Studies (CLAWS) or that of Indian Army or the Ministry of Defence, Government of India.

A National Seminar on “Changing Contours of Internal Security in India: Trends and Responses” was conducted on November 3, 2018, at Manekshaw Centre, Delhi Cantonment.

## Objective

The objective of the seminar was to critically analyse and bring out the changing contours of internal security in India in its present context, the emerging trends and possible short, medium and long-term responses to resolve the conflicts.

## Modalities of Conduct

The one-day seminar was conducted at Ashoka Hall, Manekshaw Centre, Delhi Cantonment on November 3, 2018. The participants were from the armed forces, strategic community, academia, veterans, media and students. Nominated army officers from the three Service Headquarters, HQ Delhi Area and local field formations also participated in the seminar.

## Speakers

- Opening Remarks: Lt Gen (Dr.) V. K. Ahluwalia, PVSM, AVSM\*\*, YSM, VSM (Retd.), Director, CLAWS
- Keynote Address: Gen Bipin Rawat, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, ADC, COAS & Patron CLAWS
- Chairperson: Mr. G. K. Pillai, Former Union Home and Commerce Secretary, Govt. of India

- Mr. Prakash Singh, DG BSF, DGP UP and DGP Assam (Retd.)
- Mr. Ishan Dhar, Research Assistant
- Lt Gen Arun Kumar Sahni, PVSM, UYSM, SM, VSM (Retd.), Distinguished Fellow, CLAWS
- Dr. Shubhranshu Chowdhary, Journalist and Activist
- Chairperson: Prof. Gautam Sen, Distinguished Visiting Fellow, CLAWS
- Dr. Adil Rasheed, Research Fellow, IDSA
- Col Vivek Chadha, Research Fellow, IDSA
- Lt Gen A. S. Bedi, UYSM, YSM, VSM , Director General, DIA

### **Inaugural Session**

The Seminar commenced with the Opening Address by Director, CLAWS, giving a broad perspective on the security challenges India has been facing since independence. The first insurgency erupted in North East—Nagaland in the mid-1950s, followed by insurgencies in different North Eastern states, i.e. Manipur in 1964, Mizoram in 1966 and Tripura in 1989. The Mizo Peace Accord signed on June 30, 1986, till date remains one of independent India's few enduring successes at establishing peace following an outbreak of domestic insurgency. Left wing extremism that began in 1967 is under control but the root cause of the problem is still not addressed. Other instances, such as militancy in Punjab, which began in early 1980s and was successfully contained with the establishment of peace. However, the conditions are once again changing now and the state needs to be constantly monitored for activities of anti-national elements. The militancy in J&K erupted in 1989 and has remained an eternal problem.

The Global Peace Index 2018 published by Institute for Economics and Peace evaluated 163 countries and divided the world into nine regions. The least peaceful region was seen to be the MENA. The

second least peaceful region was South Asia. Out of the 163 countries in the index, Afghanistan stood at 162, Pakistan at 151 and India at 136. This ranking does not portray an encouraging picture of a nation with a fledgling economy.

Hence, to reduce conflicts, the state must work towards maintaining social cohesion, harmony, integrity of institutions, socio-economic inclusions, law and order and promote health and education among all citizens. It is to note that poverty alone does not force a man to take up arms; however, a combination of many of the aforementioned factors become dangerous and highly potent to develop into a conflict.

The COAS during his Keynote Address highlighted that the internal security situation has been the biggest problem for the nation and the reason why the security conflicts still persist after so many decades is mainly because of their external linkages. The insurgencies of many North Eastern states have been well brought under control. If the government of India can bring about successful resolution of Naga insurgency, then it can bring a resolution to Manipur insurgency as well. Although Assam is peaceful at present but attempts are being made to revive insurgency through external influence.

In J&K, the local population insurgency including the educated youth has started to join the insurgency. Another problem is the misinformation campaign, wherein repeated declaration of false news results in a belief in it to be the truth. The terrorists make news through their actions. Therefore, whenever there is some action, it gets widely publicised through the media. Hence media needs to be more responsible while reporting on the issues of national security. The militancy in Punjab was well tackled and finished, however, some information of foreign aided pro-Khalistan activities have surfaced again, which the nation has to guard against.

Military alone cannot solve the problem of insurgency. It requires a whole of government approach, wherein the military, civil administration, police and intelligence agencies, all work in an integrated manner to strengthen governance and promote development.

## SESSION 1: INDIA'S INTERNAL SECURITY CALCULUS AND MAJOR THREATS

The Factors that are critical to internal security are listed as under:

- **Governance.** AFSPA is invoked in a state / region when the security situation becomes untenable for the civil administration. Hence as a last resort, the army is called in to restore peace and security. It is also the duty of the civil government to resume administration of the state / region once peace is restored. However, it has been observed that when AFSPA has been invoked for years together, despite the return of normalcy, the civil government fails to carry out effective administration. In such a situation, the civil government has no moral authority to remain in power.
- **Criminal Justice.** The conviction rate of criminals in India is less than 10 percent. Hence crime has become a business with 90 percent success rate. Therefore, the Government needs to reform and strengthen the criminal justice procedure.
- **Police Force.** The current state of the Police force is not encouraging and as an institution, it has become the instrument of the political class to further its political interests. It is in dire need to undergo much awaited police reforms.
- **Cyber Security.** It is one of the most critical concerns that challenges the country's security issues in the present context. It has the potency to exploit vulnerabilities in the country's defence, security, economic and administrative infrastructure.

### Theme I: Perspective on India's Internal Security Challenges Since Independence

Since independence, India witnessed a new security challenge being added in every decade. The main question arises that why conflicts have always kept erupting and the governance has not been successful to find solutions to most of the conflicts. Absence of an internal security doctrine prevents a systematic approach to end the conflicts. According to Henry Kissinger, "the purpose of a doctrine is to translate power

into policy.” India has power but execution of the same is yet to be seen in full practicable form.

India is the third among the countries in the world most affected by terrorism with threats from almost 52 terrorist groups. It is worth mentioning that the leader of Lashkar-e-Taiba, Hafiz Saeed has been openly talking of disintegration of India in his speeches at different places in Pakistan. According to a joint study conducted by the Oxford University and the Strategic Foresight Group, it is estimated that post 2020, there is a possibility of an extremist group capturing power in Pakistan and Hafiz Mohammad Saeed might become the PM.

In the recent developments, there have been several attempts to revive militancy in Punjab. Referendum 2020, a campaign initiated by a Sikh group in the UK, aims at obtaining the right to self-determination for the people of Punjab. The referendum seeks the creation of Khalistan by 2020. In addition, the threats from international terrorism are on a high. Though Al Qaeda has become less potent and ISIS has lost ground in Syria and Iraq, yet ISIS has been successful in bringing many youth into its fold through religious radicalisation in different parts of India.

In J&K, Pakistan has changed its strategy to indigenise the movement. The People Democratic Party and Bhartiya Janta Party (PDP-BJP) coalition has ended on an abysmal note. Further, the Hurriyat leaders exploit the freedom given to them to propagate Pakistan agenda. They are wanted in specific cases of money laundering and murder yet no arrest has been made till now. There are certain issues on which the Government of India is yet to take hard decisions such as the Article 35A, Article 370 and suggestions on trifurcating the state.

Regarding the North East region, the argument made was that the government entered into suspension of operations and must enforce the terms forcefully. There are elaborate clauses in the suspension of operations such as no recruitment, no acceptance of money and no armed movement outside the designated camps, but these are never enforced. This lowers the credibility of the government.

With reference to the Left Wing Extremism (LWE), much of the violence affected areas are contained and the area of influence has shrunk from 223 districts in the past to 90 districts. Presently, there is a leadership crisis among the Naxalites since several Central Committee and Polit Bureau members have been neutralised. The national policy and action plan is having its impact. However, Naxalites still have the capacity to launch attacks and spread into urban areas. Another problem is the disparity in the distribution of wealth within the country, with 10 percent of the population still owning around 80 percent of national wealth. The key observation is that the problem will not be solved by containing violence only, unless the root causes leading to such extremist activities are addressed.

Border Management is another important security concern considering the length of Indian borders. The land borders constitute 15,318 km, the Coastline is 5,422 km and the island territories include 2,094 km. One of the prime security concerns today is coastal security. Although there are elaborate schemes planned but they are yet to be fully implemented.

## **Theme II: Current Environmental Realities of Security Situation in Jammu and Kashmir and the Way Ahead**

There are two ways of looking at the state security of J&K, which is to analyse internal factors and external factors separately. The internal factors include youth bulge, lack of economic opportunity, mis-governance, marginalisation and competing nationalism leading to the feeling of alienation. The external factors include ceasefire violations and infiltration along the IB, PLA incursions across the LAC, religious radicalisation and Pakistan support. These factors are not mutually exclusive. The combination of these factors has led to the revival of militancy in a new form in J&K.

The key question is, what constitutes the new age militancy? Firstly, 60 percent of the Kashmir Valley is under the age of 30 years and 70 percent of them are within the age bracket of 14-25 years. This includes both educated and employed youth. They are all prolific users of social media, especially Facebook. Further, over ground militants are no more

than 200 at a time, which used to be around 3,500 militants in 1990s, and local recruitment is steadily increasing since 2014 with no signs of abating.

A trend analysis of the new age militancy suggests that the majority of recruitment happens from South Kashmir. The theatre of warfare is becoming more urban as compared to near Line of Control (LoC) in the past. The influence of these militants also getting localised as the J&K Police force appears to be compromised. Another analysis suggests that Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) remains predominant with its Kashmiri run leadership. Although Pakistan-based groups like Lashker-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) are starting to attract more Kashmiri Muslims. Further, it is seen that, a much higher degree of operational cooperation between the HM, LeT and JeM than ever before. There is also emergence of newer groups with linkages to the global jihadist movements, although with very little support. The immediate consequences of this new age militancy have resulted in an increase in civilian deaths up to 167 percent increase in 2018. This includes attack on Amarnath pilgrims in July 2017, Kashmiri Muslim police officers and their families, Kashmiri Muslims in the Indian Army as well as political workers from mainstream political parties.

An analysis of youth bulge, as an internal factor, challenging the security suggests that 60 percent of the Kashmiri population is under the age of 30, of which 63 percent comprises the Kashmiri male population. Further, literacy rate among unemployed male youth between 15 and 24 years is above 93 percent. Male youth unemployment is at 41 percent, which is twice the national average. Also, of all unemployed men, 60 percent fall within the age group of 15-24 years. Looking at these, it is observed that the literacy rate is above the national average but the key question that is left unresolved is what contributes to such high rates of unemployment.

This leads us to the second internal factor, the “Lack of Economic Opportunity.” The state of J&K is unable to generate sufficient jobs for its literate youth. Only 54,000 jobs were created from 2005 to 2013, while the labour force grew by 100,000 entrants per annum. The female entrants in the labour force have grown by 146 percent.

The secondary and the tertiary sector are not growing fast enough to absorb the states educated and qualified youth.

The third internal factor is the “Mis-governance.” The coalition between PDP and BJP was not fruitful. Many of the terms of the “Agenda of Alliance” forged in 2014 remained unfulfilled and certain terms such as the constitutional sanctity of Article 370 were frequently challenged by the coalition partners. There was no delivery on “low-hanging fruits” such as the return of power projects to the state.

Such poor governance would ultimately lead to “Marginalisation, Alienation and Competing Nationalisms” which is the fourth internal factor contributing to security challenges. It is observed that for the first time since 1971, the Kashmiri Muslim youth have found resonance with narratives related to the marginalisation of minorities from the rest of India. Further, finding resonance in more global narratives of revisionist Islam perpetuated by groups like the ISIS and Al Qaeda has resulted in competing nationalisms. Therefore, traditional norms and ideological positions are changing.

The suggested way forward is through “Devolution of Power to the Grassroots.” This can be achieved by expanding the constituencies of the stakeholders, strengthening the local democratic bodies such as the panchayats, and a proper system to hold MLAs accountable. Also, a constant dialogue within the state and its linkage with the structures of governance is required to combat polarisation.

### **Theme III: Overview of Insurgencies in North East and the Way Ahead**

The North East region comprises eight states and constitutes about four percent of the total population of the country which contributes 0.1 percent to the GDP, which is much below its potential. This region is rich in oil, gas, minerals and tea. The importance of human capital and natural resources in this region cannot be undermined. Partly, the problem has been due to neglect of the people and of the region that has led to the conflicts.

This region is of much geostrategic importance as it shares boundary with five neighbouring countries and most of the disputed borders are along this region. While insurgencies in the North East began with the Naga insurgency in 1955, which was called the “mother of all insurgencies.” There has been a profound change in the political, economic and information domains which have to be considered to resolve the conflicts. While several organisations have been created for the upliftment of North East, these have been found ineffective.

Certain characteristics of this region with security overtones are spatial segregation, historical wrongs, diversity of the region and distributive injustice.

- **Spatial Segregation.** There is a feeling that the issues closer to Delhi get a priority. Hence due to such a large geographical distance between Delhi and the North East region, matters and issues concerning this region never appear on the radar of Delhi. Also, media and communications links with the region are not well developed therefore the news from this region never reaches the rest of the country.
- **Historical Wrongs.** The region was initially a homogenous mix. When Bangladesh was carved out, areas to the East and North of this region got separated, and the region witnessed a separation within the population. This terminated the existing intra and inter-connectivity in the region. Also, these splits created ethno-nationalist feelings on both sides of the border. The live example being on the borders with Myanmar, the FMR being an issue of concern, which is slowly getting addressed. Further, the carving of the region into different states has also created tension in the region. At the time of partition, Assam was a major state, followed by Manipur and Tripura. Later, Nagaland was created, which was followed by Meghalaya, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. The key question lies whether this political structure was thought through or was it done in a haphazard manner.
- **Diversity of the Region.** Of the 400 registered scheduled tribes in India, 200 reside in this region. This brings out the ethnic, linguistic,

cultural and religious diversity. However, this area has been neglected for long and there exists a lack of overall development in terms of basic facilities, channels of communication, economy and infrastructure as well as disparity in equal distribution of resources. The issue of migration from Bangladesh and other neighbouring states has resulted in a terrible cultural morass which complicates the situation further. The emergence of a parallel economy has caused many problems due to arms trafficking with support from external sources and is sustained by militancy in the region.

- **Distributive Injustice.** Distributive injustice has fuelled the entire disturbances in North East. The policy adapted by the Government of India such as “Suspension of Operations” and ceasefires with various militant groups created a situation where those who did not take up arms were prompted to do so in order to have access to resources and communicate their needs to the government. For example, in Assam, there are 100 ethnic groups, of which 13 are militants and further four have signed a memorandum of settlement. The Chinese involvement in local insurgencies observed through their meetings with the ULFA chief, Paresh Baruah and other senior leaders in 2017 and the creation of ULFA WSEA is a major concern. Further, the demographic shift in West Bengal along the border areas and in Assam is fuelling Islamic fundamentalism and separatism.

In Nagaland, the presence of Nagaland Non-Political Groups (NNPGs) are contributing to the security by ensuring adherence to ceasefire and also carrying out talks with the government. The peace process has been taking a good shape where different stakeholders such as the various militant groups, civil society groups, the church, the NNPGs have all agreed to come together to bring peace. Further, insurgency in Manipur and Assam requires surveillance. Mizoram has remained under control but the situation in Tripura could lead to instability, in case various militant factions are not monitored. In Assam, effective engagement with the ULFA is required and the whole issue of distributive injustice needs to be addressed through major changes in the government’s policy.

In Tripura, although the level of violence has come down but the security situations are yet to improve. Hence, redefining security is required coupled with clarity in vision, political homogeneity in policymaking, delivery of government incentives and a time-bound action plan. Further, the Police structure must be made into a federal system. An Anti-Corruption system must be in place to keep the state and all its elements accountable. Platforms to facilitate intellectual resonance must be created so that the locals are vocal about the benefits they are receiving instead of the government talking about what all is at hand. Finally, all must lead to not just integration of the people but also cultural and emotional integration of the region.

#### **Theme IV: Future Course of Naxal Movement and Its Impact**

The Left Wing Extremism (LWE) took its visible form in India in 1967, although probably its activities began much earlier in the Telangana region. In the state of Madhya Pradesh, in 1972, the violence was contained, however, the Naxals continue to carry out their activities and developed Dandakaranya forest as their hideout.

Out of the entire tribal population in Chhattisgarh, only a small section of the population has had access to education and to the Hindi language, and therefore progressed in their lives by securing government jobs. It is this small section that the government engages with in terms of redressal of grievances and also as the sources for intelligence gathering. This group has somewhat acquired an elitist status and does not wish to be known by their original identity. Majority of the population in the Maoist hit region of Chhattisgarh are Gondi speaking Adivasis who do not know any other Indian language. For decades, this tribal community has been ignored by the government in terms of their identity as a tribe, their language and culture. Further, they are ignorant of the government's policies and benefits since it is not available to them in their language. They have aligned themselves with the Maoists because it is through them that they receive facilities and benefits such as medical aid. This is the reason why many who join Maoist movement do not join it for the ideology of Maoism but for those critical elements of development in which the state has failed to deliver, such as education and health.

Hence to avoid such a situation, the government must strive to assign identity and recognition to these tribes, such as the Gonds. The local government should initiate public awareness campaigns in the local language to educate this tribal community of their rights and benefits and the mechanisms to avail them. State should promote use of technology to advance development in these areas. Phone usage rate in Chhattisgarh is 28 percent. Due to lack of network connectivity, those who have phones use Bluetooth to exchange songs in their local languages since there is no radio or newspaper in their language. It is important for the government to integrate these tribal communities into the state by engaging with them through processes such as providing them education in their local language, creating a system of grievance redressal in their local languages and training officials in their local languages before being posted in such regions.

The tribes usually do not have an institutionalised religion and consider certain patch of forest or a tree as sacred. The state must be sensitive to such traditions of the tribal community and must effectively implement the laws such as Forest Rights Act to secure Adivasi lands and prevent unlawful mining and corporate acquisition of such areas.

## SESSION II: EMERGING CHALLENGES AND THE WAY AHEAD

### Theme V: Impact of Religious Radicalisation and Non-State Actors— An Assessment

Although there have been counter measures to the Jihadists radicalisation in the country yet there has been a spur in the number of jihadist activities. The spread of Jihadist radicalisation is now seen in the states of Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. To properly analyse the nature of the problem, it is important to understand different terminologies used in the counter-terrorism debates.

- **Radicalisation.** It refers to the ideological process through which an ordinary citizen turns into a terrorist. Since the Indian society is one which is engraved with centuries of communal tensions,

hence religious communities tend to harbour people with dogmatic fundamentalist and extremist views.

- **Fundamentalism.** It refers to a strong belief in the fundamentals of one's religion and holds it as a sole source of truth and considers people of other religions as misguided.
- **Extremists.** It refers to a person or group who is uncompromising in his complete rejection of the existing socio-political order and seeks violent revolutionary ways to alter the realities.

In the atmosphere of unwanted mistrust and fear, the youth are vulnerable to messages of hate and violence as is seen manifested in the state of J&K. In 2005, an Egyptian psychologist from the US published a paper in the journal of *American Psychologist* on a study of a metaphorical ladder, listing the stages of an average individual committing an act of terrorism. The six stages are mentioned as under:

- The first stage is “perception of relative state of deprivation,” where the person thinks that his group or community suffers from deprivation or injustice vis-à-vis other communities.
- The second stage explains his “understanding of the need to act” through social activism or legal processes.
- The third stage is that of “misplaced aggression,” where he develops frustration towards socially and legally available means for perceived grievances. He starts feeling that the injustice towards one's group is not because of its own failings but is a part of a deliberate conspiracy by a rival community, or a state and in the case of a Jihadist, from the entire international order.
- The fourth stage is the “change in the person's moral compass,” wherein he starts to accept violence, against the other, as the only means to restore socio-political change.
- The fifth stage is where, even the “inhibition against killing innocent civilians is gone,” the person has undergone a mental

transformation and by this time, he is already a part of a radical group, has received terrorist training and goes aloof from his own community members and friends.

- The sixth and final stage is that where he commits the act of terrorism.

According to another study, it is observed that a person who transforms into a terrorist suffers from a heightened sense of insecurity that his community faces a real threat from religious, political and cultural annihilation. This is because they bear a sense of alienation, anger and disenfranchisement from social order or the political system. They believe that current political avenues do not provide enough power to affect real change and sense an urgency to take action rather than just talk about the problem. Also, by joining movements, it would offer them social and psychological rewards such as adventure, identity and Heaven after death. Jihadist threat in India primarily stem from three sources:

- Home-grown radicalisation such as the Indian Mujahideen.
- Cross Border radicalisation such as LeT, JeM, etc.
- Transnational doctrinal jihadism posed by Al Qaeda and ISIS, who operate from online forums and social media. Home-grown terrorist organisations eventually get subsumed into foreign movements due to ideological adherence and receiving institutional support.

There are four recommended approaches to respond to the Jihadist threat:

- The first approach is to have a detailed strategic communications programme for developing and disseminating historical, religious, political and psychological counter-narratives.
- The second approach is political in nature. There is a need to accept the fact that most terrorist organisations have connections with states as in case of Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, or sometimes with even bigger powers, that use them for geostrategic purposes.

Here, the source is not religion but geopolitics that can be handled through effective foreign policy measures.

- The third approach is about social solutions. Varied employment avenues must be open to the Muslims, to integrate them into the national mainstream and not let them remain isolated as owners of independent businesses in their own localised spaces. More exposure to education, liberal and scientific ideas is required.
- The fourth is a cultural approach, wherein the Muslims are also involved in the development of a common and syncretic cultural ethos. Art, literature, history reflecting common cultural and aesthetic values must be promoted within the population. The madrassas must be encouraged to add principles and values in the Indian Constitution to their curriculum to instil appropriate natural values and universal humanism.

#### **Theme VI: Funding of Insurgencies and Terrorism: Analysis of Financial Support as a Fuel Engine of Armed Conflicts in India**

The terror organisations thrive on three essentials, i.e., ideology, violence and finance. It is not the terrorist act that requires large amounts of money. Money is needed to run the organisation that recruits people to carry out these acts. Therefore, unless the focus of counter-terror financing is on choking the organisation, the purpose is not achieved. Merely stopping a consignment or arresting a few people is not enough to choke the organisation.

It is important to understand different characteristics of terror financing:

- Unlike money laundering, which happens through illegal sources, terror financing usually is done through legal sources. This makes it difficult to identify perpetrators who use proper channels to fund terrorism.
- Due to the complex nature of the international financial system, despite digitalisation and technical advancement, there are

disparities in the system that can be exploited. Hence terrorists use these disparities for mobilisation of finance.

- In most Asian countries, religious sentiments are a sensitive subject. Hence, while making a religious donation, one does not enquire about the sources or an account of expenditure. A large amount of terror finance is taken out of what was initially received as donation.
- Terrorist organisations evolve much faster and better than the state. Hence, by the time a particular fault or a loophole in an existing financial system is identified and rectified, the terrorist group would have moved onto another system.
- Funds required for a terrorist act are very little. Hence it makes it feasible to carry out such acts and also give rise to lone wolves undertaking terror attacks.

A common structure that applies to most systems of terror funding and also in the case with India comprises three stages, i.e. the “Source”—from where all money is collected, “Means of Transfer”—such as Hawala and “System of Distribution.” The terrorists usually approach people who are unlikely to be suspected such as a non-Kashmiri, or a highly respected professional for the purpose of distribution of funds on the promise of granting commission on the distributed amount. These people then involve more under them on the same premise of granting commission. Hence a second, third or fourth line of distribution mechanism is developed which ensures transfer of funds across borders without being under suspicion. The entire distribution is carried out in a similar way internationally.

There are internal sources and external sources. Internal sources comprise of extortion, crime, Designated Non-Financial Business or Profession (DNFBP), NGOs and drugs. External sources include state funding directly or using third party, donations, NGOs, Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) and drugs. While militant activities in J&K are funded mostly through external sources, insurgencies in the North East and LWE have raised money indigenously.

Pakistan as a state has been an epicentre for all sources of external funding:

- **State Funding.** Through military and intelligence, and if not directly, it uses third party.
- **Donations.** Made to LeT and other terrorist organisations.
- **Range NGOs.** Who pretend to do charity work but are involved in funding terrorist organisations.
- **FICN.** Pakistan is the primary source of printing of FICN, which is then transferred to India, although not directly but via some other destination.
- **Drug Money.** It is used to move people and train people.

#### **Theme VII: Cohesive Intelligence Architecture—A Prerequisite for Stable Internal Security Environment**

Intelligence gathering stands on four pillars, namely:

- **Pre-emptive and Predictive.** Information should be current so that analysis can be predictive.
- **Proactive.** Officers must gather information in a proactive manner. This means at times, and according to the need, information must be procured even at the cost of being indiscreet.
- **Unity of Effort.** There are many Intelligence agencies in both civilian and defence domains and all of them should function in synergy, reflecting the uniting of efforts by avoiding duplication of data and efforts.
- **Comprehensive Strategy.** The Intelligence agencies must adopt a comprehensive strategy to be mindful of previous mistakes and avoid and manage previous threats and events.

Challenges that Intelligence agencies face are as follows:

- **Close Linkages between Internal and External Sources.** Now that external factors influence the internal security. The distinction between internal and external threats is getting blurred and hence the source and nature of information too.
- **Challenges of Collection.** Technology-based intelligence gathering should be developed. This helps the information to be current and avoids human resources from being attached to information. This should be coupled with development of appropriate cyber security architecture to protect vital information from cyber threats.
- **Information Management.** Since the amount of information received is huge, there is a need for big data management tools to filter and prioritise the procured information.
- **Inter-agency linkages.** There are structural imbalances among the civilian, defence and technical Intelligence agencies. A proper integrated platform is required to ensure coordination of information and its sharing and avoid duplication of efforts.
- **Morality.** There is a moral dilemma that Intelligence agencies face while collecting information in terms of entering private spaces and at times, violation of human rights. This requires an established set of guidelines that can determine how far is too far.

In terms of current arrangements of Intelligence architecture, there are a plethora of agencies such as the Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW), Intelligence Bureau (IB), National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO), Paramilitary, Economics, Financial, the three Services, Intelligence Directorate, Revenue and Defence Intelligence agency. National Security Council Secretariat (NSCS) coordinates among these agencies and the technical coordination group is headed by the National Security Advisor (NSA).

There exists an effective mechanism for information sharing which includes a common platform where almost 25 agencies communicate with each other. Information procured can be in a variety of mediums,

such as images, audio, video, text, etc. to name a few among others. In the current platform of information sharing, only textual information can be communicated and hence must advance to enable sharing of information in all mediums.

### Closing Remarks

During the closing remarks, Director, CLAWS presented the audience with the emerging phenomenon of “Hyper Urbanisation,” which has all the ingredients to take form of a new security challenge for India. The Western world, according to a study, has hardly undergone much urbanisation in the present era. However, Asia and Africa have witnessed hyper urbanisation and will be growing further in time to come. This trend seems to be true in the Indian context. According to the Census Statistics, in 1991, the total population was 846 million, of which 217 million accounted for urban population, which is 25.6 percent of the total population. By 2011, the total population increased to 1.2 billion, of which 377 million accounted for the urban population, which is 31.2 percent of the total population. This holds for 74 percent increase in the urban population in about two decades. It is predicted that by 2031, the urban population will further increase by 57 percent. The reasons for such large-scale migration to the urban areas can be understood as need for better jobs, good salaries, better health and education facilities and better quality of life. However, those who migrate are not able to receive these since they are either semi-skilled or unskilled rural population who settle themselves in slums/ghettos and hence are unable to derive the benefits of a city life.

Statistics also suggests that in 2011, 60 million of urban population in India lived in slums. In Mumbai, it was 42 percent of its population that lived in slums, Calcutta—32 percent, in Delhi—49 percent and in Bangalore, it is 10 percent. An average national unit accounts for 17.4 percent of urban population living in slums. This raises high security concerns such as water security, energy security, health, to name a few. According to a report by the NITI Aayog, 21 major cities in India will face acute water crisis in 2021.

Apart from the above listed security concerns, another important security concern arises from spread of Naxalism into urban areas. Their modus operandi can be observed as mobilising the working class to join their movements, exploiting the economic and religious divide of society, penetrating into social groups, minority community, trade unions, youth bodies, hostels, essential service unions, operate in industrial belts, initiate cyber-attacks, use social media for propaganda and ultimately form urban militias.

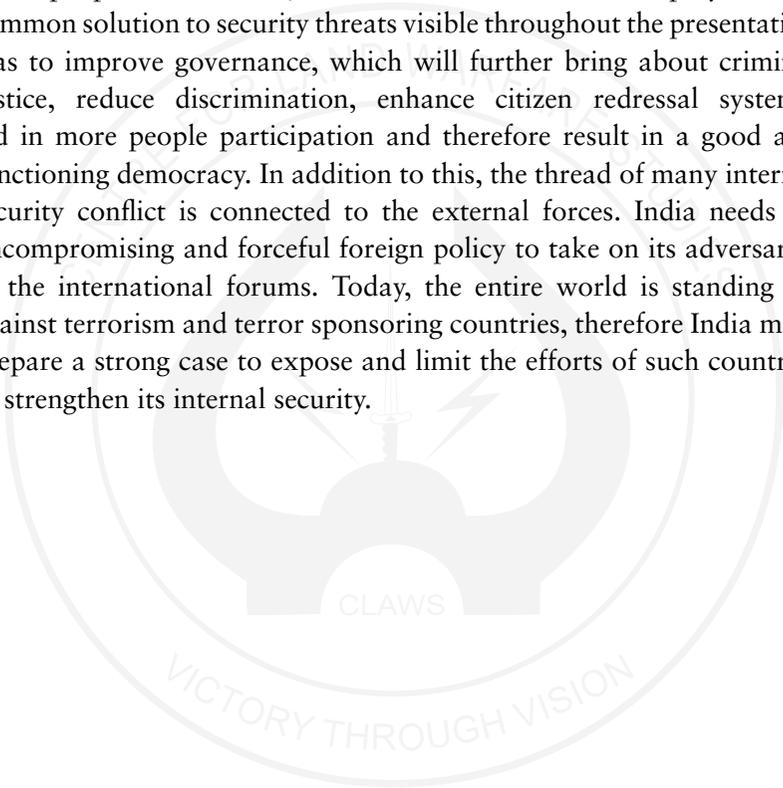
The Naxals understand that to paralyse a city, they need to penetrate into the essential service unions such as the “Safai Karamchari” association, the water association, electricity association, autorickshaw association, to name a few. For, if the Safai Karamchari’s (the cleaners) do not clear the garbage on the streets of Delhi even for a single day, the city will turn into a landfill, considering the amount of waste the city generates in a day.

It is important to note that in the past many years, growing intra-state conflicts as compared to interstate conflicts suggest that the theatre of warfare has become more urban than before. This raises serious security concerns in the cities that need to be addressed. Hence to counter urban insurgencies, the following steps must be undertaken:

- Raise public awareness.
- Strengthen system of governance.
- Modernise the security apparatus.
- Initiate process to decongest main cities.
- Develop rural economy and infrastructure through promotion of rural development projects.
- Strengthen Intelligence and security through effective surveillance of slums, other suspected areas, organisations and associations and improve communication systems.

## Conclusion

To handle conflicts, it is important to bring in development and proper governance. Hence, it is the job of not only the military, paramilitary or Ministry of Home Affairs, but also of all instruments of national power to work in a coordinated manner to counter conflicts and security threats. Therefore, the prime requirement to counter conflicts is to strengthen governance and deliver on the survival needs of the people such as food, medical care and source of employment. A common solution to security threats visible throughout the presentation was to improve governance, which will further bring about criminal justice, reduce discrimination, enhance citizen redressal systems, aid in more people participation and therefore result in a good and functioning democracy. In addition to this, the thread of many internal security conflict is connected to the external forces. India needs an uncompromising and forceful foreign policy to take on its adversaries at the international forums. Today, the entire world is standing up against terrorism and terror sponsoring countries, therefore India must prepare a strong case to expose and limit the efforts of such countries to strengthen its internal security.



# CONCEPT NOTE

## General

India is a state of deep diversity, with myriad structures in its class, caste, ethnic stocks and religious affiliations. At times, this causes a concern amongst the strategic community of the nation as it weakens the very foundation of the nationhood wherein, the stronger the shared value of the “Idea of India,” the greater the nationhood. Challenges to internal security become even more complex with the phenomenon of globalisation, increasing role of violent and non-violent state actors, role of media, proliferation of hand-held technology to the masses, changes in the social fabric of the nation and rising aspirations of the younger generations. Out of all the national security challenges India is faced with, internal security remains the biggest concern affecting the country.

## Internal Security Paradigm

If one were to take a panoramic view of the internal security situation as it has evolved since the dawn of independence, every decade saw a major problem being added to our internal security paradigm. It began with Nagaland, which witnessed the first insurgency of independent India in the mid-1950s. In the 1960s, India witnessed the Naxalbari uprising, which till date has remained one of the most challenging threats, and mushrooming of insurgency in Mizoram. The 1970s were marred with the beginning of insurgency in Manipur and the rise of United Liberation Front of Assam demanding Assam’s freedom. In the 1980s, India was challenged by Pakistan fomented militancy in Punjab demanding an independent state of Khalistan. During the same time, the Naxal movement-Left Wing Extremism (LWE) regained momentum in India’s hinterland. In the 1990s, Pak designed and supported insurgency engulfing J&K becoming the biggest threat in the coming decades, and the decade also witnessed the dawn of insurgency in Meghalaya. Occasional sectarian/communal tensions and terror attacks have occurred with disturbing regularity over the years.

## Internal Security Challenges—Unrelenting Threats

**J&K Conundrum.** A major internal security challenge to the Indian sovereignty since independence has been India's strategic state of J&K. Since J&K's turbulent accession to the Union of India in October 1947, the state has always struggled for a lasting peace. Pakistan, till date, has forced four wars in the region while India has repeatedly shown that it cannot wrest away J&K by force. Thus, Pakistan crafted a sinister strategy to destabilise India by fomenting terror, fanning separatism within the state and indulging in regular ceasefire violations along the LoC/IB. The current unrest in the Valley in which hundreds of youth have been radicalised and have joined the movement as stone-pelters, is a serious setback to normalcy in the Valley.

**Left Wing Extremism.** The Naxal movement in India erupted in 1967 with violent peasant protests in the Naxalbari district of West Bengal. Due to both administrative inadequacies and social divide, it was revived in the mid-1980s and is at present identified by Indian policymakers as one of the gravest internal security threats to India. The aim of the Naxalites has been to seize power, by protracted people's armed struggle. The recent rural-urban Naxal connect is an undesirable development which has a grave potential to urbanise the movement.

**Insurgencies of North East.** The Northeastern region of India has been plagued by instability, insurgency and social unrest since India's independence. There have been distinct changes in the pattern of unrest and conflicts since 1955 when the first armed struggle in the North East by the Naga rebels commenced in the Naga Hill district of erstwhile Assam. The region, which consisted of only one state, Assam, and two Union territories, Tripura and Manipur, in the 1950s now comprises eight states. The Mizo Peace Accord signed on June 30, 1986, till date remains one of Independent India's few enduring successes at establishing peace following an outbreak of domestic insurgency. Due to the continued and effective work of the armed forces, CAPFs, police and local administration, some parts of North East have shown stability in the past few years. Accordingly, on April 18, the Centre withdrew the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) from the entire state of

Meghalaya and from a number of areas of a few other Northeastern states, more than a quarter century after it was first extended to the two states. The drop in levels of violence in the two states is a welcome development.

**Religious Fundamentalism—Radicalisation of Youth.** India's security establishment is now alive to threats emanating from global Islamic jihadi outfits like ISIS and Al Qaeda. Though Indian Muslim youth has largely remained unaffected from their vile propagandas, some appear to have been affected within the nation and thus necessitate monitoring the movement of Muslim youth to the Middle East. Intelligence agencies keep under surveillance social media groups which try to fan religious fundamentalism. As the security organs of the nation further streamline their functioning by synergetic endeavour and undertake better counter-terror capacity building, the central government needs to speedily undertake additional measures to further strengthen the counter-terror and response mechanisms.

**Terrorism.** One of the nations most affected by terrorism has been India owing to its neighbour, Pakistan. Pakistan has adopted terrorism as an extension of state policy to destabilise India. Not only in J&K but in other Indian states too, Pakistan has been zealously pursuing its anti-India activities through myopic policies of fomenting terror and unrest. However, despite gaining notoriety, nothing much has changed in its approach and ideology, as was seen during the Parliament attack in 2002, 26/11 Mumbai attacks in 2008 and Uri attack in 2016. Since then, India has been able to realign and strengthen its security and intelligence apparatus to keep a check on the terror attacks. Yet it remains a challenge continuously looming large on the country.

**Funding of Terrorism and Insurgencies.** Insurgency and terrorism definitely draw support and strength from the local populace but to exist for decades, one source which remains the lifeline for their existence is uninterrupted flow of funds for the cause. The funding of terrorism and insurgencies has its roots both within and outside India. In recent times, it has emerged as a deep-rooted problem to make intelligence/security agencies sit up and take notice. It is a potent threat to our internal security with tentacles spread wide and far, connected to

Indian / foreign organisations, establishments, dubious NGOs, rogue states, individuals, foreign terror outfits, narco-cartels, etc.

By any benchmark, India today stands at the cusp of becoming a reckonable global power. However, it is also a contrasting reality that despite being hailed as an upcoming economic power, India faces a number of internal security threats a country can deal with, i.e., insurgency, militancy, terrorism and Islamic radicalisation. An integrated approach between the centre, state and armed forces is the single most important factor that can lead to successful countering of these threats.

### **Objective**

The objective of the seminar is to critically analyse and bring out the changing contours of internal security in India in its present context, the emerging trends and possible short, medium and long-term responses to resolve the conflicts.

### **Programme**

The proposed programme and session details are attached separately.

### **Participants**

The participants will be from the armed forces, academia, strategic community, and veterans.

### **Venue**

Ashoka Hall, Manekshaw Centre, Delhi Cantt, New Delhi.

### **Seminar Coordinator**

The coordinators for the seminar are Col Anurag Bhardwaj (Senior Fellow, CLAWS), and Col Sunil Gupta (Senior Fellow, CLAWS).

## PROGRAMME

0900–0930h	Tea & Registration
09300935h	<b>Welcome Remarks</b> by Lt Gen (Dr.) V K Ahluwalia, PVSM, AVSM, ** YSM, VSM (Retd.), Director, CLAWS
0935–0955h	<b>Keynote Address</b> by Gen Bipin Rawat, UYSM, AVSM, YSM, SM, VSM, ADC, COAS & Patron CLAWS
<b>Session I: India's Internal Security Calculus and Major Threats</b>	
0955–1005h	<b>Chairperson—Opening Remarks</b> by Mr. GK Pillai, Former Union Home and Commerce Secretary, Govt. of India
1005–1025h	<b>Perspective on India's Internal Security Challenges Since Independence</b> by Mr. Prakash Singh, DG BSF, DGP UP and DGP Assam (Retd.)
1025–1045h	<b>Current Environmental Realities of Security Situation in J&amp;K and the Way ahead</b> by Mr. Ishan Dhar, Research Assistant
1045–1105h	<b>Overview of Insurgencies in North East and the Way Ahead</b> by Lt Gen Arun Kumar Sahni, PVSM, UYSM, SM, VSM (Retd.), Distinguished Fellow, CLAWS
1105–1125h	<b>Future Course of Naxal Movement and Its Impact</b> by Dr. Shubhranshu Chowdhary, Journalist & Activist
1125–1150h	Q & A
1150–1210h	Tea Break
<b>Session II: Emerging Challenges and the Way Ahead</b>	
1210–1220h	<b>Chairperson—Opening Remarks</b> by Prof. Gautam Sen, Distinguished Visiting Fellow, CLAWS
1220–1240h	<b>Impact of Religious Radicalisation and Non-state Actors—An Assessment</b> by Dr. Adil Rasheed, Research Fellow, IDSA
1240–1300h	<b>Funding of Insurgencies and Terrorism: Analysis of Financial Support as a Fuel to Engine of Armed Conflicts in India</b> by Col Vivek Chadha, Research Fellow, IDSA
1300–1320h	<b>Cohesive Intelligence Architecture—A Prerequisite for Stable Internal Security Environment</b> by Lt Gen AS Bedi, UYSM, YSM, VSM, Director General, DIA
1320–1345h	Q & A
1345–1400h	<b>Closing Remarks</b> by Lt Gen (Dr.) V K Ahluwalia, PVSM, AVSM, ** YSM, VSM (Retd.), Director, CLAWS
1400h Onwards	Lunch