CONCLUSION

Internal conflicts are increasingly becoming major security concerns for Third World countries. These conflicts not only threaten the territorial integrity, internal stability, economic development, democracy and harmonious relationship among different ethnic, religious, cultural, social and economic groups but also influence, to a considerable extent, the external behaviour of the state. Many of the inter-state, regional and international conflicts have their origins in the domestic conflicts of at least one of the participants.

In the contemporary world, high intensity inter-state wars are no longer rational instruments of state policy geared to achieve political objectives because the revolution in military affairs has made such wars a costly affair. Also, the presence of nuclear weapons has seriously questioned the viability of such wars. In such a situation, the involvement in other countries' internal conflicts is emerging as the most prevalent form of inter-state conflicts. Such involvements are often in the form of covert operations and proxy wars designed to support dissidence within the adversary state. Hence, domestic violence in its various forms, insurgency, terrorism, revolutionary war, protracted war and low intensity conflict, has become the most serious threat to the security of the Third World.
Plural democracies are more prone to such conflicts because differences among different communities or between a community and the state have the potential to develop into violent conflicts due to various internal and external factors. On the internal front, the inability of the state to accommodate or respond to changes taking place within civil society on account of modernisation, economic development, and expansion of democracy give rise to conflicts which, if not addressed properly and in time, turn violent. Such conflicts or cleavages in the society are exploited by external powers or agents to serve their interests.

Therefore, the management of internal conflict is not only the key to the survival of the state but is also seen as a means to solve many inter-state, regional and international security problems. States use various means to deal with such internal security threats. The use of force is one such strategy states employ for most internal challenges to their authority. The use of force in a democratic country is conditioned by various factors: the ideology of the state, relative power of the opponent groups and the legitimacy of the state. If the use of force is justified and a substantial section of population accept that justification, the legitimacy of the state is not threatened. Otherwise, the excessive use of force to deal with internal challenges can undermine democratic institutions and overall legitimacy of the state.
India functions as a plural democracy and since independence has faced threats to internal security from a number of sources in the form of secessionist movements, terrorism, communal and caste violence, various Naxalite movements, large scale migration from Bangladesh, organised crime and frequent breakdown of law and order. India's internal conflicts have a complex relationship with the external environment and have adversely affected the relationship with its neighbouring countries, particularly with Pakistan. The latter's involvement in India's internal conflicts has serious regional and international security ramifications because both India and Pakistan are in possession of nuclear weapons.

India has used various means to manage internal violence and has not been shy of using large-scale force when necessary. Paramilitary forces, over the years, have emerged as principal instruments of force in the management of internal security. These forces were created at different points of time to meet specific requirements. Originally, they were not meant to play a great role in internal security operations because the maintenance of internal order is the responsibility of State governments in the federal polity of India. Over the years, however, these forces not only expanded at a phenomenal rate but their use because more frequent. The massive expansion of paramilitary forces and their widespread use points towards two developments that took place in post-independence
India. First, there was a gradual centralisation of internal security planning, and second, the reliance on the instruments of force increased particularly after the mid 1960s.

The predominant role of the Union government in internal security matters derive sanction from the Constitution. The Constitution makers were greatly concerned about the threats to internal security and armed the Union government to meet any challenges to the state. Though the maintenance of internal order was made a State subject, the Union can intervene because it is the responsibility of the Union government to protect states from internal threats. Nowhere in the Constitution is the term internal security clearly defined. Thus, constitutional provisions gave the Union government the right to interpret threats and respond to them even though the maintenance of internal order remained the responsibility of the various State governments.

Since the late 1960s, there has been an expansion in and increasing use of paramilitary forces. It was the same period when the inability of the Indian state to simultaneously promote democracy and development led to the emergence of political protests often turning violent. The state interpreted these movements as law and order problems and both the process of centralisation and growth of paramilitary forces started as a result. During the years leading up to
the emergency in 1975, the exercise of coercive power of the state reached hitherto unprecedented levels of concentration. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, there was a six-fold increase in the expenditure on paramilitary forces. During the emergency, the paramilitary forces were used extensively to curb political dissent.

The 1980s witnessed further centralisation in internal security planning and there was a phenomenal expansion of paramilitary forces. This expansion was justified on the ground that the militancy in Punjab and Kashmir and large-scale communal violence in various parts of the country posed a direct threat to territorial integrity and national unity, and the Union government was under obligation to ensure stability at any cost. Thus, we find a correlation between massive expansion of paramilitary forces and the centralisation and increasing reliance on the instruments of force. To what extent did this trend affect the different paramilitary forces under study and what impact did these forces have on Indian democracy and overall internal security planning?

The CRPF, which was created with a limited purpose to provide assistance to State governments in the maintenance of law and order gradually evolved as an indispensable instrument of internal security management. The CRPF has grown into a multidimensional versatile force capable of dealing with a wide range of internal security threats:
from simple crowd control to complex counterinsurgency operations. The increasing incidents of internal disturbances coupled with frequent deployment of the CRPF point to a heavy dependence on the CRPF to maintain internal order. This trend has not only affected the performance, morale and training of the CRPF but also contributed to decline in the performance of local law enforcing agencies. In a federal polity, where the maintenance of law and order is a State subject, the excessive use of the CRPF affects Centre-State relations and local initiative to deal with internal order. Often, differing perceptions on a particular incident and poor coordination between Central and State law enforcing agencies result in delayed or half-hearted measures which allows a particular local conflict to develop into a bigger crisis. The frequent deployment of the CRPF without reevaluating its role in the changing security environment not only hampers the evaluation and analysis of threats, it also affects the accountability of different law enforcing agencies.

The BSF was created with a limited purpose to guard the India-Pakistan international border during peace time. Since then, the nature of challenges along the border has changed and the issue of border security has developed a complex relationship with internal security issues. A much more comprehensive border is required which involves overall development of border areas, integration of border populations into the national mainstream, effective and
reliable intelligence collection and interpretation, coordination among different government agencies and integration of all these efforts with the internal security policy of the government. The role of the BSF needs to be redefined in this context. The BSF has diversified itself into many other internal security operations which are not its original role. IB deployment in counterinsurgency, anti-terrorism and law and order duties are ad hoc measures which have affected the Force and its performance.

The ITBP was created as a specialised unit to operate at high altitudes. Since then the Force has redefined its role on a number of occasions to play diverse roles in internal security operations. Since the 1980s, it has been used to perform multiple tasks, like Bank security in Punjab, VIP security, counterinsurgency, security of vital installations and other law and order duties.

The use of specialised border forces like the ITBP and the BSF for other internal security duties has not only affected the performance, training and morale of these Force but has also raised serious questions about the management and use of Force by the Indian government. A multiplicity of Forces performing almost the same duties point to ad hoc response of the government in the realm of internal security. This ad hocism had led to a situation where different types of Forces with different training and orientation end
up doing virtually the same job. The result is an enormous problem of coordination, command and control, accountability and overlapping of jurisdictions.

In internal security operations, particularly in counterinsurgency, where the enemy is well-trained, well-organised and highly motivated, the use of force must be located in a comprehensive policy framework. Such a policy demands rationalisation of different forces, well-defined jurisdictions, an effective system of command and control, proper coordination among different government agencies, and deployment of force keeping in view the training, orientation and morale of the personnel.

A specialist commando force, like the NSG, is effective only when other agencies involved in counterterrorism respond to a situation properly and in time. Using the NSG for other duties, like VIP security, affects the efficiency of the Force adversely. Experience has shown that the NSG was effective when it was used for a swift operation with sufficient intelligence input, and proper groundwork. Extensive and prolonged deployment of the NSG did not produce the desired results.

The paramilitary forces are specialised agencies and should be used only in emergencies. They operate within a limited framework, that is, assistance to state administration in the maintenance of law
and order. They cannot replace the local law-enforcing agencies. The importance of local initiatives in dealing with internal security policy needs to be emphasised, because the local agencies can quickly and more efficiently take preventive measures and can initiate confidence-building measures in troubled areas which reduce the possibility of small conflicts developing into bigger one. Thus, there is a need for reevaluation of the Government's existing policy on paramilitary forces. Given the threat to internal security these forces have an important role to play. But that role needs to be located in a broader internal security policy framework. Under such a framework the role, deployment and the relationship of these forces with other civil and military institutions need to be redefined. The paramilitary forces have emerged as a unique institution in India's democratic polity. And if used judiciously they can contribute to the achievement of the larger goals of the Indian state.