CHAPTER - 1

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The security of the nation is one of the major mandates of the federal government and it includes the territorial integrity, sovereignty and international freedom of action. In turn, the internal security becomes an important component of the national security. There are constitutional powers with the state which makes it responsible to ensure peace, security and stability of the population. Thus, the internal security can be spelt out as the activity which has been developed by the state so as to guarantee public order, security and public tranquillity, protect the population and goods, prevent occurrence of criminality and contribute to ensure the normal functioning of the democratic institutions, the exercise of fundamental rights of the citizens and lastly, the respect for democratic legality.\(^1\) The actions of the internal security are conducted as per the legal terms of criminal law and procedures, police and other security forces laws.

Maintenance of internal security is the responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). In the seventh schedule of the Constitution of India, 'public order' and 'police' are the responsibilities of states, however, article 355 of the Constitution enjoins the Union to protect every State against external aggression and internal disturbance and to ensure that the government of every state is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.\(^2\)

**Internal security Environment in India –**

In India, the internal security scenario is a cause of worry, as there are numerous challenges which exist and the threats have a varied and vast complexion. In the northeast of India, there is insurgency and in addition peripheral threats to include illegal immigration, drug trafficking, fake currency and smuggling of arms and ammunition. The threats get accentuated due to geo strategic locations, ethnicity with a wide range of history, socio – cultural milieu, the foreign policies and finally the political and economic systems in place. Therefore, the management of internal security becomes extremely complex. To

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\(^1\) Jayant Umranikar, “State and Terrorism in India”, India’s Internal Security Issues and Perspectives, Delhi, 2009.P. 41.

become a global power, it becomes essential for the country to remove the complex threats which are affecting the internal security environment. The drawback to fight this has been that the central and state governments have not been serious or have failed in the affairs and have treated it merely as a law and order problem, which is not the case keeping in view the magnitude of it in the North Eastern Region, Jammu and Kashmir and now the Left Wing Extremism. In Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan’s proxy war and terrorism through Jihadi outfits and Kashmiri militants is aimed at secession of the region from India on religious grounds, while in the Northeast the situation is based on a mix of secession based on ethnic identity and also there are issues of internal armed insurgencies. In the Left Wing Extremism, there is internal armed movement involving Naxals armed insurrection in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkand, West Bengal and parts of Maharashtra. The problem to this internal security threat is economic deprivation, under development and governance. These issues need to be dealt comprehensively in all dimensions at all levels. It is pertinent to mention that the Punjab problem was solved with the co-ordination of the state police, armed forces and most of all the people of the state.

Internal security is the responsibility of the state as per the Constitution of India and has to be shouldered by the state police forces to include the state’s armed police forces. However, this doesn’t absolve the central government from its responsibility as the internal security threats are an assault on the nation’s sovereignty and honour, thus their intervention becomes a must. The internal security challenges pose their own characteristic manifestations and these are levels of violence, the insurgents who have become hostile and the fire power which they have been able to garner against the armed forces.

There is a requirement of a clear understanding of the threats to internal security. These threats can be broadly dealt comprehensively with a strategy to include political, economic, social, diplomatic and the armed forces. The desire to eradicate the problem politically is of utmost importance. To achieve this, there is a need to have good governance which will be provided by reforms in administration, electoral system and judiciary. The government has to assess the economic requirement state wise and accordingly allot the development funds.
The neighbouring countries can also be reached out for co-operation at bilateral and multi lateral levels to provide aid for development and to ensure that there is no support to the insurgent groups. The most important aspect is the social dealing and this revolves around the local population and the necessity to have their support in all respects. P. Chidambaram, Union Home Minister in his discussion on internal security in the parliament on 3rd May 2012, brought out that the security can be enhanced by focussing on three areas and these are firstly, intelligence, without which there is no security, secondly, there is a requirement of more policemen, arms, equipment, vehicles, and schools to train them and thirdly, there is a need for a complete and common understanding that as a nation we are together to control any threat to internal security by taking firm and pre-emptive steps.3

Northeast India - A Historical Background -

History of the northeast of India reveals that it had its share of migration of people over a period of long years and its geographical location has laid down the routes of access to India. The north west of the region gave an entry to the Aryans in the 1st century B.C., followed by the Mongoloid Bodos in the 5th century. It was in the 13th century when the ethnic Ahom tribesmen crossed the Patkai Ranges, leaving their Shan cousins to settle down in the North –Western Burma. These Ahom warriors followed the course of the Lohit and Noadhing Rivers and thereafter settled down on the eastern banks of the Brahmaputra. In due course of time the Ahoms brought under their control the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley. In the bargain they subdued the other tribes to include the Bodos who were the earlier settlers. The Greeks, Huns, Arabs, Muslims came to the region in 1206 and the Mughals entered in the 18th century. The sea entry was exploited by the Europeans to include French, British, Portuguese and Spanish. The Mongolian race gained entry through the northeast of the region. It was the Brahmaputra valley which became the hub and all of the above homed on to it. However, they could not cope up with the climatic conditions which affected their physical performance and had to accede to the hardy hill tribes from the neighbouring areas.4

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The Brahmaputra Valley was the eastern gateway to the sub-continent and also became the colourful corridor between the two great civilizations of India and China. The mountain routes which linked India to the ever-expanding Mongoloid world had enough activity much before the famous silk route through Central Asia had been opened. It was the Ahoms who gave the name of Assam to the triangular land mass which was to the east of the Bengal Delta and below the arc of the great Himalayan range. The Ahoms ruled for 600 years and during this time the various ethnic groups of Assam molded themselves into a single entity. They had got together and fought the Mughal invaders who had attacked this valley from the Bengal side 17 times. The people of the Brahmaputra Valley over the years had tasted alien domination initially from the Burmese between 1819-1824. The reaction to this was that the British forces came swiftly from Bengal. Thereafter, the British drove the Burmese back and brought the lower parts of the valley under their control in 1826.

**British Era**

It was in 1816 that the British moved into the region and were able to complete its domination by 1889. Battles were fought by them during this period to capture areas from the Garo Hills to the Lushai (Mizo) Hills. During the British
era, the entire Northeast was part of the Bengal Presidency. It was in 1905, that the erstwhile Bengal Presidency was partitioned by Lord Curzon resulting in creation of West Bengal and East Bengal. Assam was merged with the new Muslim majority province of East Bengal. In 1911, the British Government annulled the partition of Bengal. In 1921, Assam was brought under the Governor’s rule. At that time, Northeast India consisted only of Assam and the Kingdoms of Manipur and Tripura. In 1931, the situation was that over half a million of Muslim immigrants had poured into the Brahmaputra Valley from East Bengal and had started settling down in the low lying flood plains of the valley. They started snatching the fallow lands and sharing the resources. This resulted in the natives being threatened by these immigrants.

The impact of the British era changed the political and economic environment in the entire region. They had a tribal policy for the hill areas and Christianity education was the main thrust. They were responsible to bring in economic development in all spheres. The region has natural resources in abundance to include oil, tea, hydrocarbon, coal, iron ore and uranium. The rail and road communications into Assam came during the colonial era, primarily to exploit these natural resources. It was in 1937 that Burma was no longer a part of India and this was primarily because of Burma’s oil reserves and timber resources that had eventually ended in that country’s domination by the British.

It is important to gauge the ethnic feelings at that time. There were strong nationalist sentiments against the non-western minorities in Malaysia and Burma, as also against the majority plainsmen on the mountains of India. The situation was that if the Nagas were generally anti-Indian and the Ahoms were anti-Bengali on this side of the border, then in Burma it was the Kachins and the Karens who were anti-Burmese.

The armies of the Imperial Japan in 1941 came flinging themselves upon South East Asia. They swamped Malaya, Burma and captured Singapore. They were confident of their war waging potential and were well trained in the jungle warfare but to their dismay in the forests of South East Asia, the only masters in the jungle warfare were the tribesmen. However, by early 1944, the Japanese were well entrenched around the township of Kohima of the Naga Hills on the Indian
side. For a period of two months the battle was fought by the Nagas, Mizos and the allied forces who halted the invasion of India by the forces of Japan in April 1944.

The Second World War necessitated additional efforts in terms of roads and airstrips. Some of these roads were the Ledo or Stillwell and Kohima to Imphal. Trade became an important source with Tibet, China, and Burma and to an extent with Afghanistan and beyond. Calcutta and Chittagong were the two ports being used for trade purposes.

It is important to recall that the British as a policy, never tried to annex territories or to integrate the Northeast tribes into their empire. Oil, tea and forest wealth was the main source for development of Assam including part of present Meghalaya. Different tribes of Indo – Mongoloid origin inhabited the remaining peripheral states. The area was treated as an excluded area which had a system of inner line regulations, primarily to cater for security, thus preventing exploitation of the tribals by the plains people. The Assam Rifles, a para military force, was tasked to control the area by slowly extending the administration. However, the tribals were on their own without interference or undertaking much development. The British allowed foreign missionaries to function in the area, and apart from preaching religion, they were involved in considerable social work to include providing medical attention, spreading literacy and weaning away the tribals from the pernicious practice of head hunting. In spite of checks on these missionaries, some of them got involved in nefarious political activities with an aim of promoting separatism and fostering secessionist tendencies amongst the tribals. The ibid factors had an impact on the people of the region, due to which they generally remained aloof from the mainstream of political life of the country.\(^5\)

The partition in 1947 was a debacle for the northeast region as East Pakistan was formed which had the implication of losing out on the port of Chittagong and with it the markets. This led to the region becoming land locked.

**Northeastern Region – After 1947**

The northeastern region of India comprises of seven sister states of Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram and Tripura. Some

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years back Sikkim state was also embraced by the North Eastern Council (NEC). The term ‘northeast’, was formalized through the British colonial administration as a frontier region. It is interlinked with the Indian heartland through the 21 Km Siliguri corridor, created by the ‘Radcliffe Line’, the boundary drawn by the British colonial administration before they departed from India in 1947. This corridor is flanked by China, Bangladesh and Bhutan.

Post independence, Assam became a full fledged state with Shillong as the capital; Manipur, Tripura and Lushai Hills (later Mizo hills) were its three autonomous districts. Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA- Now Arunachal Pradesh), were administered directly under the Government of India (GOI) by the Governor of Assam. In 1971, NEFA was detached from Assam and made a Union Territory and later became a state in 1986.⁶

In 1956, when sweeping administrative reforms took place in the country, Tripura and Manipur were both granted the status of Union Territory. On 1st December 1963, the state of Nagaland was carved out of Assam. In April 1970, Meghalaya district was created around Shillong and the capital of Assam was shifted to Guwahati and now Dispur. The most significant reorganization took place on 21st January 1972; Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram (former Mizo Hills) were granted Union Territory Status, while Meghalaya, Manipur and Tripura gained full - fledged statehood. The last reorganization on 20th February 1987 saw Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh also attaining statehood.

**The Sixth Schedule –**

The Bordoloi committee devised the mechanism of Sixth Schedule in the Indian Constitution to safeguard tribal culture and ethnic identities and prevent alienation of their lands in the Northeast. The schedule created the institution of Autonomous District Council (ADC) for each major ethnic community in the region and it enabled them to administer their affairs in an autonomous manner in accordance with their genius and traditions. If there were minority tribes within the ADC they were granted the status of Regional Councils (RC). In some parts of Assam, Mizoram Tripura and Meghalaya the Sixth Schedule operates while there is Panchayati Raj in Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Sikkim. As regards Nagaland it is governed by Article 371 A, thus providing it more scope of autonomy.

The broad racial differences between India and its northeast and the tenuous geographical link (the chicken neck Siliguri Corridor) contributed to a sense of alienation, a feeling of ‘otherness’ that subsequently gave rise to a political culture of violent separatism.

**Migration after independence –**

In the eastern and northeastern parts of the country, migration has been an ongoing process from East Pakistan/ East Bengal before partition and it was only later that it has become “Illegal”. Several lakh Hindus fled from East Pakistan during partition and also during the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. Between 1970’s and 1980’s, Chakmas and Hajongs fled from the Chittagong Hill Tracts.
due to the ethnic conflicts. The Government of India has taken up some important measures to prevent cross border migration into the Northeastern Region, to include construction of border fencing and roads, identification and detection, and deportation of illegal immigrants. However, there have been hurdles due to which these measures have not been effective. The security of the region has also been affected as these foreign nationals have become vulnerable for exploitation by external forces, most notably the Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), which is already using the insurgent groups of the region to its advantage. The Illegal immigration (Determination by Tribunal) Act (IMDT), 1983, was enacted to put curbs on illegal immigration, which was seriously affecting the politics, economy, demography and the way of life of the local population in the northeastern states - particularly Assam. This Act has failed as the immigration is going on as usual in the Northeast and there were dichotomy in its execution. On 12 July 2005, the Supreme Court of India struck down the “IMDT Act”.  

Insurgency –

Northeast India is home to more than 50 ethnic rebel groups – a few demanding complete secession from India, others fighting for ethnic identities, homelands and some running the insurgency as an industry to spin easy money without any political ideology. Despite their resilience the narratives of rebel organizations are often vague and confused. The unsaid but universal truth about an insurgency situation is that there is always much more than meets the eye behind its dynamics. The contributory causes are many including inconsistencies in history, economic structures, development and identity alienation. It is also closely related to administrative weaknesses and incompetence, but above all official corruption that continually tramples upon all sense of fair play and justice.

Throughout the last six decades as successive Indian governments have tried to nationalize the political space in the Northeast by pushing ahead with mainstreaming efforts, the struggling ethnicities of the region continued to challenge the nation building process. Despite recurring themes in rebel narratives such as political autonomy, economic justice, and cultural rights any understanding of rebel group in the Northeast must come to terms with multiplicity of voices, and the tensions that often exist between competing rebel agendas. A rebel group with a particular ethnic constituency may be at war with another rebel group, and indeed its primary opposition may not be with the Indian state at all. It might even cooperate with government security agencies in fighting rival group. The region has been plagued by insurgency and social unrest since independence.

Due to lop-sided development policies of the government, the states have suffered and parochialism got the better of share of development funds. In the bargain the peripheral regions to include the northeast region was neglected. This discrimination resulted in initially asking for a separate state which later became into a demand for secessionism. This issue of secession never came about in the British era because they were not discriminated against. However, it became rampant after independence and regional discrimination created a new caste order of states.

The insurgency resulted in the involvement of the armed forces as a last
resort in the secondary role and the para military forces in a sizeable portion. This has to an extent led to take away the military’s vitality and readiness for external aggression, which is the primary role of the armed forces. There has been a lack of rapport between the political and military leadership, which has resulted in the army taking steps to isolate itself from the society. The political leadership wanted to keep a check on the military leadership, thus it interposed the bureaucratic control in between. This has resulted in distrust between the armed forces and the bureaucracy. As regards the armed forces, they need to have an effective border management policy, strong and actionable intelligence, training in covert operations if required, strengthening the local police and legal protection. The armed forces have limitations and thus find it difficult to bring the situation under control in a short period of time, as expected by the people and the government, and the non government organisations. The insurgency has been gaining support from the neighbouring countries, but due to the international rules, regulations and sensitivity of the neighbouring countries have prevented the armed forces from conducting cross border operations. The armed forces are respected for being apolitical.

**Objectives of the Study -**

The objectives of the study are as under -

a) Analyse the geo strategic importance and socio-economic causes in the north east India which has led to internal security unrest.

b) Study the various security problems of north east India.

c) Study the constitutional provisions for employing armed forces for internal security duties, and to determine whether they justify the employment in the manner it has been done so far or do we need to bring about amendments.

d) Study the Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) and human rights issues in northeastern states.

e) Discuss the merits and demerits of employment of armed forces

f) Finally, to give suggestions and recommendations on the basis of the findings of the study.
Hypotheses -

The hypotheses of the study are as given below:

a) That the main causes of insurgency in North East India are basically socio-economic.

b) That the armed forces have a definite role in the matters of Internal Security and are not only for countering external aggression.

c) That there are enough agencies under the Ministry of Home Affairs to counter the internal security threats, but have failed to achieve the desired results.

d) That the security situation has improved and is stable since the employment of armed forces and have contributed in containing insurgent activities in the northeast.

e) That excessive and continuous involvement of the armed forces for internal security is neither good for the armed forces nor for the nation.

Organisation of the Study -

The study has been divided into the following chapters:

Chapter 1 - Introduction.
Chapter 2 - Geo-Strategic and Socio-Economic Environment of Northeast India: Historical Background.
Chapter 4 - Role of the Government of India in Internal Security Management and development in Northeast.
Chapter 5 - Role and Effects of Involvement of the Armed Forces in Internal Security Management in Northeast.
Chapter 6 - Armed Forces Special Power Act and Human Rights.
Chapter 7 - Conclusion.
Bibliography.
Annexures.

Review of Literature -

The proposed work deals with the ‘Role of the Armed Forces in Internal Security Management in the Northeastern States of India - (1985 to Present)’.
Some of the available literature in the form of books, research articles on the subject and related issues is reviewed in the succeeding paragraphs.

Books -

Nirmal Nibedon (1981)\(^9\) has covered in details the historical background to the northeastern region to include the erstwhile Burma which was a part of India till 1937. He has given the historical facts of the domination of the Brahmaputra valley by the Aryans in the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C., the Mongoloid in the 5\(^{th}\) century B.C., the Ahoms in the 13\(^{th}\) century and the Muslims in 1206. He also has given out the ethnic challenges which were prevailing before the independence of India and in the neighbouring country of Burma. He has discussed in details the Mizo struggle under the stewardship of Phizo, Sailo and also the other states of the northeast. The author has covered the operations with the security forces in details and also the repercussions of the 1962 and 1971 wars.

Subir Bhaumik (1996)\(^10\) after an extensive field work in the northeast has brought about the historical background of the network of cross border insurgency and has specifically provided the detailed case custody of the ethnic insurgencies in the triangle formed by the Northeastern States of Mizoram, Tripura and the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. He has discussed that the historical roots of the strong ethnic challenge to modern nation building of the triangle have been shaped by the long tradition of independent or effectively autonomous existence that the tribes have enjoyed. The British deemed fit to avoid direct administrative control over the tribal areas. The author has described in details the dynamics of conflict of each of the tribal region, the common factors like land alienation and the growing pressure of the unrest that took different forms in different places. The ethnic rebels in India have consistently asked for more than they know could be granted, and have always been prepared to scale down their demands and reach a settlement within the Indian Union. The operations with the armed forces have been covered in details and especially ‘Operation Jericho’. The foreign hand in these insurgencies from the neighbourhood in terms of military aid and sanctuary has been an ongoing process and is likely to continue. Thus it becomes imperative to have cordial relations with the neighbouring countries.

Bhaskar Sarkar, (1998)\textsuperscript{11} has elucidated the problems of insurgency and terrorism in India and the methodology of dealing with the same. The insurgency in the northeast has been well addressed by the author. However, there have been drastic changes in the overall situation and the role of the armed forces since 1998, as brought out in the book.

V.K. Nayar, (2000),\textsuperscript{12} has reflected the dynamics of India’s socio-political milieu. The core of the problems rests on the domestic roots, with external influences generated by the regional political and security threats adding to the complexities. He has analysed the genesis, growth and contemporary manifestations of the conflict in the northeast and suggested a framework for better management and resolution.

Ashok Joshi (2000),\textsuperscript{13} has covered the nature of conflict and the role played by armed forces in its resolution. The author has elucidated the system for management of national security. The work has also brought out the role of the armed forces and how should they be organizationally structured within the state so that they are enabled to carry out their assigned role without jeopardizing national security. Accordingly, the organizational imperatives will be arrived at with respect to the armed forces.

Vinod Saighal (2000, 2002),\textsuperscript{14} in his book has analyzed the South Asian security environment. The author has stressed the need to redefine National Security. He has expressed that the factors relating to national security become variables: in relation to space, time, the attitude of the big powers towards the countries concerned, the hostility of the neighbours, the internal security situation, economic vulnerability and social equilibrium. He has recommended the methodology of dealing with China in the twenty first century in the rapid increase in China’s military capability which will be on the increase manifold and its ever growing thirst around the world. In view of the threats to India which are from Pakistan, time horizon imponderables, China’s expansionism and the demographic threat, there is a need to carry out restructuring of the armed forces. The author has

\textsuperscript{12} V.K. Nayar, “Low Intensity Conflicts in India”, United Service Institution of India, New Delhi.
\textsuperscript{14} Vinod Saighal “Restructuring South Asian Security”, Manas Publications, New Delhi.
recommended that the Government of India needs to become more professional in the conduct of the military affairs of the nation. In addition he has also aired his views about the intelligence agencies which are simply not geared to provide world class inputs that would be required by the country in the global environment of the next century.

**Sekhar Basu Roy**’s (2002) book is a collection of articles written by prominent personalities, who have given an insight into the northeast to include its people, turbulence in the region and the economic consequences. Role of the army has also been highlighted by some of the the army officers. However, there is a need for more details to bring out the achievements, shortcomings of the armed forces and finally the recommendations.

**Ranjit K. Pachnanda** (2002) has brought out the details of the national and international terrorist groups and also the tactics for counter terrorism. The author has referred to the insurgent groups in the northeast as terrorist groups which are in variation to the insurgency prevalent there. The author has provided an insight of the police tactics to counter terrorism. However, he has not given any recommendations for the armed forces.

**K.K. Nayyar**, (2003) has critically examined the role of the armed forces in India’s security. It also has stressed upon the internal security and a need for change of management of Indian security. The role of the security forces other than the armed forces and their recommendations for a change have not been analysed in detail.

**Rahul K Bhonsle** (2004) has focused on the emerging asymmetrical challenges to the national security, which will not be in the conventional sphere but in a covert orbit. The author has identified the asymmetrical challenges which are terrorism, super terrorism or use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by terrorists, employment of non-lethal weapons, demographic implosion and its effects, economic and environment security and information warfare. He has emphasized on the northeast, which is a microcosm of asymmetrical challenges

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faced by the Indian states, rise of ideological conflict which involves the Naxalite violence, Nepal’s Maoist struggle and the human and economic costs of proxy wars. India is vulnerable to the newer threats posed across the ideological, ethnic, economic and environmental borders of the nation.

In P.C. Dogra’s (2004),19 edited book, an attempt has been made by the authors to study all aspects of national security, both internal and external, analyze it in depth and holistically. The work also examined the role played by the neighbouring countries in intensifying these vulnerabilities. However, not much has been discussed about the role of the armed forces in internal security management and repercussions of its involvement for prolonged periods.

‘The Sub Conventional Operations Doctrine’ (2006)20 for the Indian army evolved by the Indian army defines sub conventional operations which comprises of armed conflicts that are above the level of peaceful co-existence amongst states and below the threshold of war. These include militancy, insurgency, proxy war and terrorism either employed as part of an insurrectionist movement or independently. Border skirmishes also fall within this category. The doctrine has clearly discussed the methodology of formulating of the military strategy. It brings about that the military strategy is based on the national security imperatives that include the national policy, strategy and various directions given out by the government from time to time. The strategy entails the interplay of ends, ways, and means to create military conditions that facilitate the realization of the political end state. The doctrine also gives out the methodology of conducting operations in the hinterland which are based on people friendly operations. There are certain ground rules which need to be implemented by the security forces while operating in the sub conventional environment. Military – civic action plays an important role in winning the hearts and minds of the people. For successful operations, the intelligence sharing and dynamic employment of technological resources is essential. The most important issue of human rights violations has been given its due emphasis and the details of the exhaustive orders on the subject have been included in the doctrine. The challenges at the operational and tactical level have been enumerated and this is essential for the leaders.

20 “The Sub Conventional Operations Doctrine” for the Indian Army.
The book edited by Satish Kumar’s (2008)\(^{21}\) is a collection of articles by learned authors. These articles have critically examined the national security environment and threats and challenges. India is not completely free with anxieties with regard to external threats. Pakistan’s proven hostility towards India is yet to be proved. It has successfully used the instrument of terrorism against India. Sadly, India has not been able to cope with the challenges of internal security. Whether it is the dissidence and violence in J&K or the insurgencies in the northeast, the progress towards conflict resolution is very slow. The left wing extremism has expanded its ambit with every passing year. Islamic extremism is a new virus which, if allowed to take roots in the Indian soil, has disastrous possibilities.

Gurmeet Kanwal (2008)\(^{22}\) has covered the operational commitments of the Indian army to include internal security, with the battle field milieu, roles and tasks as the back ground. The author has given his recommendations for restructuring to meet the emerging challenges. However, not much has been discussed about the repercussions of the involvement of the Indian army for internal security for prolonged periods, which is a major cause for worry vis-à-vis its primary role.

Shrikant Paranjape’s (2009)\(^{23}\) book is a collection of papers presented by eminent personalities during a seminar conducted by the Department of Defence and Strategic Studies, University of Pune. The papers create a broad based understanding of the problem of internal security and the role of the state of India from an interdisciplinary perspective. It also highlights the role of the armed forces in internal security, implications of the involvement and thus the need to handle with care.

K.S. Sheoran (2010),\(^{24}\) in his book has analysed the aspects of human rights under the Constitution of India and also the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC). These aspects have, thereafter, been researched in the

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\(^{21}\) Satish Kumar, “India’s National Security Annual Review”, Knowledge World, New Delhi.


\(^{23}\) Shrikant Paranjape’s, “India’s Internal Security – Issues and Perspectives” Kalinga Publications, Delhi.

context of the employment of the armed forces for internal security duties. He has highlighted that the armed forces have consciously followed the ethics of “minimum use of force” and “good faith” during the conduct of the operations, which have found their manifestations in present day human rights concerns. He has laid stress on the training methodology for the armed forces before being inducted for counter insurgency operations. Media plays an important role and is gaining momentum for the day. Sheoran has recommended that the armed forces need to use the media to shape public opinion and perception in their favour, thus project a positive image of the armed forces in order to win over the people. Military - civic action is another area where the armed forces play an important role to win hearts and minds of the population. He has also recommended that the ‘Rashtriya Rifles’ and ‘Assam Rifles’ should be designated as the sub – conventional arm of the armed forces. By doing so, the army battalions will be employed only for its primary role.

R.S. Jassal (2011), an expert from the grass roots in the two states of Nagaland and Manipur has analysed the causes of insurgency/ militancy and support that the insurgents/militants are getting from the neighbouring countries to include Myanmar and China. He has also given his views on the conflict resolution, which is the finale of the counter insurgency operations. He highlights the differences between the hill areas and the plains, which have been the causes for insurgency and different demands, be it for statehood or otherwise. The five sparsely - populated hill districts to include Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Senapati, Ukhrul and Chandel comprise around 90% of the total state area encircling the densely populated tiny valley at the epicenter of Manipur. The differences between the hill and the plains have been in terms of land owning, job and education reservation quotas. The mass adoption of Christianity has brought along all the change in the social customs. The disputes in the hill areas among the groups embody another big constraint for any possible development project in the hills. He has appreciated the army’s involvement in the grassroots of the problem since last four to five decades. The army needs to be lauded on yet another fundamental point and that is of pricking the public space and also relying on the

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direct interaction with the public leaders, rather than going on the official route and relying on the peace spoilers.

**Sanjay Kumar and Dhirendra Dwivedi (2011)**\(^{26}\) in their edited book have compiled papers presented by eminent scholars and army officers. The papers make an interesting reading and have brought out the internal security threats/challenges to the country to include illegal immigration, ethnic conflicts and support from the neighbouring countries. As regards the northeast is concerned, there are different reasons for the ethnic upsurges and insurgencies in different states. Some of the states seek secession from the Indian Union, while some seek separate statehood and greater autonomy. An important issue which should have been highlighted by some of the speakers should have been the recommendations for resolving the internal security threats, be it conflict management or conflict resolution and the players involved in it.

**P.C. Katoch and S.R. Deshpande, (2011)**\(^ {27}\) have compiled the contributions of some very eminent and senior defence and civil services officers. The authors have analysed the reliability of the Indian Army in various operations since independence and also the insurgency in the northeast. They have highlighted the, fact of the army policy of fighting insurgency with an iron fist in velvet gloves in conjunction with the development of the region. As regards the neighborhood, the strategy for establishing relations with the countries is of utmost importance and more so with China which is looking at long term gains. The issue of a well co-ordinated intelligence set up in the country is the key to security. It has been highlighted that one of the reasons for the frequent call of the armed forces in the internal security is the over confidence prevalent amongst the bureaucrats, though known for giving sometimes wrong advice to the politicians, that once the army is called, they will be able to manage the problem. An important issue which has been analyzed is that the armed forces are apolitical and the way ahead for the forces is to remain the same.

**Sanjay Kumar (2011)**\(^ {28}\) has compiled the papers presented by various

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\(^{26}\) Sanjay Kumar and Dhirendra Dwivedi, (ed.) “India’s Internal security - Issues and Challenges” Sunrise Publications, New Delhi.


\(^{28}\) Sanjay Kumar, “India’s Internal Security Challenges”, Sunrise Publications, New Delhi.
defence analysts. K.S. Sidhu has discussed federalism in the Indian context, which gives out that the constitution which was adopted in 1950, classified the states into four categories. He also spells out that the key to dealing with the internal security is to keep the focus on people and society. Prashant Aggarwal has recommended the steps which need to be taken for border management. Dhirendra Dwivedi has analysed and enumerated the reasons for insurgency in the northeast. He has also highlighted the factors which bring out that why in spite of the best efforts made by the government peace initiatives have failed. Hooda and Shivrain have recommended the changes that need to be considered for success of the internal security situation.

**B.C. Upreti and Shashi Upadhyay (2012)** have given out the contributions of various authors covering the analysis of the emerging challenges of security in South Asia and also the internal security situation of the country which has an effect on the security scenario in the region. The issues pertaining to the northeast India have been brought out to include the state formation, society and state politics in northeast India by A C Sinha, the problem of illegal migration of the Bangladeshi nationals into the northeast by Kamal Kinger and the relationship of India with Bhutan and Nepal. Sinha has given the historical background to the emergence of the states in the northeast and has highlighted that there are four factors which need to be seen for the northeast and these are the geographical location, the Mongoloid racial features, preponderance of the tribals and the spread of Christianity. Kinger has also analyzed the background of the problem of illegal migration from Bangladesh into the states of the northeast. The cumulative effect of the same is making a dent in the economy of the region and also affects the demographic pattern. The relations with the neighborhood of Nepal and Bhutan need to be improved as the China factor is playing a role in the politics of these countries.

**Gurudas Das, (2012)** has highlighted the importance of security and development in the North East. The author has emphasized that there is a strong bondage between the two and this is what needs to capitalized to ensure an

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insurgency free North East. As of now there is insecurity and underdevelopment which the insurgent groups have cashed on and have put a fear in the hearts and minds of the people. The rebel groups and their leadership have been able to mobilize the people based on ethnic identity and demand for secession. The inter group or inter factional competition for state privileges have often resulted as a springboard of conflict. There have been inter factional killings and casualties. Conflict arises because of corruption, large scale unemployment, large proportion of youth, while violence is due to weak institutions, failure of democratic conflict-resolution mechanism and conflict due to external support resulting in violence.

The author has recommended a three pronged strategy for curtailing insurgency and underdevelopment in the North East. These are, to integrate the economy of the region with the south Asian and the south East Asian nations, adopt a community based development model and lastly improve the governance.

**Articles -**

**S.K. Sinha, (1998)** forwarded a report on “Illegal Migration into Assam”, to the President of India on 8 November 1998 and gave his impressions of the problem and also submitted his recommendations. He has highlighted that the Assamese people have become a minority in their own state just like Tripura and Sikkim primarily because of the illegal migration from Bangladesh which has affected the demographic pattern and thus has become a big cause of concern. The reason for this illegal migration has been primarily due to economic reasons. It has an impact on the vital districts of lower Assam geo strategically which on becoming Muslim majority may want it to become a part of Bangladesh. There is a need to curb this menace and the recommended actions are providing multipurpose photo identity card, registration of births and deaths and the `1950 National Register of Citizens’ should be updated and there is a requirement of separate register for the illegal migrants (stateless citizens). These steps are being implemented however; there is a requirement of much more to stop this recurring problem.

**Monirul Hussain (2003)** has brought out the issues of governance and

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31 [www.satp.org/satporgtp/.../india/.../illegal_migration_in_assam.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/.../india/.../illegal_migration_in_assam.htm)

elections in the northeastern states. A detailed analysis has highlighted the fact that the quality of governance has declined in the Northeast. There has been an increase in corruption and criminalization of politics. There is a failure to move towards a substantive democracy. It has been subverted by vested interests. The entire electoral process has been distorted.

Jaideep Saikia (2004)\textsuperscript{33} has focused on the Tirap and Changlang areas of Arunachal Pradesh, which is a region that connects Assam, Myanmar and Nagaland and is the Triangle of new concern. He has examined the insurgency situation in the area, thus showcasing the motivations, strengths and concerns, which have stem from subterfuges that have allowed a level playing field to the existing anti–India organizations. The author has highlighted the cross-border factor to this area and its strategic importance. The factions of the NSCN who want greater Nagalim are involved in achieving supremacy in the region. The area gains importance for the groups due to lack of development, ethnic similarity and proximity and also the Free Trade Regime. The separatists have been wooing the legislators of the region to join supremacy.

Anil Kamboj (2004)\textsuperscript{34} in his article has discussed the developments in Manipur and the effects on the AFSPA. It was on 11 July 2004 that there was the case of the alleged rape and killing of Thanjam Manorama, who was suspected to be a cadre of the People’s Liberation Army. There was a stir in Manipur against the AFSPA and the sections of the act. There was a complete collapse of the administration. The author has spelt out the pros and cons of repealing the AFSPA from Manipur. He is of the view if the AFSPA is repealed, it will become a demoralizing effect for the armed forces as all the initiative will be lost, the insurgents will gain an upper hand and in the bargain the local populace will be at a loss. The remedial measures have also been recommended which talk about training of the armed forces, the state police to handle normal operations, grievances cell to be opened at the sector headquarters/battalion headquarters so that the locals can come and report their grievances. His comment at the end of the article is that the law is not defective, but its implementation has to be managed.


\textsuperscript{34} Anil Kamboj “Manipur and Armed Forces (Special Power) Act1958”, \textit{Strategic Analysis}, Vol. 28, Issue 4, October.
E.N. Rammohan (2004) has given the details of the insurgency in the northeast, particularly Nagaland. The author in his portion of the background and history has revealed that the Nagas consisted of thirty tribes and they had migrated into the Naga Hills from China and Burma. Each of the Naga village was self sufficient in all respects and had their own laws for everything. The Nagas were of great help to the British during the Second World War when the Japanese had attacked. Naga National Council (NNC) wanted an independent Nagaland which did not work out and, thereafter, the NNC was split into the (IM) and (K) factions of NSCN. There was a ceasefire on 1st August 1997 between NSCN (IM) and the Government of India, but no worthwhile solution has been reached till date.

Harinder Sekhon (2005) has explained that the demographic invasion from Bangladesh into India has been prevalent since the assassination of Sheikh Mujibir Rehman and the relations between the two countries became increasingly sour. The Indian insurgent groups of the northeast were given asylum and assistance in Bangladesh. The intelligence services of Pakistan and Bangladesh have been providing support to these groups. The author has highlighted the scenario of the ISI having managed to establish a foothold in the region especially Assam. They have been providing training, fake currencies and smuggling of arms. There is a need to take steps against such eventualities which may become difficult to handle at a later stage. The author should have given more recommendations to handle these issues.

Tej Pratap Singh (2005) has examined the various aspects of the insurgency in Tripura to include the causes and consequences and measures for its resolution. He has brought out that the meaning of Tripura is “land besides water”. It was an island of peace and tranquility before 1947 even though there was migration to the area. It was, thereafter, due to the influx of the Bengali migrants that the demography of the area was changed and the locals became the minority. The root cause of the insurgency was this amongst the tribal population. In 1967 Tripura Upjati Juba Samiti (TUJS) was formed and they articulated the central

36 Harinder Sekhon “Pakistan’s Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) in Northeast India”, SSPC paper no.1, Observer Research Foundation, March, New Delhi.
tribal issues in an organized form as an insurgency. Tripura National Volunteers was formed followed by the NLFT and the ATTF. The latter groups wanted to liberate Tripura from Bengali settlers. In 1988, an accord was signed.

**B.B. Kumar (2006)** has attempted to bring out the historical background of the insurgency in the northeast. He has highlighted that the Britishers had a colonial design to separate the hills of India and Myanmar and to make it a crown colony. This was the background in which the Nagaland insurgency was developed. It was the inept handling of the Nagaland insurgency which resulted into the proliferation of insurgent activities in the entire region and the outfits continue to increase. The two unhealthy signals which emerged in the northeast after the affects of the insurgency in Nagaland were that the social distancing and the violence pay. Kumar has analysed the factors responsible for strengthening the insurgency and these are insurgents-politician nexus, insurgents –bureaucracy links, insurgency –police collusion, media support, support from both Indian and foreign human rights groups and NGO’s, external support and networking between the insurgent outfits.

**Bethany Lacina (2007),** highlights the causes of insurgency in the Northeast states to include lack of rule of law, proliferation of movements due to ethnic groups arming in response to each other, inter – communal and inter factional violence, external support to include illegal immigration and tribal status and autonomy provisions. The author has emphasized on the poor rule of law as the most important enabling condition of the present violence in the northeast and this has not been tackled directly with continued military / para military presence in the region.

**Ali Ahmed (2008)** in his article has briefly examined the internal security problems, as is true for most developing and post colonial states. The author has viewed these problems as socio-economic and political that requires to be addressed as such, rather than exclusively with the use of force. Therefore, in as much as force finds a utility in such situations is to contain the violence

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39 Bethany Lacina “Does Counterinsurgency theory apply in Northeast India”, *India Review*, vol. 6, no.3, pp.165-183.

perpetrated by the insurgent or terrorist so as to gain time for a political solution to work itself out. The author has reviewed the security situation in J&K, northeast, Naxal problem and has also brought out the gravest and most visible threat today is of hinterland terrorism. In consonance with the recommended changes, the author has also proposed the force structuring for executing the same.

Joginder Singh (2009)\textsuperscript{41} has analysed the changes that can help the centre in investigating and prosecuting offences affecting the sovereignty, integrity and security of India and the security of the state by passing the National Investigative Agency (NIA) Bill which became a law on 1\textsuperscript{st} January 2009. This was in response to the terrorist attack on Mumbai on 26\textsuperscript{th} November 2008. The terrorist attacks in the country have taken place in different townships; hundreds of miles away from each other, only showed that terrorist destruction and devastation have increased in this scale, intensity and geographical spread. The state police are hampered because its jurisdiction is confined to a limited area and also it has limited resources to deal with terrorism. The central government after receiving the details of the attack from the state government would decide within a period of fifteen days, whether the case needed to be investigated by the NIA. Once the case is entrusted to the NIA, it will take over the investigation from the state police.

Uddipa Goswami (2009)\textsuperscript{42} has covered in a clear and concise manner the northeast, where she has referred India (less northeast) and the northeast as ‘mainland’ and ‘periphery’ respectively. She has discussed about the insurgency movements which have grown around, use of the armed agencies to fight the insurgencies along with the constitutional powers and its effects of legitimatization of violence. It appears that the author in the article is anti the ‘mainland’, which actually is not the case, as the government policy is to provide support in all respects to the northeastern states. It is showing results by the elections held, cease fire in place and economic development. By doing so, the insurgents will be isolated from the people.


Bikash Sarmah (2009)\textsuperscript{43} has addressed the real cause of the security nightmare that most of the northeast is emblematic of. The author has blamed the politicians for not addressing the issue with a will to solving it and purging the seeds of rebellion once and for all. The army whose primary role is to defend the borders has not come on their own, but has been invited by the government as the police forces are incapable of affecting an appropriate counter insurgency grid.

H.M. Iyer (2009)\textsuperscript{44} has analysed the internal security situation to give an insight of the threats, tensions and conflicts originating both from indigenous and exogenous sources, and the response to these problems by the security forces. The author has also visualized the internal security situation in the future and recommended the need for organisational and doctrinal changes for the Army.

Ashok Mehta (2009)\textsuperscript{45} has highlighted that following the Mumbai attack, internal security has received a big boost. The budget for the central para military forces derives from the Ministry of Home Affairs whose budget has been increased by 33 percent over that of 2008-09. An additional amount of Rs 430 crore has been allotted for the modernization of the state police. These measures will be able to take some load off the army’s internal security role.

Anil Bhat (2010)\textsuperscript{46} has given the background of the AFSPA, 1958 and also the essence of the important sections. He has compared the AFSPA to the Criminal Procedure Code’s (Cr PC) section 45 under which the police has been given provisions. The police under the Cr PC enjoy more and encompassing and wider powers relating to arrest, search, seizure, summoning of witnesses, preventive detention etc. than the armed forces. The powers to investigate offences remains reserved with the police alone. He has recommended that the centre should maintain status quo on the AFSPA.

Kanti Bajpai, (2010)\textsuperscript{47} in his article has given out his views on the

\textsuperscript{44} H.M. Iyer, “India’s Internal security situation in the future and the Army’s role, organization and doctrinal changes recommended meeting the requirements”, War College Journal, Spring.
\textsuperscript{45} Ashok Mehta, “Internal security addressed for the first time in the Union Defence Budget”, Defence Digest, July-August.
\textsuperscript{46} Anil Bhat, “Why was AFSPA Instituted”, Centre for Land Warfare Studies, article no. 1595,12September2010at http://www.claws.in/index.php?action=master&task=596&ku_id=17
government’s policies towards internal security. He has mentioned five policies to include constitutionalism, commitment to civic as against ethnic nationalism, devolution of power in a layered federalism, conferral of group rights, use of force and has finally recommended the sixth element as government led development which includes economic growth, state to control parts of the economy and economic redistribution as a check against inequality. He has strongly brought out that as of now the government has been focusing on the use of force to combat insurgency which is not a long term solution. Therefore, the sixth element is essential to achieve long term goals.

Gaganjit Singh (2010)\textsuperscript{48} has stressed that intelligence has always been a failure in the country, even though there are numerous intelligence agencies available which have lacked co –ordination amongst them. The gap between the centre and state politics makes it further difficult to achieve any results. In Assam, the situation is under control but ultimate peace is yet to be achieved.

E.N. Rammohan (2010)\textsuperscript{49} has brought out that there are several Islamic fundamentalist insurgent groups in Assam, created with the help of the intelligences of Bangladesh and Pakistan. It is certain that severe communal rioting will breakout in Assam, West Bengal and Tripura along the fault lines between the immigrant Muslims and the local people. The government of Assam continues to forward all cases to foreigners tribunal, making it virtually impossible to deport illegal immigrants from India.

\textsuperscript{48} Gaganjit Singh, “Mapping Insurgency”, \textit{Look East}, Vol. 1, issue 5, August, Kolkata.
\textsuperscript{49} E. N. Rammohan, “Future of Immigrants in Assam”, \textit{Look East}, issue 3, 13 June, Kolkata.