Chapter III

PROBLEMS IN COMBATING CROSS BORDER TERRORISM

The scourge of terrorism has haunted Indian policy-makers since independence. Some of the states, particularly the bordering states, having different cultural and ethnic composition from the heartland, suffered from a real or perceived sense of neglect and misgovernance. Inimical powers exploited this aspect and sowed seeds of sedition and secession amongst some sections of society of these states—particularly the states of the North-East, Punjab and J&K—by providing them with arms training and financial support and instigated them to take up arms against the state machinery. India’s experience in combating insurgency/terrorism in these states has mostly been of finding a military solution to a political problem. Central and state governments have responded with various actions, mostly military, within own borders but lacked a coherent counter terrorism policy.

According to Prakash Singh, former Director General, Border Security Force (BSF): “The level of security arrangements along a particular border would depend upon the political relations, the economic linkages, the ethno-religious ties between people across the borders and the configuration of the border itself.”

Controls of cross Border activities on borders require some of the important and strategic heights important for the security of the nation. Both external and internal situations of the country are changing at an incredibly fast pace with the developments in nuclear weapons and missiles, increasing cross border terrorism, the emergence of non-state actors, the growth of Islamic fundamentalists, the narcotics arms nexus, illegal migration and left wing extremism, gravely impacting upon the security of the country and thus posing challenge to management of borders.

The dynamic nature of the problems concerning management of borders is bought out by the manner in which sensitivity of the Indo-Pakistan, Indo-Bhutan, Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh borders have changed over a period of time. These borders, which

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have been open, were once peaceful and trouble-free. However, with increasing activities of the ISI in Pakistan and frequent movement of militants in other States, the nature of the borders has changed completely.\(^3\)

Globalisation, media revolution and technological development in various fields have immensely impacted the border management framework. Now more comprehensive planning is needed to achieve peace and progress on borders. Geocenterality of India and the fear of the smaller neighbouring States of India’s size, economic resources and military strength has impacted on mutual relations. India faces military and non-military threats from all countries with land borders. Land borders with Pakistan and Bangladesh have witnessed rapid security affecting changes. Borders with Myanmar and Nepal are also causing serious concern. Pakistan and India have fought four wars over the issue of J&K.\(^4\) The problems persist and proxy war unleashed to wrest J&K continues. Without peaceful borders with its neighbours India can hardly play its legitimate role in global affairs at this time of seminal global change. Now these days there are many problems on the border management irrespective of the security measures in order to combat cross border terrorism.

The conventional definition of border management that we are familiar with may not be able to comprehensively explain what the terms stands for. An ideal definition should exhaustively cover the steps to be taken by all concerned agencies (not just military) to ensure not only the sanctity of the border but also the well being of all the border encompass.\(^5\)

### 3.1 CHALLENGES TO BORDER MANAGEMENT

Our borders have a variety of problems and issues and need a comprehensive focus for durable settlement. At many places, the social contours of our border are mercilessly cut across and divided into various ethnic groups. In time of conflict in neighbouring countries this has becomes a source of acute tension. Indo-Pak relations are characterized by existence of number of bilateral disputes some of them rooted in historical past such as Kashmir issue, others in current dynamics of bilateral issues viz

\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Ibid.
Baglihar Dam dispute. Pakistan continues to occupy illegally a large area of Kashmir and lays claim over whole State of J&K. Both countries have sections at both ends of the border, which are yet to be settled.

Despite India’s centrality, different geographical areas require different standards of security. There can be no horizontal stratification for accessing the standard of border security; on a specific segment of the border one has to go through many factors and not just geographically induced threat perception. Other trigger elements are: strategic importance of area, population pattern, and incidence of trans-border crime, disputability and security posture of opposing country.  

However, at border guarding level, reduction of tension amongst the neighbouring countries is of utmost importance. It helps, as administrative machinery can continue border regulation even in disputed areas. Border misunderstandings and clashes which has potential to trigger major confrontation can be reduced and borders can be better managed. A decisive posture, coupled with preparedness and constant vigil will help generate respect for us and reduce tensions.

Therefore, proper management of borders is vitally important for the national security. Different portions of extensive border have a variety of problems specific to them which have to be appropriately addressed. These problems have become aggravated in recent times with Pakistan’s policy of cross-border terrorism along with its intensely hostile anti-India propaganda designed to mislead and sway the loyalties of the border population. The intensification of cross-border terrorism targeted to destabilize, India has thrown up new challenges for border management policy.

3.1.1. General Constraints

External threats to India’s security are not the only border management issue dealt with at present by the national security apparatus. India’s rate of growth has far outpaced that of most of its neighbours and this has generated problems like mass migrations into India. Other threats and challenges have also emerged. The border security scenario is marked by; increased cross-border terrorism; infiltration and exfiltration of armed militants; emergence of non-State actors; nexus between narcotics traffickers and arms

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6 Supra note 2.
smugglers; illegal migration; left-wing extremism; separatist movements aided and abetted by external powers; and the establishment of madrasas (training schools), some of which are potential security hazards.  

- **Undemarcated Borders**

  One of the important problems in managing the borders is their delimitation and demarcation on the ground. India has an undemarcated border with China, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The problem of the undemarcated border is more acute in the case of Pakistan and China.  

  The fact is that the boundaries are a mix of well recognized demarcations; International Border, LOC, LAC, Working Boundary, AGPL, McMohan Line, Disputed borders etc.

  India’s border with Pakistan remained with various State police till 1965. K.F Rustamji, the first Director General of BSF, writes that in context of developments after Pakistan’s deliberate intrusion in Kanjarkot area in Rann of Kutch in January 1965, the then PM, Lal Bahadur Shastri, wanted a review of security arrangement of borders with Pakistan and wanted a force controlled centrally to guard the borders. General J.N Choudhary, the then Chief of the army staff, L.P Singh and K.F Rustamji, were closely associated in the raising of a central force viz. BSF on 1 December 1965.  

  The total length of border to be guarded on Indo-Pakistan borders is 3223 kms running along the States of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and J&K categorized as LOC and AGPL. Pakistan has used covert action in the guise of terrorism as an instrument of State policy against India. It has recruited, trained, financed, armed and infiltrated terrorists in India and has provided sanctuary to anti-Indian elements. Despite global outcry against terrorism and notwithstanding a string of confidence building measures adopted by two governments, Pakistan has not yet dismantled the terror infrastructure in the territory under its control.

  When a border is not demarcated on the ground and when there is no common understanding between two sides as to what constitutes the LAC due to the Chinese

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11 Ibid.
reluctance to exchange with us maps indicating their understanding of the LAC, such intrusions are bound to take place from both sides. Such intrusions used to be a recurring feature across the Sino-Myanmar border in the Northern Shan State and the Kachin State before the Sino-Myanmar border was demarcated in the 1970s except in the northern trijunction where the borders of India, China and Myanmar meet, which remains undetermined and undemarcated till today.\textsuperscript{12}

Recently, the government of India, incidentally, is now conducting a fresh survey of the northern plateau in Sikkim to counter claims by China, as China continues to needle Indian forces all along the 4057 kms LAC. In the latest set of incursions across the LAC, Chinese patrols once again transgressed into the Indian side in eastern Ladakh as China wants the border to be drawn in a straight line to gain strategic advantage.\textsuperscript{13} But eastern Ladakh is not the region where Chinese patrols have been flexing their muscles in an aggressive border management policy to put pressure on India and lay claim to disputed areas along the LAC. Similar Chinese moves have been witnessed in the eastern sector in Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim in recent months. With over 80 incursions across the 206 km Sikkim Tibet border being recorded since January 2008, the Indian establishment is especially worried about so-called 22.1 sq km ‘finger area’, the northern most tip of Sikkim, which China is claiming as its own territory.\textsuperscript{14}

Before the independence of India, there existed a system of regular survey and supervision of Nepal-India boundary jointly conducted by the officials of both countries every year to oversee and find out encroachment, if any, on the boundary, ill-defined boundary, missing and broken as well as displaced boundary pillars with the objective to fix and place them in their original position. Accordingly, while Nepal has been entrusted to look after the pillars having odd number, India looks after the pillars having even number. After the independence of India, no joint boundary survey has been conducted until the formation of a Joint Boundary Commission in 1981 with the composition of six boundary survey teams. Delay in the formation of a Joint Boundary Commission resulted in several boundary disputes, which remain unresolved, because the activities of the

\textsuperscript{12} B.Raman, ‘China’s Strategic Intrusion in India’s Neighbourhood’, available at http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/papers34/html, (Last viewed on September 15, 2009).

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14} Rajat Pandit, ‘Fresh Chinese Incursions across LAC’, The Times of India, New Delhi, September 11, 2008.
Commission are going on at a very slow pace. There is a provision for two meetings of the Joint Boundary Commission every year. Twenty years have been elapsed since the formation of the Commission in 1981 and accordingly, there should have been 36 meetings up to 1999, but so far only 22 meetings have been convened.  

Boundary survey of almost all the districts bordering India has been completed except for Darchula, Dadeldhura and Kanchanpur as well as the border with Sikkim State of India. Moreover, there have been several cases of encroachment on and tampering with the boundary makers and damage, destruction and removal of boundary pillars in the areas already surveyed by the joint boundary teams. As a result, there exist several cases of boundary disputes with resulting claims and counter claims. There are reportedly 8 disputed areas along the Nepal India border with a total of six along the rivers of Mahakali, the Narayani/ Gandak (Susta) and the Mechi and the other two are in Pasupatinagar and Thori. There are several areas along the Nepal- India border where no man’s land has been encroached on both sides.

According to Mr. Buddhi Narayan Shrestha, the former Director General of the Department of Survey of Nepal, there are 53 disputed and encroached areas along the Nepal- India boundary. However, the All Nepal Free Students Union affiliated with the Nepal Communist Party (Marxist and Leninist) has indicated 61 disputed areas along the Nepal- India boundary. Out of the 26 districts of Nepal bordering India, the map indicates 22 districts having encroachment (problem) and the only 4 remaining districts have no boundary problem are Baitadi, Bara, Mahottari and Dhanusha. The map also indicates boundary problems in the districts bordering the Sikkim State of India.

Undemarcated areas continue to remain a source of tension and pose a hindrance towards normalization of relations between two nations. India had to defend its territory by going to war over these issues.

- **Porous Nature of Border**

  India’s borders comprise a vast variety terrain encompassing deserts, plains, hills, mountains and reverine areas. By and large, these borders are very porous due to the

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15 Ibid.
terrain and ethnic affinities of population on both sides of the borders. Illegal migration, infiltration of anti-national elements, smuggling of arms/explosives and drug trafficking are some of the serious problem.

Pakistan has been indulging in the nefarious games of cross border terrorism against India from its inception by exploiting the sensitivities of India’s religious and cultural communities. There are number of training camps in POK in which terrorists are trained and sent inside J&K. Direct accessibility and the porous nature of the borders allow insurgents groups tactical flexibility.\(^{18}\) Some technological developments enabling quick passage of info, transfer of funds, underworld criminal gang’s links with terrorist groups have changed the focus and tenor of border security. It is also worthwhile to mention that terrorists and subversive elements are using soft borders of India touching countries like Nepal and Bangladesh to enter India.

The Indo-Bangladesh border is highly porous making the illegal movement of people and goods a perennial problem. In fact, the border area between India and Bangladesh is not completely fenced and leaves a fringe area under open territory. Forty six patches have been identified along the border, which cannot be fenced due to territorial problem. These patches have half fringe of their land along the Indian part while the other half is in Bangladesh. Therefore to avoid problems, decision has been taken jointly visit these areas and take decisions regarding the type of fence that should be constructed. Therefore, though relations between Bangladesh and India are usually friendly but they have occasional disputed, mainly related to cross border trespassing and smuggling through their 4000 km border, a relatively porous one that runs through rivers, hills and marshes. Therefore India proposed several times for coordinated patrolling of its border with Bangladesh to curb trespassers who cross over at night, leading to many of them was being shot by the BSF – the bone of contention at talks between the top brass of the border guards of the two countries. The killing of unarmed civilians, as Bangladesh puts it, has become a sensitive issue between the two neighbours that ultimately create impediments in the over all bi-lateral relations. But Bangladesh always vehemently denied Indian charges on harbouring either Indian insurgents groups or providing

assistance to other extremist forces. They see this Indian attempt to malign them in the international community and insist that there is no earthly reason for Bangladesh to support terrorism against India. Dhaka has shown the political will to crack down on these groups that operate on its small border with Myanmar. A similar gesture on the Indian border would boost mutual confidence.19

The terrain and the demographic composition of the border area make it conducive for Bangladeshis to sneak into India and also to get easily assimilated into the local populace. Migration from Bangladesh into India, especially in Assam and Tripura has primarily been driven by the quest for better economic opportunities. Many Bangladeshis have also crossed over into India to escape political and religious persecution. Over the years, the magnitude of this illegal migration had reached such an astounding proportion that it had begun to alter the demographic profile and threaten the socio-political fabric of the Border States. The porous nature of the border and the constant floe of the people have also made it easy for Indian Insurgents Groups (IIGs) to cross over into Bangladesh, where they have set up safe houses and training camps under the benign eyes of Pakistani and Bangladeshi intelligence services.20 The increasing influence of Islamic fundamentalism in Bangladesh has resulted in the large-scale push into India, of not only economic migrants, but also the foot-soldiers of jihad terrorism and pan-Islamic fundamentalism, all of which have the potential to destabilize the country and threaten national security.

Nepal and Bhutan are separated by a wide stretch of Indian Territory, Darjeeling district of West Bengal State and Sikkim State. Bhutan and Indian have no open border. However, because of the open border between Nepal and India they could easily enter into Nepal via Indian Territory. In reality, the first place of asylum for the Bhutanese refugees is India. Under international convention, it is the responsibility of India to settle them in India by establishing refugee camps, but India drove them into, Nepal. The Bhutanese refugees represent different Napalese ethnic and caste groups, but it does not

mean that they have directly migrated to Bhutan from Nepal. Lots of them have migrated from different parts of eastern and northeastern India as well. Nearly 100,000 Bhutanese refugees are resettled in the camps in Jhapa and Morang districts.\textsuperscript{21} Though they live in the closed camps with barbed wire fencing, their movements outside are not restricted, and they are also able to cross the barbed wire fencing easily. This has affected the natural, social and economic environment of the surrounding areas, because they are engaged in illegal cutting of trees in the government forests, are engaged in business and work as cheap labour thereby affecting the business and employment of the local community. It is alleged that a lot of Bhutanese refugees have been able to secure Nepalese citizenship through illegal means. Moreover, a lot of the Indians of Nepalese origins have also migrated to Bhutan, and naturally a large numbers of them must be Indians.\textsuperscript{22} It is not known when the Bhutanese refugee problem will be solved.

Therefore porous nature of the border is another major problem with the Indian borders where dense population is residing, allows free movements of national criminals of neighbouring countries. This problem gets severely compounded in the riverine and jungle areas where patrolling is difficult.

- **Over Population in the Border Areas**

Density of population in the border areas at some places is approximately 700-800 persons per sq km on the Indian side and about 1000 persons on the Pakistan side. Such an overpopulated area with a porous border poses problems in detection and apprehension of criminals who have the option of crossing over to the other side to evade arrest. Since many villages are located so near the border there are approximately 187 villages in Kashmir where houses are located within 150 yards of International Border where the density of the population is far more than the rest of the country.\textsuperscript{23}

Compared to India’s western border, conditions have become more difficult on Indo-Bangladesh border due to increase in the density of population, firstly, because of the overall increase in the population of the country and secondly, due to the influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh who have settled in the border area. A major problem

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
with the Indo-Bangladesh border is the habitation of the border belt. Both sides are yet to exchange certain enclaves. Despite the limited nature of dispute, there have been conflagrations on the Indo-Bangladesh border at regular intervals. Things have worsened with the increasing population pressure in Bangladesh. With pressure on their land Bangladeshis are trying to enter into Indian Territory to cultivate land with the tacit support of Bangladeshi border guards. This has increased the problems for Indian Border Security Force who is supposed to manage the Indian side of the border. They are now demanding that border issue should be sorted out with urgency so that it can be sealed off efficiently.

The riverine border, mostly in Dhubri district of Assam and Southern West Bengal, presents peculiar problems, as it is difficult to locate Permanent Border Outposts (BPOs) in the area due to swelling of the Brahmaputra and other rivers that increases the depth of the river by about 30 feet. The ‘Char’ areas thrown up during the dry season and which people inhabit are almost completely submerged. Patrolling in such areas is problematic. The nature of the border configuration affords an easy opportunity to the infiltrations and smugglers to cross over to India. The crossing is further facilitated because the border is thickly populated. The southern frontier of the West Bengal border is much more vulnerable, and so the number crossing is larger. Several areas of Kolkata have already been saturated with Bangladeshis to spread to other parts of India. The density of population on the Indo-Bangladesh border varies from State to State. In West Bengal it is 766, in Assam and Meghalaya it is 181 and in Tripura and Mizoram it is 268. The boundary passes through the middle of the villagers/houses. The houses are scattered almost along the entire stretch of the boundary. Another problem is atrocities on the Hindu minority in Bangladesh. These atrocities forced Hindu families to migrate to India in waves since the creation of East Pakistan. A news report by Ershadul Huq, states that the Bangladesh High Court has asked the government to explain why it should not be ordered to take action to protect the country’s religious minorities from terrorist attacks and harassment. The petition submitted by Ain-o-Shalish Kendra (ASK) states the atrocities committed against nearly 30 million minorities including about 20 million

25 Ibid
26 Id. at p. 406.
Hindus. The atrocities have resulted in the decline of the Hindu population from 24 percent in 1974 to 10 percent as of now. An analysis of population growth of Hindus in Bangladesh reveals that the decadal growth rate has been 3.1 percent for 1974, 9.3 percent for 1981 and 5.8 percent in 1991, which is far below the average 24 percent growth rate of Hindus in the subcontinent. If this (24 percent) decadal growth rate is to be applied in case of Bangladeshis, the Hindu population should have been approximately 14.7 million while it is 10.5 million as per the census. Obviously, these have illegally crossed through the porous borders and settled in India.¹⁷

A recent survey revealed that as much as 15 percent of the total Bangladeshis population has reportedly illegally migrated to India. Now the heftiest intellectuals of Bangladesh have floated the idea of handing over a part of Indian Territory along the 4000 Km Indo-Bangladesh border to it for accommodating the ever increasing population. In 6 districts of Assam, these illegal migrants constitute 6 percent of the population and in another six, they form 40 percent. Armed with voting rights, now these illegal migrants are influencing the policy of the State, which poses a great threat to country’s security.²⁸

In 2002, seven people have lost their lives in every 10 days to terrorist attacks in the western side of India. A survey revealed that 81 percent of the country’s citizen feared for their safety in the face of terror in India, the country’s own weakened response to control this menace had helped in its rapid growth. The ISI has succeeded in attracting fringe elements from Muslim community of the country towards terrorist activities and the emergence of technology- savvy extremist’s elements is a dangerous trend. The impregnable ghettos that had emerged in various metropolitans and other towns posed a serious challenge to security agencies.²⁹

Given the history of ethnic violence in Assam, we run the danger of rushing to conclusions about motives and culprits. But it is not half as premature to debate the portent of the serial blasts in Assam in the year 2008 that have shaken Guwahati, Barpita, Kokrajhar and Bongaigaon. The blasts have claimed more than 50 lives and injured hundreds of people in a State that was the victim of bombs and guns long before Indian

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¹⁷ Supra note 24
²⁹ Ibid.
cities elsewhere began to see bombs going off every second day. Much blood has blown down Brahmaputra, spilled in clashes caused by ethnic and linguistic strife in violent project determined to carve up the State, through attempts to even secede from the Indian Union. And the United Liberation Front (ULFA) is synonymous with gore in the dictionary of terrorism. This terror attacks in Assam killed so many people and had the stamp of Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Harkat-ul-Jihadi Islami's (HuJI) involvement.

Illegal migration is emerging as a migraine for the country and threatening to alter Northeast's demography. With tacit support from political parties, particularly in Assam, illegal immigrants are not only a burden on the state's resources but also a breeding ground for Pak-sponsored terrorism. Though there are no official figures of actual numbers of illegal Bangladeshis in Assam, their population, according to a rough estimate could be over 2 million of the state's 30 million people.

- **Border Fencing**

  The primary aim of fencing along the Indo-Pakistan border was to check the ingress of criminals, prevent smuggling and provide a sense of security to the border population. There are wide gaps as fencing is not complete. This is due to slow progress in acquisition of land, resistance by locals, flaws in conceiving the project and lack of sincerity. The fencing however, has not resulted in curbing the menace to significant degree. By itself, the fencing is not a barrier. It can be effective only when it is vigorously patrolled and kept under surveillance round the clock. The terrain, climatic conditions, dense vegetation, improper design and alignment without taking into consideration the traditions and culture of the border population, has further led to its repeated breaching. The BSF, deployed to guard the border, is stretched too thin along the border, resulting in large unmanned, unguarded gaps, which are exploited by the criminals. High snowfalls results in large stretches being waterlogged, dense vegetation and undergrowth immediately after the winters. This has severely affected the fencing which got rusted and damaged within a few years of its commissioning. Moreover, there are many villages between fencing and the International Boundary, where people are in collusion with the criminals, making detection of illegal migrants and criminal difficulties. Fence has also

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resulted in virtually giving away the land lying between the fencing and the International Border to Pakistani criminals. The government has adopted a well coordinated and multi-pronged strategy tackle ISI activities. Border has been strengthened to check illegal cross- border activities by fencing IB and creating obstacles along LOC along terrorist’s routes. So far 159 kms of fencing work has been completed in Jammu sector.\textsuperscript{32}

Any discussion on cross border fencing problem, especially in the Indian context, would be incomplete without mention of China’s role in promoting Trans national’s activities on Indian soil. The Chinese have two major claims on what India deems its own territory. One claim, in the western sector, is on Aksai Chin in the northeastern section of Ladakh district in J&K. The other claim is in the eastern sector over a region included in the British designated North- East Frontier Agency, the disputed part of which India renamed Arunachal Pradesh and made a State. In the fight over these areas, the well trained and well armed troops of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army overpowered the ill- equipped Indian troops, who had not been properly acclimatized to fight at high altitudes. India accuses China of illegally occupying 43,180 sq km of territory in Jammu & Kashmir, including 5,180 sq km Beijing has illegally ceded to Pakistan in 1963. on its part, Beijing accuses New Delhi of occupying some 90,000 sq km of Chinese territory, most of it the northeastern Indian State of Arunachal Pradesh.\textsuperscript{33}

Evidence collected by the police in many recent terrorist incidents including the Mumbai blasts in July, the Varanasi serial blasts in March and attack on the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore in December 2005 point to an increased use of Bangladeshi territory by ISI backed terrorist groups like Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI).\textsuperscript{34} It is suspected that the bomb blasts in Jalpaiguri and Guwahati in 2006 were also carried out by the persons on the behest of ISI stationed in Bangladesh. The incident of weapon hauls in various Northeastern Sates indicates that Bangladesh has also become a conduit for arms trafficking.\textsuperscript{35} Smuggling especially of cattle, human and narcotics

\textsuperscript{34} Reference of Annexure C for the Banned Organisations in India.
\textsuperscript{35} Pushpita Das, ‘The India- Bangladesh Borders – A Problem Area for Tomorrow’, IDSA Strategic Comments, New Delhi, (December 8, 2006)
trafficking, counterfeit currency, kidnapping and thefts are quite rampant along the border.

Construction of fences at eastern borders has been undertaken in two phases, with phase I sanctioned in 1987 and phase II in 2000. Phase I ended with the fencing of only 20 percent (857 km) of the border, and even this was of limited utility since much of the fencing was subsequently damaged as a result of faulty construction designs and vagaries of weather. Under phase II, an additional 2429.5 km offence was sanctioned and by 31 January 2005, 1275.4 km had been completed.\textsuperscript{36}

In a survey conducted by a team of the Akhil Bhartiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), on the Indo- Bangladesh borders in northeastern States revealed that fencing of only 30 percent of border has been done, which is also in a poor condition due to the alleged use of substandard material. The team surveyed 1,074 km long International Border in 12 border districts of four north eastern States, Assam, Meghalya, Tripura, and Mizoram. The members of the team covered 78 km long remote areas by foot and 45 km through boats.\textsuperscript{37} From the last few years, a large scale infiltration from Bangladesh has been taking place in north eastern States. A detailed report to this account by the former governor of Assam S.K Sinha was submitted to the President of India. The growing terrorism, smuggling and various illegal activities have posed a serious threat to the national security in the north eastern States.

However, at most of the places in Meghalaya, the fencing is old and in poor conditions. The gates erected at some places are badly damaged. Similarly in Tripura, most of the border is open and the old fencing at certain places has worn out. Out of 80 km long border in Mizoram, only 7 km long border had been fenced and that too in a very poor condition. One more interesting fact is that there is no fencing along rivers, ponds and in interior regions.\textsuperscript{38}

However, erecting fences along the border has not been without its share of problems. The inhospitable terrain, the largely undemarcated border area and consequent border disputes, the non- cooperative attitudes of the various State governments and also

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
that of the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) are all hurdles in the way of effectively fencing the border.\(^{39}\) The State governments have not shown much enthusiasm towards the erection of border fences for a number of reasons. The rehabilitation of displaced people due to fencing is a contentious issue between the central and various State governments. The government of Tripura has alleged that the BSF is not adhering to guidelines announced by the Ministry of Home Affairs while constructing the fences. India is also facing stiff resistance from Bangladesh at 265 disputed spots as the security forces of both the countries differ on their perception of the location of the boundary. Bangladesh objects on the ground that the construction of any defensive structure within 150 yards of the international boundary is not permitted under the guidelines agreed to in 1975. On the other hand, India maintains that it is demolition of defensive structures and not construction of fences that forms part of 1975 guidelines. It must be mentioned that the above mentioned contentious parts constitute only 7 percent (297 km) of the 4095 km long India- Bangladesh border.\(^ {40}\)

The Indo- Bangladesh border is well on its way to become a major headache for India unless the problems afflicting the border are not addressed urgently. The issues of illegal migration, smuggling, spread of Islamic fundamentalism from across the border etc. need to be effectively tackled. Measures like construction of fences and roads have to be taken undertaken on a war- footing. In addition, it is important to sensitize the border population about the strategic importance of their area and also get them involved in guarding the border.

- **Difficulty in Identifying Foreign National**

  Indians of the bordering States and neighbouring countries look alike, speak the same language, wear the same dresses and have similar set of culture and traditions, thus making it difficult to identify a foreign national in the absence of identify cards in the border areas. Connivance of the locals with intruders–for a payment makes the task of detection more difficult.

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\(^ {39}\) Supra note 35, also available at [http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/theIndiaBangladeshBorderAProblemareaforTommorrow/Pdas](http://www.idsa.in/idsastrategiccomments/theIndiaBangladeshBorderAProblemareaforTommorrow/Pdas) (Last Modified at June 6, 2011)

\(^ {40}\) Ibid.
Likewise at Indo–Nepal border not only the Indian and Nepalese nationals cross the porous border without any restriction, but these days some Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan and even Afghan and Iranian nationals infiltrate into Indian territory, misusing the open border to some extent. Their similar face, attire, posture and behaviour resemble the Nepalese and Indian nationals. Some of the Pakistani, Iranian, and Myanmar infiltrators are seeking asylum in mostly western nations through United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office in Kathmandu.41 In one sense, the porous border has helped to initiates rebellion activity in both nations to some extent. So Indo-Nepal open border management system is going to be difficult for the common people of both countries.

Our borders have a variety of problems and issues and need a comprehensive focus for a durable settlement. At many places, the social contours of our borders are mercilessly cut across and divided into various ethnic groups. In time of conflict in neighbouring countries this becomes a source of acute tension. Indo-Pak relations are characterized by existence of a number of bilateral disputes, some of them rooted in historical past such as Kashmir issue, others in current dynamics of bilateral issues viz Baglihar Dam dispute. Pakistan continues to occupy illegally a large area of Kashmir and lays claim over whole State of J&K. Both countries have sections at both ends of the border, which are yet to be settled.

- **Passive and Indifferent Attitude of Border Population**

The major problem in combating cross border terrorism is that all border crime takes place in an organized manner. The population residing in the border areas is either dependent on the kingpins or are scared to speak against such criminals. This sometimes happens due to indifferent attitude of the administration where some of them are also a part of the nexus.42

One of the main reason for surviving and thriving of terrorists and subversive groups in Kashmir and elsewhere in north east of India is that the people no longer willing to tolerate the inequity, poverty, and corruption in which Sates in these areas have

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been mired. Disgusted with the governments and despairing of the prospect for peaceful and incremental change within the existing order, the people are looking for an explanation of their personal suffering and societal degradation. The eruption of militancy in Kashmir during late 1980s was not a sudden outburst but the cumulative result of various twists and turns in the State’s policies since long. If one wants to understand the growth of militancy in Kashmir, one has to bear in mind that it is both spontaneous as well as the result of some external planning. The denial of basic human needs like genuine decent livelihood, civil liberties and federal autonomy to the people of Kashmir alienated them from the Indian nation and finally crossed over to the side of militancy. Pakistan a traditional rival in the dispute of Kashmir, took advantage of the situation. It not only gave military training to young Kashmiri Muslims but also provided sophisticated weapons. After their return, these young men started an armed struggle in Kashmir.43

It is well known that Pakistan has been the main source of arms, ammunition and training for religious groups which operated in the Punjab in the past and for those which are operating presently in J&K and other parts of India. The training is given by the ISI, either directly or through religious fundamentalist and Pan- Islamic Jihad Organisations, in various makeshift camps located in POK, the Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baluchistan) and the North-West Frontier Province. India has a little over 140 million Muslims – the second largest Muslim community in the world after Indonesia. Only a very small section of the community has taken to terrorism due to various grievances and instigation by the ISI and Pakistan’s religious, fundamentalist and jihad organizations. The overwhelming majority of Indian Muslims are loyal, law- abiding citizens. They have not allowed their anger against the India government or the Hindus for any reason to drive them into the arms of terrorist organizations. However, terrorist groups always try to bitter the relationship between two communities that is Hindu & Muslims.44

- Cutting of Barbed Wire by Smugglers, Terrorists

Smugglers, terrorists have invented a very ingenious way of dealing with the security forces who have tried to obstruct their activity – by cutting the barbed wires.

Barbed wires spread over a longer distance and passes through to no man’s land which may not be under direct observation of security forces. Since a breached wire invites disciplinary action against the respective commanders and troops. Smugglers resort to such acts to force commanders either to connive with them or face the consequences of an inquiry for dereliction of duty.

- **Nexus between Criminal-Administration and Police**

  The cross border crimes in the border regions flourish due to the connivance and close nexus of the criminals, police – administration triumvirate. It has been found in certain cases that before the illegal migrants enter India, certain important documents like ration cards, gas connection papers etc., showing them as Indian citizens are all prepared and handed over to them to allow them escape detection on the border. These illegal migrants are then helped to reach any part of this country, including crossing over to fences also. A glaring instance of connivance can be seen from the fact that the cattle smuggled from India to Bangladesh reach the Bangladesh border from places as far as Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, etc., on the basis of fictitious documents and bribing the officials of respective checkpoints.\(^{45}\)

  On the other hand India’s internal security scenario has grown complex over the years. It has been subjected to cross border terrorism abetted by external power and as many as nine States with 76 districts are affected by naxalite violence in varying degrees. Maintenance of law and order is the responsibility of the State. State police force has been found inadequately trained to deal with situation as such border guarding forces are frequently withdrawn to combat insurgency. They have also been withdrawn many a time to deal with law and order problems. Withdrawal of forces limits their capabilities to guard the borders efficiently. Even the military officers are alleged to have ordered weapons on the basis of how large the kickback will be. There are instances where soldiers and policemen have extorted rather than defended the public. In Kashmir, the line between the police and the criminals is a thin one, and at times may not exist at all.\(^{46}\)

\(^{46}\) Ibid.
• **Change of Profile of Border Areas**

Continuous influx of illegal migrants has resulted in a change of profile of the border areas. Mosque and Madrassas (training schools) have come up on the border areas, neighbouring countries nationals and their dresses as well as their culture is visible in the border belt an done can see a perceptible difference in the demographic profile compared to as it was 10 years ago.

Likewise people of Nepal have experienced historically from closed to wide open border management system with India since ancient period. Now there is open border system. The terrorists, rebels and criminals have misused present porous border. Meanwhile, Indo- Nepal border is going to be insecure due to threats. Therefore, enforcement of ID card system and fencing the frontier should be the measures to make the border restricted for the terrorists, checked for criminals, controlled for smugglers, stopped for narcotics holders and obstructed for girl traffickers. But it must be regulated for the genuine passengers of Nepal and India; and managed for export and import of merchandise legally, so that people of both the frontiers may feel their life and property safe and secure.

• **Terrorists in Enclaves**

Enclaves pose a problem of a peculiar nature. Since police cannot enter the enclaves, the local heads act as per their whims without attracting any retribution from either country. People from Indian enclaves in Pakistan or Bangladesh have already migrated to India – either due to sale of their land or to escape persecution. Terrorists are taking shelters in these enclaves as these are considers to be the very safe havens for them. In fact, security and border management issues as well as ways to enhance cooperation between the law enforcement agencies have always been prominent issues between India and Bangladesh as five Indian States–Assam, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura share a 4095 km border with Bangladesh. These include a 2979 km land border and 1116 km are river line. So also, issues such as round – the – clock access to two Bangladeshi enclaves on the Indian side, the action taken so far to deport militants and crackdown on rebel training camps are equally important for, India.  

become convenient points for smuggling, avoiding customs and excise duties, importing of contraband, and are a point of entry for illegal aliens. There are 111 Indian enclaves (17158 acres) in Bangladesh and 51 Bangladesh enclaves (7110.02 acres) in India. Historically, enclaves date back to the period of the expansion of the Mughal Empire into northern Bengal in the late seventeenth century and continued till the British established control of the Sate.  

- **Circuitous International Boundary**  
The international boundary follows a non-linear pattern. It passes through villages, fields, houses, rivers and jungles in an uneven manner and at places forms big loops. If one is to follow the proper route along such loops, it is time-consuming. The pattern of demarcation is so tedious that people in the border areas find it tempting to trespass and violate the international border as shortcuts.

- **Relations across the Boundary**  
Radcliff’s scalpel at the time of partition left many people with relations stranded on the other side. It did not matter initially to the people as the borders were virtually porous and they could visit each other freely. Due to laxity, they continued to enter into marriage alliances subsequently and nurtured the relations to the extent of settling down, particularly in Assam, Punjab, and J&K. With the tightening of control in the border it became more and more difficult, yet the efforts continue till date to go and meet the relatives across the border.

- **Limitation to Applicability of Law of the Land**  
Indulgence in across the border crimes like cattle lifting, kidnapping, crossing over of under trials extremists, trafficking of women and children have become a phenomenon and a way of living because the law of the land ceases to apply after a person crosses over to the other side. Terrorists have entered into an understanding to provide shelter to each other in their respective countries to avoid legal proceedings.

- **Missing Borders Pillars**  
Border Pillars show the alignment of the boundary on the ground. There are various types of border pillars like main, minor and subsidiary. These pillars sometimes

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get stolen or removed by terrorist elements with a view to create tension on the border or nibble ground resultantly boundaries don’t get properly demarcated.

There is a very important instance in this regard is that the main reason for the eruption of border disputes between India and Nepal is the ever shifting course of the turbulent Himalayan Rivers, which define the international boundary between the two countries in many areas. These rivers keep changing their courses every now and then, thereby throwing up new territories and submerging old land. Although the riverine boundary is determined on the principle of a fixed boundary, the shifting course of rivers results in adverse possessions. In other words, because the river dissolves old lands and creates new ones, the new lands are “illegally” occupied by people beyond the border. So, what was once Nepalese territory is occupied by Indians and vice versa. This process creates confusion and tensions among people residing in these ever changing border landscapes. The problem is compounded by submergence, destruction and removal of border pillars, a fact also noted by the parliamentarian’s team in its June 2009 report.49

**Firing across the Border**

There is an intense firing across the International Border at the slightest provocation, causing tension and problem of management. Because of the continuous firing infiltration intrude inside the country, as there is diversion of attention of the troops.50 Indian and Bangladeshi border guards have often exchanged fire along their porous 4000 km border that runs through rice fields, hills, jungles, marshes and rivers. They accuse each other of targeting civilians on the frontier, which has acquired a reputation for rampant smuggling and illegal migration.51

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50 In the year 2006 frequent skirmishes have taken place between the BSF and the BDR. On June 9, 2006, BSF and BDR personnel exchanged fire for over six hours after a Bangladesh smuggler was shot dead in Nadia district of West Bengal. According to BSF Inspector General Somesh Goyal the Bangladesh, identified as Mohammad Yousuf, was killed after he attacked an Indian soldier with a knife to evade arrest. Troops of the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) then opened fire on a BSF patrol, and Indian forces returned fire. The incident took place at the Gede- Namatala frontier, about 140 km north of Kolkata. The deceased was carrying 4 kg of ganja and 50 bottles of cough syrup. Five others accompanying him fled under the Bangladesh smugglers. In another incident of unprovoked firing a BSF constable was killed on June 12 when border guards chasing a gang of Bangladesh smugglers were fired on by the Bangladesh Rifles in West Bengal’s north 24 parganas district. Pursued by the BSF on Indian Territory, the smugglers, numbering five to six, divided into the Ichamati river at Ghojadanga. The BDR then fired on the Indian border guards. Rajendra Kumar Sharma, a constable of 191 BSF battalion died in the incident.

Lack of Development

The produce in the border areas does not find any market on the Indian side for want of communication facilities and the items produced are of a perishable nature. So, the Indians have to perforce resort to sell it in Pakistan or in Bangladesh. But, in case of the Meghalaya border, the boundary lies on the foothills towards Bangladesh while the plains are in India where the vegetables etc., produced are consumed by Indians. Problems crop up every year during sowing and harvest season when Bangladeshi farmers enter Indian Territory for cultivation, though no Indian farmers ever go to Bangladesh to work on lands under its possession. Some Home Ministry officials feel that it was the indifferent attitude of successive governments since 1975 that had left the issue unresolved for decades now. What is worse nearly 6.5 km of the border is still undemarcated which is beyond the scope of any patrolling or fencing by Indian forces making it one of the most “porous” and sensitive sections of the country’s international border.\(^52\)

3.1.2. Legal Constraints

Some of the legal constraints are also contributing in enhancing the cross border terrorism in India:

Ambiguity of Jurisdiction on the Border

The jurisdiction of border guarding forces differs from border to border. There is no clear cut demarcation regarding the jurisdiction. In some cases, the jurisdiction extends to 5 km and in other cases, it is 15 km and in some States like Meghalaya in the entire State, this results in confusion among the forces.\(^53\)

Lack of Judicial and Law Enforcement Infrastructure

It has been observed in border areas especially in Jammu and Kashmir that the local administration is virtually non-existent. The presence of local police is also grossly inadequate. Often, only a constable may be available at the outpost. This cause complete breakdown of the law enforcement mechanism as in the case of any crime, it takes very

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long to activate the law enforcement machinery. Lack of this facility with no budgetary provision to feed the arrested Pakistanis results in their being jostled between Border Security Forces and Police Customs. Absence of vehicles with the police, inadequate staff, ambiguous laws and poor road network are also severe constraints for the border guarding forces.

In some of the border areas criminals make use of women and children as carriers in smuggling, as lookouts etc. there is no woman police available on the border as a result of which no woman child can be detained. This is fully exploited by the criminals. The women also take advantage of the fact that strict action is taken against security forces in case of any report against them for ill-treating women. The women also exploit this by leveling false allegations against the security forces that are reluctant to get involved in apprehending any woman or child for fear of being reported against them. The long inquiries, which follow after such allegation, are a source of immense stress to the security forces. Most institutions of civil governance in the State, already weakened by inefficiency and corruption, have suffered a complete breakdown in the face of the terrorist onslaught. This includes the States prosecution department and judiciary.

- **Non-Availability of Witnesses and Evidences**

  It is very difficult to get any local to testify in the court against any criminal, as a strong bond exists amongst the people in the border areas. Most of the people are involved in some way or the other in one illegal activity to another. This affinity forces them to side with the criminals and extend no help to the security forces.

  Moreover, nobody wants to be involved with the police because of the harassment caused by being a court witness. The condition of witnesses, in our country, are best illustrated by the following extract, from a letter written by a Session Judge to the National Police Commission: “The biggest single hurdle which inhibits the citizen from coming forward to help the police is the deplorable conditions prevailing in the courts of law. The lot of witnesses appearing on behalf of the State against a criminal is certainly pitiable.”

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There is another difficulty and that is the collection of evidence in cases where the search, seizure and arrest in areas where there is no habitation and many a time these have been by security forces. In such a case, the arrested persons’ confession to the security forces leading to the recovery of arms and ammunition and explosives is the only thing, which can be brought on record. Even the security force personnel do not come forward for tendering evidence because they keep on moving from place to place for performance of their duties not only within J&K but even outside J&K and sometimes outside India. The security force personnel are reluctant to depose in any case as they feel that they are not attuned for this kind of exercise. In the last 15 years of militancy in J&K, thousands of people have been arrested, lakhs of weapons seized and millions of rounds collected and quintals of explosive material seized. These figures are real eye openers and the fact that not a single case has ended in conviction nor has there been any recording of evidence and even this itself is very disturbing.55

- **Easy Exit across the Border**

  The terrorist make full use of the porosity of the borders. They are known to cross over after committing a crime and find refuge in sympathizers and relatives till the presence of the law eases on them.

- **Loopholes in the Legal System**

  The legal system has several loopholes, which are fully exploited by the terrorists. For example, in case of a claimed seizure the BSF is required to produce the person from whom the contraband has been recovered, before the customs in case the seizure is to be termed as claimed. When this is done the custom officials confiscate the goods and release the criminals, as the offence does not warrant his detention under the Custom Act. In case the man is handed over to the police, the seizure becomes unclaimed. Similarly, in case of illegal border crossing, the intruder is apprehended by the BSF or Army and handed over to the police. The individual is released in time, the same or the next day by the police and pushed back.

  Every citizen in India has been guaranteed the freedoms mentioned in the Preamble of our Constitution, they have to be consistent with the unity and integrity of

India. The Police are naturally under a lot of pressure, not only to deal and arrest terrorists, but also to collect evidence. Terrorist organizations are closed organizations. They function only on need to know basis. India has antique laws framed in 1863, when there was no problem of terrorism. Confession made to Police, under the law, is not admissible in the courts. The terrorist cannot be expected to admit their guilt and put a hangman’s noose themselves. With the heavy court pendency, cases take decades to come to finality. The Indian court system was slow, laborious, and prone to corruption; terrorism trials can take years to complete. Many of India’s local police forces were poorly staffed, lacked training, and were ill-equipped to combat terrorism effectively problem faced by us. Unfortunately, now, India does not have even a tough law in place to fight.

Although, there is no as such stringent law against terrorism in the country, though this is the major challenge in front of the country, where there is urgency to eliminate terrorism. Here in our country, the Central Government is doing the hair splitting. The entire country needs tough laws. The fight against the terrorism is in the domain of the Government, as it has the man power, intelligence agencies, however rudimentary and ineffective, and weaponry.

State police force has been found inadequately trained to deal with situation as such border guarding forces are frequently withdrawn to combat insurgency. They have also been withdrawn many a time to deal with law and order problems. Withdrawal of forces limits their capabilities to guard the borders efficient.

- **Border Guidelines**

  There should be proper border guidelines framed for the border guarding forces of all the countries. The aim of these border guidelines was to ensure co-operation between both the border guarding forces over cross border crimes and exchange of information and intelligence at appropriate levels. These guidelines, among other issues, also provide that neither side to have any permanent or temporary border security forces within 150 yards on either side of International Border, and no defensive works of any nature including trenches in the stretch of 150 yards on each side of the boundary. Under this provision, Pakistan objects to the construction of fences within 150 yards from the
International Border on the pretext that fencing violates the guidelines.\textsuperscript{56} It even objects to construction of roads within this distance on the same pretext.

A major cause of dispute between India and Bangladesh has been the differing interpretation of border guidelines framed in 1975. India maintains that these guidelines are meant for the demolition of defensive structures within 150 yards of No Man’s Land.\textsuperscript{57} They do not apply to the building of a fence along the border since it is meant to check smuggling and other illegal activities. But the BDR has misinterpreted the guidelines probably with the sole objective of capturing Indian land trapped between the fence and the No Man’s Land.

- **Collaborative Legal Actions against Terrorism**

In reality all the victim States all over the world are fighting for themselves against the menace of terrorism. Moreover, the big nations too don’t indulge themselves to fight for the problems of small nations. This lacuna is still subsisting in actual.

In view of above-mentioned points, all the governments of India’s neighbouring countries must jointly come to an agreement to make the border safe and secure. Blaming each other on the issue of peace and security must be stopped. For this, the border must be restricted for the terrorists, controlled for smugglers, checked for the criminals, obstructed for girl’s traffickers, and stopped for narcotic holders. However, it must be regulated for the genuine passengers of neighbouring country and India with the efficient management for legal export and import of merchandise. At the same time, special arrangement must be made for the inhabitants living in 5 km of either side of the frontier to cross the border at International Borders many times a day, without feeling insecure. Insecure international Border could be made secure, to a large extent, with the political will and commitment from both sides. Security should be a key dimension of border management among neighbouring countries and India.

3.2 **CONCLUSION**

There is a requirement of a will to win the war over terrorism backed up by strict enforcement of existing laws at national and international level. Any system as it marches

\textsuperscript{56} Anand Kumar, ‘Indo-Bangladesh Border Dispute Demand Urgent Attention’ South Asia Analysis Group, available at http://saaq.org/common/uploadedFiles/paper1931html, (Last Viewed on October 20, 2010).

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
ahead reveals certain lacunae and loopholes, which in the instant case affords the terrorists and advantage and ultimately in getting away rather mildly. There should be parity in the norms to be adopted by different countries at the international level when it comes to protect the national interest. Such measures should be undertaken which include special patterns of cooperation between like-minded governments, sanctions against States that sponsor or support terrorism in other nation’s territory and intervene with its peace and harmony and there should be a fuller application of international legal norms. With regard to international law, greater respect must be accorded to the principle of “extradite or prosecute”, States must respect the definition of aggression approved by the General Assembly in 1974 and terrorist must come to be regarded by all States as common enemies of humanity. Taken together such measures could severely limit the likelihood of cross border terrorism.

India ranks among the world’s most terrorism-affected countries in the US State department’s annual report on terrorism released on April 30, 2009. The report said, India’s effort to counter menace “remain hampered by its outdated and overburdened law enforcement and legal system. The report which highlighted the 26/11 Mumbai carnage and seven other major terror strikes across India in 2008, noted, “None of the preparators of these attacks has yet been prosecuted.” Ranking India as the world’s most terrorism affected country, the report said, “India continues to be the focus of numerous attacks from both extremely-bases terrorist organizations and internationally based separatist or terrorist entities”. While calling the Indian counter-terrorism outmoded and legal system overburdened, the report took note of the post-Mumbai pieces of legislation in Parliament to restructure the counter terrorism laws and the proposed National Investigative Agency to create national level capability to probe and prosecute acts of terrorism.

There are few which poses a serious challenge to the national security of the nations unless immediate measures for border areas are taken without peaceful borders with its neighbours. The problems involved are so complex that they defy easy solutions.

In this situation, it would be advisable if India starts by first solving the border issue of illegal migration and terror camps in Bangladesh as well as other bordering nations with India. Problems on the Indo-Bangladesh border have persisted also because it figures very low on the priority list of the Indian government. In view of above-mentioned points, all the governments must jointly come to an agreement to make the borders safe and secure. Blaming each other on the issue of peace and security must be stopped. For this, the border must be restricted for the terrorists, controlled for smugglers, checked for the criminals, obstructed for girl traffickers, and stopped for narcotic holders.

India can hardly play its legitimate role in global affairs at this time of seminal global change. Since borders are with neighbours and neighbours are people, one has to take into consideration the people and the State when talks about borders and problems related to them. Due to the proclivity of India’s neighbours to exploit India’s nation-building difficulties, the country’s internal security challenges are inextricably linked with border management.\(^6\) The challenge of coping with long-standing territorial and boundary disputes with China and Pakistan, combined with porous borders along some of the most difficult terrain in the world, has made effective and efficient border management a national priority.

The national borders cannot be protected by guns alone; ‘hot & live’ borders drain the economy and fuel threat perception. India must conceptualise national borders of friendships and friendly linkages. We are handicapped because of inadequate knowledge and understanding of our neighbour’s threat perception, their strategic behavior and about the people living on the borders on either side. For future proper management and operational planning regarding the borders, information and documentation should be systematically developed. The fight against terrorism should be in the prime most things in the policy of the Government, as it has the man power, intelligence agencies. It is the conservative policy of the government not to arm the citizens. Not one percent crime is committed with licensed weapons. Indeed, the criminals and terrorists do not need any license to bear arms and kill the people. It is the innocent, unarmed people who have to bear the burnt. Licensing of the weapons should be liberalized, so that if the government

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is not able to protect the people, the people themselves can do so. Private security agencies should be involved in a big way and the weapons licensed to them to protect private and even government establishments. The government should stop giving the impression of being soft on terrorists.