

General Knowledge Today



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Internal & External Security: 2/4: LWE, Terrorism, Cybersecurity

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Model Questions

Prelims MCQ Topics

Quit India Movement and CPI, Tebhaga Movement, Red Corridor States, Odisha Gap, Operation Steeplechase, National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID)

Model Questions for Mains

1. While differentiating between Naxalism and Maoism, critically examine the ideological basis of left wing extremism in India. To what extent, the government policies help Maoists to mobilize the masses?
2. "Naxalism is the outcome of a number of various factors political and economical in nature." Discuss Critically.
3. "Naxalism is not just a law and order problem but is a result of distorted developmental planning in the tribal areas." Examine.
4. "Displacement due to development has been one of the key reasons of loss of home, livelihood and means of survivals for tribals in India." Discuss with examples.
5. "To what extent, opening up of mining sector has been responsible for the unrest in tribals areas in India." Critically examine with examples.
6. Discuss the anti-Naxal strategy and measures taken in India citing various issues and challenges in the same.
7. "Discuss the origin and key state and non-state players in the insurgency in Kashmir, while throwing light upon India's response to insurgency."
8. "While the Kashmir issue is related to secession from India, the Ladakh region demanded greater integration with India." Discuss emphasising on the later.
9. "The problem with India is that it is located on the epicentre of terrorism and dealing with so many hostile neighbours, all at once." Discuss keeping focus on role played by neighbours in creating internal security troubles in India.
10. "Handling terrorism needs a multi-pronged strategy involving different stakeholders – government, political parties, civil society, security agencies, and media." Discuss critically.
11. "NTRO (National Technical Research Organisation) was conceived as a Premier scientific organization, yet it continues to be more or less in a state of limbo." Discuss.
12. "What do you understand by Narco-terrorism? Discuss the extent of the problem in India while throwing light upon the legal framework to tackle narco-terrorism."
13. What is Money laundering? How it is different from Black Money? Discuss salient provisions of the Anti Money Laundering law in India.



14. Discuss the objectives and key features of the recently launched “Digital Army” programme under the umbrella of Digital India.

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Left Wing Extremism in India

Left-wing refers to an outlook supporting social equality and opposing social hierarchy. The terms left and right have their roots back to the French Revolution and refer to the seating arrangements in the *Estates General* of France. The members of the 1791 Legislative Assembly had split into three general groups, each of which sat in a different part of the meeting hall. These were the Radicals, Moderates and Conservatives.

- The *Radicals* sat on the left side of the hall. They opposed the King and the idea of monarchy. They favoured sweeping changes in the government and proposed that the common people have full power in a republic. They were *Left Wing*.
- The *Moderates* sat in the centre of the hall. They wanted some changes in the government but not as many as the Radicals. They were *Centrists*.
- The Conservatives sat on the right side of the hall. They upheld the idea of a limited monarchy and wanted few changes in the government. They were *Right Wing*.

There were two more groups viz. *Émigrés* and the *sans-culottes*. The *Émigrés* comprised the nobles and others which refer to the *Extreme Right group*. The *sans-culottes* “those without knee breeches” made the most Radical group of all. This group typically comprised the urban labourers, wage-earners and small shopkeepers. Though ill-clad and ill-equipped, they had made up the bulk of the Revolutionary army during the early years of the French Revolutionary Wars. They were the *extreme left group*.

Basics of Leftist Ideology

The leftist ideology believes that all existing social and state structures in an elitist or capitalist society are exploitative by nature and this exploitation can be ended only through a revolutionary change through violent means. The ideological basis for violent movements was first provided by Marx and Engels through their Communism / Marxism ideology. It was later supported by Lenin (via Leninism) and Mao Zedong (via Maoism). It would be better to have a look at key features of these ideologies first.

Marxism

Marxism is basically a radical type of socialism, which advocates the removal of the capitalist bourgeois elements via a violent class struggle. It emphasized the advancement of people's social and economic life by *establishing a classless society through armed revolution*. It was rooted in the anti-imperialist struggle and supported armed revolution in order to achieve political transformation.

This ideology supports violent struggle because as per Marx capitalists would never permit socialism to succeed. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels outlined their ideas in a 23-page pamphlet called *The Communist Manifesto* in February 1948.



In their manifesto, Marx and Engels argued that human societies have always been divided into warring classes. In their own time, these were the middle-class “haves” or employers, called the **bourgeoisie** and the “have-nots” or workers, called the **proletariat**. While the wealthy controlled the means of producing goods, the poor performed backbreaking labor under terrible conditions. This situation resulted in conflict.

According to Marx, Socialism was a historical inevitability, *due to the inherent contradictions of capitalism*. All societies passed through six historical stages viz. *primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and finally communism*. Each historical stage corresponded to a particular level of technology and a particular system of class relations. In his words, “*The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.*” According to them, the process works as follows:

- Technology gradually increases society’s capacity to generate wealth, but the dominant social class would be unwilling to adopt these new technologies.
- Gradually, a new social class would emerge, which controlled the most dynamic productive forces. This new class would grow to resent the “old order”, which it saw as hindering further progress.
- In the end, the new class would rise up and overthrow the old, establishing new institutions more to its liking.
- Once again the forces of production and the social relations of production would be in harmony, propelling the economy forward until a new contradiction emerged.

The manifesto further said that the Industrial Revolution had enriched the wealthy and impoverished the poor. They predicted that the workers would overthrow the owners: “*The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite.*”

Marx believed that the capitalist system, which produced the Industrial Revolution, would eventually destroy itself. Factories would drive small artisans out of business, leaving a small number of manufacturers to control all the wealth. Consequently, the large proletariat would revolt, seize the factories and mills from the capitalists, and produce what society needed. Workers, sharing in the profits, would bring about economic equality for all people. The workers would control the government in a “dictatorship of the proletariat.” After a period of cooperative living and education, *the state or government would wither away as a classless society developed*. Marx called this final phase **pure communism**.

According to Marx, *communism is a form of complete socialism in which the all means of production would be owned by the people and the private property would in effect cease to exist*. All goods and services would be shared equally.



Thus, Marx explained the rise of capitalism as a conflict between the **bourgeoisie** and **proletariat**. Marx believed that the industrialised nations of Europe were ripe for socialist revolution by the middle of the 19th century. But socialism itself would not be the end of the historical process, because society would still be unable to produce enough to meet all humanity's material needs. Exploitation and inequality would only be eliminated under communism, a system in which there would be no poverty, no crime, no money and no government.

Maoism

Maoism originated in China as a form of Communist theory; derived from political ideals of Mao Zedong. It was widely applied as the political and military guiding ideology of the Communist Party of China till 1977-78. Maoism teaches to capture State power through a combination of armed insurgency, mass mobilization and strategic alliances. Its key argument was that even pre-capitalist nations could stage socialist revolutions, by mobilising the peasantry rather than the working class. Mao asserted that the capitalist stage of development could be by-passed altogether. The process of bypassing the capitalist stage of development was called the "Protracted Peoples War".

Further, the Maoist ideology *glorifies violence* and argues that 'bearing of arms is non-negotiable. The military strategy of Maoists is to engage in a guerrilla war focussing on surrounding the cities from countryside with heavy emphasis on political transformation through the mass involvement of lower classes of the society.

In summary, Maoism is to mobilize a large part of rural / landless peasants and overthrow the established institutions. This is no longer an ideological movement but a terrorism that denies democracy to tribals and instills a fear among them.

Naxalism in India: The Ideological Basis & Extent

Naxalism originated as a peasant rebellion from Naxalbari in West Bengal. We use the terms Naxalism and Maoism interchangeably for the same Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in India.

Naxalism and Maoism: Comparison

While Naxalism originated in India, Maoism in China. The common thread between the two is "armed resistance" and "violence".

There are a few notable ideological differences, which were more clear in the beginning of the Naxalism, but now it's very difficult to perceive those differences because Naxalites have turned themselves to Maoists and have stated objective to overthrow the Indian Government through armed rebellion. In the beginning, the Naxal movement was *not centered around overthrowing the state and impose New Democratic Revolution*. This movement was basically a revolt of the peasants, workers and tribals against centuries of oppression. It was against the inequality, poverty, lack of development and social hierarchy.



However, Naxalism was provided the ideological basis by Marxism, Leninism as well as Maoism and so in effect, Naxalism is hodge-podge of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism (MLM).

Ideology and Maoist Party Programme

In due course, Naxalism became totally based on principles of Maoism. This entire movement is for a *communist revolution* [which they call “*Indian Revolution*”] to establish socialism; and thereby to reach the stage of communism. To achieve this so called “*Indian Revolution*”, they would *overthrow the Indian State* through armed struggle; capture the political power and then introduce *New Democratic Revolution* (NDR).

They follow the Theory of Contradiction whereby contradiction between the great masses and feudal system can be ended only by the so called New Democratic Revolution (NDR). These contradictions are

- Between the idealist outlook and the materialist outlook of the world
- Between proletariat and bourgeois
- Between labour and capital
- Between feudalism and common masses and so on.

Following is the summary of the Maoists party programme in India:

- To declare that Indian Independence in 1947 was a fake independence
- Armed Struggle is the path to seize political power by encircling from countryside to countrywide
- Chinese path of armed struggle has to be followed.
- Maoist forces of South Asia should be united to overthrow the Indian State
- Women, Dalit, Minority and Nationality question is essentially a class question.
- Boycott of elections
- New democracy will be people's democracy
- Ultimate goal is to establish a People's Democratic Federal Republics of India

Process of spreading ideology

Maoists spread their ideology very systematically and in a phased manner roughly as follows:

1. Preparatory Phase-Detailed survey of new areas identifying important people, important public issues on which masses can be mobilised.
2. Perspective Phase-Mobilisation through frontal organisations – staging demonstration against government / administration based on local public grievances.
3. Guerrilla Phase-Converting the public movement into violent guerrilla warfare.
4. Base Phase-Here the Maoists try to establish their base and change the guerrilla zone into a liberated zone.



5. Liberated Phase-Establishment of people's Government.

Various Mobilization Strategies

Local support is required to achieve the above objectives and for cadre recruitment, intelligence, logistics, and territorial control. The Naxalite leaders take up emotive objectives of protecting the people's rights of *Jal, Jangal* and *Jamin* (Livelihood Issues) and to provide justice through the Sangam and Jan Adalat. Thus, the priority of the Naxal agenda is tribal control of land, forest resources and minerals. In practice also, the Local Naxal bodies have taken up issues of livelihood in the tribal areas. For instance, in Chhattisgarh, the tribals took control of picking of tendu leaves. They employed the tribal youth and these youth were paid better because there were no contractors, thus removing the contractors' exploitation of tribal labour. The local Naxal bodies have also taken up matters such as irrigation in dry land farming, primary education and health programmes in remote areas. The Maoist mobilization strategy also includes a wide ranging network of "*Janathana Sarkar*" (people's government), to replace the feudal nature of society. These activities are based upon the ideals of mass organizations given by Charu Mazumdar.

Various Phases of Naxal Movement

The Naxal movement finds its origin from the Naxalbari incident that happened on 25 May 1967 at *Bengai Jote* village in Naxalbari, located in the Siliguri subdivision of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Here, a tribal youth, who had a judicial order to plough his land, was attacked by the goons of local landlords. The tribals retaliated and refused to part with the land owner's share of their produce and lifted the entire stock from his granary. It ignited a violent movement.

To maintain law and order, the state government (which was a coalition front called *United Front* having leaders from CPI, CPI(M), Bangla Congress and eight other parties) ordered police action against the rebellions. Police opened fire on villagers and firing killed 9 adults and 2 children.

This uprising was crushed in some two and half months but it gained tremendous support and lead from the 'communist revolutionaries' belonging to the state units of the CPI (M) such as *Charu Majumdar* and Kanu Sanyal.

Charu Mazumdar

Charu Mazumdar had written various articles based on Marx-Lenin-Mao thought. These articles were later known as "*Historic Eight Documents*" and formed the ideological basis of Naxalite movement.

Charu Mazumdar is now hailed as the father of Naxalism in India and also the first Maoist of India.

Communist Party and Maoists: Historical Background



Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded in 1920s with an objective to introduce *communist revolution* in India. They started mobilizing workers and by 1940s, they were able to control the *All India Trade Union Congress*.

However, in early 1940s, they were politically cornered because of their opposition to the Quit India Movement.

Quit India Movement and CPI

Kindly note that Quit India movement was neither supported by Hindu Mahasabha, nor CPI nor Princely states. Though CPI opposed the QIM, yet a large class of workers participated in that movement. But at the same time, CPI supported the war effort to assist the Soviet Union. In response the British lifted the ban on the party.

But in 1946, the Telangana Uprising (1946-51) gave CPI another chance to mobilize the people on the principle of armed struggle. At around the same time, CPI's peasant front Kisan Sabha led and organized a militant campaign in West Bengal as Tebhaga Movement. In those days, tenants or share-cropping peasants had to give half of their harvest to the owners of the land. The demand of the Tebhaga (sharing by thirds) movement was to reduce the share given to landlords to one third.

After the Sino-India war of 1962, serious differences emerged within the CPI as to whether support India (where the government was Pro-soviet) or China (a socialist country). The ideological dogfight led to a major split in CPI in 1964 whereby the parent CPI remained Pro-Soviet, while the split part called CPI(Marxist) was born as a Pro-Chinese faction. In 1967, the CPI(M) decided to contest elections in West Bengal. After the elections, a collation called *United Front* formed the first non-congress government in West Bengal. This front had leaders from CPI, CPI(M), Bangla Congress and eight other parties.

But to be or not to be a part of the government was a reason of another dogfight in CPI(M). One of its leaders Charu Majumdar accused the other leaders of CPI(M) of betraying the revolution for which CPI was established. When the Naxalbari incident happened, Charu Majumdar and Kanu Sanyal leaded the peasants. In 1968, the movement re-emerged in a larger form in the northern parts of Andhra Pradesh. Here, the guerrillas seized property, killed landlords and engaged in acts of terror. The guerrillas were met with swift and heavy response from the state and they were crushed by 1970. Meanwhile in 1969, a movement in West Bengal exploded again whereby landlords were murdered, property was redistributed and peasants debts were cancelled. It was also quelled within few months. In the same year, the CPI (Marxist) split and Charu Mazumdar formed the CPI (Marxist-Leninist) or CPI (ML).

First Phase of Numerous Splits



In 1972, Mazumdar was arrested and he died in custody. It was almost end of Naxal movement but became the inspiration for those who were interested in achieving social justice through violence. CPI (ML) once again split into various factions led separately by Vinod Mishra, Mahadev Mukherjee, Santosh Rana, Chandra Pulla Reddy, Tarimela Nagi Reddy, Appalsuri and others. Thus, from its beginning till late 1980s, the Naxal Movement saw numerous splits and few mergers. But this was the period of spread of the ideology of Naxalism. During these times, the movement attracted and motivated a large number of young people including the students. During this period, almost 200 revolutionary journals and publications were brought out. In those days, the movement had ideological, moral, financial and intellectual backing from China. In due course, the Naxal movement spread in several states.

Second Phase of merger and consolidation

In 1980, Kondapalli Seetharamaiah separated from the CPI (ML) and founded the People's War Group (PWG), in the Karimangar district of Andhra Pradesh. Then, in 1992, Mupppala Lakshmana Rao (alias Ganapathy) ousted Kondapalli Seetharamaiah and assumed the post of general secretary of the PWG. After that there were significant mergers and consolidation of various Naxalite factions in the country, most notable among them is the formation of Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) in 2003.

In 2004, the People's war and MCCI merged resulting in the formation of the largest and most lethal Naxalite outfit in India, known as *CPI (Maoist)*. At that time, it had an estimated strength of 9,500 underground armed men and women. Ganapathy is its general secretary and currently is its leader. In 2014, the Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist) Naxalbari also merged into the CPI (Maoist). Currently, this is party has been declared as Terrorist Organization under UAPA Act.

Current Extent and Status

Currently, Left Wing Extremism has been identified as the gravest internal security threat to India, surpassing terrorist movements in Kashmir and the North-eastern insurgencies in overall impact.

Red Corridor

The Naxalites have created or are in the process of creating an alternative state structure in India in the so called "red corridor", which refers to the entire Naxal-infested region in India and corresponds to a contiguous region from Nepal to northern fringes of Tamil Nadu (except some parts of coastal Odisha). It is spread in at least 10 states viz. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and some northern fringes of Tamil Nadu.

Red Corridor is almost contiguous from India's border with Nepal to the northern fringes of Tamil Nadu except some parts in Coastal Odisha, where there is comparatively better development. {This is



called Odisha Gap}.

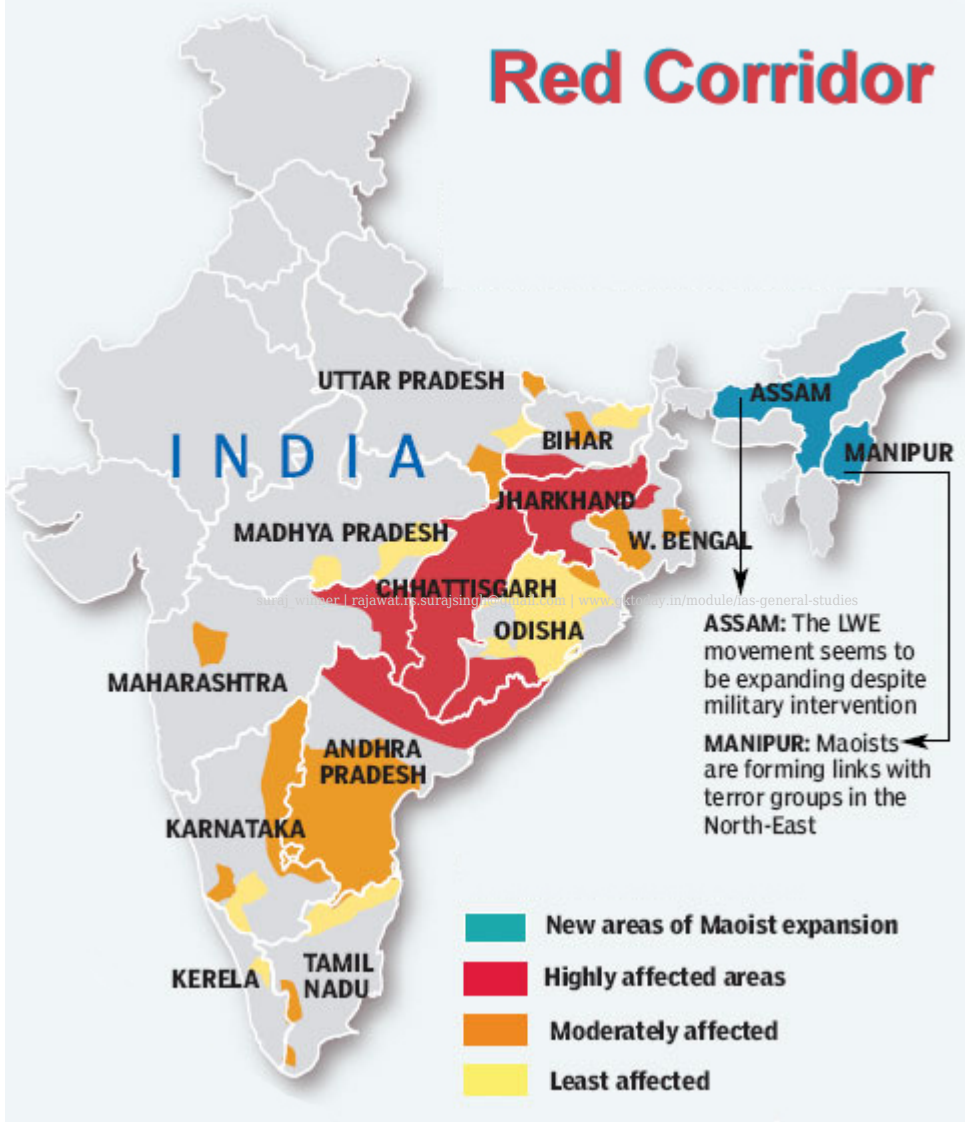
In three states viz. Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Jharkhand, Naxals are able to get popular support, easy movement and safe passage. They are formidable around Odisha's heavily-forested Naupada district, while have reasonable support base among the local population along the Chhattisgarh-Odisha border, right up to Jharkhand's Gumla district.

Further, the Naxalites have been making close links with the insurgents in North East in recent times.

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Red Corridor



The CPI (Maoist) aims to consolidate its power in this area and establish a Compact Revolutionary Zone from which to advance the people's war in other parts of India

The strength of insurgents includes 15000 armed cadre and 2 Lakh unarmed cadre. More than half of the armed contingent of the Naxalites is in Northern Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.

The Current Trends in Naxalite Movement include

- Increased spatial spread (however, since 2013, the area seems to have decreased rather)

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- Increasing militarization
 - Synchronised large-scale attacks on multiple targets
 - Chilling massacres of security forces
 - Looting weapons and ammunition, at times in large numbers
 - Qualitative increase in armed struggle
 - Infrastructure attacks
- Mobilisation and propaganda
- Urban penetration
 - Penetration of working class movement
 - Founding various front organizations / activities
- Mobilisation of masses against land acquisition and tribal land alienation, and against SEZs
- Use of technology, including the Internet

Frontal Organizations

The frontal organizations of Maoists include bodies such as Revolutionary Democratic Front; Peoples Democratic Front of India; Democratic Student Union and other student groups from universities (including JNU). It is supported by left leaning civil society groups, human rights groups, national and international media and other students groups for mass mobilization. They have a powerful propaganda machinery which is active in all major towns as well as in the national capital.

Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign (TCOC)

Maoists carry out violent activities called “Tactical Counter Offensive Campaign” (TCOC) which runs from March to early Monsoon in July. Maoists usually resort to TCOC every year to put the security forces in disarray so that they can go on a recruitment drive. The aim of “TCOC” is to exhibit and consolidate their (Maoists) strength, by carrying out violent operations. Going by the past experience, the rebels have launched a number of deadly attacks against security forces during the TCOC period.

Internal and External Links of Maoists

The CPI (Maoist) has close fraternal ties with some north-east insurgent groups including NSCN. It has The CPI (Maoist) has also frequently expressed their solidarity with the Jammu and Kashmir terrorist groups. CPI(Maoist) is also a member of ‘Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia’ (CCOMPOSA), which includes ten Maoist groups from Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

Sources of Funding and Linkages with Organized Crime

The main source of funding is extortion from government projects as well as from corporate companies working in their areas of influence. Most of the time, it is in the form of protection money. Sometimes they resort to kidnapping and killings also to terrorize the rich people so that



they give financial help easily. Left wing extremism is most intense precisely in areas which are rich in natural mineral resources, i.e. where coal, iron, bauxite, manganese, nickel, and copper are found in abundance.

Factors Responsible for the Growth of Naxalism

The Naxal affected areas are tribal dominated districts in the interiors of the states where the administrative architecture and development has not reached. The discontent among the population of these areas is on the matters of rights to lands, forests, mining, development and the caste based discrimination. Naxalism is the outcome of a number of various factors political and economical in nature as discussed below:

Political Factors

- Emergence of the movement coincided with the formation of the first United Front Government in West Bengal (1967) with CPI (M) as its main constituent. The movement thus received increasing official support, attention and press coverage in those times.
- The movement was influenced with the political ideology of Chinese Communist Party and Mao Zedong. They used slogans such as “China’s path is our path; China’s Chairman is our Chairman”. However, this ideological inclination to China faded away later. Today, the Naxalite groups are no more having the same perceptions. However, their commitment to Maoism remains as it was earlier.
- The Naxalbari movement began as an armed peasants uprising. The insensitive nature and apathy of the political system towards tribals remained one of the most important factors that led to such uprisings.
- The most important political factor for rise of Naxalism is the **inability of the legitimate political authority** in India to provide avenues for structural uplift to the deprived sections of society in the affected states. There are some areas where there is absolutely no civil administration or police.
- The Naxalites operate in a vacuum created by administrative and political institutions, espouse local demands, take advantage of the discontent prevalent among the exploited sections of the population and seeks to offer an alternative system of governance that promises emancipation of these segments from the clutches of the exploiter classes through the barrel of gun.

Economic factors

- Problem of poverty and economic inequality and underdevelopment in the naxal affected regions.
- Skewed distribution of land and economic growth.



- Encroachment of forest lands by and wealth controlled by contractor-politician nexus.
- Entry of mining companies in Tribal lands and forests, posing threat to the livelihood of the tribals.
- Indigenous tribal population deprived of their lands, uprooted from their traditional source of livelihood. Globalization accused to have led many MNCs making inroads in tribal areas owing to their resource richness. The benefits of the resource exploitation are not passed on the tribals.
- Well knitted linkage between the illegal mining industry in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand which results in a lucrative source of earning for the Naxal leadership and cadres.
- The tribal villages have no medial facilities, no schools, low literacy, and high poverty.
- The Naxalite cadre base is formed of tribals, lower castes from India's poorest communities, form the Naxals' cadre base. Naxalite movement is supported by the grievances of the tribals and the dalits.

Various issues raised by Naxals / Maoists

Caste / Gender based exploitation

This includes victimization and sexual exploitation of tribal women, recruitment of teenage girls as special police officers and exploitation of low caste women by upper caste males.

Religious Minorities

The Maoists use the Babri mosque demolition, Gujarat riots and other such events to call up the minorities to unite against the fascist Hindus. They give unequivocal support to Kashmiris, Nagas, ULFA and and Meiteis.

Issues of agrarian community

The Maoists point to the farmer suicides in Vadarbha, Andhra Pradesh etc. and have included in their programme signing off the peasants debts, restoration of farm subsidies, investment in irrigation, proper prices of farm produce and ban on Multi National Companies.

Induced displacement by Development

Maoists keep the SEZ on top of their agenda. SEZ, according to them is a treacherous policy to snatch the land of the people and hand it over to MNCs.

Linkages between Development and Left Wing Extremism

Development and Extremism are linked into two ways. First, development is vital for tackling extremism or strengthening national security. Second, growth of extremist organisations, coupled with their ability to influence the process of legitimate politics and the alleged nexus of political parties with such forces, are undoubtedly impeding the development process. Thus, underdevelopment breeds insurgency and insurgency retards development. This two are mutually reinforcing and created a vicious cycle of under-development → insurgency → under-development.



Under-development is obviously linked to left wing extremism in India but more important and dangerous facet of the development that has boosted the Maoists in almost all regions is “*distorted development*”. It has been now realised that Naxalism is not just a law and order problem but is a result of distorted developmental planning in the tribal areas.

Distorted Development in Naxal Affected Areas

The economy of the tribal regions of India is mainly consisting of two parts viz. subsistence agriculture and minor forest produce. The agriculture is primitive here, entirely rainfed, and without support of any irrigation projects except a few minor projects which the Maoists claim that they have built them. Those who live in these areas are centuries behind rest of the India. Many of them are unaware of even any of the modern method of farm production. For irrigation, they either depend upon rain god or the small ditches or ponds, constructed by them. Their method of cultivation is slash-and-burn (jhum); their main cultivated crop is *Kola*, a coarse grain. Although they cultivate small amount of paddy, maize also yet don't know how these crops are cultivated in rest of the world. Most of them are even unaware of the use of plough and seed drill etc. The first basic step needed for development in these areas is the land and tenancy reforms, which is to be hand in hand with strengthening their traditional economy by assuring remunerative prices for their produce and minor forest produce. The beginning point for development in such areas would be imparting the knowledge of modern methods of farming, hand in hand with basic infrastructure development. The Government of India and state governments stress as well as claim upon the implementation of various development projects/policies, which include *Backward Regions Grants Fund*, *Panchayat (Extension to Schedule Areas) Act of 1996*, *MGNREGA*, *Schedule Tribes and other traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006*, *Bill on Land acquisition and development etc.* However, none of these programmes, policies or laws have reached in these areas firstly due to conflict prone environment, secondly due to the lack of effective administrative machinery and thirdly due to political apathy and lack of will. This is evident from the following facts:

- Despite claims of success of welfare programmes, the tribal agriculture methods remain centuries old
- In some parts of naxal affected areas such as Bastar region, there are almost no irrigation projects.
- Any programme taking the guarantee of a livelihood of tribals and bringing basic changes in their life could never ever reach there.

What has reached in these areas is the economic devastation in the form of exploitation of natural resources and the distorted development to facilitate this exploitation.



Development led displacement

Displacement due to development has been one of the key reasons of loss of home, livelihood and means of survival for tribals in India. The Nehruvian development envisaged rapid industrialization of the country by construction of big dams and setting up of heavy industries. This process resulted in displacement of millions of tribals by the big dams, hydroelectric projects and public sector mining activity. On the other hand, the forest laws restricted their access to the forests and common property resources. The process of this displacement further accelerated with the economic liberalization and with more and more contracts given for mineral extraction, setting up of industries, Special Economic Zones (SEZs) etc. This had a devastating effect on the tribals living in mineral-rich areas.

The best example to understand the link between displacement, development and Maoism is presented by the tribals living in the Chitrakonda in Malkangiri. In 1940s, the tribals had first displaced from Koraput by Machkund Hydel Project. Most of them moved to Chitrakonda, but then in 1960s, they were again replaced by the Balimela Hydel Project. Since then their villages have remained water-locked by the Chitrakonda reservoir and are accessible only by boat. No rehabilitation or socio-economic development has taken place here for decades. There are no roads, water supply or electricity. No official visits these villages. Only the Maoists bother to come to these villages and listen to the peoples' grievances. It is not surprising then that this hilly, forested region, which the rest of India has forgotten, has been a Maoist hotbed for decades. While exploitation and poverty are common themes across tribal areas, there are differences in how this exploitation takes place. In Orissa, displacement by government and private industrial and development projects has plunged tribals in poverty.

Faulty Mineral Policy

Almost all tribal areas of the country are rich in forests, rivers as well as minerals. These areas have the finest coal, dolomite, bauxite, Iron ore, tin and conundrum to name a few. The forests in these areas are rich in finest quality of timber trees, bamboo. A closer look at India's mineral policy also helps us to understand the conditions of the tribals of the mineral rich Dandakaranya region. Before 1991, the extraction and refining of minerals was largely undertaken by the government. However, the National Mineral Policy 1993 opened the doors to foreign direct investment (FDI) in the mining sector. In 1997, the FDI ceiling in mineral sector was relaxed and in 2006, the ceiling was removed. Currently, 100% FDI is permitted in mining.

The opening of mining sector led the companies to make beeline in the mineral-rich areas of Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Jharkhand. This led to lots of investments in these areas but thousands of acres of forest land was converted into non-forest land. The rules that forbid sale of tribal land to non-tribals were violated. In 1997, the Supreme Court had taken notice of this in Samta Judgement

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and that led to enactment of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA), 1996, which made it mandatory to consult Gram Sabha before development projects in tribal lands are undertaken. However, despite that, there are many instances when tribal land was taken over and handed over to the companies. One example is *Lohandiguda* in Bastar, where some 2000 hectares of land of Fifth Schedule Area was acquired by the state and given to Tata Group. Similarly, in Dhurli and Bhansi villages in Dantewada district were also acquired and given to Essar Group.

The result of all this is that the outsiders came to these areas and reaped the profits of mining but the indigenous inhabitants had to bear the enormous cost social, human and environmental cost. Tribals lost their land and livelihood. Neither companies nor government secured their access to food, water, livelihood and way of life.

The Maoists claim that government is taking all steps in looting and exploiting these resources at the cost of the local tribal economy. The government is constructing the Super Highways, Railways and other infrastructure projects for the sake of facilitating the loot of these resources. The tribals fear that the government has joined hands with the private capitalists and imperialists forces in the name of globalization to spend millions of rupees for exploitation of the natural resources.

Though, governments claim that these development projects will benefit the local tribals but truth is obviously different. The capital intensive projects cannot provide any benefits to the local population and cannot provide employment to the locals. The distorted development gave all round devastation to the tribals and thousands of them have been forcibly displaced from their villages to clear the way for these works. The above description makes it clear that the Maoist movement has raised significant questions on development. On one hand, we have various constitutional measures, acts, plans and policies for all round development of the backward and tribal regions, on the other hand, the state has practically failed to effectively address the age-old social imbalances, eradicate the vested interests in the red corridor mainly because of the vote bank politics. The failure of the state to reach out to the poor and also its mal-governance (due to inefficiency, corruption, exploitation and state-engendered violence) leading to 'retreat of governance' have resulted in creating 'a power vacuum' as well as a space for the Maoist to strike roots and gain legitimacy among 'the impoverished'.

State Response to Naxalism

There are several components of Government of India's response to Naxalism. These include deployment of paramilitary forces and dedicated anti-Naxal forces, Modernization of Police forces, Investment in security related expenditures, Investment in local infrastructure, various development programmes etc. Some of them are discussed below:

Operation Steeplechase

Operation Steeplechase was launched in early 1970s during the first phase of Naxal Movement. In



the wake of emergency and 1971 war, Indira Gandhi mobilized the Indian Army against the Naxalites in West Bengal. It was a joint Army-CRPF-Police operation. In this operation, the strategy was to surround Naxal stronghold with an outer cordon of the Army, an inner cordon of the CRPF, and local police operating inside. The operation ended up with death of hundred of Naxalites and imprisonment of thousands of them. It disrupted the network of the naxalite cadres and stalled the movement. Charu Mazumdar was imprisoned and soon he died in custody. The operation steepchase marked the end of Naxalite movement, but only that particular phase and ultimately proved to be a cosmetic surgery only. The movement did not end and resurfaced because government had not removed the causes of the insurgency.

Unified Command

In 2010, the Government established a Unified Command for inter-state coordination (in intelligence gathering, information sharing and police responses) between Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal. {Please note that Unified Commands also exist in Assam and Jammu & Kashmir}

Operation Green Hunt

The Ministry of Home Affairs had established 10 Battalions of COBRA (Commando Battalion for Resolute Action) in 2009 as specially trained units in Guerrilla warfare. Since 2009, there is an operation going on in Naxalite affected areas including the Bastar region under the lead of COBRA. The media (not government) calls it Operation Green Hunt. Apart from CRPF, the Government has deployed *Naga Battalions of the Nagaland's Indian Reserve Battalions (IRB)* in this operation and has also taken help of Israeli operatives.

Security Related Expenditure (SRE) Scheme

Under this scheme funds are provided to states for meeting the recurring expenditure relating to insurance, training and operational needs of the security forces, rehabilitation of Left Wing Extremist cadres (who surrender in accordance with the surrender and rehabilitation policy of the State Government concerned), community policing, security related infrastructure for village defence committees and publicity material.

Special Infrastructure Scheme (SIS)

This scheme tries to cater to the critical infrastructure gaps for better mobility for the police and security forces by upgrading existing roads and rail tracks in inaccessible areas, providing secure camping grounds and helipads at strategic locations in remote and interior areas, measures to enhance security in respect of police stations / outposts located in vulnerable areas etc.

Central Scheme for assistance to civilian victims/family of victims of Terrorist, Communal and Naxal violence

This scheme is to assist families of victims of Terrorist, Communal and Naxal violence. An amount



of Rs. 3 lakh is given to the affected family under the scheme.

Integrated Action Plan

Integrated Action Plan (IAP) was started by UPA Government in 78 Selected Tribal and Backward Districts for accelerated development. The aim of this initiative is to provide public infrastructure and services.

Road Requirement Plan for LWE areas

The objective is to improve road connectivity in 34 extremely LWE affected districts in 8 States viz. Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh.

Scheme of Fortified Police Stations

Some 400 police stations in 9 LWE affected States at a unit cost Rs. 2 crores were sanctioned under this scheme

Civic Action Programme

Under this scheme financial grants are sanctioned to CAPFs to undertake civic action in the affected states. Objective is to build bridges between the local population and the security forces.

Surrender Policies by State Governments

Naxal-affected states have also announced surrender policies whereby they offer cash assistance, land and other benefits in lieu of surrender. However, there is no effective intelligence mechanism to identify Naxal cadres. Often, tribal youths surrender as Naxal cadres; many of them even join the Naxal movement to reap these benefits.

Anti-Naxal Strategy and Measures: Various Issues and Challenges

Various issues and challenges in the anti-Naxal strategy and measures in India include Land reforms, empowerment of the grassroot organizations, transparency in land acquisition, employments, presence of efficient government machinery etc. They have been discussed below:

Implementation of Land Reforms

The most critical component of the Anti-Naxal strategy is a committed, transparent and high priority implementation of land reforms measures. The tribal land alienation is an emotive issue exploited by the Naxals to build up their movement. Without a land reform programme, the landless tribals have no option but to believe in promises of Naxalism with the hope that justice would be done to them.

The biggest problem in land reforms is the lack of state governments will to implement the various recommendations of the land reforms commissions set up by them. The Union government should issue advisories to the state governments on taking immediate steps for bringing out land reforms. Though land reforms are a state subject, still the centre can play an advisory role. Although it may not be possible to take up implementation of land reforms in entire state at a time, yet it is possible to



implement them district by district. The state government can also think of setting up of a permanent authority such as Land Reforms Implementation Commission.

Empowering Grassroots Organizations

Today, the governance and local administration has collapsed in many of the Naxal dominated areas. If the grassroots organizations such as Gram Sabhas and Panchayats are revived towards stamping the presence of government; it can slowly but surely build the primary line of defense against the naxalites by allowing the people of the region to develop a sense of participation and stake in the administration and development.

In this context, the Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) is a progressive piece of legislation that recognises the competence of tribal communities to govern themselves. However, this act is yet to be implemented effectively. In most of states, Panchayats remain in mercy if the state government in matters of power and resources. The state governments need to ensure that the PESA act is implemented effectively to ensure the rights assigned to Gram Sabhas in matters of minor forest produce and minor minerals. The Panchayat institution need regular and adequate flow of resources needs. Moreover, to increase their influence, they should be given judicial powers in petty crimes and minor property disputes.

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Transparency in Land Acquisition

The land acquisition has to be sensitive and careful in naxal / tribal areas. Much of the tribal anger against the state governments has been due to the way their land has been transferred to the private and public sector companies. The compensation to tribals' remains shrouded in secrecy and the affected persons are forcefully displaced and deprived of their livelihood. Until recently, the consent of the Gram Sabhas, which is mandatory in the event of transfer of tribal land, was being overwritten by imposition of Land Acquisition Act of 1894, which allowed government to overtake land for public purpose. Resettlement and rehabilitation process of the displaced people should remain transparent for, the displacement of the tribals has been a rallying point for the Maoists to gain support and recruit cadres among such aggrieved population.

Employment

Government should ensure round the year jobs for tribals of Naxal-affected areas under various centrally sponsored scheme. The lack of job opportunities among the tribal population has been taken advantage by the Naxalites to recruit cadres and mobilise people.

Compulsory presence of administrative machinery

The civil servants and police officials simply abstain from duties from the Naxal affected areas because of their genuine fear of Naxals. This is a gruesome situation in most naxal affected areas. The need is for implementing required security provisions and additional incentives to make a presence of government in these areas. A minimum tenure of service in Naxal areas may be made compulsory.



Close Coordination between Military and Administration

In most cases, the failure of the administration to step into the Naxal freed area by Military increases the likelihood of return of the extremists. Many a times, the civil administration is unable to provide immediate relief to the tribal population and set up permanent mechanism in governance.

Inability of the civil administration to provide immediate relief to the tribal population as well set up permanent mechanisms of governance in recovered areas. Thus, as soon as an area is cleared by the security forces from the extremist menace, the district administration should promptly step in to start developmental actions within a pre-planned developmental plan with visible impacts. This requires a close coordination between the security forces and the district administration. This also requires a close coordination between para-military and the police forces. A unified command structure has been established to attain such objectives. In the similar way, a 'Unified Development Command Structure' can also be set up to increase balanced development at grassroots level.

Anti-corruption

Corruption, mafia-leaders-officer nexus, scandals, almost no prosecution etc. have painted a tardy picture of the Indian state. Indian state can not make presence in Naxal areas until and unless there is honest and transparent administration as well as a rule of law.

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Infrastructure Development

Building infrastructure at the grassroots level in the Naxal affected areas has to be a national priority. Improved connectivity is a pre-requisite for administration and security forces to reach in such areas. Naxal presence has been used as a pretext for non-implementation of the infrastructure and connectivity projects in these areas. The small contractors are easily scarred away by Maoists.

Protection of the Forest Rights of Tribals

The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 was expected to improve the lives of the poor indigenous tribes by recognising their right to inhabit the forests. However, the act has been poorly implemented. The tribals are still instilled with a fear of losing their lands. Proper education about their rights and proper implementation of the act has to be ensured so that the tribals get the legal rights over the land that they are residing.

Effective Modernization of the Police

Police and law and order are state subjects. It has been noted by CAG that in some states such as Andhra Pradesh, the state governments' base the entire programme on the central contribution only rather than releasing funds from state exchequers. Thus, the lack of funds has resulted in non completion of projects such as the buildings for police personnel. Similarly, the sophisticated weapons are kept only in district headquarters and not to the police stations in affected areas. Such issues need to be addressed on urgent basis. The police forces at the stations and base camps are often at the mercy of the senior officials and leaders. Moreover, the police modernisation plans need to go



beyond upgrading the weapons and creating police infrastructure to taking care such basic needs. Police personnel also need to be trained to keep a constant watch on Maoist activities in vulnerable areas. Naxalites continue to resist security force operations, gain ground and attempt to stage comebacks to areas from where they have been cleared. They can either carry out big attacks or sustain mass mobilization or ride on waves of mass movements. Endeavours to improve human and technical intelligence are must.

Strategic Communication Campaign

Success of the anti-naxal operation needs a sound strategic communication campaign; still there is a huge gap between the common man and Naxalites. A common man wants peace and security of life and livelihood. He is not convinced with the naxalite ideology but lack of options push him to the naxalite. The state has to tap this gap and make initiatives to reach out to the common people. They should be reached via pamphlets, regional radio and television programmes, drama and theatre groups, advocacy groups etc. The Naxalites use the emotive issues for mobilization and the government would need to evolve a sensible policy to target the naxalite bandwagon.

Jammu & Kashmir Militancy

Brief Historical Background

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Jammu and Kashmir was largest of the Indian Princely States. The Hindu maharaja of Kashmir ruled over a heterogeneous population of 4 million of which 77 percent was Muslim, but since his state bordered both dominions of Pakistan and India, Maharaja thought he could play off one country against the other, join neither of them, and make his state wholly independent.

On 15 August 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh offered to sign a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan as well as India, which Pakistan signed but India did not. Pakistan wanted to merge Kashmir with itself. So, it sent raiders to back the Muslims in southwest Kashmir to revolt against the maharaja.

Since Maharaja knew that he might need to turn to Nehru for help, on September 29, 1947, he released National Conference Party (NCP) leader Sheikh Abdullah, the nationalist Muslim leader from jail in order to gain popular support. In October 1947, thousands of Pathan tribesmen from northwest Pakistan, armed and guided by the Pakistani army, entered Kashmir; on October 24, when the raiders were well within the state and closing in on Srinagar, the Maharaja asked Delhi to provide military assistance; Abdullah also urged that Delhi do so.

Nehru stated that unless some agreement is signed, India couldn't send its army to a state where it has no legal standing. Accordingly, a treaty of accession was drafted with the promise of [Article 370](#) in Indian Constitution to safeguard interests of the people of the state. According to the accession treaty, India was to look after only four subjects viz. *defense, external affairs, communication and currency*; while the local assembly was given powers to decide on all other matters. Similarly, the



provisions of part VI of Indian constitution were not to be made applicable to Jammu & Kashmir and it was allowed to have its own Constitution. On the basis of such accession, around 100 fighter planes of Indian Air Force came into action to drive out the raiders. India was able to take back Srinagar as well as valley, however, by that time; Pakistan had already taken one third of Kashmir. The struggle continued for months and there was a fear of full-fledged war.

Here, Nehru made a strategic mistake and on the basis of suggestion by Lord Mountbatten, he referred the Kashmir problem to United Nations Security Council on 30 December 1947, requesting the UNSC for vacation of aggression by Pakistan. This decision was a blunder because instead of taking note of aggression; the UNSC sided with Pakistan and rechristened the problem as *India-Pakistan dispute*.

The UN passed some resolutions. On the basis of one such resolution; India and Pakistan accepted a ceasefire on 31 December 1948 which still prevails and the state was effectively divided along the ceasefire line. Nehru later blamed the dirty game played by Britain and US, behind the scene.

Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah was installed as head of a reconstituted government of Kashmir. In 1951, the UN passed a resolution, which asked for a referendum under UN supervision so that the people of Kashmir could decide their own fate. But one of the conditions of the referendum was that Pakistan had to withdraw its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. *Pakistan refused to withdraw its forces and India refused to hold any referendum*. Since then, India has successively amended its constitution to make Kashmir as its integral part.

The Jammu & Kashmir council of ministers was to be headed by a Prime Minister (in place of Chief Minister of Indian states) and the constitutional head of the state was Sadar-i-Riyasat. In due course, the Prime minister was changed to Chief Minister and Sadar-e-Riyasat was changed to Governor and gradually the reach of Indian constitution was extended to Jammu & Kashmir. The Pakistan occupied Kashmir, though named Azad Kashmir, has remained dependent practically in all matters on Pakistan.

A UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) still continues to supervise the ceasefire line and report the violation of ceasefire. After 1971 war, India and Pakistan had signed Shimla Agreement in 1972. The agreement had formalized the 1949 UN ceasefire line with minor changes as 'Line of Control'.

Insurgency in Kashmir

After its humiliating defeat in 1971 war, Pakistan adopted the strategy of proxy war with India by promoting insurgency in Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir. Till 1987, the insurgency in Kashmir was low intensity warfare. In 1987 assembly elections, an eleven party oppositional alliance won only four seats despite its popular support, and a dispute started about rigging in the elections. This



dispute had set the stage for birth of insurgency in the Kashmir valley in 1989. Within no time, it was escalated and the armed insurgent groups demanded sovereignty and freedom the Indian state.

Key Players in Kashmir Insurgency

In the beginning, two main groups of the armed insurgents were the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) and the Hizbul-Mujahideen.

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF)

The JKLF (created in 1964) demanded for the unification of the Indian and Pakistani sides of Kashmir and independence for all of Kashmir. The JKLF was one of the main insurgent groups in Kashmir in 1990s. Despite its initial violence against Kashmiri Hindus, the JKLF claimed its movement as a secular. Later in 1995, the JKLF led by Yasin Malik renounced the use of violence and called for peaceful methods to resolve the issues. It also called for return of Kashmir Hindu pundits to the valley.

Hizb-ul-Mujahideen

After the end of Soviet-Afghan war in 1988, the victorious Afghan Mujahideen were infiltrated into Kashmir with the support of Pakistan. They demanded for an Islamic state and unification with Pakistan. Later to strengthen their movement and to unify several Islamic insurgent groups, an apex organization of more than thirty militant-nationalist groups, the Kul-Jammāt-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir (All Kashmir Freedom Front), was formed in 1993. But the government counter-insurgency during initial years had taken heavy toll on insurgent's morale and capacity. It was exacerbated by the disunity between the fighting insurgent groups. While the JKLF demands independent Kashmir, the Hizl-ul-Mujahideen demanded unification with Pakistan. By the mid-1990s, public disillusionment with the prospects of the uprising became widespread. The erstwhile members of JKLF started cooperating with counter-insurgency operations of the Indian security forces. The combination of public disillusionment and counter-insurgency brought a temporary close to the secession movement. But by the end of 2000s another phase the fidayeen attacks started.

Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT)

The fidayeen attacks were carried out the LeT, an organisation of religious radicals founded and headquartered in Pakistan and led by Pakistanis. The LeT entered India during 1990s as part of an ISI strategy. The Lashkar-e-Taiba recruited local Kashmiris as a fidayeen cadre. But the large majority of those who executed these attacks were Pakistanis. Later LeT involved in the terror attacks of Mumbai in 2008. Fidayeen attacks fell off steeply after 2003, and the influx of insurgents from the Pakistani side of the LoC also declined sharply. The LeT and smaller groups of "jihadi" persuasion retained a presence in Kashmir.

Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM)

It was launched in 1999 by Maulana Masood Azhar, a former militant commander released by India from prison for the 1999 hijacking of an airliner. JeM's objective was to unite Kashmir with Pakistan.

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JeM was known to its involvement in several suicide attacks in J&K including the one on J&K Legislative Assembly in October 2001, the attack on Indian Parliament in December 2001 besides a few other terrorist attacks inside India during 2005-06. Despite the fact that this organisation was believed to have been implicated in two attacks on President Musharraf and was banned in Pakistan in 2002, it continues to operate fairly openly in parts of Pakistan. The other prominent terrorist organisations that have been operating in the valley are Lashker-e-Taiba, Al-Badr, Harkat-ul-Ansar, Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami(HuJi).

Moderate and Extremist Groups in Kashmir

The insurgent groups had divided into two groups in Kashmir viz. moderates who want a peaceful solution; and extremists who continued violent means to promote their cause. Extremists include a small portion of the local Hizbul- Mujahideen cadres, who are largely dominated by violent Pakistan-based and sponsored groups such as Lashkar-e- Taiba, Harkat-ul-Mujahideen, and Jaish-e-Mohammed. By 2006, the insurgency in valley declined to a trickle of incidents, limited to the rare car bomb and an occasional ambush, and the frequent raids by Indian security forces on hideouts. But since last few years, stone-pelting by youths against Indian security forces started increasing.

Government Approach

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India's present response to insurgency in Kashmir is multi-dimensional. It includes:

1. Military response against violence and prevention of infiltration across border areas,
2. Political dialogue and negotiations with those who have given up violence,
3. Economic and social developmental measures to improve the living conditions and employment prospects of the local population,
4. Encouraging the democratic activity in the Kashmir
5. Diplomatic initiatives towards peace which include confidence building measures with Pakistan, and international counter-terrorism cooperation with friendly countries.

Military response against insurgency in Kashmir

Indian army's Northern Command is prime responsible for tackling terrorism and insurgency in Kashmir. Operations of the Army, police, and the paramilitary forces in the region are coordinated by a Unified Headquarters. The Paramilitary forces include the Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police Force and Special Forces. The Rashtriya Rifles (RR) is a specially organized force to deal specifically with counter insurgency. The main aspect of Indian approach to counterinsurgency operations in Kashmir is to stop the infiltration of insurgents from launch pads and training camps in Pakistan across the LOC and the between gaps in the International Border. To plug the major infiltration routes, India fenced the LOC. The retired Army soldiers from the local villages have been organized into Village Defence Committees. India is continuously following up the modernization of its army with new equipment and training. Intelligence agencies have been organized to provide

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real-time information.

Political dialogue and negotiations

From 1997 onwards India is following a dual strategy of holding dialogues and negotiations with moderate groups. Till 9/11 attack, the negotiations with moderators were on slow pace but since then they have picked up.

Developmental programmes

In 2004, the union government had initiated a reconstruction plan with an outlay of Rs.24,000 crore. This was mainly in infrastructure, power and transport. The present NDA government has announced Rs. 80,000 crore developmental package. The developmental activities as part of the package include power, renewable energy, urban development, railways and roadways, health, tourism, Pashmina Promotion project welfare of displaced people, flood relief etc.

Development of democratic practices

In spite of turmoil and instability in the region, India is regularly conducting the assembly elections and parliament elections in state. And election by election, voter participation has risen consistently. The high voter turnout was seen as a sign that the people of Kashmir wanted peace and harmony.

Diplomatic initiatives

The 2002 attack on the J&K legislative Assembly and Indian Parliament by Pakistan-based militant groups have strengthened India's position vis-à-vis Pakistan in convincing international public opinion that the Kashmir issue cannot be resolved without Pakistan's action on terrorism emanating from its territory. India is also following several confidence-building measures to reactivate relations between the two countries, which had become severely strained after the Mumbai terror attack. Recently, India and Pakistan have started the process of dialogue on several issues, including Kashmir. Meanwhile, the Union government is holding talks with moderate groups in Kashmir for a peaceful resolution to the Kashmir issue. While it is difficult to convince Pakistan to abandon its claims over Kashmir, Indian government can create a positive attitude in the people of the state with increased constitutional autonomy for the state, which might satisfy the moderate groups within the valley.

Demand for Union Territory Status to Ladakh region

Ladakh is a Buddhist majority region and fundamentally different from the other parts of the Jammu and Kashmir in all respects – culturally, ethnically as well as linguistically.

While the Kashmir issue is related to secession from India, the Ladakh region demanded greater integration with India.

Demand for UT status

Since independence of India, Ladakh region alleged that there was systematic discrimination against them from the state government and there was threat to their culture. The demand from Ladakh for



closer union with Indian government started as early as 1946 and continued ever since. The Ladakhi struggle against the Kashmiri domination started on real sense during nineteen-sixties. In 1964, there was first ever well organised attempt from the Ladakhis under the leadership of Kushok Bakula. The politically marginalised Ladakhis demanded for 'NEFA-type Central administration'. But there was no response from New Delhi.

In 1974, Ladakhis again launched a full-scale movement and this time they stated their objective 'Central administration for Ladakh'. The Ladakhis were unhappy with Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah because he partitioned Ladakh in 1979 into Leh and Kargil districts based on communal lines. The Muslim-majority Kargil district was carved out of the Buddhist-majority Ladakh district to pit Muslims against Buddhists and weaken their movement to closer union with India, and weaken their struggle for political and economic empowerment. However, in 1982 there was another attempt by P Namgyal, Member of Parliament with somewhat radical orientation to the ongoing struggle. He did not demand NEFA-type Central administration, but regional autonomy within the State. This time also there was no response from New Delhi. The state government started suppressing their peace movement with police.

Again after seven years in 1989, there was another full scale struggle to achieve independence from Kashmir and obtain the status of Union Territory. The movement was spearheaded by the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA). The movement took place at a time of when the anti-India activities were gaining momentum in Kashmir. At the larger interest of the nation, the LBA suspended its agitation as well as their demand for Union Territory status.

Later the central government agreed to set up Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) on the lines of the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. In October 1989, the tripartite agreement was signed between the State Government, the Central Government and the LBA. The PV Narasimha Rao government promulgated the LAHDC which became a bill in 1997. But the LAHDC was limited Leh region only as the Kargil district is not keen to acquire the union territory status. Since then the Ladakh region enjoyed autonomy through the hill councils but there are attempts made to defunct the LAHDC. The internal conflicts lines in the region on religious and the fear of Kashmir independence from India reached to an alarmed proportion and the demand for the Union Territory status and Greater Ladakh have been gaining momentum. But the demand is confined to Leh district only.

Current Status

Today, protection and restoration of Buddhism has emerged as a big challenge in the region. Their traditional values and culture has to compete with the emerging Indian culture. The young generation in the region who have exposure now are becoming violent. Government on its part has



started some initiatives for national unity in the region like the Sindhu Darshan festival. But in the recent years, many political parties are fighting the local elections with granting of Union Territory status to Ladakh as its main poll plank.

The solution to the Ladakh demands lies in strengthening of the present administrative structure of hill council with required funds for the socio-economic development of the region. While government encouraging the tourist activities in the region, it should be take care of conflicts on religious lines. Trifurcation of the state may seem as a solution but it is fraught with other unknown consequences in the conflict-ridden Kashmir region. It may give Pakistan an opportunity to internationalise the issue which India wants to avoid. Any solution to the Ladakh region should aim at protection and restoration of traditional peace-loving Buddhist culture.

The Issue of Holding Referendum

The 1951 UNSC resolution asked for conducting of referendum in Jammu & Kashmir under UN supervision. The UN resolutions regarding Kashmir issue are not self-enforceable. They are only recommendatory in nature and they can be enforced only if the parties to the dispute viz India and Pakistan can accept it. But one of the conditions of the referendum was that Pakistan had to withdraw its troops from the part of Kashmir under its control. *Pakistan refused to withdraw its forces and India refused to hold any referendum. Since then Pakistan maintained its position by not withdrawing forces.*

The idea of holding referendum had its significance in 1951. But now the situation has completely changed. There are several reasons why India is not ready to hold a referendum in J&K.

1. Pakistan is not ready to withdraw its forces from the part of Kashmir under its control.
2. The Simla agreement of 1972 between India and Pakistan has reduced the possibility of holding a referendum as both the countries had accepted the LoC as an international border.
3. Now Kashmir is an integral part of India which it is not going to lose out. Till now India had spent a lot developmental expenditure in the state of J&K.
4. The demography of the state of J&K has changed a lot since 1950s. The referendum would have been done when its native population lived there. The insurgency encouraged by Pakistan in Kashmir region has changed the demography of the region.

Based on the above arguments, we can conclude that holding a referendum does not hold its validity in the present time.

External state and non-state actors

Kautilya has written that a state could be at risk from four types of threats viz. internal, external, externally-aided internal and internally-aided external. Out of them, the internal threats should be taken care of immediately, for internal troubles, like the fear of the lurking snake, are far more



serious than external threats. Thus, the most dangerous enemy is *the enemy within*. However, external state and non-state actors have played an active role in creating internal security problems in India.

India is currently facing four major threats viz. Separatism in Jammu and Kashmir; Insurgency in North East India, Left Wing Extremism and Terrorism in the Hinterland.

Out of them, the first and the last are a direct manifestation of Pakistani influence, which includes the ISI and Pak military. In recent times, these two threats also getting sharper due to rise of ISIS in Middle East. The insurgents in north east get direct and indirect support from neighbours of India around its porous north east border. The left wing extremism has direct and indirect support from Nepal, China and other countries of South East Asia.

Historically, we have border disputes with Pakistan, China and Bangladesh. The problem with India is that it is located on the epicentre of terrorism and dealing with so many hostile neighbours, all at once. We have head to head wars with our neighbours in 1947-48, 1962, 1965, 1971 and 1999. The reasons for India's security circles include:

- Nuclear Capabilities of China and Pakistan
- Military assertiveness and String of Pearls strategy of China
- Pakistan's military rule beneath the nose of the civilian government
- Anti-India sentiments in Nepal and Bangladesh
- Dubiousness of Sri Lanka in Tamil cause and fishermen issues
- The anxiety of Bhutan to move closer to China
- Illegal immigration from Bangladesh to create ethnic issues in North East

Thus, the entire subject matter can be divided into following:

- Role of state and non state actors in Pakistan
- Role of state and non-state actors in China
- Role of state and non-state actors in Nepal
- Role of actors in Bangladesh.

Very brief notes have been given below on the above headings.

State and Non-state Actors in Pakistan

There is no need to introduce ourselves on the perennial external covert and overt threat from Pakistan to India's internal and external security apparatus. Since its birth, we have fought four wars in 1948, 1965, 1971 and 1998 with this rogue country. Consequent to its military inability to confront with India in direct war, India is facing low intensity conflict in J&K abetted and sponsored by Pakistani military, in the North-East and through support to various fringe extremist groups within the country. We also face huge economic challenges due to the fake currency rackets.

Pakistan is one of India's main worries both on external and internal security fronts. Due to its long-



standing strategic partnership with China, it can stretch our armed forces capabilities in the Eastern sector also. The Chi-Pak nexus has given rise to external concerns such as modernization plans of Karakoram highway, development of Gwadar as a naval port and covert assistance in Pakistan's nuclear and missile program. The various state and non-state actors in Pakistan include:

- Inter-services Intelligence and Pak Military
- Islamic terrorist groups like the Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Toiba, Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami, Jaish-e-Mohammad, the Pakistani Taliban along with various other Jehadi Tanjims.

The covert activities of these apart from terrorist attacks in various parts of the country, include training and facilitation to armed rebels by ISI in various training camps in Pakistan. Apart from Kashmiri militants, ISI has in past and present trained the Sikh Separatists also. In recent times, as per union government, the ISI has been trying to revive the Sikh Militancy to carry out terrorist attacks in Punjab and other parts of the country.

State and Non-State Actors in China

Traditionally, China has provided financial aid, arms and sanctuaries to Naga, Mizo and Meitei extremist's right since the British Era. The military encroachments and conflict of 1962, followed by defeat of India has psychologically contained our leaders thereafter. Since then, china has been shrewdly following a policy of strategic containment of India by regional alliances and arming India's neighbours Myanmar, Bangladesh and Pakistan. As far as internal security is concerned, China's interest lies in North East as well as the Left Wing Extremism. The Nagas were the first to approach Beijing, but China made best use of it. Other groups like MNF, ULFA, PLA, ATTF and NDFB followed. However, it is difficult to say that the linkage was unilateral. It was a relationship of convenience and an alliance of opportunism between China and Indian militant groups. Both Issac Swu and Muivah have been visiting the Chinese embassy officials in Geneva and there are reports of Chinese offer of bassets in Yunan. The Maoist movement got ideological, moral, financial and intellectual backing from China.

State and Non-state actors in Nepal

India and Nepal share an open border with free exchange of people and currency across the borders. The CPN (Maoists) have become formidable political power (non-state actors so far, but state actors now) and this brings new implications for India's internal security particularly in view of their known linkages with Indian Left Wing Extremists. Moreover, India's hold in Nepal is no more remains the same as in past as the Maoists have been continually upping the ante against India, accusing India of poking its nose in internal Nepali affairs. Thus, Nepal can significantly add to India's Maoist menace by joining hands with the rebels in the red corridors of India. Thus, the unfolding political and security scenario in Nepal would have to be closely monitored.



Role of various actors Bangladesh

Trans-border migration from Bangladesh is a major factor for the problems in Assam and other areas of the North East. The point that Bangladesh immigrants are a source of communal and ethnic tension was well proved by the Assam agitation and subsequent events. There are estimated to be 15 to 18 million illegal Bangladeshi immigrants in India, who have spread to all the North Eastern States with bulk of them being in Assam. In some states, these illegal immigrants have turned the majorities into minorities. The influx is likely to continue unless checked and those already identified are deported. Their transgression into land and providing cheap labour is a cause of social and economic insecurity for local communities and a cause of tension and violence. The problem is getting more and more complex. India needs to tighten its immigration controls and there is need for evolving an immigration policy and establishing a set up similar to the Immigration and Naturalisation Service on the lines that exist in USA.

Organized Crime: Terrorism

There is no universally accepted definition of terrorism mainly because a 'terrorist' in one country may not be viewed as 'terrorist' by other countries. Further, terrorists are generally non-state actors; only a few states supporting or using 'terrorism' as part of their foreign policy to destabilise their rivals. In commonsense, *terrorism is a tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.*

The sources of terrorism can be an individual, small groups, transnational networks, state actors or states sponsored clandestine agents.

Broad types of Terrorism

The nature of terrorism varies depending on the objectives of individuals or groups associated with terrorism. The major types of terrorism are: {from 2nd ARC report documents}

Religious terrorism

The religious terrorists consider the act of violence as a divine duty. They are motivated completely or partially by religious imperatives.

Ideology based terrorism

There are two types of ideology based terrorism: Left-wing and Right-wing terrorism. The Left-wing terrorism is based on leftist ideology where the capitalist state structure is viewed as exploitative. Left-wing terrorism is used to create violence against elite classes by oppressed classes. Examples of Left-wing terrorists are Maoists in India and Nepal. Right-wing terrorist groups generally seek to maintain the status quo. Sometimes they try to conserve a past tradition. Violence used against the migrants comes under Right-wing terrorism. Many a times, the Right-wing terrorism might acquire racist/ethnic character. Examples of Right-wing terrorism are Nazism in Germany and Fascists in Italy etc.



Ethnic Terrorism

It is defined as violence by sub-national ethnic groups to promote their cause. Their main aim is to creation of a separate state or elevating their status compared with other ethnic groups. Examples are insurgent groups in North-East India.

Narco-Terrorism

It refers to the activities of the drug traffickers to influence the policies of the government by means of violence. This type of terrorism is associated with economic gains. Examples are FARC in Colombia.

Terrorism by External State Actors

When a terrorist activity operating in one country is supported by the other country/countries, it comes under 'external state sponsored terrorism'. Presently, India's internal security is challenged in a direct and indirect way by state-sponsored terrorism of Pakistan. While the terrorism in Kashmir is directly sponsored by Pakistan, the hinterland terrorism by Indian Mujahidin is indirectly sponsored by Pakistan. The external state governments support the terrorist groups financially, technically, and also provides arms, training, ideological base and other required infrastructural support. The external state governments use the terrorist activity as a proxy war on the other nation.

Terrorism by Non-state Actors | rajawat.rs.surajsingh@gmail.com | www.gktoday.in/module/ias-general-studies

Generally, terrorism by non-state actors does not supported by and associated with any government. This type of terrorism is promoted by individuals and terrorist groups on their own. However, in many cases though they are operating on their own, we cannot rule out the support of external state actors.

Examples of terrorism by non-state actors are Naxalism in India, North-East India insurgent groups, LTTE etc. The terrorist groups like Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Indian Mujahidin are claimed as non-state actors but indirectly they have support from Pakistan.

Means of Terrorism

Based on the means used by the terrorists, we can categorise them as eco-terrorism, bio-terrorism, suicide terrorism, cyber-terrorism etc. The other means used in terrorism are Chemical weapons, weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons etc.

Role of ICT in Spread of Terrorism

In recent times, there are several factors that have helped the terrorism to spread. Firstly, the developments in the communication technology, especially social media in the recent past, are helping the terrorists to promote their ideology very quickly. Availability of information technology and social media to spread propaganda and as sophisticated means of communication. Secondly, intolerance spreads more quickly due to use of social media to spread propaganda. Thirdly, international recognition and support to terrorist groups has become easy and quick due to



availability of internet and social media. *Fourthly*, the links between terrorism and organised crime to earn easy money have spread tentacles everywhere.

Funding to terrorist organisations

The terrorist organisations use different sources for fund raising which include state sponsorship, donations from Islamist organisations in the name of Jihad, extortion, organised crime and smuggling, fake currency etc. The terrorist financial networks also operate through trusts, fake bank accounts etc. The transfer of money is largely routed through hawala transactions. The porous borders of India with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar are used for the procurement of arms and other technological equipment.

Brief Historical Background of Terrorism in India

The history of terrorism in India can be traced to Khalistan movement in Punjab in the eighties. After independence of India, the demand of separate state by Sikhs led to the formation Punjab. However, even after that there are many unresolved issues pertaining to the Chandigarh as state capital, sharing of river waters etc. It is further aggravated when terrorists demanded for separate 'Khalistan'. The Khalistan issue resulted in Operation Blue Star in Amritsar, followed by assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, a series of political murders, and killing of thousands of Sikhs and other people in riots and terrorism related violence. Temporary peace was brought by Rajiv Gandhi – Longowal Accord in 1985, however, a month later Longowal was also assassinated. Later the conflict was resolved with government policy of discussions with dissident elements. Even now there are few isolated cases of violence. There are increasing fears that the movement might be revived. The 2015 Gurdaspur attack is considered as one such attempt of revival of the movement. The movement is largely supported from groups living abroad.

After Punjab, the terrorism started in late eighties in Kashmir region by anti-India separatist elements supported by Pakistan. The terror groups operated mainly from Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK). The terrorism in Kashmir was created by groups like LeT, JeM, Hizbul Mujahideen etc. They were trained and inspired by the Pakistan ISI. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) was formed in 1990. LeT is involved in Indian Parliament attack of 2001 and 2008 Mumbai attacks.

At the same time in India, in 1977, Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) was formed in Aligarh to liberate Indian Muslims from western materialistic culture. In eighties and nineties, SIMI became extremist group with more radical posture. It was banned in 2001. The ban was revoked in 2008 by a special tribunal but again it was banned in 2008 by Chief Justice of India.

After the ban of SIMI, a new terrorist organisation Indian Mujahidin (IM) was formed. It has carried out many attacks against civilians of India. Government of India declared it as a terrorist organisation in 2010.



After 2005, there was also a growth of right-wing extremism in India in the form of Malegaon blasts (2006), Mecca Masjid bombing in Hyderabad, Samjhauta Express bombings and the Ajmer Sharif Dargah blast. These events led to the further radicalisation of Muslim based terrorist organisations. The analysis of terror activities in India concludes that the targets are state capitals, financial hubs, tourist places, and religious places.

Institutional Framework to Tackle Terrorism in India

In India, a number of intelligence, military and police organisations fight against the terrorism activities. For intelligence, we have

- Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) that acts as the external intelligence agency
- Intelligence Bureau (IB), a division of the Home Affairs Ministry, collects intelligence within India.

After the 26/11 attack, government has formed various other agencies like NIA, NATGRID, MAC (revamping) and NCTC for fighting against terrorism. Here is a brief backgrounder on various bodies in India formed to fight terrorism.

National Security Guard (NSG)

Following the Operation Blue Star in 1984, the National Security Guard (NSG) was created as a special commando force for combating against terrorist activities. NSG personnel are also referred as Black Cat commandos. The NSG's are trained to counter hijacking operations and terrorist operations. After 26/11 attack, four NSG regional hubs are created at Kolkata, Hyderabad, Chennai and Mumbai.

National Investigation Agency (NIA)

It is a federal agency set up by India to combat terror. It was created in December 2008 after Mumbai terror attacks in November 2008 with concurrent jurisdiction power. It is empowered to investigate and prosecute offences under the Acts specified in the Schedule of the NIA Act. Any state government can request union government to handover the investigation of case to NIA, if the case is registered as per the offenses mentioned in schedule of NIA act. Union government can also handover any scheduled offense anywhere in the India. The central government is empowered to decide the jurisdiction of these courts. These are presided over by a judge appointed by the Central Government on the recommendation of the Chief Justice of the High Court with jurisdiction in that region. The main offences dealt by NIA are bomb blasts, human trafficking, hijacking of ships and aircrafts, counterfeit currency narcotics etc.

National Intelligence Grid (NATGRID)

NATGRID is a robust intelligence gathering mechanism to track any suspected terror attack. All the databases of government departments are linked in a grid to collect comprehensive patterns of intelligence that can be readily accessed by intelligence agencies like RAW, IB, ED, CBEC etc. The



information collected includes tax and bank account details, credit card transactions, visa and immigration records, and rail and air travel details etc. It is not yet fully operationalised.

Revamping of Multi Agency Centre (MAC)

MAC, which functions under the Intelligence Bureau, is the nodal agency for sharing intelligence inputs. Although it was in place since 2002, it was revamped after 26/11 attacks. Every agency, and Central Police Organisation, has an officer to coordinate with MAC and share intelligence on a daily basis. At the state level also there is an SMAC functioning in a similar manner.

Coastal Security Scheme Revamped

After 26/11 attacks, the coastal security imperatives have become multi-dimensional and prompt. To strengthen the coastal security, the government has taken several measures. The Coast Guard was entrusted with the task of guarding the Indian coastline right from the shoreline. The Indian Navy is still responsible for overall maritime security. Coastal States and Union Territories have been directed to implement the approved Coastal Security Scheme. The coastal States and UTs have been asked to start coastal patrolling by locally hired fishing boats/traulers. A uniform system for registration of all boats has been put in place. Action is also being taken for issuance of ID cards to all fishermen.

National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO)

It is a technical intelligence agency set up in 2004 under the National Security Adviser in the Prime Minister's Office, India. It provides technical intelligence to all other Indian agencies, however, there are certain issues with NTRO, discussed in this document later.

Legal Framework Around Terrorism

The various central acts dealing with terrorism in the past and present are:

1. The Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act, 1987. It was allowed to lapse in 1995 after its misuse.
2. The Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), 2002. It was enacted after the Parliament attack in 2001. It was also repealed in 2004.
3. The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. It was amended in 2004 to deal with terror activities. It was last amended in 2012.

Further, we also have state enacted laws viz. MCOCA (Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act) and Gujarat Control of Terrorism and Organised Crime (GCTOC) in place in Maharashtra and Gujarat.

Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act or TADA

TADA was the first anti-terror law enacted in 1985. It was first enacted for 2 years but later its life was extended in 1987 via the TADA-1987. The act was repealed in 1995 due to its misuse.

Under TADA 1985, two new offences were created namely 'terror act' and 'disruptive activities' were



included. The law had placed restriction on granting bails and gave enhanced power for detention of suspects and attaching the properties of the accused. The law made confession before a police officer admissible. Exclusive courts were set up to hear the cases under the act.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2002 (POTA)

POTA was enacted in 2001 in the wake of Indian airlines flight hijack in 1999 and Parliament attack in 2001. Under the act, a suspect can be detained up to 180 days by a special court. The law included the act of fund raising for the purpose of terror as a 'terrorist act'. A separate chapter to deal with terrorist organisations was included. The union government was authorized to add or remove any organisation from the schedule. After its misuse by some state governments, it was repealed in 2004.

Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) Amendment

UAPA was first enacted in 1967 and amended several times with the last one in 2012. Under UAPA, the definition of "terrorist act" has been expanded to include *offences that threaten economic security, counterfeiting Indian currency and procurement of weapons* etc. Additional powers are granted to courts to provide for attachment or forfeiture of property equivalent to the counterfeit Indian currency involved in the offence or to the value of the proceeds of terrorism involved in the offence.

As of now, under Section 35 of the UAPA, there are 39 groups in the list of banned terrorist organisations, the latest one to have been added being the NSCN (Khaplang). There is also a proposed amendment of this act to "designate individuals" along with terror organisations under the "banned list of entities." Presently, there is no provision for an individual, suspected of having terror links making it to the list of terrorist entities banned.

Comparison of GCTOC, MCOCA and UAPA

These three acts mainly which aim to curb terrorism, Unlawful activities and organized crimes.

Gujarat Control of Terrorism and Organised Crime (GCTOC):

This Act is committed to curb terrorist activities which may include intention of terrorist to disturb law and order, threatening the integrity, unity and security of the State. Also to check intention of terrorist to strike terror in minds of people by using any lethal weapon, using bombs to noxious gases which likely cause death or injury to any public functionary or any individual.

In addition this Act also covers economic offences, cyber crime, human trafficking, extortion, contract killing, land-grabbing and several other severe offences.

This law was passed by Gujarat legislative assembly in April 2015 and waiting for President's assent.

Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act (MCOCA):

This Act was passed by Maharashtra Government in 1999. It aims to counter terror-related offences. This Act defines "organised crime" as continuing unlawful activity by an individual or jointly or either by a member of organized crime syndicate, by use of violence or other unlawful means for aim of gaining pecuniary benefits or undue economic or other advantage.



Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA)

This Act was passed in 1967 which gives power to deal with activities directed against the integrity and sovereignty of India. This Act works on the similar ground as that of GCTOC regarding countering offenses.

Interception of communication:

GCTOC: Evidence collected through interception is admissible in court whether of wire, electronic or oral communication. Permission for Interception 10 days before trial.

MCOCA: Interception provision same but permission process more stringent.

UAPA: Interception provision & process same as GCTOC.

Presumption of guilt for all three Acts:

If arm or explosives recovered from accused or even his fingerprints found at the site of incident court is suppose to draw adverse inference, unless proven otherwise. Confessions made in Police custody is admissible in court.

It is mandatory to file charge sheet within 180 for all three Acts.

Bail provisions:

GCTOC & MCOCA grants bail to accuse only after public prosecutor is given an opportunity to oppose the bail application.

But under UAPA there is special provision for the foreigners, who is not entitled to bail unless court is satisfied that there are grounds to believe accused is not guilty.

National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC)

Establishment of India's National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) is closely linked to the similar bodies in United States. Before 9/11 attacks in US, the responsibility for co-ordination related to terrorist threats was under the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). A Counter-Terrorism Centre (CTC) of CIA handled the task of coordination, follow-up on the intelligence gathered by various agencies. After 9/11 attacks, USA realised the serious gaps in its intelligence gathering mechanism and it set up a National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) in 2004 as an independent institution *not under the control of any existing agency*.

Similarly, in 2000, the NDA government had set up a Task Force to revamp India's intelligence organisational structure. Based on the report of task force, the government set up a Multi-Agency Centre (MAC) on the lines of United States Counter-Terrorism Centre (CTC). MAC started functioning as the intelligence gathering agency. But after the 26/11 attacks on Mumbai, the Home Minister {P Chidambaram} envisaged setting up of National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) on the lines of NCTC of USA.

Chidambaram envisaged NCTC as follows:

- NCTC would work as an umbrella organisation, which would exercise control over agencies

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like NIA, NTRO, Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), NATGRID as well as NSG.

- NCTC would draw its powers from the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act.
- It would be kept under the control of Union Home Ministry and would be given powers to conduct searches and issue arrest warrants throughout India.

The Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) in 2012 had given approval for NCTC but then many state governments opposed the NCTC on the grounds that it would undermine the federal structure of the country. They argued that law and order is a state subject and the overarching power given to NCTC would impinge on the authority of state governments. Slowly, the proposal of an NCTC was put in cold storage.

Things to do to improve Preparedness Against Terrorism

The level of preparedness of anti-terror agencies in India can be discussed under four heads viz. Intelligence gathering, Training and operations, Investigations and Prosecution.

Intelligence gathering

With respect to intelligence, RAW acts as an external intelligence agency while IB collects intelligence within the country. After 26/11 attacks, NATGRID and MAC have started participating in intelligence gathering also. However, still India needs to completely streamline and integrate the information and inputs from all the government departments and non-government agencies. This would be achieved only after the NATGRID becomes operational. Government should also need to educate and train the communities, media, corporate houses etc. to aid in the task of intelligence gathering.

Training and Operations

The State governments have limited capabilities to train their police personnel to deal with terror attacks. To overcome this, the union government should help the states to improve their capacity building. Presently, for operations, IB is the coordinator with the police of different states but to carry out operations simultaneously in many states, there is no unified command in the country. There is a need for creation of a central agency to coordinate operations all over the country.

Investigations

The NIA is playing a commendable role but still there is a scope for improvement. One suggestion could be setting up of one central agency to investigate all cases of terrorism, which are inter-linked and may occur in different states. This will improve the efficiency of investigations.

Prosecution

The government should establish special fast track courts to quickly resolve the existing terrorist cases. The justice should be time bound.



What else should be done?

Handling terrorism needs a multi-pronged strategy. The strategy should involve different stakeholders – government, political parties, civil society, security agencies, and media. *Firstly*, all the political parties should have national level political consensus to devise the broad contours of planned strategy against terrorism. This will be possible only with the cooperation between the centre and state governments. *Secondly*, the principle of law of the land must be respected. Inadequate laws must be replaced with new comprehensive laws. *Thirdly*, Measures should be taken to improve the intelligence gathering machinery, operational efficiency, training of security agencies, and civil administration. *Fourthly*, cases of terrorism should be resolved in a time bound manner. Based on the need of the hour, special laws and enforcing mechanisms should be developed but at the same time sufficient safeguards are required to avoid its misuse.

Critical Analysis: NTRO

NTRO (National Technical Research Organisation) was conceived as a Premier scientific organization, yet it continues to be more or less in a state of limbo. It's a premier scientific agency under the National Security Adviser. It was set up in 2004. The National Technical Research Organisation, originally known as the National Technical Facilities Organisation (NTFO), is highly specialized technical intelligence gathering agency.

The agency develops technology capabilities in aviation and remote sensing, data gathering and processing, cyber security, cryptology systems, strategic hardware and software development and strategic monitoring.

In what Circumstances, NTRO was conceived?

NTRO was conceived in the post Kargil period when NDA Government set up a Girish Chandra Saxena task force to suggest measures to revamp of India's intelligence apparatus. GC Saxena had been a chief of RAW and was Governor of Jammu & Kashmir that that time. His report threw light on huge gaps in the technical intelligence (techint) capabilities of our agencies, both defence and civil. The report discussed that there are two ways to fill this gap. Either each of the intelligence agencies should get additional allocation of funds to build their respective capabilities; or a new techint agency is set up. It was envisaged that this new agency should function in a neutral manner, without itself acquiring the role of an intelligence agency. The task force opted for the recommendation about the latter as National Technical Facilities Organisation (NTFO).

However, it took several years to issue the classified (top secret) notification before NTFO could be created in 2004. The NTFO was meant to attract the best multi-discipline scientific, technical and intelligence talent from within the country and abroad to set up world-class SIGINT, IMINT, CyberINT and cryptography facilities based on cutting-edge technologies. Its inputs were meant to



be shared with the various intelligence agencies in real time. The chairman of the NTFO was given considerable discretion in the areas of appointments and acquisitions. To give the organisation greater freedom to fulfil its mandate, it was placed directly under the NSA and the PMO. At the instance of its first Chairman NTFO was renamed as NTRO.

Evaluation of the success/failures of NTRO

NTRO inherited a number of R&AW's techint assets. An unhealthy rivalry over division of men and material between the parent body, i.e. R&AW and the newborn agency, NTRO has unfortunately set in.

NTRO has been bogged down by serious teething troubles, with squabbles among its hybrid cadres, brought in from the scientific (drawn mainly from the DRDO), intelligence and defence services, accentuated by the absence of approved recruitment rules.

It has also been inundated by a spate of complaints and media leaks by disgruntled and unscrupulous elements, who have been trying to push their personal agendas at the cost of the organization's future. The appointment of a suitable person to the post of its chairman has been an issue. Thus, NTRO continues to be more or less in a state of limbo, performing far below its potential.

Linkages of Organized Crime with Terrorism

Organized crime mainly exploits legitimate activities for criminal purposes. The UNODC tried to give a definition to "organised crime" in the organised crime convention. So an organised crime may be defined as

- A group of three or more persons that was not randomly formed;
- Existing for a period of time;
- Acting in concert with the aim of committing at least one crime punishable by at least four years' incarceration;
- In order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit.

Globalized world, lenient emigration policies, cheaper and faster international travel, social networking sites and high tech communication equipment and sophisticated money laundering methods have increased organized crimes across the world. Such gangs are engaged in anti-social activities as the use of violence and extortion, illicit drug trafficking, money laundering, acts of corruption, environmental crime, trafficking in women and children, illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, credit card fraud, computer related crime, maritime piracy, illegal trafficking of stolen vehicles, industrial espionage and sabotage etc.

Similarities between the terrorism and Organised Crime

There are a number of increasingly similarities between terrorism and organized crime.

- Both use extreme violence and the threat of reprisals.

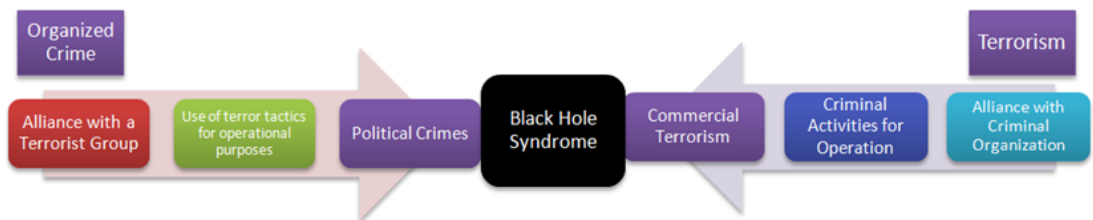


- Both use kidnappings, assassinations, and extortion.
- Both operate secretly, though at times publicly in friendly territory.
- Both defy the state and the rule of law.
- For a member to leave either group is rare and often fatal.
- Both present an asymmetrical threat to the nations.
- Both can have “interchangeable recruitment” pools.
- Both are highly adaptable, innovative, and resilient.
- Both have back-up leaders and foot soldiers.
- Both have provided social services, though this is much more frequently seen with terrorist groups

While some terrorist and criminal groups may operate opportunistically in partnership, others may be converging or transforming into a single terror-crime entity.

Organized Crime and Terrorism: The Black Hole syndrome

The convergence between terrorist groups and transnational organized crime groups can be understood by the Black Hole Syndrome. The black hole syndrome is described as the *natural progression of these two criminal groups gaining economic and political control over a territory or an entire state*. The interaction between criminal and terrorist groups into seven points along the continuum, and subsequently into four general groups: alliances, operational motivations, convergence, and the “black hole” syndrome. It is shown in the following graphics:



Various Facets of Linkages with Organized Crimes with Terrorism

Narcotics + Terrorism = Narco-Terrorism

Narcotic trafficking started as an organised crime has emerged as a threat to nation states because of its association with terrorist groups. Narcotic drugs are most profitable commodity that it generates quick money only hard cash. Taliban in Afghanistan is reportedly making some \$100 million a year from drugs in Afghanistan while making successful war upon the Afghans and their Coalition partners.

India's Worries

- India is worried about the terrorist outfits working from the soil of Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh. With Afghanistan, the escalation of violence in the past few years creates



another concern. The boom in poppy cultivation has led to resurgence of Taliban and Al-Qaeda which continue to be the primary sources of threat.

- India's worries get magnified because India has a location between **golden crescent** and **golden triangle** which are world's major narcotics producing and exporting regions. This unique location leads India to become a popular route for drug trafficking which can lead to rise of Narco-terrorism and finally instability in the country.
- The growth of illicit drugs trade into India through the northern borders is one of the several reasons for the declining trend in robbery and dacoit cases in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Narcotic drugs are the main source for funding terrorist activities in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.
- This connivance of terrorist and insurgent groups in global drug trade is another cause of concern. Terrorism needs huge amount of money to carry out operations, which cannot be yielded through legal ways or officials, so the terrorists approach underworld dons or drug syndicates for cooperation. The criminalisation of politics is the result of the same nexus.

Laws and Regulations against Narcotic Trafficking

- Narcotics Drugs and Psychotropic Substance Act 1985: Provides minimum punishment of 10 years.
- Indian Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, 1985: Provides to carry out controlled delivery mechanisms measures as it deems necessary or expenditure for the purpose of preventing and combating abuse of narcotic substances.
- Narcotics Control Bureau (NCB): Nodal agency for enforcement of laws concerning narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.
- India signed bilateral agreements with USA, UK, Myanmar, Afghanistan, UAE, Mauritius, Zambia, and the Russia for 'drug control'.
- India is a signatory of UN and SAARC convention on narcotic drugs and psychotropic Substances.

Drug Trafficking and Terrorism

- Terrorists indulge in drug trafficking directly to support their own cause.
- Sympathizers involve in drug trafficking and send the illegal profits to fund the terrorist movements.
- Terrorists and drug lords join to gain access to the powers to utilise their connections with political powers.
- The economy of narcotics producing countries is dependent on the illegal drugs trade. Unless an alternative economy is formulated the trade would continue irrespective of strict legislation.



- Problems compounded with money laundering and black money.
- The criminals and smugglers accept the attractive proposal from terrorists because it gives them access to political power.

Illegal Firearms Trafficking

- According to a 2006 Oxfam report, there are more than 40 million illegal small arms in India out of approximately 75 million in worldwide circulation.
- Problem of illegal arms is graver in Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh. Large amount of illegal small arms are manufactured in various illegal arms factories in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and sold on the black market for cheap prices.
- Chinese pistols are in demand in the illegal small arms market in India because they are easily available and cheaper.
- This trend poses a significant problem for the states which have influence of Naxalism. The porous Indo-Nepal border is an entry point for Chinese pistols, AK-47 and M-16 rifles into India as these arms are used by the Naxalites who have ties to Maoists in Nepal.

Linkage with terrorism

The illegal arms trafficking aids terrorists and terrorist groups operating around the world and it is central to the global war on terror. These arms are not only the weapons of choice in the majority of today's regional conflicts but also for many terrorists and terrorist groups operating around the world. Arms brokers operate from anywhere because they are able to circumvent national arms controls and international arms restrictions or obtain official protection. Arms trafficking are a clandestine act that can distort a state's peaceful state either through smuggling or direct purchases. Terrorists give protection and support to drug traffickers with fire arms, and the drug traffickers, being acquainted with the routes, assist the terrorists in border crossings to bring arms and drugs in the target country.

Human Trafficking

Terrorism is an expensive business, and better technology has made it easier to track money online, and Terrorist organizations not only utilize human trafficking for financial support, they also use to obtain an entry point into countries. The slave trade is currently a multi-billion industry built on demand for single product i.e. fellow human beings. Human traffickers offer the terrorists several 'products': child soldier, domestic servant, exotic dancer, rape, forced marriage, sex slavery in brothels, etc.

India is found to be both the country of origin and destination for trafficking in women. Human trafficking is not only one of the first financial steps into the transnational and trans-criminal financial network but that it is the bedrock of these criminal syndicates. It is far more profitable than trafficking drugs or weapons and sometimes various forms of kidnapping for ransom were used by



terrorist and/or insurgent groups to raise some funds and sustain themselves.

Money Laundering

Money laundering is at the centre of all terrorist activity, because it is the common denominator of all other acts, whether the aim is to make profits or use them for other purposes like donations channelled through charitable or religious foundations as well as the proceeds of various criminal activities such as credit card fraud, trafficking in human beings, and drug related offences.

Cyber Crimes and Terrorism

The exponential growth of computer related crime equal with the increasing dependence of computers in our day-to-day lives has posed another tool for terrorists to spread terrorism.

- Publication of terrorist ideologies and ideas propaganda
- Raising funds terrorist financing through money transfer
- Recruiting new members and finding each other
- Launching threat or intimidation campaigns beheadings
- Communication among members P2P, SMS, VOIP and encryption
- Obtaining operational information targeting
- Coordinating, planning and discussing terrorist actions
- Logistics ordering supplies, car rentals,
- Designing Explosive, chemical biological component.

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The Information Technology Act, 2000 provides for legal framework to prevent cyber-crimes. Further, the Act has been amended to include provisions to address computer crimes like phishing, spamming, online frauds and identity theft as also for data protection.

Fake Currency

Currency counterfeiting is one of the organized white collar crimes which has assumed serious proportions in growing terrorism globally. Beyond issues of intellectual property theft and consumer safety, there is the notion that counterfeit sales directly fund terrorist organizations.

Options for Combating Organized Crime

- Increase efforts to integrate policy towards terrorism and organized crime: enhance governments investigative and response capabilities; training focused on critical skills and exchange of skills between and among the nations.
- Improve Counter Terrorism Cooperation through wider consultation; coordinated approaches at national and regional levels.
- Strong Sub-regional Co-operation: Exchange research studies and expertise on terrorism and establish secure communication links in each member country.
- Establish a Regional Centre to coordinate regional efforts, capacity building, coordinate resource mobilisation and build & maintain a regional data bank.

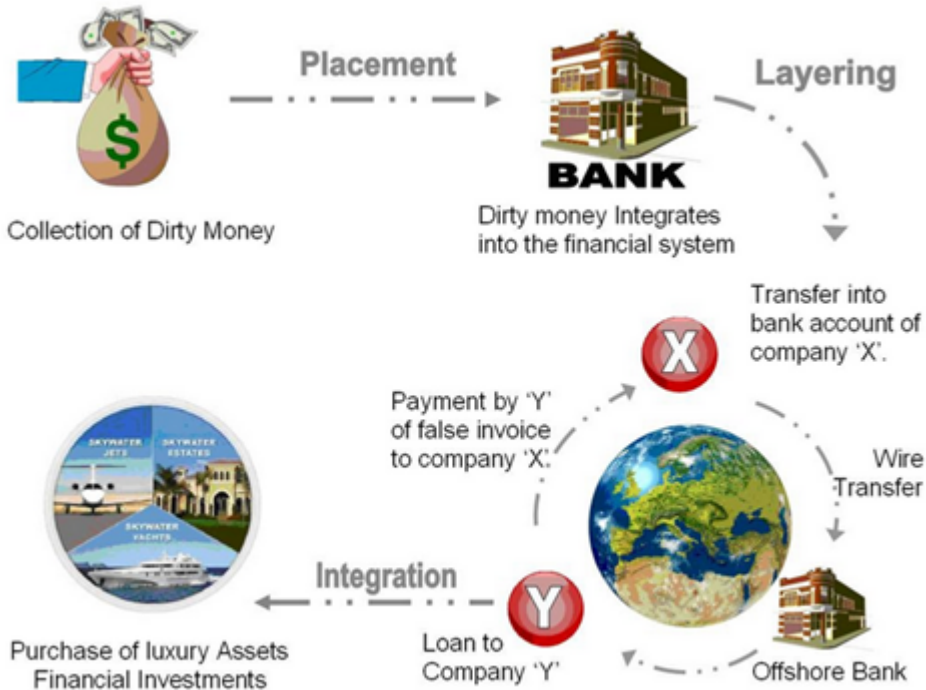


- Co-ordinated Institutional Framework
- Enhance Public Awareness by sensitising communities and civil societies on the impact of terrorism and eliminate misconceptions through the mass media and other channels
- Curb Financing of Terrorism by enacting appropriate statutes to prevent financing of terrorism
- Enhance Diplomatic Efforts to gain political will to support the mechanism and gain collaboration of international partners.
- Timely exchange of information and intelligence

Money Laundering and Its Prevention

Money laundering is the process by which large amounts of illegally obtained is given the appearance of having originated from a legitimate source. So basically, all the ways to convert the black money into white money are Money laundering. But in *Money laundering*, the black money must involve a predicate crime such as the violation of Indian Penal Code, IPC, Narcotics, Prevention of Corruption Act and Human Trafficking. This is because in India, stashing black money is simply a civil crime involving tax evasion, money laundering has criminal dimensions related to black money. That is why, we use the term *Dirty Money* in this context.

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Money Laundering Schematic. Image Source: Indian Institute of Trade



Steps in Money Laundering

There are three different steps in money laundering described by three terms as follows:

Placement

Dirty Money, generally in the form of Cash is inserted into a legitimate financial institution.

Layering

Layering involves sending the money through various financial transactions to change its form and make it difficult to follow. Layering may consist of several bank-to-bank transfers, wire transfers between different accounts in different names in different countries, changing the money's currency, and purchasing high-value items to change the form of the money.

Integration

At the integration stage, the money re-enters the mainstream economy in legitimate-looking form. This may involve a final bank transfer into the account of a local business in which the launderer is “investing” in exchange for a cut of the profits. At this point, the criminal can use the money without getting caught.

Prevention of money laundering

The first major initiative in prevention of money laundering was United Nations convention against illicit traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic substances in 1988. But major change came with the introduction of **Financial Action Task Force (FATF)** in 1989. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) is an inter-governmental body established in 1989 by G-7 Summit in Paris, initially to examine and develop measures to combat money laundering.

- The objectives of the FATF are to set standards and promote effective implementation of legal, regulatory and operational measures for combating money laundering, terrorist financing and other related threats to the integrity of the international financial system.
- The FATF monitors the progress of its members in implementing necessary measures, reviews money laundering and terrorist financing techniques and counter-measures, and promotes the adoption and implementation of appropriate measures globally.
- The FATF currently comprises 34 member jurisdictions and 2 regional organisations, representing most major financial centres in all parts of the globe. India became member of FATF in 2010.

40+9 Recommendations

Forty Recommendations have been issued by the FATF in 1990 which were last revised in 2003. Some of them include implementing the international conventions of this relevance and criminalizing money laundering and enabling authorities to confiscate the proceeds of money laundering. 8 Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing were issued by FATF in the wake of 9/11 attacks. A 9th Special Recommendation on Terrorist Financing was issued in October 2004. So,



there are 49 recommendations by FATF to combat the money laundering.

The Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 (PMLA)

The Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 (PMLA) forms the core of the legal framework put in place by India to combat money laundering. It came into force in 2005. PMLA defines money laundering offence and provides for the freezing, seizure and confiscation of the proceeds of crime.

Salient Features of this act are as follows:

- RBI, SEBI and IRDA have been brought under the PMLA, and therefore the provisions of this act are applicable to all financial institutions, banks, mutual funds, insurance companies, and their financial intermediaries.
- The agency monitoring the anti-Money laundering activities in India is the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU-IND). This unit is responsible for receiving, processing, analysing and disseminating information relating to suspect financial transactions. FIU-IND is also responsible for coordinating and strengthening efforts of national and international intelligence, investigation and enforcement agencies in pursuing the global efforts against money laundering and related crimes. FIU-IND is an independent body reporting directly to the Economic Intelligence Council (EIC) headed by the Finance Minister.
- Punishment for offence of money laundering: There can be punishment of imprisonment upto 3-7 years with fine upto 5 lakh rupees. But in case of offences done under Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substance Act 1985, maximum punishment is extent to 10 years rather than 7 years.
- Obligation of banking companies, financial Institutions and Intermediaries:
 - Banking companies have to follow the procedure of KYC Norms (Know your customer)
 - Maintain records for
 - Nature and value of the transaction to be transacted.
 - Whether such transaction was singly transacted or series of transaction taken place in a month.
 - Maintain record for a period of 10 years from the date of cessation of transaction between the clients and the banking company or financial institution or intermediary as the case may be.

Furnish information of above transaction to director within the prescribed time.

Verify and maintain the records of identity of all clients in respect of such transactions to Director within the prescribed time.

The Prevention of Money Laundering (Amendment) Act 2012



The PMLA was enacted in 2002, but was amended thrice, first in 2005, then in 2009 and then 2012. The 2012 version of the amendment received president's assent on January 3, 2013, and the law became operational from February 15, when the finance ministry notified it. PMLA (Amendment) Act, 2012 has enlarged the definition of money laundering by including activities such as **concealment, acquisition, possession and use of proceeds of crime as criminal activities**.

Some other features are as follows:

- The amendment has introduced the concept of **Corresponding law** to link the provisions of Indian law with the laws of foreign countries and to provide for transfer of the proceeds of foreign predicate offence committed in any manner in India.
- It also adds the concept of 'reporting entity' which would include a banking company, financial institution, intermediary or a person carrying on a designated business or profession.
- The Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 levied a fine up to Rs 5 lakh. The amendment act has removed this upper limit.
- The act has provided for provisional attachment and confiscation of property of any person (for a period not exceeding 180 days). This power may be exercised by the authority if it has reason to believe that the offence of money laundering has taken place.
- The act has conferred the powers upon the Director to call for records of transactions or any additional information that may be required for the purposes of investigation. The Director may also make inquiries for non-compliance of the obligations of the reporting entities.

Part B of the Schedule in the erstwhile Act included only those crimes that are above Rs 30 lakh or more whereas Part A did not specify any monetary limit of the offence. The amended act has brought all the offences under Part A of the Schedule to ensure that the monetary thresholds do not apply to the offence of money laundering.

Challenges to internal security through Communication Networks

Communication networks refer to an **interconnection of communicating entities** such as *computers, laptops, mobiles, telephones etc.* via which provides the basis for information exchange for all other sectors including *voice, data, video, and Internet connectivity*. Communication network should not be confused with the **computer networks** such as LAN, WAN etc. because they are merely one form of the Communication networks. Various communication networks are the backbone of much of the critical infrastructure in many sectors today such as civil aviation, shipping, railways, power, nuclear, oil and gas, finance, banking, IT, law enforcement, intelligence agencies, space, defence, and



government networks. As such, communications systems serve part in parcel with other key internal and external security and emergency preparedness. Moreover, the communication networks are very much dependent on each other in a very complex way. The collapse of one communication network can affect adversely many sectors.

Key Security Threats TO Communication Networks

Some of the key security attacks via the Communication Networks and to the communication networks *data theft, fraud, denial of service attacks, hacking, cyber warfare, terrorist and antinational activities*. A cyber attack which can control the infrastructure can have debilitating effect. The attacks can be via viruses, malware, Trojans, hacking, network scanning, probing, phishing etc. Moreover, the Social network attacks can be one of the major sources of attacks in near future because of the volume of users and the amount of personal information posted on these networks. Various security threats via the communication networks are discussed below:

Network Packet Sniffers

When large information is sent via a network, it is broken into smaller pieces, which are called **network packets**. Generally these network packets are sent as clear text over the networks i.e. information sent across the network is not encrypted.

This poses a great security threat of packets getting processed and understood by any application that can pick them up off the network. So, a **packet sniffer** is an application that can easily interpret the network packets. The problem is compounded by availability of numerous freeware and shareware packet sniffers poses.

Social Engineering Attacks

Social engineering refers to psychological tricks used to persuade people to undermine their own online security. This can include opening an email attachment, clicking a button, following a link, or filling in a form with sensitive personal information.

All sorts of scams, and many methods used to spread malware, make use of social engineering techniques, and target human desires & fears as well as just plain curiosity to get past the caution of being online. All attack methods are called Social Engineering Attacks. These attacks pose a risk to meaningful and often sensitive information related to user account, databases etc.

IP Spoofing

When an attacker situated outside the targeted network pretends to be a trusted computer then the mode of attack is termed as **IP spoofing**. IP spoofing can be done either by using an IP address of targeted network pool or by using an authorized & trusted external IP address.

IP spoofing actually results into injection of data or commands into an existing stream of data passed between a client and server application or a peer-to-peer network connection.



Phishing

Phishing refers to a technique used to gain personal information for the purpose of **identity theft**, using **fraudulent e-mail messages** that appear to come from legitimate organizations such as banks. These authentic-looking messages/ e-mails are designed to lure recipients into divulging account data like login details, passwords, credit card numbers etc

Denial of Service

Most popular form of attack, denial of service (DoS) attacks are also among the most difficult to completely eliminate. Among the hacker community, DoS attacks are regarded as trivial and considered bad form because they require so little effort to execute. Because of their ease of implementation and potentially significant damage, DoS attacks deserve special attention. These attacks include the TCP SYN Flood, Ping of Death etc.

When this type of attack is launched from many different systems at the same time, it is often referred to as a distributed denial of service attack (DDoS). DDoS is not actually hacking the website but is a common technique used to temporarily bring down websites. DDoS attacks are well-orchestrated ones on Web servers of a website, and on the domain name servers. The idea is to flood the servers with a humongous number of requests, resulting in the temporary outage of a website or shutdown of the servers. suraj_winner | rajawat.rs.surajsingh@gmail.com | www.gktoday.in/module/ias-general-studies Once this is accomplished, the incoming traffic can be redirected to an intermediate page, where often the perpetrators of these attacks post their messages explaining the reason for why the website has been targeted.

Password Attacks

Password attacks usually refer to repeated attempts to identify a user account and/or password; these repeated attempts are called **brute-force attacks**. If this account has sufficient privileges, the attacker can create a back door for future access.

Password attacks can easily be eliminated by not relying on plaintext passwords in the first place. Using OTP or cryptographic authentication can virtually eliminate the threat of password attacks. Passwords should be at least eight characters long and contain uppercase letters, lowercase letters, numbers, and special characters (#, %, \$, etc.).

Distribution of Sensitive Information

Most of the computer break-ins that organizations suffer are at the hands of troublesome present or former employees. Basically it results into leakage of sensitive information to competitors or others that will use it to organization's disadvantage.

Man-in-the-Middle Attacks

Man-in-the-middle attacks refer to access to network packets that come across the networks. An ISP can gain access to all network packets transferred between one network and any other network. It can launch such an attack. Implemented using network packet sniffers and routing and transport



protocols these attack can result in information theft, control over an ongoing session to gain access to one's internal network resources, traffic analysis to derive information network and its users, denial of service, corruption of transmitted data, and introduction of new information into network sessions.

Application Layer Attacks

Application layer attacks are performed by identifying the well-known weaknesses in software that are commonly found on servers, such as sendmail, Hypertext Transfer Protocol (HTTP), and FTP etc.

The primary problem with application layer attacks is that they often use ports that are allowed through a firewall. For example, a TCP port 80. Application layer attacks can never be completely eliminated.

Virus and Trojan Horse Applications

Viruses and Trojan horse applications are the primary vulnerabilities for end-user computers. Viruses refer to malicious software that is attached to another program to execute a particular unwanted function on a user's workstation.

A Trojan horse is different only in that the entire application was written to look like something else, when in fact it is an attack tool. An example of a Trojan horse is a software application that runs a simple game on the user's workstation. While the user is occupied with the game, the Trojan horse mails a copy of itself to every user in the user's address book. Then other users get the game and play it, thus spreading the Trojan horse.

Scareware

Scareware is fake/rogue security software. There are millions of different versions of malware, with hundreds more being created and used every day.

This type of scam can be particularly profitable for cyber criminals, as many users believe the pop-up warnings telling them their system is infected and are lured into downloading and paying for the special software to protect their system.

Spam

As spam expands into other areas online, traditional email spam still remains a significant problem, especially in business. Workers still need to keep their inboxes clear of junk, and advanced mail filtering systems are a necessity in any business hoping to use email efficiently. Email spam remains a significant path for threats, simply because the vast majority of computer users still use this medium. Spammed emails containing attachments remain a popular tactic for cybercriminals, often taking advantage of vulnerabilities in Office and PDF Reader software to launch malicious code from within innocent-looking document formats.

Emails containing links to malicious sites continue to increase as a major means of leading new



victims to attack sites.

Ransomware

Ransomware is a class of malware which restricts access to the computer system that it infects, and demands a ransom paid to the creator of the malware in order for the restriction to be removed. Some forms of ransomware encrypt files on the system's hard drive, while some may simply lock the system and display messages intended to coax the user into paying. Modern ransomware attacks were initially popular within Russia, but in recent years there have been an increasing number of ransomware attacks targeted towards other countries, such as Australia, Germany, and the United States among others. The first known ransomware was the 1989 "PC Cyborg" trojan written by Joseph Popp. Ransomware typically propagates like a conventional computer worm, entering a system through, for example, a downloaded file or vulnerability in a network service. The program will then run a payload: such as one that will begin to encrypt personal files on the hard drive

Malvertising

Malvertising refers to implantation of malicious advertisements onto websites. In many cases, the websites are entirely innocent and unaware of the threat they're posing to their visitors.

Clickjacking

One of the common types of attacks hitting Facebook users is "clickjacking," also called "UI redressing." These attacks use maliciously created pages where the true function of a button is concealed beneath an opaque layer showing something entirely different. Clickjacking uses the social engineering techniques to lure new victims and trick them into clicking on the disguised links. Clickjacking attacks not only spread social networking link-spam, they also regularly carry out other actions such as granting access to valuable personal information and even making purchases.

Approach to Cyber Security

There are four major areas in dealing with the cyber security crimes viz. deterrence, prevention, detection and reaction. For deterrence, there is law. Focus needs to be on multilateral cyber-crime legislation. These include harmonization of the cyber-crime legislation and to make provisions of tougher penalties. Further, the e-commerce legislation needs to be improved. For prevention, there is a need of design and use of more secure systems, better security management. There is also a need to improve information security management in both public and private spaces. For detection, focus needs to be on policing mechanisms and early warning of attacks. For reaction, there is a need for design of stronger information infrastructures, crisis management programs, and policing and justice efforts.

International Measures on Cyber Security

On the turn of the 21st century, the International law enforcement agencies began to recognize the scope and the threat of the cyber crime, as the widespread potential for economic damage and



disruption was demonstrated by the crippling MafiaBoy attacks on Yahoo, Amazon, eBay, and other high profile ecommerce sites in February 2000. The first step was of creation of cyber squads in many countries including US, UK, Australia, Canada etc. This was followed by establishment of specialized organisations for dealing with cyber security and cyber crimes:

- **Australia:** Trusted Information Sharing Network (TISN) for Critical Infrastructure Resilience (CIR).
- **Canada:** Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada (PSEPC)
- **Germany:** Federal Office for Information Security (BSI)
- **New Zealand:** Centre for Critical Infrastructure Protection (CCIP)
- **UK:** National Infrastructure Security Co-ordination Centre (NISCC)
- **US:** Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

Government of India Initiatives on Cyber Security

In order to highlight the growing threat to information security in India and focus related actions, Government had set up an **Inter Departmental Information Security Task Force** (ISTF) with National Security Council as the nodal agency. The Task Force studied and deliberated on the issues such as

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- National Information Security Threat Perceptions
- Critical Minimum Infrastructure to be protected
- Ways and means of ensuring Information Security including identification of relevant technologies
- Legal procedures required to ensure Information Security
- Awareness, Training and Research in Information Security

In line with the recommendations of the ISTF, the following major initiatives have been taken by the Government

- Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) to respond to cyber attacks
- Public Key Infrastructure (PKI) to support implementation of IT Act and promote use of Digital Signatures
- Critical Infrastructure
- R & D via the support to premier Academic and Public Sector Institutions.
- Mandatory compliance with ISO 27001
- National Cyber Security Policy 2013
- Empanelment of Security Auditors.
- Nationwide Information Security Education and Awareness Programs

Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-in)

To enhance the security of India's Communications and Information Infrastructure through

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proactive action and effective collaboration, Indian Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In) was established in January 2004. The main function of CERT-In is to provide early security warning and effective incident response. It operates on 24 x 7 basis and is actively engaging its users with early warning alerts and advisories. It is aimed at catering to the needs of critical sectors, law enforcement & judiciary and e-governance project owners. Special trainings programs are being conducted for judicial officers and Law enforcement agencies. About hundred personnel from various Government agencies have been trained at the Carnegie Mellon University, USA as Master trainers that can train many more in the country. In the Information Technology (Amendment) Act 2008, CERT-In has been designated to serve as the national agency to perform the following functions in the area of cyber security:

- Collection, analysis and dissemination of information on cyber incidents
- Forecast and alerts of cyber security incidents
- Emergency measures for handling cyber security incidents
- Coordination of cyber incident response activities
- Issue guidelines, advisories, vulnerability notes and whitepapers relating to information security practices, procedures, prevention, response and reporting of cyber incidents

CERT-In has taken steps to implement **National Information Security Assurance Programme (NISAP)** to create awareness in government and critical sector organizations and to develop and implement information security policy and information security best practices based on ISO/IEC 27001 for protection of their infrastructure. CERT-in has established the facility for Computer Forensics for investigation of cyber crimes and to provide hands on training to the law enforcement agencies and judiciary. This infrastructure is being augmented to include network forensics and mobile forensics investigation facility. CERT-In is cooperating with defence, banks, and judiciary and law enforcement agencies in training their officials as well as extending the support in investigation of cyber crimes. The NCSP 2013 had envisaged creation of a **National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC)** to act as a 24x7 centre to battle cyber security threats in strategic areas such as air control, nuclear and space. This NCIIPC was created and placed under National Technical Research Organisation to roll out counter-measures in cooperation with other security agencies and private corporate entities that man these critical sectors.

Cyber Security R&D

Research & development activities are promoted under this programme through grant-in-aid support to recognized autonomous R&D organizations and academic institutions proposing to undertake time-bound projects related to the following areas:

- Cryptography and Cryptanalysis



- Network and Systems Security
- Security Architectures
- Vulnerability Detection and Analysis
- Assurance Technologies
- Monitoring, Surveillance and Forensics

Information Technology (IT) Act 2000

Government of India enacted the Information Technology Act, 2000 (IT Act 2000) on 9th June, 2000 that provided a legal framework for transactions carried out by means of electronic data interchange and other means of electronic communication, commonly referred to as “**electronic commerce**”, which involve the use of alternatives to paper-based methods of communication and storage of information, to facilitate electronic filing of documents with the Government agencies. Over the years, with several new forms of computer crime, misuse and fraud taking place, a need was felt to strengthen legislation pertaining to information security. Accordingly IT Act 2000 was amended and the Information Technology (Amendment) Act, 2008 was enacted on 5th February 2009 in order to instil confidence in the users and investors in the area of Information Technology in the country. This Act added provisions to the existing Information Technology Act, 2000 to deal with new forms of cyber crimes like *publicizing sexually explicit material in electronic form, video voyeurism, cyber terrorism, breach of confidentiality and leakage of data by intermediary and e-commerce frauds*.

Controller of Certifying Authorities

The Information Technology Act, 2000 provides the required **legal sanctity to the digital signatures** based on asymmetric cryptosystems. The digital signatures are now accepted at par with handwritten signatures and the electronic documents that have been digitally signed are treated at par with paper documents. The IT Act provides for the Controller of Certifying Authorities (CCA) to license and regulate the working of Certifying Authorities. The Certifying Authorities (CAs) issue digital signature certificates for electronic authentication of users. The CCA certifies the public keys of CAs using its own private key, which enables users in the cyberspace to verify that a given certificate is issued by a licensed CA. For this purpose it operates, the Root Certifying Authority of India (RCAI). The CCA also maintains the National Repository of Digital Certificates (NRDC), which contains all the certificates issued by all the CAs in the country.

Cyber Appellate Tribunal

Cyber Appellate Tribunal has been established under the Information Technology Act under the aegis of Controller of Certifying Authorities (C.C.A.). The first and the only Cyber Appellate Tribunal in the country have been established by the Central Government in accordance with the



provisions contained under Section 48(1) of the Information Technology Act, 2000. The Tribunal initially known as the Cyber Regulations Appellate Tribunal (C.R.A.T.) started functioning from October, 2006.

Industry Initiatives

NASSCOM as part of its initiatives towards creating more awareness on cyber crimes has planned to introduce advanced training programmes with due stress on recent trends in usages of cyber forensic tools and methodologies at its **Cyber Labs**. Cyber Labs, set up and managed on a public-private partnership model, can register and investigate cyber crimes with the help of the police department and provides training to police officers, prosecutors, military police officers, bank officials and others on cyber crimes. The labs have trained over 3,000 investigators at multiple locations. These law enforcement officials will be able carry out various activities like analysing and scrutinizing data on hard disks, email tracking, extracting evidence using Internet and mobile phones and on cyber crime-related legislation. The media has become an important tool in the modern era. It is the 'fourth estate' which helps to further its interests, objectives and goals of the state. But regardless of the degree of independence and impartiality available to the media, In matters of national security and interests, media follows the nationalistic lines. Yet the rapid expansion and development of social media is a threat to national security and can be used to cause problems by propagating certain ideologies, mobilising and organising people.

National Cyber Security Policy 2013

In July 2013, the government of India announced a National Cyber Security Policy 2013 which aims to address the threats emanating from the cyber world. The Policy proposes to:

- Set up different bodies to tackle various levels of threats, along with a national nodal agency, to coordinate all matters related to cyber security.
- Create a **National Critical Information Infrastructure Protection Centre (NCIIPC)**, which will act as a 24x7 centre to battle cyber security threats in strategic areas such as air control, nuclear and space. It will function under the National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO), a technical intelligence gathering agency controlled directly by the National Security Adviser in the Prime Minister's Office.
- The current agency, Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-In), will deal with all public and private infrastructures.
- Create a workforce of around 500,000 trained in cyber security.
- Provide fiscal benefits to businesses to adopt best security practices.
- Set up testing labs to regularly check the safety of equipment being used in the country.
- Create a cyber ecosystem in the country, developing effective public-private partnerships and



collaborative engagements through technical and operational cooperation.

- Building indigenous security technologies through research.

Digital Army Programme

In a bid to digitize and automate processes, procedures and services for the Indian Army, the Union government launched a dedicated cloud and digital lockers for defence personnel under its “Digital Army” programme as a part of Digital India in November 2015.

- The army cloud infrastructure includes two data centres, both located in Delhi, and a disaster recovery site for replication of critical data using virtualized servers and storage in secure facility.
- This is similar to Meghraj, the national cloud initiative which provides a secure and unified cyberspace for shared government services and infrastructure, provides IT resources on demand, and optimizes utilization of IT infrastructure and resources for government departments.
- The army cloud will provide IT infrastructure including servers for computing, storage, network and network security equipment centrally, for the automation of the Indian Army, the defence ministry said in a Press Information Bureau statement.
- The central data centre will be a software-defined data centre (SDDC)—a data centre that is automated by intelligent software systems. These are more secure and normally deployed for mission-critical enterprise workloads.

Key Internal Security Challenges From Communication networks and media

Mainstream as well as social media may create internal security problem in the form of terrorism by instilling fear and an uncertain future. Mass media can also propagate the ideas of the threatening bodies to internal security in many cases. At the same time, due to the convenience, affordability and broad reach of social media platforms like YouTube, Facebook and Twitter, terrorist groups have increasingly used social media to further their goals and spread their message. None of them are security threats by themselves but the users of these services can pose the threats by their anti-social endeavours.

All anti-government forces use at least one form of presence on the Internet and most of them are using all formats of up-to-date online platforms: e-mail, chat rooms, e-groups, forums, virtual message boards, and resources like You-Tube, Facebook, Twitter, and Google Earth.

Internet and Chat Rooms

Internet has become a platform for coordination of plans of attack, communication with cells, or propaganda and information and spread of hate campaign or messages that can hurt the sentiments of people. Key motivations for using internet for such uses are as follows:



- The audience is enormous, much larger than for most regular media. It is easy to access and to stay anonymous.
- It is incredibly fast and inexpensive, and it offers a multimedia environment, which means that text, graphics, video, songs, books, and presentations can all be combined.
- In addition, regular media now often report on or even copy Internet content, which means that both old and new media can be influenced by using the Internet.
- These groups now have their own websites where they can convey their propaganda and, for most of them, they advise their readers and followers not to trust the media which are seen as the enemy.
- The second goal is achieved more easily as the terrorist groups can form their agenda and give their own messages.
- Chat rooms and electronic forums enable the insurgent and extremists groups to communicate with members and supporters all over the world, to recruit new followers and to share information at little risk of identification by authorities.
- The chat service like Skype, which includes voice and video capabilities, has become particularly popular with terrorist cells.

Twitter and Social Networking

- Twitter has become an effective coordination tool for stirring riots and trying to launch the negative propaganda.
- Despite the utility of Twitter forum, members continued to be wary of networking sites such as Facebook.
- Popular social networking websites are another means of attracting potential members and followers.
- These types of virtual communities are growing increasingly popular all over the world, especially among younger demographics. Youths are especially targeted for propaganda, incitement and recruitment purposes by terrorist groups.

You-tube and other Video-sharing sites

- Terrorist groups have realized the potential of this easily accessed platform the uploading, downloading and viewing video tapes for the dissemination of their propaganda and radicalization videos.
- YouTube is argued to be an alternative to television and a medium that allows reaching massive, global audiences.
- The viral videos and false updates of communal clashes, riots and terrorists attack have created a massive impact in the life of public.



Encryption methods

- Encryption is the process of process of encoding messages or information in such a way that eavesdroppers cannot read it, but the intended recipient can.
- Use of BlackBerry phones/whats app to send and receive messages, concerns the government because the communications sent via such devices and applications are encrypted and could not be monitored and consequently hinders the country's efforts to fight terrorism and crime.
- The power of media and the process of public opinion formation in a free society had undergone radical change due to Internet and faster means of communications like SMS, whats app, viber and simplified mobile internet.
- The chain of events beginning with the clashes in our north-east and which caused very serious and mass exodus of north-east population from several Indian cities has revealed the fragility of our national cohesion.
- Serious law and order problems had started occurring well beyond the control of regulatory authorities when instant adverse opinion was formed.

Major Complicating Factors to secure the networks and Media

- Much of the hardware and software that make up the communications ecosystem is sourced externally.
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- The task of securing the networks is also complicated by the fact that much of the infrastructure is in the hands of private companies who see measures such as security auditing and other regulations and frameworks as adding to their costs.
- Making local certification is not made mandatory.
- Source of Origin is difficult to find out.

Why Media and Advanced technologies Attract terrorists?

Media is used for moral justification, arousal of sympathy and intimidation of the public. The best way to persuade individuals to support one's cause is to create an emotional, psychological or intellectual bond with the victim. There are four general objectives for using the information technology when the extremists group strike or threaten to commit violence.

Gaining Attention and Awareness; Spreading Fear

- The first is to gain attention and awareness of the audience, and thus to condition the target population. Gaining attention is strongly linked to agenda setting.
- Terrorists are trying to be in the media as often and as long as possible, in order to become well known to the public.

Organisational Motives

- The second goal is recognition of the organization's motives. They want people to think about why they are carrying out attacks.



- The second objective is related both to agenda setting and framing. Not only do terrorists want to be known to the audience, they also want to try to get their message across through the media.
- Sometimes this can be achieved merely by carrying out attacks: the audience may ask itself why people would do such things, especially, for example, if suicide bombers are involved.

Gaining Respect

- The third objective is to gain the respect and sympathy of those in whose name they claim to attack. They want to show potential supporters that they can “deliver”.
- When people who are perhaps mildly interested in the activities or ideas of a particular group see that that organization is actually able to have an impact on the legitimate political establishment.
- The people may become more respectful or sympathetic toward the terrorist cause or organization.

Gain status

- The last objective is to gain a quasi-legitimate status and a media treatment similar to that of legitimate political actors.

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