

INTERNAL SECURITY of India and DISASTER MANAGEMENT

For Civil Services (Main) Examination

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Foreword by
K. Vijay Kumar, IPS (Retired)

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Published in India by
Oxford University Press
22 Workspace, 2nd Floor, 1/22 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 110002

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First Edition published in 2021

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ISBN-13 (print edition): 978-81-951112-0-6
ISBN-10 (print edition): 81-951112-0-3

Typeset in Myriad Pro
by B2K-Bytes 2 Knowledge, Tamil Nadu
Printed in India by

Cover image: © bibiphoto/Shutterstock

Chapter opener, Folio image & Box icon: © EnsUPER/Shutterstock, © Prazis/Shutterstock

For product information and current price, please visit www.india.oup.com

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Dedicated to the people involved in securing the nation from its varied challenges, as also to the civil services aspirants, upon whom these responsibilities shall lie in future.

Oxford University Press

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जय सिंह रोड, नई दिल्ली – 110001
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
NDCC-II BUILDING
JAI SINGH ROAD, NEW DELHI-110001
Dated, the 23rd April 2021



Foreword

The 18 chapters of the book deal with a daunting array of challenges that our nation faces. The apt responses suggested at each chapter's end makes it an engrossing read.

The overall approach is a balanced one. For instance, in the chapter on Insurgencies the author eschews 'one-fix' and underlines underdevelopment as both the cause and effect of insurgencies while holding no brief for violence. In the chapter on Terrorism, 'State and Non-State Actors' find a proper mention.

'Amplification' by media—in particular the Social Media, and how their role—usually negative, can be made positive, makes an interesting read. Snowden 'revelations', Aadhaar issue, DNA technology use, Internet of Things (IoT), 5G, Darknet, and Cryptocurrency fill the Cyber Space chapter without cluttering it.

Money Laundering and its link to terrorism have been crisply dealt with. Making it contemporary, drones and outer space find a place under the Air-security topic. The 'coastal spectrum' aptly covers not just security and marine terrorism but also exploitation of fishing resources, oil spills and global warming.

Organized crime, drug trafficking and their linkages with terrorism, arms and human trafficking, fake currency problems and India's counter to these problems, inescapably figure here. The last few chapters cover the Role of Armed Forces and their powers, communalism and nuclear doctrine. Disaster management and COVID too find an inevitable place.

Overall this book covers a lot of ground without missing out on depth. Its minutiae surely would make a gripping read for the aspirants of UPSC and other exams, those culling stuff for a research, or for others seeking a single window for extensive and intensive knowledge of this important subject.

(K.Vijay Kumar)



Preface

Internal Security of India and ***Disaster Management*** form important parts of the syllabus of the General Studies paper for the Civil Services Examination (CSE), conducted by the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) and the various State Public Service Commissions (PSCs). Perusal of the previous years' questions from the Main examination shows that the subject requires an analytical understanding of the various security challenges and related topics, along with the knowledge of current developments. By providing solutions to the previous years' questions in the e-learning resources, I have tried to develop in the aspirants the ability to analyse the requirements of the questions and frame answers, especially for the Main examination.

Authors often face the dilemma about which chapters to include, what topics to cover in the chapters, how much to include in each topic and what to exclude. I have tried to throw the net wide, so that an aspirant does not have to look for multiple learning resources—available online and offline—but can solely rely on this book, for covering virtually all topics related to the internal security challenges that India faces today, as well as the various types of disasters and their management efforts. At the same time, I have tried to provide just the optimum depth of topics, so that the aspirant gains the confidence to answer any related question, to the examiner's satisfaction.

Not having revised a topic is akin to not having studied it at all, or so, the saying goes. This could not have been truer for the CSE. To this end, important keywords have been highlighted in bold under each topic, to enable the aspirants to revise them fast, once they have completed a reading of the topics; and possibly to include these keywords, while answering relevant questions. The Quick Revision section added at the end of each chapter summarizes the important discussions, which will help the readers to quickly revise them before their exams. Previous years' questions have been

provided at the end of each chapter along with their marks and word limits, for the convenience of the aspirants. Solutions to each of these questions have been provided in the e-learning resource available with this book. Practising writing the answers to these questions and comparing with the model solutions provided will help aspirants develop the all-important art of answer writing, as well as enable them to understand the topics better. Some additional practice questions have also been included at the end of each chapter. Conceptual videos have been provided for each chapter and linked by QR code for easy access.

Though this book primarily covers the topics relating to internal security and disaster management portions of the CSE syllabus, the content will help the aspirants gain an understanding of several other related topics such as India's international relations, portions of science and technology, and information and communication technology. The knowledge gained here will also be found useful for the Essay paper and the Interview.

Apart from the CSE aspirants, this book will also be useful for any curious reader interested in knowing the challenges to India's internal security, the disasters that it has to cope with, and the government policies, plans and efforts in response.

While writing this book, I relied heavily on available textbooks, online resources including reports from Central ministries, especially the Ministry of Home Affairs, reports of various think tanks and articles of experts analysing the internal security challenges. I also drew upon my own experiences of working in LWE-affected areas of West Bengal, districts having international borders, Criminal Investigation Department (CID), West Bengal and Kolkata Police. I also had the opportunity to attend several training courses and seminars held by the Government of India. I am thankful to these organizations, from where I imbibed a lot of what has been included in this book. The topics in the syllabus being extremely dynamic in nature, newspapers like *The Hindu*, *The Indian Express*, *Hindustan Times*, etc. and several regional dailies were an important source of information for various topics.

While all care has been taken to verify and cross-check the information presented in the book from reliable sources, it is possible that some errors remain undetected, the responsibility for which is entirely mine. I would be thankful to readers for pointing them out, if they find any. Any feedback from readers and aspirants about the contents of the book, shortcomings and suggestions would be more than welcome.

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Acknowledgements

At the outset, I would like to thank Papa and Ammi—Mozahir Akhtar and Ishrat Banu—for their blessings and for encouraging me in all my endeavours, including writing this book. My sincere thanks are to my better half Shama and our daughter Amyra. Shama Parveen, an IAS officer herself, has been my sounding board, whenever I needed somebody for an informed discussion on any issue. I constantly picked her brains. My own policing responsibilities and the engagement in writing this book left me with hardly any time for my family, especially little Amyra. I convey both my apologies and my gratitude to Shama, for having taken all responsibilities of the house, in addition to her own official duties, while I was glued to my laptop. Little Amyra helped me rejuvenate and refresh, 'washing off from my soul, the dust of everyday life'. I would like to thank all my family members, especially my uncles, for their support, suggestions and eagerness to see this work complete at the earliest. My thanks are also to Shri Sabyasachi Raman Mishra, IPS and Mrs Namrita Mishra, who have been associated with this project since its inception.

I thank Shri Nitin Singhanian, IAS, who motivated me to write this book. But for you Nitin, I would have never started with this book. I have been immensely benefitted by your feedback in the chat sessions with you, at our home and elsewhere. Thank you also for pacifying Shama (who happens to be your batchmate in the IAS), when she, as any wife would have rightly, raised the banner of revolt against this book project (resulting in dark cloud of uncertainty hovering over it!), for my own failings to give adequate time for my family responsibilities.

I would be failing in my duty, if I do not thank Shri Rajeev Kumar, IPS, Principal Secretary, IT and Electronics Department, West Bengal, for inspiring me to pursue my academic interests related to policing. I express my heartfelt gratitude to Shri Anuj Sharma, IPS, Commissioner of Police, Kolkata, who not only encouraged me in this project but also guided me, on both professional and personal fronts. I would also like to thank Dr Rajesh Kumar, IPS, who motivated me to explore my interest in IT, to develop solutions for better policing. This book would not have been possible, but for the knowledge that I imbibed from all of you, Sirs.

I would especially thank Mr S.N.M. Abdi, well-known journalist, who provided his valuable insights all through this project. His help in searching and providing me with material for several difficult topics, improving the language and also proofreading several chapters of the manuscript is deeply appreciated. I also express my gratitude to Shri Supratim Sarkar, IPS, for his valuable guidance regarding publishing of the book. I would also thank my innumerable colleagues from various ranks of the Police department, whose ideas and knowledge have contributed to this project. My thanks are also to the many aspirants, especially Alisha, who provided me with valuable feedback while writing this book. The excellent staff at my home deserve special mention for the 24 × 7 support and care that they have unfailingly provided.

I must place on record my heartfelt thanks to Oxford University Press, India, and their entire team for their efforts in bringing out this book in a timely manner. I would like to thank the editorial team for taking care of all aspects of the book development, from the idea of the book to bringing it to its present form.

Syed Waquar Raza

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Introduction

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National Security can be defined as the 'protection of physical, political and cultural identity of a nation against encroachment by other nation-states'. It expresses a nation's determination to preserve its national interests including its territorial integrity, political independence and fundamental governmental institutions, at all costs. The notion of national security can be expanded to include not only external security and internal security, but also economic security, food security, energy security, cyber, nuclear and space security, and so on.

External Security deals with the protection of a country from attacks by outside forces. The responsibility of protecting India's borders from external aggression is shouldered by the Indian armed forces under the Ministry of Defence.

Internal Security can be defined as ensuring security and peace within a country's borders by upholding and enforcing the prevalent laws. In the context of India, militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, Left-wing extremism, insurgency in the Northeast, and hinterland terrorism are the primary challenges to its internal security. Others include security challenges in border and coastal areas, cyber security threats, challenges from media and social media, organized crime, communalism and mob violence, to name a few.

'Public Order' and 'Police' being State Subjects in the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India, most of the components of internal security are primarily the responsibility of the State governments. The Central government too has an important role in supplementing and coordinating the efforts of the State governments. The Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), Government of India is the nodal ministry in this regard.

Maintenance of internal security is crucial for ensuring stable political and social structure in the society. As we shall see in Chapter 1, growth and developmental efforts become difficult and ineffective in the absence of a conducive internal security situation. Individuals, societies and nations can never aspire to attain their fullest potentials if adequate security does not prevail in the society.

Underlying Causes of Internal Security Challenges

Due to its large size and diverse nature, India faces myriad challenges to its internal security. Some of the underlying causes of these challenges are listed below:

- *Religious, cultural and linguistic diversity:* The religious, cultural and linguistic diversity of the people leads to competing aspirations. These aspirations result in identity politics and clashes with the interests of other identity groups. This is the root cause of many insurgent movements, especially in the Northeast.
- *Hostile neighbourhood:* Our neighbours Pakistan and China have interests inimical to our national security, which have led to several wars in the past. For long, Pakistan has resorted to 'proxy-war' with India by initiating and supporting militancy and terrorism in Kashmir and other parts of India with men and material. For its part, China too has engaged in territorial transgressions, which lead to frequent border skirmishes and stand-offs. China has also been indirectly supporting insurgents in the Northeast by indirectly providing them with arms, ammunitions, safe havens and 'synergy' amongst various insurgent groups. In recent years, China has also been expanding its reach and footprint in the Indian Ocean, which poses a threat to India's maritime security. India's relations with Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka have been relatively better. In recent years, the governments of Bhutan, Myanmar and Bangladesh have extended assistance to India by discouraging and acting against Indian insurgent groups on their soil.
- *Underdevelopment:* Underdevelopment is one of the main causes of insurgency and extremism. It leads to lack of productive engagement for the people and unfulfilled aspirations of the masses. These result in anger and frustration among the citizens, especially the youth who, at times, get lured by misguided ideologies. This aspect will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 1.
- *Slow and ineffective judicial system:* The slow and inefficient process of the Indian judicial system has resulted in sections of people losing faith in the rule of law. Failure of the administration to punish the wrongdoers results in injustice—real or even perceived—to many, resulting in anger and frustration. The fear of law is minimal and law has very little deterrent effect on crime. The rich and influential are able to manoeuvre the system to their advantage. The poor and the disadvantaged sections, on the other hand, get disillusioned by the lack of development and opportunities, as also the failure of the justice delivery system. Under such circumstances, at times, they are lured by extremist ideologies leading them to even take law in their own hand.
- *Governance issues and corruption:* The inability of governments to lift millions of people out of poverty and provide them with gainful employment has resulted in backward areas remaining backward and thereby becoming fertile grounds for insurgencies including Left-wing extremism. Injustice or even perceived injustice against sections of people due to ineffective governance have often resulted in long-simmering tensions and discords in the society. Endemic corruption is a serious challenge to internal security. The 'haves' often use corrupt means to get things done in their favour, thereby diluting the rule of law. On the other hand, corruption also results in the 'have-nots' losing faith in the system and democratic institution and developing a feeling that relief can be had only outside the system, by resorting to corrupt means.

Internal Security Scenario of India: Organization of Chapters

This book tries to cover a wide canvas of the internal security challenges in India. It also covers some other topics such as AFSPA, issues related to the armed forces, communalism and mob violence, India's nuclear doctrine, COVID-19 and non-traditional security challenges, which though not specifically mentioned in the UPSC Civil Services syllabus, are quite topical and relevant in the current discourse involving India's internal security.

Chapter 1: 'Linkage between Development and Spread of Extremism' discusses the aspects of how intricately underdevelopment and extremism are linked and how one leads to the other.

Left-wing extremism is one of the most important challenges to India's internal security affecting large areas in several States. In recent years, its areas of influence and the number and lethality of violent attacks has reduced due to persistent security and development related efforts of the Government. Yet Maoists retain the ability to launch frequent attacks upon security forces and civilians in their core areas. The issue has been discussed at length in Chapter 2: 'Left-Wing Extremism'.

India's Northeast is a land of myriad tribes, ethnicities, languages and cultures. These have led to the development of competing aspirations and identity politics, resulting in several insurgent movements in the region. Of late, however, several of these groups are engaged in talks with the Government. Incidents of violence have seen a downward trend in recent years. These and related issues have been discussed in Chapter 3: 'India's North East'.

Jammu and Kashmir has been an important theatre of conflict in the internal security map of India. Though the problem has its origins in the partition of India on communal lines, state and non-state actors in Pakistan have, for long, made it their prime arena for 'proxy war' against India. The historical perspective, causes of militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and government efforts have been dealt with in Chapter 4: 'Jammu and Kashmir'. The chapter also includes recent developments such as 'abrogation' of Article 370, Article 35A and bifurcation of the State into two Union Territories.

Terrorism has been an important challenge in recent times, for both India and the world. This topic has been dealt with extensively in Chapter 5: 'Role of External State and Non-state Actors'. The chapter covers the role of external states and non-state actors, especially those of Pakistan and China in creating internal security challenges for India. The emergence of international terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS and also some terrorist organizations supported by Pakistan against India have been discussed in detail. The chapter also covers related topics such as terror financing, hinterland terrorism, anti-terrorism mechanism and laws in India, including the latest amendments.

The rise of newer forms of challenges from media and social media has led to the problems of fake news, rumours and mob violence. Mainstream and social media, online news, etc. have been used for perception management for electoral gains. These and associated topics have been elaborately discussed in Chapter 6: 'Challenges from Media and Social Media'.

Cyber security has emerged as an important plank of national security in recent times. Any attack on the critical infrastructure of a nation from cyber state and non-state actors may result in large-scale disruption of normal life and economic activities in the country. Chapter 7: 'Cyber Security

Challenges' discusses these challenges and the mechanisms to address them. Topics of recent importance such as Internet governance, data protection, darknets, cryptocurrency, Internet-of-Things (IoT), and Artificial Intelligence have been included in the chapter.

Money laundering has become a serious problem for India and the world. Proceeds of crime are often used for financing terrorist activities. Chapter 8: 'Money Laundering' discusses the process of money laundering, its common forms and consequences, national and international efforts to curb money laundering, Prevention of Money Laundering Act, 2002 (PMLA) and its recent amendment.

India has over 15,000 km long borders with its neighbouring countries. Wars with Pakistan and China, 'proxy war' by Pakistan and frequent attempts of territorial transgression by China, open borders with Nepal and Bhutan, illegal immigration from Bangladesh and unfenced border with Myanmar have raised specific sets of challenges and issues for each of these borders. Proper border management for protecting the territorial integrity of India and preventing illicit activities, therefore, assumes paramount importance. Chapter 9: 'Security Challenges in Border Areas' discusses these challenges and border management efforts. Recent topics such as Sino-Indian stand-off in Galwan Valley and dispute related to Kalapani on Nepal border have been included in the chapter.

India also has an over 7,500 km long coastline. India's maritime security is crucial for protection of its territorial integrity and security of its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), expanding over 2 million sq. km. Coastal and maritime security is essential for keeping India's sea lines of commerce (SLOC) safe for its international trade and commerce, as also for ensuring its energy security. Lapses in coastal security had resulted in terrorists sneaking into Mumbai through the sea-route and launching the 26/11 attacks. Chapter 10: 'Coastal and Airspace Security' discusses these issues, the traditional and non-traditional coastal security challenges, China's String of Pearls Strategy, India's three-tier architecture for maritime security, along with the various related government bodies. The chapter also includes topics such as airspace security management, space militarization and recent emerging threats from sub-conventional aerial platforms such as UAVs and drones.

Organized crimes such as trafficking in narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances, arms and ammunition, and Fake Indian Currency Notes (FICN) present a grave threat to the economic security of the country. These activities also result in increase in crime and pose a serious challenge to India's internal security. Chapter 11: 'Organized Crime' discusses these issues in detail. Also included is the linkage between organized crime and terrorism, with specific reference to the three important theatres of conflict in India viz. the LWE-affected areas, the Northeast and Jammu and Kashmir. The chapter also discusses the legal provisions—both national and international—against organized crime.

Chapter 12: 'Security Forces and Security Agencies' is a survey of the various security forces and security agencies in India. These include border-guarding forces, central armed police forces (CAPFs), paramilitary forces, special forces, investigative agencies, intelligence and financial intelligence agencies, as well as the security architecture at the national policy-making level.

Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958 (AFSPA) has been in operation in several parts of the Northeast for over six decades. Chapter 13: 'AFSPA and Defence Related Issues' discusses AFSPA and its related issues. The chapter also discusses other recent topics like defence procurement and indigenization and the role and responsibilities of the Chief of Defence Staff (CDS).

Communalism has been a challenge for security agencies in India. Combined with the power of social media, communalism has created other problems like rumour-mongering, mob violence, etc. Chapter 14: 'Communalism and Mob Violence' discusses these issues along with the recent guidelines of the Supreme Court related to mob lynching.

Chapter 15: 'India's Nuclear Doctrine' discusses the rationale and components of India's nuclear doctrine. It also covers topics such as threats from tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs) and civil nuclear liability.

A nation's security policy should not only address threats from traditional sources such as from other countries but also non-traditional security challenges such as pandemics, ensuring food security, water security, climate security, energy security and security of rare earth minerals. Chapter 16: 'COVID-19 and Non-traditional Security Challenges' discusses these threats, which are bound to assume greater importance in the future.

Disaster Management is the study of hazard, vulnerability, disaster risk reduction, prevention and mitigation of disasters, disaster-preparedness, response and reconstruction. Chapter 17: 'Disaster Management-I' deals with the various types of disasters in India including their causes, consequences and mitigation strategies. Chapter 18: 'Disaster Management-II' deals with the national and international framework for disaster management.

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Linkage between Development and Spread of Extremism

"We will not enjoy security without development, we will not enjoy development without security, and we will not enjoy either without respect for human rights."
— **Kofi Annan**

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1.1 Development

Development can be defined as the process of **expanding people's capabilities and choices**. It enables people to overcome health problems, ignorance and poverty; and thereby lead a longer and healthier life, be educated and enjoy a decent standard of life with freedom, self-respect and liberty. All developmental efforts of the government are, therefore, directed towards these goals, i.e., fighting poverty, ensuring better education and providing adequate healthcare for the citizens, while respecting their dignity and freedom.

1.2 Extremism

Extremism is a belief system, political, social or religious or ideological, that exists substantially **outside the norms** broadly accepted by the society. Extremism by a person or a group of persons comprises of extreme feelings, expressions, actions or strategies, directed against an individual, group or a nation. Militancy, insurgency, and terrorism are all forms of extremism.

1.3 Relationship between Underdevelopment and Extremism

Underdevelopment and extremism have a **bi-directional** and **causal relationship** where each one leads to the other. They are both parts of a vicious cycle. The goal of all developmental efforts is, therefore, to break this vicious cycle and start a virtuous cycle which removes extremism and brings about development (see Fig. 1.1).

Let us now analyse their relationship in each direction.

1.3.1 How Underdevelopment Causes Extremism

Extremism is caused by underdevelopment and other factors such as historical, ideological, religious, political, and ethnic. Some extremist ideologies can be attributed to one of the above factors whereas others are due to a combination of these factors. Maoist extremism, for instance, is caused by the Maoist ideology in a fertile ground provided by underdevelopment. Extremism in the Northeast India is caused due to ethnic factors with existing underdevelopment. On the other hand, in Jammu and Kashmir, extremism is mainly due to religious and historical factors. Let us now examine how underdevelopment causes extremism.

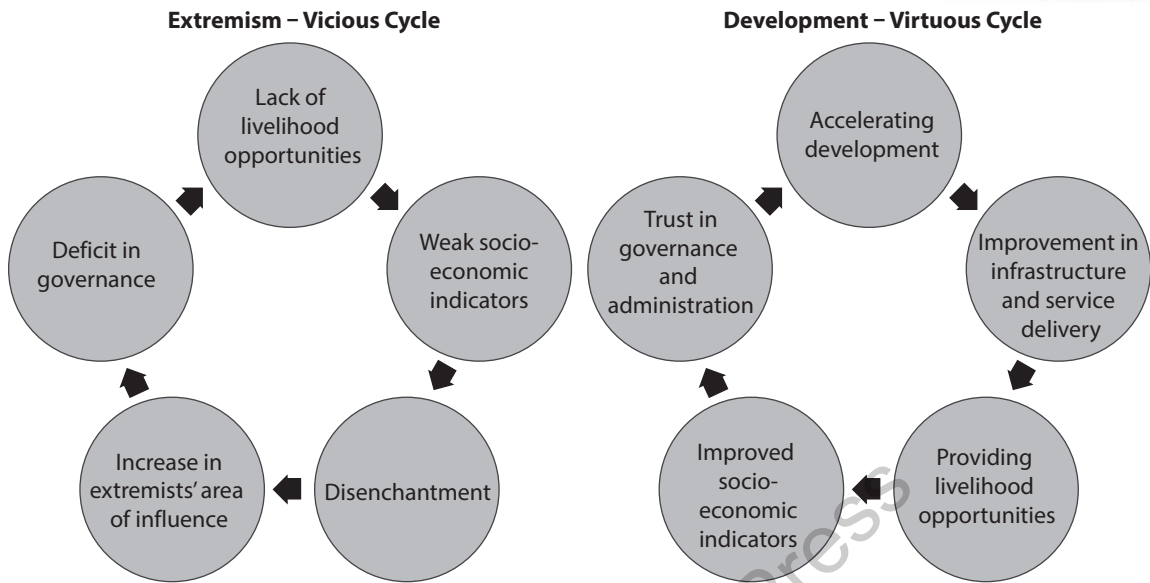


Figure 1.1 Cycles of extremism and development for Left-wing extremism

- i. **Underdevelopment creates discontent** Underdevelopment causes **denial of basic necessities** of life and livelihood and socio-economic deprivation resulting in discontent amongst the affected population. **Landlessness** amongst the tillers and **shrinking CPRs** (common property resources) such as forests, pastures and water resources makes it even more difficult for the poor, who are dependent on these resources for their livelihood, to meet both their ends. Inequalities amongst the 'haves' and the 'have-nots', social discrimination, untouchability, domestic violence and atrocities against the weaker sections create large sections of people who are angry and feel alienated from the mainstream polity. Formation of such discontent amongst the masses itself may not lead to extremism. However, it **creates a fertile ground**, which is often exploited by elements professing various extremist ideologies, exhorting people to join them and fight against the government, for securing 'justice' for the discontented masses.
- ii. **Poor socio-economic condition of the tribals and the depressed classes** It has been observed that the mass support of important insurgent movements in India such as the Left-Wing Extremism (LWE) and those in the North-Eastern region comes from the poor *tribals* and the *depressed classes*. Together they comprise about one-fourth of India's population, and about 80–90 per cent of them live in rural areas. Today, many members of these disadvantaged classes have decent education, jobs and political visibility, and their voices are becoming stronger. Yet, it cannot be denied that persisting high incidence of rural poverty, social and economic disadvantages, denial of justice, humiliation and degradation, low education and healthcare indicators, limited employment opportunities and marginalization from different spheres of life causes deprivation and alienation amongst the *tribals* and the *depressed classes* resulting in the conviction that relief can be had only outside the system by breaking the current order.
- iii. **Lack of access to basic resources** The issue of *jal, jungle, jamin* (water, forest, land) remains at the core of livelihood and survival for a vast majority of the people.

Several extremist movements in India have their origins in denial of access to basic resources such as forest and land. The **Forest Conservation Act, 1980** made this position irreversible by declaring that no forest land shall be diverted to non-forest use without the permission of the Union government resulting in eviction of *tribals* from forest lands which caused much discontent amongst them. The importance of land as a livelihood resource cannot be overstated. Forty per cent of the rural households are either landless or have less than half an acre of land holding. Tenancy reforms in most of the States have not yet been able to ensure that land belong to the tiller.

- iv. **Diminishing Common Property Resources (CPRs)** Common Property Resources (CPRs) such as land, water and vegetation resources contribute significantly to the rural economy and provide sustenance to the local communities in rural areas. The **poor depend upon CPRs** far more than the rich due to their lack of productive assets, not enough work and low purchasing power. Considerable shrinking of CPRs in recent times due to factors such as state appropriation for revenue generation, industrialization, privatization and developmental projects has adversely affected the poor and the marginalized. Introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions has also led to the **disappearance of the traditional resource management systems** which had involved use, regulation and conservation efforts for these CPRs, which the PRIs, though legally empowered, are unable to enforce.
- v. **Issues related to labour, wages and employment** Though currently agriculture accounts for only about 15–16 per cent of India's GDP, yet over 60 per cent of the population is dependent on agriculture for livelihood. The provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for agricultural labour generally remain unenforced in the rural areas. On the other hand, for the self-employed in rural areas, the Act itself is not applicable, implying that their **standard of living is determined by the slow rate of growth of rural economy**. Self-employment avenues such as street hawking, vending, rag-picking, scrap collection, etc. help millions to make a living while playing an essential social role. However, they are considered as nuisance by police and municipal authorities or treated disrespectfully by the society at large.
- vi. **Displacement and rehabilitation** Displacement of people from their land and natural habitats for development projects such as big irrigation projects, power plants, industrial and mining projects, declaration of national parks and sanctuaries, etc. is a **multi-dimensional trauma**—including physical, occupational and even cultural aspects—which cannot be easily compensated. Unless the nature and magnitude of displacement in all its dimensions are fully analysed and appropriate safety nets put in place well in advance of the implementation of the project, it may lead to discontent. It has also been observed that of all persons displaced, about 40 per cent are tribals, 20 per cent are *depressed classes* and 20 per cent are Other Backward Castes (OBCs). Moreover, for tribals displaced in the Fifth Schedule areas, unless they are resettled elsewhere in the same scheduled tract, they face deprivation of the special rights that have accrued to them by virtue of the Schedule. The general performance of States in rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced leaves much to be desired.
- vii. **Process of adjudication** Considerable frustration builds up amongst people when disputes and conflicts are not settled quickly, in a just and fair manner. 'Kangaroo courts' of the extremists, also called as '*jan adalats*', therefore, act as a rough and ready alternative to the Government courts which are **very slow**, far away and much formal in nature. In a way, this also legitimizes such 'kangaroo courts' of the extremists in the minds of the masses.

- viii. **Environmental degradation** Mining activities release extensive dust which spreads all around and makes agricultural **lands** barren, pollutes water sources, denudes forests, defiles air and degrades the quality of life for people who live and work in those areas. Environmental degradation resulting from industrial, mining and other development activities also creates serious **health problems** for the local population. The activities for exploitation of **water** resources such as large dams directly create conflict with the local population and also cause damage to the natural **environment** and biodiversity. Unplanned **tourism** disturbs the existing cultural-economic-governance matrix of tribal life which is inseparably linked with ecology. Introduction of **commercialization** and foreign influences in tribal life result in disintegration of tribal society and its cultural ethos, leading to social degradation and discontent.
- ix. **Political marginalization of the SCs and STs** The Constitution of India has facilitated the political participation of SCs/STs by guaranteeing them the right to equality, abolition of discrimination including untouchability, and having special provisions for their representation in legislatures. However, these rights and entitlements have **not resulted in effective political participation** and removal of their sense of political marginalization. The political equality in respect of *depressed classes* is compromised by the dominant castes through various electoral malpractices. For the seats reserved for SCs/STs candidates at the Panchayat level, often the dominant castes/groups ensure that the candidate supported by them is elected, resulting in **tokenism**. The tribal heads of Panchayat are sometimes **manipulated by non-tribal** leaders into spending development funds for purposes which suit their needs. In executive positions too, tribals at times, get only a token representation, due to Constitutional compulsions. However, in recent years the voice of the depressed classed has gained strength and is hard to ignore in today's competitive politics.
- x. **Governance issues** Social sectors in government programmes often have **poor implementation** due to lack of mobilization and accountability, absence of effective performance appraisal at lower levels, non-existence of a system of incentives and penalties, understaffing, poor working conditions and large-scale leakages. The benefits of development therefore, do not percolate to the common masses resulting in a feeling of **deprivation and alienation** from the State machinery. Moreover, even Government personnel at times suffer from lack of sensitivity and social bias against marginalized communities resulting in unfair decision making and implementation; thus denying these communities the benefit of laws, policies and programmes resulting in their further alienation and discontent.

1.3.2 How Extremism Causes Underdevelopment?

Having discussed in detail how underdevelopment leads to extremism, we now discuss the negative impacts of extremism which lead to underdevelopment:

- i. **Causes hindrance in developmental efforts and poor governance** Extremism is more prevalent in remote, hilly, forested, sparsely-populated and **inaccessible areas**. As such, it is very difficult to develop infrastructure like roads, railways, power plants, schools, hospitals, etc. in these areas. On top of it, the killings, constant threats to life and fear of extortion makes Government servants/NGOs **unwilling to work** in the affected areas. This also **reduces government's reach** in such areas, leading to poor governance and causing further resentment among the masses.

- ii. **Extremists destroy existing infrastructure in the area** To dissuade security forces from using them, extremists often destroy existing infrastructure such as roads, railway lines, mobile towers, school buildings, etc. causing immense hardship to the local people. It adversely affects communication, connectivity and transportation facilities in such areas, thereby disrupting the economic and commercial activities there. This leads to **stagnation** in the economy and consequent underdevelopment.
- iii. **Reduces inflow of investment, ideas and innovations** Due to an atmosphere of constant fear of life, threat of extortion and uncertainty about the future, business houses and prospective investors are **unwilling to invest** in extremist affected areas. This also leads to a reduction in domestic or foreign investment, thereby causing stagnation of the local economy. Further, a **hate for outsiders**, as is often the case in many extremist affected areas, leads to a **lack of new ideas, innovation, initiative and enterprise** in such areas. These factors being crucial for the development of an area are blocked and stymied.
- iv. **Weakens democratic institutions** Elected representatives, government servants and democratic institutions are often targets of extremists for terrorising them or for extortion. This creates a **leadership vacuum**, both political and administrative, in the affected areas, hampering developmental efforts.
- v. **Adversely affects tourism** The extremist affected areas, such as Jammu and Kashmir, the Northeast and forests in other parts of the country, have immense scenic beauty and potential to bring about socio-economic development in the region. Sadly, they remain largely untapped as potential visitors and tourists remain **wary and fearful of the violence**. As a result, large parts of these areas continue to languish in poverty.
- vi. **Rising defence expenditure** Extremism requires the maintenance of a large armed force for counter-insurgency operations. This leads to considerable expenditure in the economy which could have otherwise been used for developmental purposes. Extremism thus imposes a **lost opportunity cost**¹ upon the affected areas.
- vii. **Use of force against citizens** Counter-insurgency operations required in the extremist-affected areas result in use of force against our own citizens. This often causes great inconvenience to them and is therefore resented by them. This also results in a chasm between the government and the citizens. Sometimes, such operations result in civilian casualties which cause further **resentment and discontent amongst the people**, thus leading to their alienation. Protests, blockades, *bandhs*, etc. are also resorted to by over-ground sympathizers, thus adversely affecting the developmental efforts of the Government.
- viii. **Wastage of educated talent** Often, educated youth and even children are misguided into extremist ideologies or forced to take up arms without fully understanding the implications as well as the real agenda of the extremists. These youth and children could have contributed to the development of the society in future. They instead are utilized for destructive works and thwarting the developmental efforts. This is a significant lost opportunity cost upon the society.

In the year 2016, the Central Government replaced the Planning Commission by the NITI Aayog and the Five Year Plans by 15 year-long 'National Development Agenda' which has been in implementation since 2017. This has brought **internal security and defence under the plan process for better long-term planning** in these areas. This underlines the recognition of the crucial

¹ Opportunity cost is the loss of potential gain from other alternatives when one particular alternative is chosen.

linkage between internal security and development. In the next three chapters, we shall study the linkages of underdevelopment and extremism in three important theatres of internal security challenges in India—Left-wing extremism, the Northeast and Jammu and Kashmir.

QUICK REVISION

- *Development*: It is the process of enlarging people's capacities and choices. It ensures better standards of living, healthcare, and education with freedom and dignity of the individual.
- *Extremism*: A belief system—political, social or religious—which exists substantially outside the norms broadly accepted by the society.
- *Bidirectional causal relationship between underdevelopment and extremism*: Relationship where each one leads to the other.
- *How underdevelopment causes extremism*: It causes discontent due to shrinking CPR, landlessness and discontent created a fertile ground for extremism. Here are some examples: poor socio-economic condition of the *depressed classes* and *tribals*; lack of access to basic resources—*jal, jungle, jamin*; diminishing CPR affects the poor more; stagnation in agricultural labour, wages and employment; displacement and rehabilitation; slow judicial process; environmental degradation disturbs existing cultural-economic-governance matrix of tribal life which created discontent; political marginalization of the SC/ST, etc.
- *How extremism causes underdevelopment*: It causes hindrance in developmental efforts and poor governance; destroys infrastructure in affected area, making development even more difficult; reduces inflow of investment, ideas and innovation; weakens democratic institutions causing leadership vacuum; adversely affects tourism; leads to increase in defence expenditure; use of force against citizens leads to resentment and discontent; wastage of talent, etc.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

1. Underdevelopment and extremism are parts of a vicious cycle. Elucidate.
2. The developmental efforts of the government sometimes result in hardship and alienation of the local tribals. Examine this in the context of large-scale developmental projects in India.
3. Underdeveloped tri-junction areas between States have been found to be especially vulnerable to extremism. In this light, critically analyse the causes of growth of extremism in such areas, with suitable examples.